# THE U.S. PEACE PLAN AND THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING

### **HEARINGS**

before the

### CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

### JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

ICOME • P.O. BOX 18367 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 362-5266 (24-hour) • FAX (202) 362-6965

1 June 1989

On April 26, 1988, The Congressional Black Caucus held the first and to date only Hearing into the Intifada and Israeli policies in the occupied territories. The Hearing was carried live by C-Span Cable Television. Because of a variety of subsequent problems and pressures publication of the day-long hearing first became available more than a year later in May 1989 in very limited quantity.

JCOME was the only Jewish organization willing and able to testify. JCOME's written testimony can be found on page 46 (verbal statement page 33). At the end of the document are reproduced JCOME advertisements that have been published in many magazines and newspapers between February 1988 and May 1989.

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(Attiliations noted for identification only)

Some of us who are American Jews are having our own Intifada. It's not as dramatic or courageous as the struggle of the Palestinians in the occupied territories; but we think it is also very important.

We realize that we are living through a very crucial historic time. If a true and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinian people isn't reached soon the possibility of a Palestinian State living side-by-side with Israel will dissolve, the moderate leadership of the Palestinians may be discredited, and a vicious arms race will spiral in the region dooming both the Israelis and the Palestinians to ongoing bloodshed of ever greater proportions.

We think we American Jews should be, and can be, much more instrumental in fostering a real peace.

In trying to be very honest with ourselves, we realize that at this particular point in history two major forces prevent serious negotiations and an international peace conference that could lead to true peace -- the Government of Israel and the Government of the United States.

And we American Jews don't think it is enough for us to simply support groups in Israel striving for mutual recognition with the Palestinians.

We finally realize that our major responsibility is to seek redress from our own community and from our own Government. For it is our country -- alone in the world -- that provides the arms, the money, and the political sustenance that makes possible the brutal and duplicitous policies pursued by the Government of Israel. And it is our community of American Jews that provides the pressures that bind the American government to this mistaken course.

The Palestinians under occupation finally rose up in the Intifada to challenge their occupiers; and those in exile had the courage to formally accept Israel's existence at the Algiers PNC last November.

Now it's time we American Jews show our own courage by having our own Intifada -- an American Jewish Intifada against the so-called "Jewish lobby" in Washington which doesn't represent us; an American Jewish Intifada against an American government which speaks with forked tongue and whose words and actions are inconsistent; an American Jewish Intifada against many of our own "leaders" who have failed to provide the needed leadership so we can be proud again of our Jewish heritage, proud again of Israel, and proud again of ourselves.

Please read our Statement of principles on the reverse side of this page as it appears on the back cover of the current issue of *The Nation* Magazine. And if you agree with us that it is vital for American Jews to start raising the basic issues, to come out of the closet so to speak, please help us as much as you can.

Thank you sincerely for your concern and for your consideration.

### TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAELI POLICIES AND

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel and to support mutual recognition between Israel and the new State of Palestine proclaimed last November by the Palestine National Council.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David

in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews – an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby,

which has come under its control -threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests—all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 21 years—further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfor-tunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three generations ago – but this time those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to *normalize* the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, in recent years much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. We urge an urgent and open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently, we urge everyone, including our elected public officials, to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

who do.

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians – negotiations that should quickly lead to full recognition of the Palestinian State in today occupied territories and reasonable security quarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their cum occurate in definition of the course.

ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

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\* The only publications to refuse to publish our JCOME Statement of principles as a paid ad are these "liberal" and "progressive" Jewish and Israeli magazines.

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This important Statement of principles has been published in recent months in The Nation, The New York Review of Books, The Christian Science Monitor, The Progressive, L.A. Weekly, The Detroit Free Press, and The Congressional Record. It has already been endorsed by over twelve hundred American Jews, including Jewish professors at over 110 universities, and by many other Americans of all backgrounds. Whether you are Jewish or not please join and support this vital effort. For further information call (202) 362-5266 24-hours daily

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### THE U.S. PEACE PLAN AND THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING

### April 26, 1988

### FIRST SESSION

MR. CROCKETT: The hearing will come to order. I am Congressman Crockett from the 13th Congressional District of Michigan, which is mainly the City of Detroit. I am joined here by Congressman Dymally from Los Angeles. Congressman Dymally is Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). We have divided the responsibility for these hearings: I will preside at the morning session and Congressman Dymally will preside at the afternoon session.

This is the first in a series of hearings that the Congressional Black Caucus plans to hold on domestic and foreign policy issues. Today's hearings will examine the current U.S. Middle East peace initiative and the Palestinian Uprising. This is a subject of great national and international concern and comment, but one on which the Congress, and indeed our congressional committees, have been somewhat less than vocal.

The Congressional Black Caucus historically has been deeply concerned with U.S. relations in the Middle East. Many of our members have visited Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. The CBC's record with respect to both Israel and the Arab States has been both positive and supportive. Members of the CBC have been actively involved in discussions with the late President Sadat of Egypt and with his successor, President Mubarak; and during his most recent visit to Washington, we met with Prime Minister Shamir for an all-too-brief discussion of several issues of mutual concern.

As Members of Congress and as Black Americans, we are deeply concerned by the current state of affairs in Israel and in the Occupied Territories. Like all Americans, we have been extremely troubled by what we have been seeing and reading concerning the Palestinian Uprising and the Israeli Government's "Iron Fist" response as well as its resort to acts of international terrorism.

CBC members have visited both the Occupied Territories and South Africa, and we are painfully aware of the glaring similarity of pogroms in both these places. We remember what our Israeli friends seem to have forgotten. We Black Americans endured the inhumanities of slavery in this country, as our Jewish friends endured the inhumanities of Nazism; and we both have suffered the indignities of racial, color, and religious discrimination. We, therefore, recognize and identify with our Palestinian and our Black South African brothers and sisters who are oppressed today, just as years ago we identified with the victims of the Holocaust. It is for this reason that we feel a deep and a growing concern for the plight of the Palestinian people.

As Members of Congress we are—and we should be—directly involved in the formulation of U.S. policy. We believe that the ultimate goal of U.S. Middle East policy should be the adoption of a peace initiative that fully addresses the legitimate concerns of both the Israeli and the Palestinian people. After six long years in which no meaningful peace talks have occurred, the Palestinian Uprising has helped to activate U.S. diplomacy. Secretary Shultz has set forth a U.S. peace initiative that seems to be officially unacceptable to everyone he has consulted. Of course, one of the parties principally concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has not been consulted. While we are very pleased that the Administration has taken this step forward, many serious questions about the Shultz initiative and its potential impact remain unanswered. We hope to address some of those questions here today.

Relations between Black and Jewish Americans always have been very important to the Congressional Black Caucus. We want to take every step necessary to ensure that those relations do not become increasingly strained as a consequence of the current situation in the Middle East. We sought a balanced review of the issues here today; and therefore, we invited representatives form Jewish organizations across the political spectrum to come to join us. Some were able to accept our invitation; others were not.

I think I voice the views of my fellow CBC members when I say that we see this hearing as an opportunity to make clear to all our fellow Americans that criticizing Israeli Government policy is not to be equated with being anti-

Israeli or anti-Semitic. Rather, we do so out of a genuine concern-out of a sense of moral obligation to a friend. We refuse to stand silently by while Israel engages in self-destructive behavior.

MR. DYMALLY: First, let me welcome all of our witnesses and our friends who have come to participate in the first of a series of hearings on foreign and domestic policy to be conducted by the Congressional Black Caucus. This hearing will deal with the question of the United States peace proposal and the Uprising in Palestine. Subsequent hearings will deal with a range of domestic issues affecting all Americans.

I am particularly pleased that my colleague, Congressman George Crockett, has seen fit to initiate this hearing. I am gratified that for the first time Members of Congress feel free to discuss this issue without fear of intimidation. For me, it has been a relief that we can sit down here as Americans—as do Israelis in the Knesset—and discuss this matter openly and freely. For that, Mr. Chairman, I congratulate you. I also congratulate and thank the members of the Congressional Black Caucus for giving us support for this very significant hearing.

MR. CROCKETT: Today, we will hear from four panels of distinguished witnesses, representing all parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Each of these witnesses is eminently qualified to help us understand both the current situation in Israel and in the Occupied Territories as well as the implications for U.S. policy. The proceedings will be recorded, transcribed, and published under the auspices of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

Our first witness is Mr. Raja Shehadeh. A barrister who has been practicing law in the West Bank since 1976, Mr. Shehadeh is the Co-Director of the Law in the Service of Man Project, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists.

### Statement of Raja Shehadeh

MR. SHEHADEH: It is unfortunately the fate of oppressed nations to have others speak for them and to have their history misrepresented. It is for this reason that I value very much this opportunity to testify before you and to speak directly out of my own experiences. I would like to make my testimony dependent upon personal experiences—matters that I and my colleagues have personally been through during the difficult last four-and-a-half months. Before I do so, I would like to put into some context what is happening in the area.

The Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has been going on for almost 21 years now. During this time, the Israeli government has adopted a deliberate policy to achieve very specific ends. I don't think oppression happens for its own sake, except in very perverse situations. Usually, there are designs and objectives; and in this case, I think the designs and objectives are quite clear.

In the course of the last 21 years, a systematic policy of exploitation and colonization has been pursued. The attempt has been to plant another population within the Palestinian population of the West Bank. In order to make that possible, land had to be acquired—so much so that about 60 percent of the land in the West Bank is now under the control of the minority. Despite the fact that the Palestinians constitute more than one million and a half people and the settlers constitute 60,000 to 80,000 people, sixty percent of the land belongs to the settler minority.

In order to facilitate that program, the population had to be stifled. The laws had to be changed. The result of these legal and administrative changes have been that two populations live side by side, namely a Palestinian population and a Jewish-Israeli population. Each is subject to different laws, to different opportunities for development, and to different courts of law, allowing one to develop as quickly as possible while stifling the development of the other.

This may bring to mind another situation, namely apartheid in South Africa, which has many similarities with our situation and some differences. I think the main difference is that apartheid has been condemned as racial discrimination by the entire community of nations. The situation in the West Bank, which is very similar to apartheid, has not been recognized to be what it is; and the community of nations remains misinformed.

The events of the past four-and-a-half months have not been new or different. What is now taking place has taken place before, perhaps not with the same intensity; but there has been not a single practice that had not been tried before. In the spring of 1987 and in the autumn of 1987, unrest also occurred in the West Bank; and the Palestinian people were treated in exactly as harsh a manner as they have been treated since December 9, 1987. There were killings, there were beatings; there were detentions; there was extra-legal punishment. The "Iron Fist" policy itself has been in practice since 1985. It simply had not been declared as such until the current Uprising.

The Palestinian Uprising in the West Bank began as a declaration by the Palestinian population that they will no longer tolerate the oppression, the exploitation that has been taking place. It is a movement, an Uprising, that is

Director of the Capital Punishment Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Jabara, President of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), is a prominent civil rights attorney, having practiced for many years in the Detroit area and is a very close friend of my colleague, Mr. Crockett.

Before our witnesses begin, let me make this observation. In inviting witnesses to testify here, the Caucus sought to give a balanced presentation of all sides. As a result, we invited the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, as well as Rabbi Saperstein, who is known for his work against apartheid in South Africa and who is a very good friend of Congressman Conyers. In all of the above cases, they were either not available or did not choose to testify. So, I want the record to make abundantly clear that this was not designed as a hearing to listen to one side, although one certainly could justify it, considering the manner in which that side is heard in this Congress. It would not be biased to hear the other side, but we wanted to be balanced and unfortunately that is not possible.

Having said that, Mr. Schwarzschild, it is good to have you.

### Statement of Henry Schwarzschild

MR. SCHWARZSCHILD: Mr. Chairman and Mr. Crockett, thank you. My name is Henry Schwarzschild. I appear here on behalf of the Jewish Committee on the Middle East. I work in New York in the field of human rights. Your very courteous reference to my professional work requires me to say that I do not, of course, here speak for the American Civil Liberties Union, which has no concern with foreign policy matters, and which would, quite properly, disavow as an organization what I say here. I speak here on behalf of the Jewish Committee on the Middle East. Also here in the hearing room this afternoon is Mark Bruzonsky, another member of our Executive Committee, who, for a good many years, was the Washington Associate of the World Jewish Congress.

Before I get to my formal presentation, Mr. Chairman, permit me to add a personal word about my sense of these matters. I speak here, of course, as an American Jew. I speak here also as a child of the Holocaust. I was born in Germany, raised under Hitler, came to this country as a teenager just before World War II, fought as an American G.I. in the war, and have worked at various periods of my life for some of the leading American Jewish organizations. I remain today a member of only two Jewish organizations—one is the Jewish Peace Fellowship, a perhaps 60-year-old Jewish pacifist organization, and the other is Jewish Committee on the Middle East, recently formed. I serve also on the Board of Directors of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, headquartered in Chicago, and on the National Advisory Board of the American—Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, whose president is here as a witness with me on this panel.

I have spent a fair amount of time in Palestine for the past 12 to 15 years; and I have just returned from a two-and-a-half week stay in Jerusalem and on the West Bank, where I attended, among other things, the important conference on the 20 years of occupation organized by Bir Zeit University, probably the most important university in the Occupied Territories.

I and an increasing number of other American Jews are appalled at the spectacle of the State of Israel, which thinks of itself today as the contemporary incarnation of the Jewish people, having made another people into a dispersed nation; denying them national identity and self-determination; depriving them of their lands and water; suppressing their national, social, and cultural institutions; beating their children; killing unarmed civilians; exiling their leaders; imprisoning their spokespeople; destroying their homes; opening and closing the Occupied Territories as though they were the Jewish ghettos of the European Middle Ages; and acting as a tyrannical and oppressive empire towards a lesser breed of human beings. That spectacle violates not only classical Jewish tradition and values, but at least equally important universal principles of political decency and social justice.

The Jewish Committee on the Middle East means to address this disaster honestly, undeterred by false and hurtful demands for blind solidarity with Israel or for only muted criticism of it. It will speak on behalf on the victims of Israeli oppression. Judah Magnes, the great American Zionist and first chancellor of the Hebrew University, who died at the very beginning of the existence of the State of Israel, once said that a Jewish state founded on bayonets and oppression was not worth having. I am sorry to say that is precisely what we have.

Let me now turn to the issue of the relationship between United States foreign policy and Israel and the Uprising, which is the burden of my presentation. Mr. Chairman, no area of the world is today more explosive than the Middle East, and for no country in the world other than itself is the United States more concerned and more responsible than for Israel. Consequently, we applaud the thoughtful decision of the Congressional Black Caucus to hold this hearing; and we do so well aware that there has been a tragic and unconscionable silence from Congress on all matters relating to criticism of Israeli policies and actions. Of course, we, as you, appreciate the political circumstances responsible for that silence; and so, we thank you all the more for this opportunity to appear before you today.

The Jewish Committee on the Middle East has been recently formed to give voice to the growing concerns among many American Jews about Israeli policies and about the harmful relationship that has come to exist between Israel and the United States. The Israeli government, and those American Jewish organizations working in tandem with the major parties in Israel, have made it difficult for the American people and for the Congress to hear and understand the depth of anguish felt by many American Jews regarding Israeli behavior. It is our basic contention that only when the depth of this concern is appreciated, and only when the Congress and the American government are willing to reassess relations with Israel, as many American Jews themselves have done, will it become possible for our country to honestly promote peace between Israel, the Palestinians, and the other Arab states.

We should like, in our testimony today, to outline the reasons why we believe that a "normalization" of relations with Israel on the part of American governmental institutions is imperative. Then, as I have just returned from a visit to Israel and the Occupied Territories, I would be pleased to take your questions.

First, allow me to speak openly and candidly with you about the basic relationship that exists between Israel and American Jews. After the Holocaust and after World War II, the movement to create a Jewish state became widely supported, quite understandably, by Jews throughout the world. The sheer determination to bring about and maintain a Jewish state is sufficient testament to the depth of conviction shared by most Jews around the world, the majority of whom now live in this country. But this basic sympathy—a sympathy which rightly extends far beyond the Jewish community—has unfortunately been purposefully misrepresented. Neither the wrongs inflicted on the Palestinian people nor a blanket endorsement of Israel's future policies were or are included in that sympathy. Indeed, it was thought at the time of Israel's creation that a Palestinian Arab state would also emerge in the area of historic Palestinian being vacated by the British. But, as is now known, that area was then divided by an agreement between the Zionist authorities and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, leading to the problems we are living through this day. It was never contemplated, furthermore, at that time that Israel would emerge into a regional super-power with the kinds of leaders and policies that it has displayed in recent years.

Moreover, though the United States became an early advocate of Israeli statehood, our country did not become Israel's primary ally and financier until the Johnson administration. The close alliance with Israel is something quite new, something for which the Reagan administration must take primary responsibility. In short, Mr. Chairman, extraordinary historical circumstances have bought about the American-Israeli alliance; and extraordinary circumstances within American politics now work to maintain it.

Additionally, as we are all aware, great pressures are usually brought to bear against those who call for a reassessment of the situation, pressures which largely explain, of course, Congress's own problems in openly debating the situation, even in the midst of very widespread public concern. It is most unfortunate that the representative of the American Jewish Lobby, Mr. Dine, of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) chose not to be here today, after initially accepting your invitation, as we had been told.

If I am to be fully honest with you at this important hearing, it is necessary to state in very clear terms that it is precisely today's American-Israeli alliance which permits the Government of Israel to act as she does, and consequently it is this American-Israeli alliance which must be altered if we expect the Israelis to face the basic choices that confront them. Because of a serious schism within their own body politic and with the expectation that they can always fall back on Uncle Sam's military and financial muscle, Israel will not face her own problems and come to a decision about them.

We do not believe the United States should force anything upon Israel. For a peace agreement to be successful, it must reflect the actual choices of the parties to the conflict. Too often, American pressures only result in transient political fixes, rather than in true peace agreements. But just as surely, we do believe that the United States should stop financing and making possible Israeli policies harmful in the long-run to United States interests throughout the Middle East and increasingly divisive within our own political system.

So, we appear before you today to advocate the normalization of relations, not only with Israel, but also, with the Palestinian people, who beyond all doubt deserve and need a Palestinian state of their own. In the remainder of this testimony, we should like to explain briefly, but clearly, our reasoning and demonstrate to you that there is considerable public support, even among American Jews, for taking such steps.

In our opinion, the basic relationship between Israel and the United States has evolved into an unnatural and unhealthy one for both parties. For the U.S., the overall American perspective on the Middle East is severely distorted by our one-sided involvement with Israel. It was most recently demonstrated during the Iran hearings before this Congress, as to the extent of Israeli involvement in our affairs—as they became publicly evident.

Additionally, a far larger proportion of American foreign assistance and foreign policy attention is devoted to Israel than is warranted, even if Israeli policies and actions were not what they are. This causes us to shortchange other

countries of that region and other foreign policy problems to our own future detriment. The Congressional Research Service has, over the years, produced background studies which provide the statistics to document this assertion.

For the Israelis, the American connection has become the umbilical cord which even they realize in private has many harmful aspects. This umbilical cord has been to continue an increasingly aggressive approach towards the Palestinians, specifically, and thus necessarily the Arab world in general. Israel has been allowed, in effect, to become something of a spoiled child of this country, always turning to us in extremis, as in 1973 when Israel was almost overrun militarily and in 1984 when Israel's economy was in danger of collapse.

So long as Israel knows that the Americans will pay the bill, that the American Congress will bail them out, that the American Secretary of State will fly around trying to put out fires they have set, so long as this unnatural situation is allowed to exist, Israel will not be forced to confront her own political and ideological problems. The time is overdue for the United States to be much more concerned with developments throughout the Middle East, rather than mainly with one small country with a population but a third of that of New York City. Indeed, just as our country befriended Israel at the time of creation and in her hours of need, we should now befriend the Palestinian people as they struggle for their own freedom and statehood, rather than supplying the arms and the tear gas for the repression of the Palestinian people.

The Israelis may see support for themselves as a zero-sum game, but there is no reason for this country to continue to see things through this distorted lens. Throughout the Middle East today, there are people in need of assistance, people struggling against oppression, people struggling to modernize their economies, people struggling to reform outdated and repressive political systems. Our country should be promoting our democratic heritage and our values of equality and justice throughout the middle East. We fail in this imperative only at our own eventual peril, as recent problems with Iran and Lebanon should have helped us understand.

Throughout these past decades, the United States has gradually increased aid and support for Israel to a level unequaled in American history. In doing so, we have isolated not only ourselves from the people in the Arab and Muslim worlds but from nearly all of our allies in Europe as well. Indeed, the European Economic Community countries last month took strong sanctions against Israel, ending most special financial and economic agreements.

Sadder still, there is a direct correlation between the level of American support and the intransigence of Israeli policies. The greater the support, the greater the intransigence. Israel bombed Iraq and invaded Lebanon only after the Camp David peace treaty and unprecedented commitments of American support and money to Israel. Israel attempted to assassinate Yasir Arafat in 1985, and then some weeks ago assassinated his deputy only after growing assurances of an ever firmer American alliance with it. Of course, it is this overall situation which is largely responsible for the Palestinian *Intifida*, the Uprising, which is now still in progress. Thus, it is this overall situation which must be corrected if the United States is ever to play a true role as a peacemaker.

The U.S. has put itself into an absurd position, which much of the world recognizes as both ludicrous and hypocritical. Consider the situation. We claim to want to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians, yet we refuse to talk to the representatives of one party, and even attempt to close down their offices in the United States and at the United Nations. Yet, we have entered into an unprecedented military alliance with the other party.

Moreover, we give as our reasons for refusing to accept the Palestinians that they are terrorists, and that they refuse to accept U.N. Resolution 242, the well-known "land for peace" formula. Yet, more countries in the world recognize the PLO than recognize Israel. The PLO Chairman himself says he recognizes all U.N. resolutions, including 242, and that he is willing to negotiate with Israel face-to-face at an international conference. Meanwhile, the party we are supporting, both in action and in deeds, repeatedly violates Resolution 242 and the Geneva Conventions and has killed, in what much of the world considers terrorist acts, far more innocent women and children than the Palestinians have. In addition, the Israelis refuse to negotiate directly with the Palestinians and continue to build settlements and expel Palestinians from their own land.

Furthermore, the American Congress takes time out to pass resolutions condemning the Palestinians and demanding that they close their Information Office in Washington and their Mission at the United Nations, but refuse even to discuss the repeated violations of international law by Israel and the continuing homelessness of the Palestinian people. No wonder our Secretary of State has so little credibility when he visits the region these days.

Let me remind you, in conclusion, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Crockett, that the American people are much wiser in their outlook than either the American Congress has been or than the American Government continues to be. Allow me to summarize quickly two objective and impartial public opinion polls—the first conducted earlier this month by the Los Angeles Times and the other in January by the Gallup Polling organization. I would urge that both polls, with your permission, be included in the record of this hearing in full (See Appendix C).

Thirty-four percent of Jewish Americans believe that the United States aid to Israel should be reduced, and only 27 percent now favor continuing strong support for Israel. Indeed, American Jews are disenchanted to the point that 56 percent did not contribute in any way last year to Israel, and nearly two-thirds of American Jews have no affiliation but for their local synagogue with any of the existing Jewish organizations that make up the Conference of the Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations or the American Jewish Lobby.

Actually, Mr. Chairman, almost 30 percent of American Jews favor United States negotiations with the PLO and the establishment of a Palestinian homeland in the Occupied Territories. Among non-Jewish Americans, these figures are 52 percent and 50 percent, respectively. Indeed, among young American Jews under the age of 41, 27 percent feel equally sympathetic to both the Palestinians and the Israelis. When asked about their own Jewish identity, half of American Jews refer to their Jewishness as a "commitment to social equality," while 41 percent, "feel that there is an element of racism involved in the attitude of Israelis towards Arabs."

The Gallup Poll conducted in January before the events of the past few months found that a plurality of adult Americans, some 41 percent, believe that U.S. aid to Israel should be decreased, with 22 percent of those believing it should be discontinued altogether. Furthermore, 41 percent of those Americans who say they are aware of the conflict in the Occupied Territories favor creation of an independent Palestinian state in those areas. Among college-educated Americans, the figure is even higher--46 percent. When asked whether they believe that the U.S. should open discussions with the PLO, 53 percent of adult Americans are in favor and 60 percent of college educated Americans agree.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, while the countries of the Middle East are for the first time arming with weapons of mass destruction and another war could result in tremendous loss of life and destruction, the Congress of this country, which yearly allocated billions of dollars to Israel, has not even held official hearings on the serious developments of the past few months. We, therefore, are all the more grateful to the Congressional Black Caucus for having this unprecedented hearing. A reassessment of our policies, Mr. Chairman, in regard to Israel and the Palestinians is overdue. We thank you and the other members of the Congressional Black Caucus for giving us this opportunity to appear before you this afternoon.

MR. DYMALLY: Thank you very much, Mr. Schwarzschild. Mr. Jabara?

### Statement of Abdeen Jabara

MR. JABARA: I would like to begin by thanking the Congressional Black Caucus for convening these hearings today. It is a vitally important function that the Black Caucus is discharging in informing Congress and the American people about the Middle East conflict and the threat to world peace that it represents. My name is Abdeen Jabara. I am National President of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; and I appear before you today not to discuss the larger political issues which have been covered more than adequately by the previous presentations here today, but rather as the representative of a human rights organization to discuss very briefly with you the problems of human rights under occupation and the denial of those rights, as has been occurring over the past four-and-a-half months as a result of the Palestinian Uprising. As long as the larger political issues are not resolved, the on-going human rights violations will occur on a daily basis. We are, indeed, interested in promoting the path of peace; but we do not think that the path of peace can be promoted unless there is respect for human rights.

These hearings today are to be contrasted with those convened by your colleague, Congressman Yatron, who several weeks ago convened a hearing on the human rights situation, only calling witnesses from the Administration. We were shocked to find that one of those witnesses was also the founding president of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), an organization whose stated purpose is to increase the American-Israeli security arrangement.

Since the beginning of the Uprising, Mr.Chairman, the Israelis have employed a number of methods in an effort to quell the mass and spontaneous Uprising of the Palestinian people under occupation. They began with the use of live ammunition. But as a result of the hue and cry that occurred internationally, other policies were implemented, including the use of American-manufactured tear gas from Federated Laboratories in Saltsburg, Pennsylvania and American manufactured rubber bullets, which are really not rubber but are metal encased with a rubber coating, as well as curfews and beatings.

According to the recent report and news conference of the United Nations Refugee Relief Works Agency, the number of reported injuries in the Gaza Strip alone, from December 9 until April 1, 1988, was 3,200 people. That, of course, does not account for all of the situations in which people were accorded medical treatment for their injuries in their homes because of their fear of going to hospitals, surrounded by Israeli military under threat of arrest.

### Los Angeles Times

Tuesday, April 12, 1988

### The Times Poll

# U.S. Jews for Peace Talks on Mideast

By ROBERT SCHEER, Times Staff Writer

American Jews overwhelmingly support the U.S. proposal for an international peace conference on the Middle East, favor increased autonomy for Palestinians and believe that both Israeli and Arab attitudes must change for peace to occur, a Los Angeles Times Poll has found. They also have a more favorable impression of Secretary of State George P. Shultz than of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir

Moreover, 41% of Jews and 65% of non-Jews "feel that there is an element of racism involved in the attitude of Israelis towards Arabs," and only one out three non-Jews has a "favorable" impression of the Israeli government. Both groups, however, are more sympathetic to Israelis than Palestinians and are highly disapproving of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A majority of non-Jews (52%) favors U.S. negotiations with the PLO, however, and 50% would approve a Palestinian homeland in the occupied territories; 29% of Jews supported both American talks with the PLO and establishment of a national home for the Palestinians.

### Backing of Israel Is High

Although the poll demonstrates that support for Israel remains high among Jewish and non-Jewish Americans and has not appreciably declined, it reveals an equally strong desire for Israel "to come to some sort of accommodation with the Arabs in the occupied territories."

Fully two-thirds of American Jews favor accommodation with the Palestinians as opposed to transferring the Arab population to another country—a proposal increasingly discussed on the Israeli right—or simply giving up the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The numbers are similar for non-Jews, but there is disagreement over just how this accommodation might occur.

Although a plurality of non-Jews favors a settlement of the Middle East conflict that calls for Israel to give up the occupied territories in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel, Jews turn down this "land for peace plan" by a 43%-31% margin.

### Profound Dismay Seen

Like so many of the survey's other findings, all this suggests that both Jews and non-Jews are in the grips of a profound dismay over the recent months of violence in the occupied territories. This feeling has, in turn, produced views that are far more nuanced by a sense of contradiction and complexity than most analysts have thought. Moreover, Jewish-Americans are neither so preoccupied with the Mideast nor so monolithic in their thinking nor so different from non-Jews as usually is thought.

Although conventional political wisdom regards U.S. support for Israel as one of the most sensitive campaign issues, 60% of Jewish-Americans and 85% of non-Jews said they were "not sure of their candidate's stand on the issue." Only 1% of Jews and 2% of non-Jews said they would switch their vote if they discovered they disagreed with their preferred candidate's stand on Israel.

And, despite the prominence of influential Jewish intellectuals among the Reagan Administration's neoconservative supporters, Jewish-Americans remain committed to political liberalism (41%) and the Democratic Party (56%). Twenty-seven percent say they are moderates and 17% are self-described conservatives. Jews overwhelmingly prefer Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis to all other Democratic candidates, and 45% said they would vote for him in a primary as compared to 14%

for Vice President George Bush, the probable Republican nominee.

Although only 4% of Jews said that they would vote for Jesse Jackson as their first choice, as opposed to 13% of non-Jews, a surprising 35% of Jews reported a favorable impression of Jackson, who has been criticized by Jewish leaders in the past. More than half of non-Jews reported a favorable impression of the civil rights leader.

The survey, which was conducted by Times Poll Director I.A. Lewis, is the widest ranging measure of Jewish and non-Jewish opinion on the Middle East and related issues since the current unrest among Palestinian Arabs began. It was conducted by telephone between March 26 and April



7 and sampled a much larger and more representative number of Jews than is generally the case in national opinion surveys. No polling was done on the Jewish Sabbath or the first two days of the Passover holiday. For purposes of the survey, anyone who identified himself as brought up in the Jewish faith or who considered himself or herself. Jewish was counted as

### Needed Large Sample

"We set out to obtain a scientific representation of American Jewry, which is extremely difficult," Lewis said. "This required obtaining a large enough sample in order to accurately portray the complexity and diversity of Jewish opinion.

"Because Jews make up about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ % of the American population, they are 40 times harder to come by in a random fashion. To obtain our sample of 1,018 representative Jews, we went through lists of over 200,000 names that we had surveyed over the years and ultimately contacted more than 50,000. We also obtained a representative sample of 1,110 non-Jews. The margin

### TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PLO

		Indepe Palest State	ndent inian	<i>21</i>	Age		Edu	cation
<u>Talks</u>	Total %	Favor %	Oppose %	<u>&lt;30</u>	30-49	<u>50+</u>	H.S. or Less	College %
Favor	58	78	56	65	61	52	49	72
Oppose	16	11	34	16	16	15	18	13
Don't Know	26	11	_10	19	_23_	_33_	_33	_15_
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1003)	(369)	- (227)	(219)	(434)	(343)	(527)	(475)

### TALKS BETWEEN U.S. AND PLO

		Indepe Palest State	ndent inian	_	Age		<u>Edu</u> H.S.	ıcation
<u>Ta!ks</u>	Total %	Favor %	Oppose %	<u>&lt;30</u> %	30-49	<u>50+</u> %	or Less	College %
Favor	53 .	68	51	63	57	41	48	60
Oppose	26	25	44	22	25	30	26	26
Don't Know	21		5_	15	18	29	26	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1003)	(369)	(227)	(219)	(434)	(343)	(527)	(475)

- The Gallup Organization Inc.

of error for our findings is 4% in either direction for both samples."

What emerges is the profile of an active, committed Jewish community increasingly polarized and concerned about the direction of events involving Israel.

For example, Jews were evenly split over the highly contentious issue of whether they "should support Israel in public even when they disagree in private." Younger Jews—those under 41—disagreed with that statement and endorsed public criticism 3 to 2.

On the other hand, half of Jews believe "criticism of the treatment of Palestinians in Israel is anti-Israel." but more than a third do not.

Jews do not define their Jewishness in any predictable or conventional ways: Only one out of four Jews said he or she attends Sabbath services at least once a month; two-thirds said they attended religious services on the high holy days. Fifty-six percent said they did not contribute financially to Israel last year, and nearly two-thirds have no affiliation with a Jewish organization other than a synagogue.

### 'Social Equality' Important

Four out of five Jews polled said that being Jewish was very important in their own lives. However, 50% of Jews cited "a commitment to social equality" as being the characteristic most important to their Jewish identity, 17% cited religious observance and 17% support for Israel.

Only a third of Jews regard "Israeli unrest" as the news story they have "been paying the most attention to lately," an opinion shared by just 3% of the non-Jews polled

There is, moreover, a sharp divergence between Jews and non-Jews over media coverage of recent events in the Middle East. Fifty-six percent of Jews say they think the media has offered a distorted view, which has made the Palestinians look better than they are; only 21% think the media have been fair and 7% feel the media have made the Palestinians look worse. By contrast, a plurality of non-Jews (43%) believes the media coverage has been fair. Those critical of the media are evenly split (11% to 13%) over whether the Palestinians have been made to look better or worse.

Although Jews seem to feel that the media have been unfair to Israel, a plurality of 46% rejects New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch's proposal that the Israeli government "ban the press from

areas where Palestinian disturbances might take place." Forty percent of Jews agree with Koch's suggestion. Non-Jews reject the notion by a 59%-23% margin.

### Split Over Israeli Image

Both Jews and non-Jews are about evenly divided over whether the Israeli government has a poor or good image in the United States. Only a small group (7% of Jews and 5% of non-Jews) finds it "very good." Fifty-two percent of Jews attribute Israel's poor image to "public relations" problems, 28% cite unacceptable Israeli actions and 14% think it can be ascribed to both. But 47% of non-Jews blame unacceptable Israeli actions. Only 36% of non-Jews cite public relations and 8% find it to be both.

The fact that 42% of Jews and more than half of non-Jews at least in part blame unacceptable Israeli actions for the erosion of support for Israel in the United States might have serious implications for future U.S.-Israel relations.

Thirty-four percent of Americans, for example, would like to see a reduction in U.S. military aid to Israel.

Events since the Lebanon invasion, including the Iran-Contra hearings, the Pollard spy case and the uprising in the occupied territories have influenced the views of non-Jews toward Israel more greatly than the views of Jews. Although a tenth of Jews have decided on their opinion of Israel in that period, four in 10 non-Jews have.

Many analysts and leaders of Jewish organizations have expressed apprehension that criticism of Israel over its treatment of the Palestinians may fuel an increase in anti-Semitism. Others go further and argue that criticism of Israeli government policies actually reflects concealed anti-Semitism.

### Hypothetical Candidates

The Times survey approached this question in two ways: First, respondents were given descriptions of two hypothetical presidential candidates, Mr. A and Mr. B, and asked to choose between them.

Mr. A won the election. However, when respondents were also told that Mr. A was Jewish, his support declined by 31 points.

Respondents later were asked whether they thought Jews had "too much" political power and were "more loyal to Israel than to the United States." These questions have been used by pollsters for many years to measure anti-Semitic feeling. By repeating them

and comparing the response to previous findings, it was possible to determine whether such prejudice has increased. The Times found that, although anti-Semitism certainly exists among Americans, it has not increased in the face of recent events.

However, there are clear indications of a decline in sympathy for Israel among non-Jews as compared to Jews.

When asked if, in recent months, their sympathies have been more with the government of Israel or more with the Palestinians, the vast majority of Jews remains sympathetic to Israel despite the disturbances in the occupied territories. Only 36% of non-Jews come down on the Israeli side, a quarter say their sympathies are with the Palestinians and 9% with both.

### **Generational Differences**

On this question, Jews seem split along generational lines. Within the Jewish group, younger people tended to be somewhat less sympathetic toward Israel as opposed to older Jews. Twenty-seven percent of younger Jews said they felt equally or more sympathetic to the Palestinians as compared to 17% of older Jews.

A quarter of younger Jews have a worse opinion of Israel as a result of recent events, and one fifth of older Jews do. Fewer than one in 10 in either group has a better view. This suggests that, although most Jews are willing to tolerate the Israeli crackdown on Palestinian disturbances as a necessary measure, few are enthusiastic about its consequences.

A third of younger and older Jews are agreed that disturbances among Palestinians are acts of civil disobedience, as opposed to acts of war against the government of Israel, as the government there insists.

This suggests that a significant minority of Jewish opinion rejects the Israeli government's public rationale for its hard line on Palestinian unrest. In fact, although the Times Poll found consistently strong support for Israel among Jewish-Americans, there is an increasingly critical minority willing to say it is unhappy with the Israeli government's direction. On a number of issues, this minority's size and views of Israel are practically identical with those of non-Jews.

Indeed, slightly more Jews (27%) than non-Jews (24%) say that the foreign and domestic policies of the state of Israel over the last several years have become less acceptable to them. Eleven percent

of Jews find those policies more acceptable, and only 6% of non-Jews do.

### Weakening of Ties Seen

A quarter of Jews and non-Jews believe the current confrontations between Palestinians in the occupied territories and the Israeli authorities may lead to a weakening of the relationship between the United States and Israel.

Non-Jews are closely divided on whether their current impression of Israel's government is favorable (33%) or unfavorable (29%), but Jews are favorably impressed, by a 70%-18% margin. Both groups are more favorably impressed with the Israeli people than with the Palestinians. Neither group is favorably impressed with the PLO; in fact, 52% of non-Jews and 82% of Jews said their view of the organization is unfavorable.

But there was a sharp divergence in the two groups on whether the United States should negotiate with the PLO. A majority of non-Jews (52%) said the United States should reverse its long-standing policy and talk with the PLO, and 29% of Jews said yes but 61% said no.

However, over 60% of each group favors Secretary of State Shultz's plan for an international Middle East peace conference, a concept endorsed by the Israeli Labor Party but not by the Likud Bloc, the other partner in Israel's governing coalition.

Similarly, more Jewish-Americans (57%) have a favorable impression of Labor's leader, Shimon Peres, than they do of Likud's leader, Yitzhak Shamir (49%). Seventy percent, in fact, are favorably impressed with Secretary of State Shultz. Most non-Jews are unaware of either Peres or Shamir, with about 20% holding favorable impressions.

Jews and non-Jews alike seemed to reject the notion that the intransigence of one side is the primary obstacle to Mideast peace. When asked whether Arabs or Israelis would have to change their attitudes before peace can come to the Middle East, a large majority (80%) of non-Jews said both sides must change. Among the Jews,

Times researcher Nina Green contributed to this story.

86% said the Arabs would have to change their attitudes, but a surprisingly strong 65% also said that Israeli attitudes must change.

Although both groups believe this Israeli change should involve "some sort of accommodation with the Arabs in the occupied territory," 45% of Jews feel this could take the form of increased Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and in Gaza.

The poll indicates, however, that Jews tend to have a more limited notion of Palestinian autonomy than non-Jews. When asked if they favored giving the Palestinians "a homeland of their own" in the occupied territories, non-Jews said yes by a 50%-18% margin; Jews opposed it, 45% to 29%.

On the question of what impact recent events may have on Israeli democracy, there seems to be another convergence of Jewish and-non-Jewish opinion. A third of Jews (35%) and non-Jews (35%) think that continued occupation of the West Bank "will erode Israel's democratic and humanitarian character." Forty-five percent of Jews do not expect that to happen, and 32% of non-Jews agree with them.

An overwhelming majority of non-Jews and a plurality of Jews believe Israeli society suffers from bigotry toward Arabs. When asked, "Do you fee! that there is an element of racism involved in the attitude of Israelis towards Arabs?" 65% of non-Jews and 41% of Jews said they did.

Despite these perceptions, Jews strongly rejected any comparison between Israel's behavior and that of South Africa, with only 11% of the younger Jews and 10% of the older saying it was a fair comparison. A solid majority of non-Jews agreed the comparison was unsound, although one in four found it fair to compare "the way Israel treats Palestinians to the way the white government treats blacks in South Africa," and 19% were not sure.

Next: The people behind the numbers.



### **Land for Peace**

■ Should Israel give up the occupied territories in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel as part of a settlement of the Middle East conflict?

		Jews	Jew	
Haven't heard enough	•	8%	379	%
Approve		31	28	_
Disapprove		43	22	A
Not sure		10	-11	_
Refused		8	2	



### Jewish Presidential Candidate

■ Which hypothetical candidate would you like to see as President?

■ Description of candidates as read to group 1.

Mr. A He is about 55 years old, he was born and raised in Portland, Ore, he is married with two children and is a businessman

Mr. B: He is about 60 years old, he was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio, he is married with one child and his career has been as an attorney.

	Jews	Non- Jews
Mr A	36 %	47%
Mr B	27	34
Not sure	24	14
Refused	13	5

■ Description of candidates as read to group 2.

Mr. A: He is about 55 years old, he was born and raised in Portland, Ore. he is Jewish, is married with two children and is a businessman.

Mr. B: He is about 60 years old, he was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio, he is married with one child and his career has been as an attorney.

	Jews	Non- Jews
Mr A	32 %	26 %
Mr B	19	44
Not sure	30	23
Refused	19	7



### Israeli Treatment of Palestinians and Arabs

■ How large a part of your feeling about Israel is involved in the way the government has been treating the Palestinians recently?

	Jews	Non- Jews
Very large part	17%	12 %
Fairly large part	21	17
Fairly small part	17	21
Very small part	31	33
Not sure	12	15
Refused	2	2

■ Do you feel there is an element of racism involved in the attitude of Israelis toward Arabs?

	Jews	Non- Jews
Yes .	41%	65 %
No	47	16
Not sure	9	18
Refused	3	1

■ Is it fair to compare the way Israel treats Palestinians to the way the white government treats blacks in South Africa?

Jews	Jews
10%	25 %
82	55
5	19
3	1



### U.S. Support for Israel

■ Do you favor strong U.S. support for the government of Israel?

		Non-
*	Jews	Jews
Favor	85 %	27%
Oppose	3	23
Don t know	12	50

■ Do you think the United States government should step up its military aid to Israel?

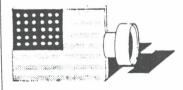
Stepup	Jews 20%	Jews 8%
Same level	65	47
Cut down	6	34
Not sure	6	1()
Refused	3	1



### The PLO

■ Should the United States negotiate with the PLO?

	Jews	Non- Jews
Yes	 29 %	1,2%
No	 61	3-1
Not surn	4	12
Refused	 - 6	2



### American Media Coverage

■ Do you think the American press has been fair in its coverage of the Palestinian resistance, or do you think it has distorted what has been happening?

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Non-Affiliated
Fair	3%	19 %	24 %	32 %
Distorted	80	62	5.3	.12
Don t know	17	19	2:3	26



### **Jewish Support for Israel**

■ Do you think Jews should support Israel in public even when they disagree in private?

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Non-Affiliated
Yes	49 %	541%	12 %	29 %
No	43	36	51	58
Not sure	7	5	5	1()
Refused	1	5	2	3

### Congressional Record

JEWISH AMERICAN CONCERNS ABOUT UNITED STATES-ISRAE-LI RELATIONS

### HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 29, 1988

Mr. DYMALLY, Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention the following advertisement which appeared in the Nation magazine

TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAEL

on February 13, 1988:

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgment, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of many others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of



United States of America

American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews—an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control-threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killing, beatings, cur-fews, expulsions and house arrests—all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 20 years-further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very state established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three generations ago—but this time those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is one acceptable to the American people

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to normalize the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically re-

Unfortunately, during the years of the Reagan Administration much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. In this election year we urge an open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently we urge our leading politicians to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians-negotiations that should quickly lead to a Palestinian state in the occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of the Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and as Jews.

Professor Yigal Arens, Computer Science Department, USC., Santa Monica, CA.

Mark Bruzonsky, Former Washington Associate, World Jewish Congress, Washington, DC.

Noam Chomsky, Institute Professor, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Rabbi Susan Einbinder, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY.

Professor Herbert Hill, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Former Labor Director, NAACP, Madison, WI.

Jane Hunter, Publisher, Israeli Foreign Affairs, Berkeley, CA.

Jeremy Levin, Former CNN Bureau Chief & Former Hostage in Lebanon, Washington,

Professor John Mack, Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, Cambridge, MA.

Professor Seymour Melman, Professor Emeritus of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University, New York, NY.

Eileen Newmark, Ph.D., Intercultural Communications, Boston, MA.

Professor Don Peretz, Professor of Political Science, SUNY, Binghamton, NY.

Henry Schwarzschild, American Civil Liberties Union, New York, NY.

Professor Steven Schwarzschild, Professor of Philosophy and Judaic Studies, Washington University, St. Louis, MO.

Saul Wechter, Retired, General Motors, San Jose, CA.

Gertrude M. Welch, Interfaith Peace Coa-

lition, San Jose, CA. Richard Walden, President, Operation California, Los Angeles, CA.

Danielle Yariv, Computer Analyst, Pasedena, CA.

Solomon Zeltzer, Attorney, San Jose, CA.

### PLEASE JOIN US

To add your name to this statement or to make a contribution to enable its wider dissemination please send your name and check made out to "Statement" to:

Statement: P.O. Box 18367, Washington, DC

We hope many American Jews will take this opportunity to register their disapproval of both Israeli policies and excessive American support for Israel. Upon receiving your name and/or contribution you will be contacted by one of the original signers whose names are below. For information: (202) 362-2096.



### JOSEPH C. HARSCH

### Israel and the US

SRAELI Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has arrived in Washington to a different kind of reception.

He and his predecessors are accustomed to arriving with the guaranteed support of the American Jewish community, whatever their purpose. Mr. Shamir's purpose this time is to be assured that the United States will continue to pay the costs of his no-peace policy. He is not getting that assurance.

Over the past month, leading Jews from all over the country have gone on record publicly in disapproval of his stated refusal to negotiate with Palestinians for an exchange of land for peace. And 30 US senators have done the same.

Here are the facts in sequence:

One group of 18 distinguished Jewish scholars and intellectuals banded together to place an advertisement in the Feb. 13 issue of The Nation and in this newspaper on March 4. About 200 more, reading or hearing of the ad, asked to be associated with a reprint of it to appear in the latest issue of The New York Review of Books.

The ad proposes that the US "distance itself from Israel," cut back economic aid over "the next two to three years," and reduce "radically" US military and intelligence aid to Israel.

The ad also says that "the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO," which should "quickly lead to a Palestinian state in the occupied territories"; it warns that unless such a radical change in the US relationship to Israel is made, the US "might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way."

That last statement is based on a suspicion that the Shamir government is thinking seriously about an Israeli attack on Syria. Since Syria is supported by the Soviet Union, such a war could involve the US and the USSR on opposite sides.

The ad is one sign of the change taking place within the American Jewish community about the policies and directions of the present Israeli government. There are other signs:

The same issue of The New York Review of Books carries an open letter to Prime Minister Shamir from a different group of American Jewish scholars, intellectuals, and business leaders.

Also, 30 US senators signed an open letter to Secretary of State George Shultz which criticized Shamir's position and praised Mr. Shultz for his latest peace initiative. It was signed by some of Israel's staunchest Senate supporters down through the years. Signers included Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Alan Cranston of California, both of whom have long been considered close to the pro-Israel lobby. There were Republicans and Democrats in the group. Some signers are themselves Jews.

Inquiries show that the original ad in The Nation and in this newspaper, the reprint of it in The New York Review of Books, the other letters to Shamir in that publication, and the action of the 30 senators was in each instance spontaneous. Signers of the first document did not know about the other letter. The senators did not know of the other incidents when they joined in the nonpartisan statement.

In other words, the prime minister of Israel is embarked on a policy and in a direction that has alienated an influential cross section of the American Jewish community and undermined the automatic support Israel has long enjoyed in the Congress.

Assured US economic and military aid has until now made it possible for Israel to hold all the occupied territories – which means no peace.

The events of the past month have shaken the

The events of the past month have shaken the foundations of that condition. It has been based on the political support of the Jewish community and the willingness of Congress to continue to pay the costs. Both are now in doubt.

The US has, in fact, paid for all of Israel's wars. Will it pay for any future one? Until now one had to assume that Congress would pay. Shamir faces the new fact that he cannot be sure.

# A CHALLENGE TO "American Jewish Spokesmen"



Thomas Dine

"Let us together find out what American Jews really think..."

46% of college-educated Americans favor creation of a Palestinian State, 60% favor negotiations with the PLO, and 41% favor cutting off or reducing aid to Israel.

The Gallup Organization 11 March 1988

C - SPAN TV



"American Jewish organizations...have made it difficult for the American people and the Congress to hear and understand the depth of anguish felt by many American Jews regarding Israeli behavior."

JCOME Congressional Testimony 26 April 1988

Morris Abram

| IEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST | Option of the property o

JCOME is an independent association of Americans formed earlier this year to give voice to the growing concerns among American Jews about Israeli policies and U.S. support for these policies. Our Statement — "Time To Dissociate From Israeli Policies" — was first published in *The Nation* on 13 February and then in *The Congressional Record* (29 Feb), *The Christian Science Monitor* (4 March) and *The New York Review Of Books* (31 March). The Statement has been endorsed by hundreds of American Jews including Professors at 63 universities throughout the country. Please help with your support and contributions to enable us to continue to stimulate a long-overdue debate about U.S.—Israeli relations and American policies in the Middle East.

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Professor Yigal Arens

Professor Joel Beinin Middle East History, Stanford University; Palo Alto, CA Rabbi Susan Einbinder Colgate University; Hamilton, NY

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Professor Seymour Melman
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Professor Steven Schwarzschild
Philosophy and Judaic Studies,
Washington University; St. Louis, MO

Jewish Committee on the Middle East P.O. Box 18367 • Washington, DC 20036 (202) 362-2096 Fax: (202) 362-6965

L. A. Times

12 April 1988

☐ JCOME Congressional Testimony

P.O. BOX 18367 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 362-2096 • FAX (202) 362-6965

### TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAELI POLICIES

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgment, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews—an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control—threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests—all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 20 years—further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

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those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is one acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to *normalize* the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, during the years of the Reagan Administration much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. In this election year we urge an open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently we urge our leading politicians to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

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The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and as Jews.

Alterations noted for identification only)

PLEASE JOIN US - WE NEED YOUR HELP

Please add your name to this statement and make a contribution

**JCOME** 

P.O. Box 18367

Washington, DC 20036

We need our fellow American Jews to speak up with us at this time.

And we need the support of everyone if we are to be able to con-

tinue our efforts and have an impact. Upon receiving your name

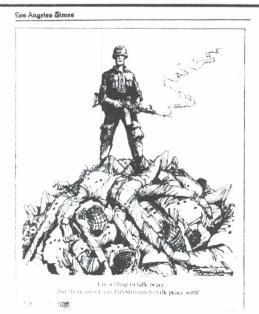
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to enable its further dissemination. Make checks to JCOME

The New York Review of Books

March 31, 1988



### AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FROM CONCERNED AMERICAN JEWS

### JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

P.O. BOX 18367 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 362-5266 (24-hour) • FAX (202) 362-6965

19 October 1988

Dear Vice-President Bush and Governor Dukakis,

As we follow the campaign, we are dismayed that neither of you has seriously addressed a key issue of U.S. foreign policy: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and especially the unprecedented economic, military and political support which the United States provides to Israel.

Neither of you has had anything to say about the fact that it is this support — most tangibly, \$3 billion this year, even more next year, and over \$50 billion since 1967 — which makes it possible for Israel to continue its occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Southern Lebanon, and which fuels Israel's brutal attempts to crush the popular uprising which the Palestinians have been carrying on since December of last year.

Neither of you has seen fit to utter a word of criticism about the killings, beatings, arrests, deportations, home demolitions, and collective punishments which Israeli forces perpetrate daily in the occupied territories — the same kinds of actions you hasten to condemn when done in the Soviet Union, South Africa or Chile — even though it is American tax dollars which make all of this possible.

Perhaps you have refrained from speaking out on this vital issue because you fear alienating Jewish voters and contributors. But recent opinion polls show, contrary to statements of the self-proclaimed "leaders", that many if not most American Jews (along with a majority of other Americans) are deeply disturbed by Israel's actions and would welcome a new American policy based on the principles of self-determination, justice and security for both Israelis and Palestinians.

Instead of facing up to this situation, both of you have meekly promised continued adherence to the failed policies of the past; unequivocal support for Israel and complete rejectionism toward the Palestinian people whose right to self-determination you deny and whose leadership — the PLO — you ignore. Both of you pay lip-service to the need for peace in the Middle East, but your silence in the face of unconscionable Israeli actions and your parrot-like avowels of fealty to Israel, come what may, suggest that regardless of who is elected on November 8th, the U.S. will remain a major obstacle to peace in that region. As a result of this indifference, the bloodshed and suffering are likely to continue and the danger of a devastating war, which could even lead to another superpower confrontation, increases.

As Americans and as Jews, we believe that the time has come for the United States to change course and adopt a new policy which would:

\*Dissociate the United States from the Israeli government's policies of occupation, repression and aggression by suspending or reducing aid to Israel until such time as that country ends its suppression of Palestinian human and national rights and agrees to negotiate with the PLO;

\*Normalize U.S. relations with the PLO, recognized throughout the world as the obvious representative of the Palestinian people;

\*Encourage, in concert with the Soviet Union, an international peace conference where all of the involved parties can directly negotiate a comprehensive settlement providing for peace and security for Israel, an independent Palestinian State, and the neighboring Arab States.

We call on you, our Presidential candidates, to show the quality of your leadership now, before we cast our votes, by beginning to discuss openly and honestly these crucial issues which one of you will have to face in just a few months. Now is the time for you to begin to demonstrate your capacity for judgement and your political courage. We think the American electorate is waiting for just such leadership.

Sincerely,

The Executive Committee of JCOME

### JCOME EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Professor Yigai Arens
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA

Professor Joel Beinin
Middle East History; Stanford University
Palo Atto, CA

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Professor Steven Schwarzschild Philosophy & Judaic Studies St. Louis University; St. Louis, MO

Richard Walden Attorney: Los Angeles, CA

(Affiliations noted for identification only)

JCOME is an independent association of American Jews throughout the country who subscribe to the principles outlined in our collective statement, "Time To Dissociate From Israeli Policies", which can be obtained from JCOME or found on the back cover of *The Nation* (3 Oct.) and *The Progressive* (Dec.) magazines. Whether you are Jewish or not, your support is urgently needed to enable us to raise these important issues in publications and forums throughout the country.

Please send your contributions to:

JCOME P.O. Box 18367 Washington, DC 20036

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TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAELI POLICIES

This historic statement has already been endorsed by hundreds of Americar- Jews including Jewish Professors at 79 Universities. Please Join With Us.

We are Americans & Jews

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We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978: annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evi-

dent that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American

Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews – an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control - threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests – all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 20 years – further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three generations ago - but this time those in

> "The daily conflict is not an event anymore, it's part of the landscape. It is the new Israel

Bob Simon, CBS News (8 June '88) authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

Please Join Us

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to normalize the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, during the years of the Reagan Administration much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. In this election year we urge an open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently we urge our leading politicians to resist the widespread inhibitions

from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to

bear against those who do.

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli govern-ment and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians - negotiations that should quickly lead to a Palestinian state in the occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should par-ticipate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to selfdetermination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel it-

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

We support open discussion of these vital issues U.S. Financing for Israel is now nearly \$10 million daily. "I'm willing to talk peace, but there aren't any Palestinians to talk peace with!

We support reducing aid to Israel
We support the Palestinian "Intifada" for a Palestinian State

Ne...endorse...establishment of a sovereign and independent Palestinian State in all of the occupied territories. We call...on the Government of Israel to open talks with the P.L.O."

Joint Committee of Israeli & Palestinian Writers & Artists (3 March '88)

approaching any trouble spots' Martin Fletcher, NBC News (3 June '88)

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Professor Herbert Hill University of Wisconsin at Madison;

Former Labor Director NAACP; Madison, WI

Professor Seymour Melman Columbia University; New York, NY

Henry Schwarzschild Human Rights Expert: New York, NY

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Professor Zachary Lockman Middle East History, Harvard University; Cambridge, MA

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Professor Steven Schwarzschild Philosophy and Judaic Studies, Washington University; St. Louis, MO Professor Don Peret: SUNY; Binghampton, NY

Jewish Committee on the Middle East P.O. Box 18367 • Washington, DC 20036

(202) 362-2096 Fax: (202) 362-6965

### WE ARE AMERICANS AND JEWS AND WE ARE PROUD TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW STATE OF PALESTINE. AT THIS HISTORIC TIME PLEASE JOIN US.

This Statement of principles from the JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST has already been endorsed by over a thousand American Jews including Jewish Professors at over 100 Universities. Whether you are Jewish or not please join and support this vital effort.

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel and to support mutual recognition between Israel and the new State of Palestine.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies hat we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

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In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to *normalize* the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, in recent years much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. We urge an urgent and open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently, we urge everyone, including our elected public officials, to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians – negotiations that should quickly lead to full recognition of the Palestinian State in today's occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.



This important Statement of principles has been published in recent months in *The Nation, The New York Review of Books, The Christian Science Monitor, The Progressive, L.A. Weekly* and *The Congressional Record.* 

### For updated information or requests call (202) 362-5266 at any time

### The Executive Committee of JCOME:

Professor Yigal Arens University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA Rabbi Leonard Beerman Los Angeles, CA

Professor Joel Beinin Middle East History, Stanford Univ. Palo Alto, CA

Mark Bruzonsky Writer and lawyer, Former Washington Associate of World Jewish Congress Washington, DC

Rabbi Susan Einbinder New York, NY

Professer Richard Falk International Law, Princeton University Princeton, NJ

Professor Herbert Hill
University of Wisconsin at Madison:
Former Labor Director NAACP
Madison, WI

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Rabbi Michael Robinson Croton-on-Hudson, NY

Henry Schwarzschild Jewish Peace Fellowship; New York, NY

Professor Steven Schwarzschild Philosophy and Judaic Studies Washington University; St. Louis. MO

Richard Walden Attorney Los Angeles, CA

Please help! Your support and contribution, whether you are Jewish or not, are vitally needed to republish this historic Statement of principles
and take further steps to have a growing impact on these important issues.

and take further steps to have a growing impact on these important issues.

JCOME
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Washington, D.C. 20036

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### TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAELI POLICIES AND REDUCE U.S. AID TO ISRAEL

This Statement of principles from the JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST has already been endorsed by over a thousand American Jews including Jewish Professors at over 100 Universities. Whether you are Jewish or not please join and support this vital effort.

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel and to support mutual recognition between Israel and the new State of Palestine proclaimed last November by the Palestine National Council.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel behavior, not, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well

as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews – an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement

and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control – threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests— all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 21 years – further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the afformath of this cuit has become the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three

generations ago – but this time those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

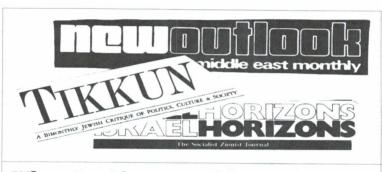
We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial. political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to *normalize* the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, in recent years much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. We urge an urgent and open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of 11.5 Jeraeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country.

of U.S. Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently, we urge everyone, including our elected public officials, to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those



### **What Do These Jewish Publications** Not Want You To Know?'

\* The only publications to refuse to publish our JCOME Statement of principles as a paid ad are these "liberal" and "progressive" Jewish and Israeli magazines.

For details call (202) 362-JCOME at any hour.

We further believe that the time is over-We further believe that the time is over-due for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians – negotia-tions that should quickly lead to full recog-nition of the Palestinian State in today's occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security quarantees we think our country security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

This important Statement of principles has been published in recent months in The Nation, The New York Review of Books, The Christian Science Monitor, The Progressive, L.A. Weekly, The Detroit Free Press, and The Congressional Record.

### For updated information or requests call (202) 362-5266 at any time

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to distribute it to Members of Congress, and to take further steps to have
a growing impact on these important issues.

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Jewish Committee on the Middle East P.O. Box 18367 • Washington, DC 20036

# Poems one cannot torget

ning of the Intifada in UST 10 days the begin-December 1987, Syrian poet Nizaf Qabbani wrote a poem whose resonance has been ever-present ever since. the poem of the intifada for a people for whom poetry is a major medium of culture and politics. I first came across in 10 days after it was written when a friend in Occupied Palestine showed me a fax of it that was beginning to be distributed among the Palesticome, without exaggeration, "Children of Stones" has be-

Now an Israeli, a professor of Hebrew literature, has writ-

len a poem that is shaking the Israeli political establishment much as Qabbani's did in his

til recently-pretty much a non-political person, a symbol of Israeli pride and Israel's often commissioned by the sonality in the very heart of east until recently. He has Israeli Army or Israeli TV Itself, have stirred nationalist Moreover, Almagor was-un-Israeli mainstream—at been a prolific lyricist and moderator of a popular TV owned channel. His songs, passions for many years. Dan Almagor is a major per programme on Israel's state-

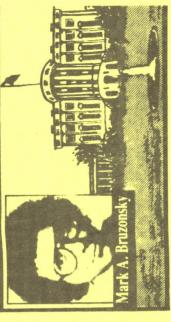
impact on many persons. And gor is among the few bright sions have had very profound what has happened to Almaomens that possibly a major change can be caused to reverberate through larger segments of the Israeli popula-But the intifada's repercus-

imagination. When he read the following poem at a peace demonstration he them quite Some months ago, Almagor made his first visit across the Green Line to see what was nians. Quite literally he was shocked beyond his wildest the 9 happening

tined to be a poem that we will iterally stunned the entire nation. Like Qabbani's, it is desnot be able to forget.

ised I had to feature It—all of Charleston Peace Committee in Charleston, South Carolina where I spoke this weekend. It was read by a representative nisation of soldiers who are refusing to serve in the army if they are ordered into the Occupied Territories or to put down the uprising. I was so day that I immediately real-English at a meeting of the of Yesh Gvul, the Israeli orgastartled when I heard it yesterit—in my very next column. first heard the poem

# From



# Of the old water carrier

Whom soldiers ordered off his donkey And rode on his back, just for fun.

We turned a deaf ear, we turned a deaf heart, Mean, arrogant, and dumb.

Who do we think we are? Who gave us the right

Ignoring the obvious: They are as human, To be so deaf, so dumb? As we are, as we are.

No less diligent, no less smart Only forty one years ago. At least as we used to be,

They love their wives and children As sensitive, as full of hope.

And our children now shoot theirs With lead, plastic bullets, and gas. As we do, no less.

The Palestinians state will come to pass.

Not a poet wrote this. History will.

Weddings and birth and death all the same, And seasons will come and seasons will go And life goes on as we very well know But just the shame of it. The shame.

# We shoot children too, don't we?

As they have for hundreds of years. Most of these people truly desire Most of these people truly desire To harvest their olive trees

Or Molotov cocktails; Not to throw stones To raise their kids

But to study in peace And raise a flag. To play in peace

Their own flag.

And facing that flag, to cry

As we did, that night, then, excited as we were. And we have no, have no, have no

To rob them of this desire, Right in the world

These tears.

These tears which always, always Come after all the others. Let us start preparing our defence. We will need it soon enough: All those who hushed it up Those who actually did it And those who still do. And those who still do.

And those who clucked their tongue, saying (But not tonight. I have a concert, Something must be done really And those who said nothing

A gala event,

A birthday!)

Indeed, we'll all get our summons one day For the colonels' trials.

The trials of the generals, the colonels, Their time will come, it must be so. The colonels' trials are coming. And the division, the battalion,

And the platoon commanders. There is no escaping it.

This is how history works. What shall we say then?

What will the colonels, the captains, the corporals say? What will they say-

Of those terrible beatings, The brutality. Of houses blown up.

And most of all, the humiliation. That humiliation.

Of patients forced to wipe off the writing on the walls, Of old men forced to take down a flag

Who got electrocuted, or fell From an electric pole,

### JCOME REPORT

### 1988

- Statement first published in THE NATION- Feb
- J Statement published in THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD- Feb
- J Statement published in CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR- March
- J Statement published in NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS March
- J Columnist Joseph C. Harsch applauds JCOME Statement March
- Congressional Testimony: Only Jewish group to testify before Congressional Black Caucus Hearing on the Palestinian Uprising - April. Covered live by C-Span TV.
- J "Challenge to American Jewish Leaders" -- back cover of THE NATION -- May
- ✓ Statement republished on back cover of THE NATION- Sept. & November.
- J "Open Letter To Presidential Candidates" back cover of THE NATION-October
- First JCOME Newsletter sent to Statement endorsers & supporters October
- JCOME computerized phone system established (202) 362-JCOM November
- J Statement published in Washington Report on Middle East Affairs December
- J Statement published on back cover of THE PROGRESSIVE December
- Statement published in many University newspapers December
- ✓ First JCOME -sponsored trip to Occupied Palestine December
- ✓ Statement published in LAWEEKLY- December

### 1989

- J Statement published inside back cover Palestine Perspectives January
- J Statement published in Detroit Free Press- February
- ✓ Statement published inside front cover of The Progressive February
- ✓ Second JCOME newsletter sent to supporters February
- ✓ Statement published in LA. Weekly- March
- ✓ Statement published back cover of The Nation April
- ✓ Statement published back cover of The Progressive- May
- First JCOME National Phone Teach-In June
- ✓ JCOME-sponsored trips to Occupied Palestine July & August