

15



מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ ירושלים

נציגות/ מחלקה  
מזכ"ל

שם התיק  
א/רהג-שמים

5.88

נסגר ב :

4.88

נפתח ב :

כרך :

מס' התיק:

9912



שם תיק: ארה"ב -שטחים

מזהה פנימי: חצ-1/9912

מזהה פריט R0004bis

כתובת 2-120-2-17-9

24/05/2020

תאריך הדפסה

חצ

משרד הח

ירצא

שמור

104.3 . אהב

חוזם: 5,4503

אל: 103/224, בטחון/103

מ-: המשרד, תא: 060588, דח: 1358, דח: מ, טג: שמ

תח: גט: מצמא

נד: ג

שמור/מיזוי.

ע.ב.ש.

2691

ורשינגטון.

שביר. ציר.

דע: מתאם שטחים, מקשה-משהבט'-בטחון העבירונא

שטחים - זכויות אדם.

1. הפגישה עם ריצ'רד אהרן ממשרדו של דיק שיפטר  
התקיימה היום (5) כמתוכנן. נכחו מנהל ארבל 2,  
מנהל מזת'ים, אנמרי למבורט, ט/מנהל מצפ'א, מתני  
ושטיין. מצום השתתף גם היועץ הפוליטי וקופ'.

2. אהרן פתח בהציגו את עבודת האגף זכויות אדם  
והסביר את מטרת שליחותו ארצה בהתאם לקווים  
שהורקתם לבנו. הוגיש שמזובר בחילופי מידע בין  
ידידים ובוואר לבאן אינו צרין להתפרש בשינוי הקו  
המופגן ע"י שיפטר בקונגרס ובפורומים אחרים.

מנהל מזת'ים סקר המצב בשטחים בעת האחרונה.  
אהרן התעניין בהשפעת המנהיגות החיצונית (אש"פ)  
על המתרחש בשטח וציון התרשמותו מהאיבה והזלזול  
שמפגינים התושבים כלפי מנהיגי ומדינות ערב שאינם  
נוקמים אצבע לעזרתם.

1904

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER  
OF THE LAND OFFICE  
FOR THE YEAR 1904  
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 1, 1904

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER

OF THE LAND OFFICE  
FOR THE YEAR 1904

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION

PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 1, 1904

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION

PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 1, 1904

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 1, 1904

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 1, 1904

## משדר החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מנהל ארבל 2 הביע הערכה לזרן בה מתייחס באגף בראשות שיפטר למצב ובמיוחד ציין עדותו לאחרונה בקונגרס. טמר את הרושם המתקבל מאמצעי התקשורת כאילו שורר בשטחים מצב של 'מערב פרוע'. אין כאן גם מצב של 6000 GUY למול BAD GUY אלא מציאות מורכבת יותר בה שמועות פרועות והגזמות משחקות בכור ראשון. התייחס לתפקיד הצלב האדום בשטח למרות חילוקי הדעות בנינו באשר לתקיפתה של אמנת ג'נבה הדביעית בשטחים כמעט ואין חילוקי דעות באשר לישומה המעשי.

למברט התייחסה אף היא לתפקיד הצלב האדום ולעובדה שהוא מהווה צינור לתלונות תושבים נגד יחס בלתי-הולם או גרוע מכך. כל תלונה זוכה לבדיקה והתייחסות מתאימה. גם לפי הצלב האדום, מטפד התלונות של הכאות פחות מאוד בתקופה האחרונה.

ס/מנהל מצב'א ציין שלקח לצהל זמן ללמוד ניצוד להתייחס למצב בשטח וזאת תוך מודעות לחריגים בטיפול במהומות ו/או בעצורים. ברור שאין כאן מדיניות ממשלתית כאשר הצבא מתייחס לחריגים ומטפל בהם במישורים משמעותיים שונים: אזהרה בע"פ, העמדה בפני קצין שיפוט או במקרים חמורים בית-דין צבאי. ברבות מהתלונות על הכאות קשה לקבוע בדיוק באם קיימת הגזמה בדברי המתלונן או שהמצב בשטח אכן הצדיק אמצעי קשה זה או אחר. ציין דוגמאות ספציפיות בהם הועמדו חיילים לדין על התנהגות חריגה.

אהרן האזין ורשם ושאל מדי פעם. לא בא בטרוניות ספציפיות וציין שהשיחות מיועדות לעזור למחמ"ד לעצב את התייחסותה לתלונות המגיעות אליה. ההתייעצויות עמנו משקפות את העובדה שהמצב בשטח השתנה אף גם את רצונם הנכב להתייחס למצב חדש זה דרך הפריסמה של יחסיהם ההדוקים והטובים עמנו ובמדת האובייקטיביות הנדרשת.

הפגישה נמשכה מעל לשעתיים באווירה טובה.

3. אהרן נפגש גם עם תמר גולן (משפטים) ועם הפצ"ר תא"ל שטרסנוב. סיור ביו"ש יומיים בחסות הקונסוליה.





# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מצפ"א-ארב"ל 2-מזת"ים

א.ב.י

תפ: שהח,רהמ,שהוט,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רט,אמן,ממד,בירן,מצפא,  
ברכע,ארבל2,ליאור,מזתים,סייגול,משפט,פגולן/משפטים



נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,2255

אל: המשרד

מ: -בוסטון, נר: 3, תא: 030588, זח: 1130, דח: ר, סג: ב7

תח: א גס: מצפא

נד: א

אל: מצפא, הסברה,

דע: נעים ווש - נר 1 (הועבר)

בינה נ"י - נר 1

ארגון הרופאים - לייף מגאזין. שלכם ח/123

פרסום ב' לייף מגאזין' יעניק לארגון לגיטימציה שמעולם לא היתה לו והדבר יהפוך את המאבק בארגון לכמעט בלתי אפשרי. אם כך הדבר הרי שיש חשיבות משנה למתן תשובה הולמת להאשמות שהארגון העלה. העברתי לכם בדיף האחרון הצעת תשובה של ידידנו ד"ר בלאט ואני מניח שהרשויות הנוגעות בדבר בארץ עובדות גם כן על תגובה מתאימה.

בינתיים ממשיך הארגון בפעולתו המזיקה. בסוף החודש יקיים במרכז הרפואי של בוסטון סמינר בן יומיים תחת הכותרת . STOP THE SLAUGHTER - START THE HEALING

אבנון .

תפ: שהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ב'רן, מצפא, אביטל, מעת, הסברה



1944-1945

1946-1947

1948-1949

1950-1951

1952-1953

1954-1955

1956-1957

1958-1959

1960-1961

1962-1963

1964-1965

1966-1967

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2002-2003

2004-2005

2006-2007

2008-2009

2010-2011

2012-2013

\*\* ירצא

שומר

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חודש: 5/321

אל: רוש/9, ני/6, ברוסטון/1

מ-: המשרד, תא: 010588, דח: 1819, דח: מ, טג: שמ

תח: גס: מצמא

נד: 8

שומר/מידי

רוש/גטון, ני/6, ברוסטון.

נשים. גל. בינה. אבנר.

LIFE MAGAZINE

א. כודע לנו שבגליון חודש יוני עומד הירחון למרס כתבת

תמונות גדולה על מצאי משלחת הרופאים

(PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS) מבוטטון

ב. נציגיהם בארץ נתבקשו לברר מספר פרטים על רופאים ישראלים

העובדים בשטחים ובן התיחסויות עניינות מגורמים ישראלים

באשר להאשמות שהועלו ע"י המשלחת

ג. לידועתכם

מצמא-א-הסברה-מע"ת

תמ: בירן, מצמא, אביטל, מעת, הסברה, ליאור, מזתים

UNIT 1 - 100-1000  
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UNIT 1 - 100-1000

UNIT 1 - 100-1000

UNIT 1 - 100-1000

ירצא

בלמס

104.3

חודש: 5/643

ל:

ני/29/רוש/31/רינה/16/גנבה/17/בנג'וק/21/טוקיו/22/ביירט/26/  
 קונבהגן/15/ברזיליה/17/לימה/16/ליטבון/10/אוסלו/13/אוסבה/13/  
 מבטיקו/13/קרקט/17/קנברה/16/אתונה/11/בון/22/בריסל/17/  
 האג/18/לונדון/23/ביקוטיה/9/מריט/36/רומא/19/מילנו/8/  
 מדריד/18/אנקרה/10/קיסטאטה/14/סינגפור/10/בוקרשט/11/  
 מ:-המשרד,תא:020588/זח:1426/דח:מ/טג:בל  
 תח:פ גט:טמז  
 נד:ג

86

מיוזי/בלמס

אל: תפוצה דו"ח ארועים

דו"ח ארועים יומי - 2 במאי 1988

התהליך המזכיר

1. מצרים - מובארק בנאום לרגל ה-1 במאי, שהוקדש ברובו  
 לנושאי כלכלה ופנים (טובנויות, 1):

א. העלה על כס את 'התקוממות העם הפלס' הגיבור  
 באומה המבושה';

ב. מתח ביקורת על ישראל שלא הצליחה לטפל בהתקוממות  
 בדרך רציונאלית ולנצלה ככח מניע בכיוון של הסדר  
 שלום ברלל;

ג. האשים גורמים קיצוניים בישראל בתגובה מאובנת  
 כלפי מאמצי ארה"ב לקדם את התהליך המזכיר;

ד. ציין שברה"מ בכונה לנקוט שמה גמישה וחירותית  
 כדי להביא להתקוממות במז'ם בטוגיות הסבסון.

למעשה

6406 288

30987 תר. 020588



1. The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year. It is divided into two main sections: a general summary and a summary of the work done in each of the departments. The general summary is divided into three parts: a summary of the work done in the field, a summary of the work done in the laboratory, and a summary of the work done in the office. The summary of the work done in each of the departments is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory. The summary of the work done in the field is divided into three parts: a summary of the work done in the field, a summary of the work done in the laboratory, and a summary of the work done in the office. The summary of the work done in the laboratory is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory. The summary of the work done in the office is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory.

Summary of the work done during the year

The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year. It is divided into two main sections: a general summary and a summary of the work done in each of the departments. The general summary is divided into three parts: a summary of the work done in the field, a summary of the work done in the laboratory, and a summary of the work done in the office. The summary of the work done in each of the departments is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory. The summary of the work done in the field is divided into three parts: a summary of the work done in the field, a summary of the work done in the laboratory, and a summary of the work done in the office. The summary of the work done in the laboratory is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory. The summary of the work done in the office is divided into two parts: a summary of the work done in the field and a summary of the work done in the laboratory.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2. אש"פ - קדומי נועד עם שגריר ברה"מ בתוניס שמסר לו אגרת משורגדזה העוסקת בשיחותיו עם שולץ (ס"ק, 30.4). כמו כן, מבגש עדמאת עם שגריר ברה"מ בבגדאד ומסר לו אגרת להבהגה הסרבייטית הנוגעת בהתפתחויות האחרונות באזור (ס"ק, 30.4).

שה"ח המצרי: ישראל בחשבת אחראית לרצח אבו-ג'יהאד

3. עמ"י סימד'ת (30.4) אמר עצמת עבו-אלמג'יד שמצרים גינתה בחריפות את ההתנקשות באבו-ג'יהאד ובי ישראל נחשבת כאחראית למעשה כיוון שהיא הגדרם היחיד שהיה לו אינטרס בכך. הוסיף, שההתנקשות סיבכה את המצב באזור והשיגה לאחר את התהליך המדיני.

אש"פ - טוריה

4. הועה"פ של אש"פ התכנס ב-30.4 בבגדאד בראשות עדמאת, ודן בין השאר בתוצאות מבגש אטו-עדמאת (ס"ק, 1). לדברי הוואתמה 'נרמול היחסים עם טוריה פירושו גם משיכה ירון למדיניות הנכונה המשותפת לטוריה ואש"פ' (ס"ק, 1). עמ"י 'אלביאן' (מאט"מ, 1) שערמאת ישוב לדמשק להשתתף בטערת שתיערן במלאת 40 יום למות אבו-ג'יהאד וכי ימגש עם פלגי 'חזית ההצלה'.

5. יצוויק, שבכרוד מס' 15 שמרסם אש"פ מופיעה בין השאר מיסקה הקוראת לטוריה לבגש ברית לחימה עם אש"פ על בסיס 'ניכוד עצמאות ההחלטה הלאומית הפלס''. ר' אלקוס (29.4) המסדר מטוריה, השמיט קטע זה.

טעוויה-איראן - בעקבות ביתוק היחסים

6. בתקשורת הטעווית קראה לטילוק איראן מארגון הועידה האסלאמית (אלורס, 2). בתקשורת הכוויתית (אלטיאטה, 30.4) מפי אמיר בחריון על אפשרות ביתוק יחסי מדינות המפרץ-איראן 'במידה ואלו יורדור לאותה רמה שאפיינה יחסי איראן-טעוויה'.

מרכז

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ירצא

בלמס

104.3

חוזם: 5/628

א:

ני/23, דור/26, רינה/12, גנבה/15, בנקדק/20, טוקיד/20, קנברה/17,  
 בטחון/10, פרטוריה/8, אתונה/10, ברן/20, בריסל/16, האג/17,  
 לונדון/17, מוריד/15, מרסיי/4, אוטבה/11, מריס/29, רומא/18,  
 ניקוסיה/8, סינגפור/9, קינשאסה/12, ברן/13, אנקרה/9, קופנהגן/14,  
 שטוקהולם/6, איסטנבול/7, ביירוט/8, קהיר/10, אירופ/5  
 מ:-המשרד, תא: 020588, דח: 1401, דח: מ, טג: בל

תח: פ גט: הסברה

נד: ג

בלמס/מיוזי

היום לא תהיה טקירת צהרים

טקירת תקשורת בוקר וצהרים יום שני טו' באייר תשמ"ח 2.5.88

כותרות ראשיות

הארץ - במעולה יזומה של צה"ל בכפר מקום נהרג צעיר. קצין  
 הושעה.

דבר - נסים חותר לניהול מערכת האשכנז הקורסת ע"י חוק שעת  
 חירום. השביתות גוברות.

ג'רוזלם פוסט - 'סופר מגיש תכנית לפשרה - התנגשות שמיר -  
 פרס מאיימת על עסקה בנושא טאבה'.

ידיעות - עובדי המינהל והמשק. כפר צורים, לא נעבור.

מעריב - 'שמיר נכנע להכתיבים של לוי ושרון בעניין מינוי  
 השרים הבכירים'.

חדשות - מקורבי שמיר: תיק החוץ לא הובטח ללוי.

ישראל - מצרים

הארץ - מאת עקיבא אלדד  
 טכסון טאבה מאיים להפוך שוב למחלוקת כוליטית בישראל,  
 לאחר שבמשרד החוץ מגלים נכונות להגיע לפשרה עם מצרים



1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's message to Congress for the first time since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is written in a very formal and dignified style, and it is a very good example of the President's power and authority. The letter is a very important document, as it contains the President's message to Congress for the first time since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is written in a very formal and dignified style, and it is a very good example of the President's power and authority.

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

וראילו בלשכת רה"מ טרנביט, כי אין מקום לגמישות מול הקשיחות המצרית. היום אמור רה"מ יצחק שמיר, להחליט, אם להביא את הצעת המטרה לדיון בקבינט, או בפורום ראשי הממשלה, או אם לדחותה על הסף. היועץ המשפטי של משה'ח האמריקאי, אברהם טרנר, ממתיך בירושלים להחלטת הממשלה על מנת לשוב למצרים ולהודיע על כך שט לראשי משה'ח.

ירוש'

דבר - מאת טרנרי דבר  
נעים יוטוף בן 22 מהכפר מקדשה בנפת ג'נין נהרג אתמול, כאשר כוח צה"ל נכנס לכפר לשלוק מחסומי אבנים ודגלי פלשתיין. שמונה ערבים נמצאו אתמול בשטחים. דו"צ מסר כי ממקד הנוח, קצין צה"ל המשמש כסגן ממקד פלוגה הושעה מתפקידו בשום טעירי לא היה מורגש בכל הכרעה. הקצין הושעה עד תום ההקירה של צה"ל באירוע. כוח צה"ל נכנס למקדשה במסגרת פעילות יזומה, הנבסעת לאחרונה בכפרים הערביים בירוש', לסילוק אבנים ומניעת פעילות חבלנית. האיזור הוכרז כשטח צבאי סגור.

45 שוטרים מרצועת עזה, שהתעניינו באפשרות של חזרה לשירות לאחר שהתפטרו לפי קריאת מטה 'אינתיפאדה', זכו את חזרתם לשירות בשלב זה. הם היו אמורים לחזור לשירות אתמול, אך נודע, שהחזרתם משהתה מסיבות טעויות לא הובררו. יו"ר אגודת הרופאים ברצועה הו"ר זכריה אל-ארע נעצר להקומה של חצי שנה בצו מינהלי. שני עורכי הדין המייבגים אותו הודיעו, כי הם עומדים לערער על המעצר. אל-ארע כוטר בזמנו מעבודתו בבית החולים הממשלתי בחן ירכס. הוא הופיע לאחרונה במספר מפגשים שנערכו בישראל ואף הופיע באחת ההפגנות של 'שלום עכשיו'.

הארץ - מאת נדב שרגאי ואיתן רבין  
אתמול היתה בגדה שביבת מסחר במעט מלאה. כללית נרשמה אתמול עלייה מתונה במספר האירועים לעומת תחילת השבוע שעבר. ההשרנה היא שהשבוע שעבר היה אחד השבועות היותר שקטים שעברו על הגדה וברצועה בחודשים האחרונים. בחברון ניסה אתמול ערבי לחטוף את נשקו האישי של שמואל מידו, תושב קריית ארבע. האיש ירה כמה יריות באוויר ולמקום הגיעו חיילים, שעצרו חשוד במעשה. גם שלוש נרשם בחברון אירוע, שבו היו מעורבים מתנחלים, ושבהחלכו נמצע תושב מקומי מחברון. מקורות צבאיים מסרו כי מתנחלים הודיעו להם על טיול של תושבי קריית ארבע, אשר הותקף באבנים באיזור כיכר השוטר. בתגובה, כן מסרו המתנחלים לצבא, נפתחה אש לעבר

1. The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year. It is a brief statement of the facts and figures, and is intended to give a general impression of the progress made.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed account of the work done during the year. It is a full and complete statement of the facts and figures, and is intended to give a detailed impression of the progress made.

3. The third part of the report is a statement of the conclusions reached during the year. It is a brief statement of the results of the work, and is intended to give a general impression of the progress made.

4. The fourth part of the report is a statement of the recommendations made during the year. It is a brief statement of the suggestions for future work, and is intended to give a general impression of the progress made.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מיודי האבנים. בה'ל, שהגיע למקום מאוחר יותר, ניזר את ההתקלות ללא שימוש בנשק חם. כמה שעות לאחר מכן הרבא לבית החולים 'עליה' בחברון מצוע. הצבא עדיין בודק אם יש קשר בין יריות המתנחלים למצוע מהירי. משטרת חברון מצוה שני צעירים בני 25 ו-16 החשודים בכך ששכרו חומצה על מניהם של שלושה שוטרים תושבי בית לחם, שחזרו בהם מהמבטורות.

בסוף השבוע הוכרזה חברון כשטח צבאי טהור, לאחר מספר תקריות שהיו בה בימים רביעי וחמישי.

צוות טלויזיה של סי.בי.אס התלונן אתמול כי הותקף ע"י חיילים בשכם. לטענת אנשי הצוות, ביקשו שניים מהאנשים לצאת מהרוב ולהתחיל בצילומים. בתגובה היכה חייל את איש הצוות הישראלי, אמכון אבן טוב, בגבו בקת רובה. כאשר חזר אבן טוב לרכבו כדי לרשום את שם החייל, נרמזה שימשת מכוניתו גאלון. ראש משרד סי.בי.אס בתיא מסר כי תוגש תלונה רשמית בנושא. דו"צ מסר בתגובה כי הצבא רואה בחומרה כל התנגשות בין אנשי תקשורת וצבא וכי התלונה תיבדק בהקדם.

המגנות סוערות היו אתמול ברצועת עזה. במיוחד במחנות הפליטים שאטי, ג'יבליה וטג'מיה. עכ"י מקורות ערביים, נפגעו שלושה תושבים מאש חיילי בה'ל, שמדנה תושבים נפגעו מכדורי גומי, ביניהם ילד בן 10, ו-20 תושבים נפגעו מגז. דו"צ ברצועה אמר אתמול, כי הוא מאשר שנפגעו אנשים במחנות הפליטים, אך בה'ל בודק את הנסיבות של כל מקרה לחור.

מעריב - מאת אילן בכר  
שרי הבטחון והמשטרה והרמטכ"ל, היו אתמול תמימי דעים בישיבת הממשלה, כי יש תהליך של רגיעה בשטחים. הם הביעו תקווה שהתהליך יימשך.

ישראל - אירופה

מעריב - מאת דוד ליפקין  
השוק האירופי המשותף תרבע לבטל בתוך חודש את מס הקניה המוטל על מוצרי הטכטיל המיובאים לארץ, אחת יבטל את כל ההקלות על מוצרי טכטיל שישראל מייצאת אליו וינהיג מיכסות. אזהרה זו הועברה בסוף השבוע ע"י נציגי השוק במהלך כגישהת רעה של מומחים מהשוק וישראל, שהתקיימה בבריסל. נציגי השוק התריעו על המכסים המוטוויים שמטילה ישראל על מוצרי יבוא באמצעות המ"א (תרומת מבטות אחוזים) ומס קניה. הם ביינו, כי השוק בהג בליברליות ולא הטיל הגולות מכסיות על יבוא מוצרי טכטיל מישראל, כפי שעשה



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES.  
BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
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BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES.  
BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

THE FOURTH PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES.  
BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

THE FIFTH PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES.  
BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

THE SIXTH PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE  
FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES.  
BY J. C. CALVERT, ESQ.  
OF THE BARR.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לגבי מזינות צפון אפריקה. אם לא יהיה שיוני, הם הבהירו, יהיה מצבה של ישראל דומה למזינות צפון אפריקה ותהיינה הגבלות מנסיות על יבוא מוצרי הטכסטיל הישראלית המייצאת חלק ניכר ממוצריה למזינות השוק.

כנים

הארץ - הפגנת 1 במאי, הגדולה, הסטגונית והמרשימה ביותר, שנערכה עד כה בישראל ושארכה שלוש שעות תמימות, צעדה אתמול בת"א בהשתתפות קהל רב של עובדים ובני כוער. דובר ההסתדרות מסר על חצי מיליון משתתפים.

הארץ - מאת כוב שרגאי  
שיעור הגידול של האוכלוסיה היהודית בירושלים מדויק באחרונה את שיעור הגידול של האוכלוסיה הלא יהודית בעיר. המהפך הדמוגרפי הזה נזקף בעיקר לזכות האוכלוסיה החרדית בבירה, המסתכמת כעת ביותר מ-60,000 נפש, כ-20 אחוז מכלל הציבור היהודי בירושלים, (אין מספר זה כולל אוכלוסיה המוגדרת 'יהית' או 'מסורתית'). נתונים אלה מופיעים במחקר שעון מכון ירושלים לחקר ישראל.

חדשות - מאת מאר לי שחר  
נלי כרכבי היא האשה הערבית הראשונה המועמדת לחברות בכנסת. כרכבי נולדה בנצרת. היא בוגרת תיכון של נזירות בנצרת, וסיימה לימודי תעודה באוניברסיטת לונדון. מאז נישואיה היא גרה בשפרעם, אם לשלושה ילדים, הבכור רומא. משן שנים היתה נלי פעילה בנעמ"ת בצפון. עכשיו היא במקום ריאלי לכנסת מטעם מפלגת העבודה.

הסברה/מידע

מג

תפ: שהח, מככל, ממככל, סמככל, מעת, הסברה, תכוצרה, מצפא, הדרכה, אירג, חרבות, אמלט



אדם

2/9 543  
20 April 1988

Consulate General Moshe Aumann  
Israeli Embassy  
3514 International Drive  
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Sir:

Re: Michael D. Bentley (USA Citizen)

Enclosed information you requested. I also took the liberty to get George S. Lauderdale of Gerogia to write you a letter of info. about Michael also.

I have known Michael Bentley, personally for over 25 years. I helped him get to Israel back in 1968. All these years, I can say he has been a true friend of the Jewish people and the Arabs. He speaks Hebrew and Arabic, and English is his mother tongue. He has promoted Israel to the Bible Believing Christians all over this country. He's a graduate of Tenn. Temple University and graduate school.

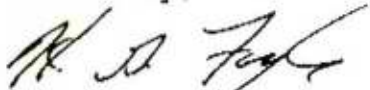
For the past months, Michael has been legally trying to stay in the Land, by legal means. We have just found out that the Ministry of Interior, has rejected his visa and has ordered him to leave the country by May 1st. They have rejected him because they say he's a Christian missionary. Michael, has done nothing different from the first time in the country till now. Yes, he's a believer in the Bible and the Messiah Jesus. but this is no reason to expell a person from the country.

As you know there are people like Michael Bentley, who worked hard to get Ronald Regan, Sen. Jessie Helms, and many more conservatives into office these past years. We stand for human rights and have fought for years against the Soviets (USSR) policy against the Jews in there land. We personally feel that the Ministry of Interior, should forget there extreme orthordox views, and not discriminate against Christians because they love Jesus.

Michael Bentley's address: PO BOX 3831, Bat Yam, Israel 59136  
Tel. (3) 877017

We would appreciate any help in this matter.

Sincerely,



H. Glenn Fogle Sr.

2500 Belvedere Avenue  
Charlotte, N. C. 28205  
Tel. 704-377-4048 or

375-6319

\*



573 3/9

Route 1 Box 123  
Wrens, GA 30833  
April 20, 1988

Dear Mr. Rummann:-

On the telephone this morning, Mr. Glenn Fogle of Charlotte, NC, requested that I forward to you the enclosed information. It concerns our mutual friend, Michael Bentley, who desires to stay in Israel.

Any help you could provide in extending his stay in that land, which he obviously holds in deep affection, will be appreciated.

Cordially and respectfully,  
George S. Linder

Michael Bentley passport USA 041190462  
Bat Yam, Haeshel St. 3/a  
by Lawyer Linda Brayer  
Coresh St. 12 c, Jerusalem 94144

46 573.

The Petitioner

against  
The Minister of Interior  
by advocacy of the State  
Salak Il Din St., Jerusalem

The Respondent

### Petition for Decree Nisi and Interlocutory Injunction

1. Petition for Decree Nisi which orders the respondent to come and give the reason why he refuses to give to the petitioner a visitor's visa with permission to work (B/2) for a period of 6 months.
2. Petition to give Decree Nisi which orders the respondent to come and give a reason why he announced that he will not give an entrance visa to petitioner in the future.
3. Petition for Decree Nisi against the respondent to come and give a reason why the petitioner's name appears on a Christian list, a list which some call "The Blacklist".
4. Petition for Interlocutory Injunction that is a preventative injunction in order to prevent the petitioner from being sent out of the Land by force while continuing legal procedures are going on between the petitioner and the respondent in connection with his staying in the Land according to this petition.

### The Reasons for The Request

1. The petitioner came to Israel for the first time in 1968 as a student and since then he has lived in the Country alternately at different periods of time.
2. During his time here the petitioner generally stayed here on tourist visa without permission to work, and at a certain time was a temporary resident.
3. Recently the respondent gave to the petitioner about a 4 months tourist visa (B/2) 30Nov86 to 31March87.
4. While the visa allowing to stay in the Country was still valid, the petitioner traveled on 21March87 together with American tourists on a bus trip to Mt. Sinai.
5. At the end of the trip after the group crossed the Taba border back from Egypt to Israel the guide that accompanied the group transferred the passports of all the tourists, including the passport of the petitioner for a routine examination by the border police.
6. After awhile the petitioner was called by one of the policemen who informed him that he would have to appear the next morning 22March87 at the border police at the Eilat airport without explaining to the petitioner the meaning of the request; The passport of the petitioner was not returned to him at that time.
7. On 22March87 the petitioner went to the police at the Eilat airport and discovered there to his surprise that the entrance visa given on 21March87 was cancelled, the visa was for 3 months in his passport.
8. a) Then a situation was created that without a valid entrance visa the police were prevented from giving him permission to enter The Land.  
On the other hand there is an agreement or custom between Israel and Egypt according to which Israel can not refuse the entrance of tourists who cross the border from Israel to Egypt for a short visit, under these circumstances the policeman phoned from Eilat border to Mr. Joseph Tov, director of Department of Entrance Visas, in the Ministry of Interior in Jerusalem in order to "untie this knot",



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2.

8.a) cont. and as a result of the conversation between the policeman and Mr. Joseph Tov, permission was given to the petitioner for another 5 days to remain in Israel.

b) But after the petitioner explained that he had a ticket to the USA for 29 March 87, the policeman agreed to extend the entrance visa to 8 days instead of 5, and meanwhile the policeman corrected the stamp in the passport and crossed out the word Eilat and registered in hand writing TABA and put the date 22 March 87.

9. In the course of the conversation with the policeman unintentionally the policeman said the petitioner's name is on the blacklist of the Ministry of Interior and that after the petitioner leaves Israel he will never get an entrance visa back into Israel.

10. The petitioner was planning to visit America and at the end of his visit he had in mind to return to Israel but when he heard the remarks of the policeman, the petitioner changed his plans on the spot and instead of going to the USA, he employed the services of a lawyer in order to fight this decision that was decided against him without his knowing.

11. 25 March 87 three days before the time of his visa expiration the petitioner made an appeal with the addition of a letter from his representative, in order to receive a tourist visa for an additional period of 3 months which would give him sufficient time to clarify his position.

12.a) In the answer to the letter which the petitioner's representative received under the date 1 April 87, signed by Mr. Joseph Tov of the Ministry of Interior, a letter which gives a twisted version of all that happened on 21 March 87 which is the time of his tour in Egypt and return to Israel, amongst other things Mr. Joseph Tov described the petitioner coming back from Egypt with members of the group in these words: "returned by the Egyptians".

But the opposite of this happened: The actual position was that the petitioner returned to Israel at the end of the tour together with the group of his own free will, without anybody forcing it on him.  
b) Or alternatively: if the petitioner was returned by the Egyptians on 21 March 87 then all the tourists on the tour were returned by the Egyptians. In this return there was nothing extra ordinary or exceptional according as the attempt of the letter of Mr. Joseph Tov- this is no accident.  
c) Mr. Joseph Tov added in that letter "when the petitioner returned he claimed that he had a flight ticket back through Ben Gurion and therefore we allowed him entry for 5 days for the purpose of his going outside the Country."

The true explanation for his giving him an entry visa is as explained in clause #12a as above that anybody that leaves Israel for Egypt according to a special Egyptian visa and therefore Israel must permit to the tourist a re-entry to their Country. The explanation for the granting of an entry visa instead of 3 months for 5 days (actually 8 days) is that the name of the petitioner has already appeared on the blacklist before he went to Egypt. If the petitioner had left Israel via the Ben Gurion airport and then returned after some months he would have found himself arrested at the



3.

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12.c)cont. airport and the border police would have turned him back outside the Country without any opportunity for the petitioner to clarify his position in Israel.

13. The petitioner believes that it is not by chance that Mr. Joseph Tov chose this twisted version. The petitioner thinks and he has a good reason to think (the petitioner will explain in the rest of this petition) that the attitude of the Ministry of Interior which is expressed here by Mr. Joseph Tov is prejudiced against the petitioner and this is part of their policy and approach which at the same time has certain purposes, these purposes are:

- a) To create an atmosphere of animosity and lack of sympathy of the authorities towards the petitioner in order to make him feel as if he is a "criminal" or not quite ok without knowing what is the actual problem.
- b) To cause the petitioner to develop fear and to leave the Country without clarifying what the claims are against him.
- c) To deter the believing Christian to make it undesirable to remain in the Country, thinking that he as a believing Christian is not wanted here.
- d) To calm down Jewish Organizations who serve as means of passing information to authorities; they inform on Christians who live in Israel, by giving on those Christians unfounded information twisted and having terrible propaganda, by this bringing about pressure on the authorities and motivating them against Christians and their staying in Israel.
- e) Half truths in their wrong contexts, which are not right, in Mr. Joseph Tov's letter are precise examples of the system adopted by the authorities towards the kind of people that the petitioner represents.

14. On 8April87 The Bible Society applied to the Ministry of Labor and Welfare for permission to employ the petitioner because a place became vacant for employing an expert Christian worker.

15. On 14May87 The Ministry of Labor gave permission to employ the petitioner.

16. On 28April87 The Ministry of Religion positively recommended to The Ministry of Interior concerning the application of the Bible Society to employ the petitioner.

17. According to the practices there was place for the organization to make application for a visa for the petitioner only after receiving approval of the Ministry of Religion and Labor.

18. Therefore an application to The Ministry of Interior was truly made to receive a visa on the basis of their giving a work permit.

19. In the letter written on 14May87 of Mr. Youngster of the Employment Office informs Mr. Ray Pritz who is the director of the Bible Society that the Employment Office has transferred its recommendation to the district office of Director of Population (registry office) in Jerusalem for granting a work permit to the petitioner.

20. From the letter mentioned in section 19 it appears that the recommendation of The Ministry of Religion in the interests of the petitioner has been received by the Employment Office on 28April87 and presumably that near that date it was received by The Ministry of Interior.

21. In part of their system and purpose of twisting facts and half truths Mr. Joseph Tov



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21. cont. writes on 24May87 to lawyer Linda Brayer saying: 'In our office we have not received any application for the granting of permission for employment for the petitioner.' But the true situation was:

a) On 28April87 there was received from the office for religious matters a recommendation to grant permission to employ the petitioner and it is reasonable to think that a copy of this recommendation was received by the Ministry of Interior.

b) On 13May87 advocate Brayer sent a letter to the Ministry of Interior in which she reminds in section 4(b) of the letter that the Ministry of Religion had recommended that the petitioner replace the missing worker at the Bible Society. In this letter the lawyer thought that there will not be anything against employing the petitioner by the Ministry of Labor because there was a place to be filled, and truly this supposition (of hers) was made true, as is pointed out from the letter from the Ministry of Employment. This letter is dated 14May87.

22. The petitioner brought the request personally to Mr. Shoshany at the Ministry of Interior, the one who deals with applications for the rights to live in the Country for those who are not Jews. Mr. Shoshany when he received the application from the petitioner, suggested to the petitioner to return after 10-14 days in spite of the fact that he knew that the petitioner has no valid visa. Mr. Shoshany did not see any reason to speak to him and/or did not see the need to request of the petitioner to leave the Land immediately because it seems to be the general habit that often the Ministry of Interior grants visas after weeks or even months (after the expiration of the visa) without there being any authority complaining that the petitioner is staying in the Country illegally.

23. At the same time that the petitioner talked with Mr. Shoshany and after that Mr. Yoseph Tov answered the legal representative of the petitioner an answer not pertinent nor sufficient there occurred with/by the legal representative of the petitioner urgent contacts, and daily with Mr. Joseph Tov and/or his office and in all this she was told to call in 10 days and afterwards she was asked to contact again in 10 days but a pertinent answer she did not receive not even once.

24. And so in the letter dated 20July87 that arrived at the office of the representative of the petitioner on 28July87 (2 months after the request) the petitioner was informed that the Ministry of Interior decided to refuse his request to extend the validity of his permit to remain in the Land.

25. There were other efforts by various contributors to clarify the reason for the delay, and finally the petitioner decided to submit an administrative appeal on this decision to a higher authority and a letter with a full explanation was sent to Mr. Yehudah Cahana on 9Sept87.

26. Cahana's answer was sent on 21Sept87 and was received in the office of the legal representative at the end of Sept..

27. In the light of the answer that was not with an explanation the petitioner decided that he had no choice but to turn to the high court of justice

\*



5.

573 8/9

27.cont. in order to receive an answer to his request.

28. The relationship of the authorities to the petitioner in the course of all the proceedings was not to the point in any of the stages. The authorities did not see the elementary need and/or the necessity to go into explanation and/or to explain what the Ministry of Interior had against giving a visa, inspite that the petitioner found work and inspite of the fact the Ministry of Religion together with the Ministry of Labor recommended before the Ministry of Interior to give to the petitioner a visa.

29. The petitioner claims that the Ministry of Interior did not give adequate reason for refusing to give the visa such as danger to security of the state, danger to the public health and/or cronical disease or that the petitioner is a criminal or deals in drugs, but the one and only reason why the Ministry of Interior refused the petitioner's request is because of his Christian faith in the evangelical framework.

30. The petitioner has good reasons to believe that from the beginning the Ministry of Interior took invalid steps towards him by using delaying tactics and no response to applications that brought forth no positive results at all.

31. The petitioner claims that he knows from his own personal experience and he knows from his associates that one of the normal practices of the Ministry of Interior to cause Christians to leave the Land is an overcomplicated process of administration and bureaucracy and unclear that is derived from policies that are aimed against Christians who request an extension on a visa in order to cause:

- a) In his discouragement the one requesting will leave the Land without his request being fulfilled.
- b) That the one requesting will reach the citation that the continuation of his stay in the Land is a crime because he no longer has a valid visa and in this citation the man is turned into one persecuted and afraid and is at the mercies of the authorities and at anytime he can be expelled from the Country.

32. The petitioner claims that in his case as in the cases of many other Christians this petition is submitted not only because of the unfavorable results that come from the conduct of the Ministry of Interior, but this petition is designed especially to represent the invalid system by which the Ministry of Interior normally operates and is directed at the Christians who request extension of their visa and it expresses itself in that the Ministry of Interior causes them to despise themselves as criminals.

33. It is the Ministry of Interior that created the system that is accepted and widely used, that the visa is given a long time after the validity of the previous visa has ended and it is the Ministry of Interior which decides on totally arbitrary grounds or totally irrevelent considerations and/or according to a discriminatory approach as to whose visa will be extended and against whom the Ministry of Interior will agree that the applicant is in the Country illegally.



9/6

6.

34. With regards to those among the Christians who ask for several renewals one after the other, the Ministry of Interior claims that there is in this behaviour an attempt to cheat the authorities because the intention of such applicants is really to become a Temporary Resident (perminent tourist). While that person who initially does apply for Temporary Resident is deported immediately because such an applicant expresses a wish to stay in this Country and the reply of the Ministry of Interior by deporting such a person reflects the true intention of the Ministry of Interior to prevent the staying of Christians in this Country. Therefore the applicants are between the hammer and the anvil and they do not know which is the best approach.

35. The petitioner adds and claims that the Ministry of Interior is carrying on a crusade against Christians and that the Ministry of Interior operates by a system of marking in Christian passports with an X for those whom they do not want to visit in the Land and not from sufficient or substantial reasons noted in section 29 of this petition. These marked Christian passports with the X are marked only because of their religion and faith; and by inlarge to prevent a Christian the right and the capacity to request or to reach the citation to request the position of Permanent Resident or Temporary Resident that is given to obtain to whomever stays in Israel 5 years with a valid permission to stay.

36.a) The petitioner claims that he wants to submit a request for Temporary Resident, but he knows that this request will cast him out of the Land forever.

b) On the other hand the petitioner who sincerely supports Israel with all his might and has found a place of work, is required to leave the Land forever because of invalid policies of the Ministry of Interior inspite of the fact he is not a criminal; or is not a health or security risk.

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו ס ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סוג בטחוני גלוי

דחיפות מיידית

תאריך/ז"ח 29.4.88

מס' מברק

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123 530 570

המשרד, בטחון, ניו-יורק

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת, הסברה  
 דע: יועץ רוה"מ לתקשורת, יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת  
 מנהל לע"מ, ניו-יורק  
 מאת: עתונות

בניטליין - ערב 4

פרק ד' של "בניטליין בארץ הקודש" שודר אמש (12:30 - 11:30) ודן במרי האזרחי בשטחים ובסכויים להסדר. כתבת מבוא של קופל הצביעה על צמיחתה של מנהיגות חדשה בשטחים המהווה ממלה במחתרת והדואגת לאספקת השרותים הנמנעים מהאוכלוסיה מאז תחילת המאורעות - חינוך, חקלאות, בריאות ובטחון. "אינתיפאדה", אליבא דקופל, הפכה למילה הכי חשובה במילון הפלסטינאי.

רואיינו לתכנית האלוף עמרם מצנע, יו"ר ועדת החוץ והבטחון אבא אבן, ועורך הדין הפלסטינאי ג'ונתן כותאב. ג'אד רוז הציג כתבת פרופיל קצרה על האלוף מצנע ועל הנגוד לכאורה בין מי שאחראי היום לכל האספקטים של "אגרוף הברזל" (גרושים, פצוצי בחים וכו') לבין מי שקרא להתפטרותו של שהב"ט שרון במלחמת לבנון. להלן כמה מהנקודות שעלו בראיון עם האלוף מצנע: מה שקורה בשטחים שונה מלבנון. כאן אנו נלחמים בתוך מדינתנו. אחריותנו אינה רק לרדוף ולהרוג מתפרעים אלא גם לנסות ולספק שרותים מינימליים ולא לתת לאנרכיה להשתלט. המצב מתאזן לאחרונה בכוון של ירידת מחס. ברוב המקרים, כמעט כולם, מבינים החילים את משימתם ומאמינים בה. המדיה, לא בכוונה, משפיעה הן על התנהגות החילים והן על התנהגות האוכלוסיה המקומית ומסיבה זו נסגרים מדי פעם, זמנית, שטחים לעתונות.

בקטע השני רואיינו במקביל יו"ר ועדת חו"ב אבא אבן (מאינדיאנה) ועו"ד הפלסטיני ג'ונתן כותאב (מירושלים).

ח"כ אבן אמר כי אש"פ הוציא עצמו מכלל מי שיכול להשתתף במו"מ בכך שסרב לענות לתנאים הבסיסיים המקובלים לא רק על ישראל וארה"ב אלא גם מצרים, ירדן ואפילו ברה"מ.

המשך המצב הקיים הוא האופציה הגרועה ביותר ולכן צריך לחזור לנוסחת "שטחים תמורת שלום". ירדן רלוונטית למו"מ שכן אחוז ניכר מאוכלוסיתה פלסטיני ומשום שרוב תושבי

END



2/2

570/530/123

תושבי השטחים נושאים אזרחות ירדנית.

ג'ונתן כותאב אמר כי הסכון לישראל מן המצב הנוכחי גדול יותר מכל סכון חיצוני. פתרון קונפרכטיבי או אחר אפשרי רק אחרי הקמתה של מדינה פלסטינית וגם אז יהיה נתון להחלטתם. ברור לו שמדינה פלסטינית תבחר ביחסים טובים עט שכנותיה ישראל וירדן. גם המערך וגם הליכוד מנסים לחסל פוליטית את התנועה הפלסטינית - הליכוד בטענה שירדן היא פלסטיין והמערך בהתעקשותו על האופציה הירדנית.

סיים את הערב ביל בלקמור שהקריא קטעי שירה ישראלים ופלסטינים על רקע חמונות העפלה. מצדה, ושואה מחד, מול כפרים חרוסים, עצי זית ואיכרים בשדות מאידך.

מחר ירואיינו רוה"מ שמיר וממרוה"מ פרס לתכנית הסכום.

גם אם מוקדם לסכם סכומים ניתן להצביע כבר עתה על כמה תוצאות ומסקנות הנובעות מן הסדרה:

1. האזון הקדוש הנשמר כאן בקפידה (זמן שווה, מרואיינים, כחבות וכו') מעמיד בפני הצופה האמריקאי שני ספורים זהים במשקלם ההסטורי, בעצמתם המוסרית ובצדקת טענותיהם. ההמנעות המכוונת של המנחה והכתבים מנקיטת עמדה רק מדגישה עובדה זו.
2. להוציא אזכורים בתכנית הראשונה מוצג הסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני יותר ויותר במבודד מהסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי. הערכת האיום, התמונה האסטרטגית, נשק כימי, טילים ארוכי טווח - כל אלו נעלמו ממערכת הגורמים המשפיעים על בטחונה של ישראל.
3. המסר הברור שאין לטעות<sup>כי</sup> העולה מן הצד הפלסטיני כפי שהוצג אומר כי ירדן אינה רלוונטית למו"מ, כי אש"ף הוא נציגו של העם הפלסטיני וכי הרוב הגדול של הפלסטינים חושב במונחים של מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית במקום מדינת ישראל.

יוסי גל



נכנס

שמור

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104.3 אל"ז

חוזם: 4/16232

אל: המשרד

מ-: לוטאנגלט, נר: 89, תא: 270488, חח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: שמ  
נד: 8

שמור/מיוזי

אל: בירן, סמנכל מצפ"א

דע: שילה, גול, נעים -- ורשינגטון

מאת: לוטאנגלט

הנדון: לוטאנגלט טיימס

1. בעתון היום קריקטורה של קונארד המראה חייל ישראלי עם רובה עשן מעל ערימת גויות ערבים נקובי כדורים האומר: אני רוצה לדון על שלום אבל אין יותר פלסטינים אתם ניתן לדון על שלום. לקריקטורה קונטרסציות נאציות מובהקות של השמדת עם. היא מצטרפת לשורה גדולה והולכת של קריקטורות ארסיות ואנטישמיות שהתפרסמו בטיימס בחדשים האחרונים. לפני זמן מה פרסם העתון קריקטורה המתארת את חיילי צ"הל ברלמים נכסתר של ישר הנוצרי לירושלים.

2. הקריקטורות מבטאות את מה שנתפס יותר ויותר כקו עקבי של העתון בלטינו. כן הוא התעלם לחלוטין מאירוע יום העצמאות כאן ( למרות נוכחות כתב וצלם שלהם) ומהמצעד ההצדעה לישראל בנוכחות אלפי משתתפים. אך מקדיש היום במדור החברתי מאמר ארוך לער"ד לאה צמל ( המסיירה באזור מטעם ארגונים פלסטיניים) והמציגה עצמה כמי שבאה לחשוף הפרות זכויות האדם ע"י ישראל)

3. תגובות שלנו למאמר אונף- אד ארטי לא פורסמו כלל. שורת פגישות של מנהיגים יהודיים עם ראשי העתון לא הועילו למתן הקו. ביום השואה הפגינו כמה מאות יהודים

11-5-54

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
FROM: THE MANAGER  
SUBJECT: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORT FOR 1954

1. INTRODUCTION

The Board of Directors of the

Company has the honor to present to you

the following report:

During the year 1954, the

Company has achieved a record of success in all its operations. This is due to the efforts of the management and the cooperation of the employees. The Company has increased its production and has expanded its market. The financial position of the Company is strong and the future is bright.

The Board of Directors has approved the following resolution: That the Company should continue to expand its operations and to increase its production. The Board also recommends that the Company should continue to invest in new equipment and to develop new products.

The Board of Directors has also approved the following resolution: That the Company should continue to pay dividends to its shareholders. The Board also recommends that the Company should continue to pay salaries and wages to its employees.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

וישראלים מול המערכת של העתון. אנו השיב שמיצינו את הזכויות העומדות לרשותנו במקום לטפל בבעיה חמורה. הטיימס נמנה היום על השורה הראשונה של התקשורת האמריקאית והשפעתו רבה גם מחוץ לגבולות ל.א.

4. דומני שמדינת ישראל תחטא ליעודה ועוד בשנת ה-40 לעצמאותה אם תשלים עם קריקטורה נוסח "השטרמר" המנאצת אותה ואת חיליה בעקביות ומסיתה בעקביות נגד יהודים. לפיכך הננו מציעים לשיקולכם מספר דרכים שמי להבהיר לעתון שאין מדינת ישראל מוכנה להשלים עם מתקנה אנטישמית - נאצית עליה.

א. התנצלות והתחייבות שהעתון ייתנע בעתיד מפרסום קריקטורות בעלות תוכן וצביון אנטישמי.

ב. השעיית האמנתו של הכתב בארץ עד לפרסום התנצלות מצד ה.ל.א טיימס.

ג. כל דרך אחרת שתמצאו לנכון.

אין להבליג על נגיעה גסה באשיות הדמוקרטיה הישראלית ודמותם המוסרית של היהודי ומדינת ישראל.

בנצור

תכ: שהח,רהמ,מנכ"ל,ממנכ"ל,שהבט,בירן,מצפא,אביטל,מעת,הסברה,  
ר/מרכז,ממד

RECEIVED BY THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY  
ON 11/11/54. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

1. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.  
2. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.  
3. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

4. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

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AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

9. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

104.3

חודש: 16349/4

אל: 887/ני, 740/דש, 261/וינה, 334/גנבה, 399/בנגקוק, 406/טוקיו  
 קנדה: 205/בטורן, 387/ברטוריה, 167/אתונה, 236/ברן, 414/  
 ברזיל: 286/האג, 280/לונדון, 375/מדריד, 222/מרסיי, 162/  
 ארובה: 200/פריז, 699/רומא, 322/ניקוסיה, 190/סינגפור, 219/  
 קינשאסה: 207/ברן, 239/אנקרה, 168/קרפנאהן, 234/שטוקהולם, 213/  
 איסטנבול: 140/ניירובי, 131/קהיר, 236/  
 מ-: המשור, תא: 280488, דח: 1127, מ: טג: בל  
 נד: 2

להלן חלק שני ואחרון של סקירת הנוקר.

תקשורת

הארץ - זאת לילי גלילי

ב-600 איש, ישראלים ופלשתינאים מהשטחים, גזשו אתמול  
 מהשעה 5 בבוקר את אולם 'הנרי קראון' בתאטרון ירושלים, שם  
 הוקלט זיון בן שלוש שעות לתוכנית 'ניוטליון' בארה"ב.  
 שם יי הערכת המבחה, טד קופל, צפו בשידור ב-4-5 מיליון  
 אמריקאים. לאורך המסדר כולו, הקפידו הפלשתינאים שבמאכל  
 לא ליצור כל דיאלוג עם הפנאל הנגדי, לא בדבור, ואף לא  
 במבט. גם כאשר הוכחו אליהם פניות ישירות מהישראלים לא  
 הטיטו את עיניהם לעברם. רק בסוף התוכנית קם ודי בוקר  
 ולחץ את ידה של אשכנזי. ידו המושטת של היים רמון שאיחר  
 במה שניות, נותרה ללא מענה, אלה בכיד ראש.

לאורך שלוש השעות שבו ניווט בודירטואזיות את המצב  
 המטריבן, הקפידו טד קופל לשמור על איזון קדוני. הפלשתינאים  
 במאכל קיבלו תרומת זמן על חשבון עמיתם הנעדר, וגב השמאל  
 והימין הישראלים, שקיימו עימות נבימי נלווה, זכו ל'זמן  
 שדוה'. עם זאת, דאג קופל להדגיש כי 'אין הוא רוצה לשבטל  
 את הכנסת במיניאטורה'. המסר העיקרי של הדיון, לועת  
 ערטר, היה 'בעצם האפשרות להוכיח שאפשר לדבר זה לצד זה,  
 גם אם לא זה עם זה'.

דבר - מאת טובה בימוקי

מיכל שוורץ, תרומת ירושלים בת 38, עורכת העתון 'דור'

2456

10/2/201







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הרצו: 16623/4  
 אל: 907/רוש/754/וינה/269/גנבה/345/בנגקוק/409/טוקיו/415/  
 ביירט/593/קופנהגן/243/ברזיליה/263/לימה/276/ליסבון/185/  
 אוטלו/164/אוטבה/206/מבטיקו/247/קרקט/279/קנברה/215/  
 אתונה/244/בון/425/בריסל/298/האג/287/לונדון/385/  
 ניקוסיה/195/מריט/713/רומא/331/מילנו/155/מוריו/228/  
 אנקרה/174/קונסטנטינופול/15/טינגבור/225/ברקסט/167/  
 מ-: המשור, תא: 28048/8, דח: 1600/דח: ט, טג: בל  
 נד: 8

בלמט/מיוזי

דו"ח אירועים יומי - 26 באפריל 1986

מבנים ואש"ם לאחר ביקור ערמאת בזמשק

1. טעיו כמאל, נציג אש"ם במצרים, הטביר ב-26 מטר מערמאת  
 לשה"ח המצרי שבו אלמגיד לפרו לא נזונה בשיחות בזמשק  
 סוגית הקמת היחסים עם מצרים (ר' מונטה קדלו, 27).  
 הוסיף, כי אין שום תוצאות שליליות לגבי קשרים אלה  
 (סימז'ת, 27).

2. בתקשורת מקהיר טעק וחשדנות ביהט לתוצאות שיחותיו של  
 ערמאת בזמשק. ב'אלאחבאר' (27), איש אינו יכול להתנגד  
 להתקרבות זו אם מטרתה היא תמיכה בטוניין המלטי. אולם,  
 מעלים חשש שלאור התנהגות אסד בשנים האחרונות בלמי  
 ערמאת, אין להוביא מכלל אפשרות שיטבה מטרה נסתרת  
 והיא חתירתה על סוריה לשיבוש מאמציו השלום.  
 ב'אלאחבאר' (27), ממקורות מלטי בזמשק, שמטרת המפגש  
 בין ערמאת-לאסד הוא הקמת יחסי אש"ם-מצרים. ב'אחר  
 טאעה' (סי'ב, 26), מציינים שאש"ם כבר נקט בעבר  
 בעמדות אנטי-מצריות, ומביעים חשש מכיוון המחיר הכבד  
 שאסד עלול לבקש תמורת שיפור היחסים עם אש"ם.

3. ברויטר (27) מצי קדומי, שמצרים וירדן אמנם ברנו על

1940  
The first of the series of lectures on the history of the  
United States was given by Mr. J. H. P. [unclear] on the  
subject of "The United States in the World". The lecture  
was held in the [unclear] hall of the [unclear] building  
on [unclear] day, [unclear] month, [unclear] year. The  
lecture was very interesting and well attended. The  
speaker was [unclear] and the [unclear] was [unclear].

1941

The second of the series of lectures on the history of the  
United States was given by Mr. J. H. P. [unclear] on the  
subject of "The United States in the World". The lecture  
was held in the [unclear] hall of the [unclear] building  
on [unclear] day, [unclear] month, [unclear] year. The  
lecture was very interesting and well attended. The  
speaker was [unclear] and the [unclear] was [unclear].

The third of the series of lectures on the history of the  
United States was given by Mr. J. H. P. [unclear] on the  
subject of "The United States in the World". The lecture  
was held in the [unclear] hall of the [unclear] building  
on [unclear] day, [unclear] month, [unclear] year. The  
lecture was very interesting and well attended. The  
speaker was [unclear] and the [unclear] was [unclear].

The fourth of the series of lectures on the history of the  
United States was given by Mr. J. H. P. [unclear] on the  
subject of "The United States in the World". The lecture  
was held in the [unclear] hall of the [unclear] building  
on [unclear] day, [unclear] month, [unclear] year. The  
lecture was very interesting and well attended. The  
speaker was [unclear] and the [unclear] was [unclear].

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הפירוט אך יעשה כל מאמץ אפשרי להכשילו.

אש"ם אחרי ההתפטרות בדמשק

4. קדומי אמר (ט"ק, 27), שמשרדו אש"ם בטוריה יפתח בקרוב. אבו איז אמר, שטוריה תשחרר בקרוב את כל העצורים הפלס' שמספרם כ-2,000. הוסיף, שחידוש מלא של פעילות אש"ם בדמשק יתרחש רק לאחר שיטולקו כל המחלוקות (ט"ק, 27).

5. ערמאת עצמו בטוראק, עידכן את הנשיא וסגנו על שיחותיו עם אסד. נמסר שבידומיים הבאים התקיים בבגדאד ישיבה של 'ועדת המולדת' המכונה 'שכנהל' ע"י ערמאת, ושבועבר נוהלה ע"י אבו-ג'יהאד (ר' מונטה קרלו, 27). ברויטר (27) צטטים את ערמאת שאמר כי מתקיימים דיונים שמטרתם תכנון מרי אזרחי בכל הערים והכפרים.

6. ר' מונטה קרלו (27) מפי 'אחראי טוריה', שהדיון בחילוקי הדעות בין טוריה וחפלט' דורש זמן. חילוקי הדעות בין אסד לערמאת היו מדיניים, לא אישיים. בגישת אסד-ערמאת התמקדה בנושא ההתקדמות והתכניות הנרקמות בגז הערבים והדואלוג יימשך. ב'ג'ורדן טיימס' (יורדן, 25) מוסיפים כי הוועדה לערמאת שלא תהיה חזרה ל'מלחמת המחנות' בלבנון. על יחסי אש"ם-מצרים נאמר שלטוריה עדיין הסתייגויות בנושא, אבל אינה דורשת מאש"ם לנתק יחסיו עם מצרים.

לבנון: התפטרות בין אמ"ל לחזבאללה

7. בתיווכו של מנהיג הדת האיראני, איתאללה ג'נתי, הושגה התפטרות בין אמ"ל לחזבאללה ונחתם (26) הסכם בין הצדדים בשג' האיראנית בוויורדת, המבוסס על הנקודות הבאות:

א. נכונות לשחרר הבעיות ביניהם ע"י הודברות ולא כנח;

ב. הגברת ההיבט האיסלאמי בפעילות שני הארגונים;

ג. ש"פ במאבק לשחרור זר'ל.

שג' איראן בבידורת הודיעה שהוחלט להקים ועדה מבכירי אמ"ל וחזבאללה, שתפקידה לנסול היחסים ביניהם (ט"צ, 27; ר' מונטה קרלו, 28).

יחסי טוריה-איראן



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

8. מהודעת הסטודנטים על הסיבות לביתוק היחסים (ט"ס, 28):
- א. החלטה לאחר שורת התגרויות איראניות;
  - ב. איראן גירשה מתיכנתנו בחולשה;
  - ג. מקדמים בברכה 45,000 דולר דגל מאיראן ובתנאים שנקבעו;
  - ד. המבטרת לחג' - החלטה מוסלמית ולא רק טעורית;
  - ה. ראש משלחת איראן למו"מ על החג' לא התנהג כראוי.

מרכז

י.

תכ: טהח,רהח,שהבט,מנכ"ל,ממנכ"ל,ממנכ"ל,ממו,רט,אמן,ארבל,1,פרג,  
ממח,הטורה,לעמ,מחאטטטחיס,תרבות,אוקיאניה,מצרים,מבטא,אירא,  
אירב,אסיה,מאמ,אמלט,מזתים,ארבל,אירג,לורבני,תפוצות



1. The first part of the report is a general  
description of the area. It is a large  
area of land, mostly flat, with some  
low hills. The climate is warm and  
humid. The population is small and  
the economy is based on agriculture.

The second part of the report is a  
description of the land. It is a large  
area of land, mostly flat, with some  
low hills. The climate is warm and  
humid. The population is small and  
the economy is based on agriculture.

ירצא

104.3 א"ז 27

חרזם: 4/16514  
 אל: בני/396, ורמ/746, ורמ/264, גנבה/336, בנקוק/401, טוקיר/409,  
 קנברה/207, בטחון/369, מרטוריה/168, אתונה/239, בורן/416,  
 בריטל/288, האג/81, לונדון/378, מדריד/223, מרסיו/164,  
 אוטבה/202, מדיט/702, רומא/323, ניקרטיה/191, טינגמור/220,  
 קינשאסה/203, בורן/41, אנקרה/169, קרמבהגן/236, שטוקהולם/215,  
 איסטנבול/144, נירנברג/132, קהיר/241  
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 280486, דח: 1455, דח: מ, סג: בל  
 כד: 6

בלתם/מיוזי

סקירת תקשורת בחרי יום חמישי יא' אייר תשמ"ח 28.4.68

בותרות ראשיות

מעריב - 'המחבלים מגבירים את מאמצייהם לבצע פיגועי מיקוח  
 בצמחן'.  
 חדשות - הערכה בישראל: סכנה שומדת מאחורי החדירות בגבול  
 הצמחן.

בסיונות כח"ט

חדשות - מאת שמעון אלקבץ ואדי גל  
 שהג'ט יצחק רבין אמר אתמול כי בשלוש השנים שבהן חוסלו  
 חוליות מחבלים שביטו לחדור לשטח ישראל לאורך גבול הצמחן,  
 התברר כי מדובר בארגוני חבלה ברו-סוריים ולא ארגונים  
 שנשלחו ע"י ערמאת. רבין שטייר אתמול ברצות עזה הדגיש,  
 'בשלוש השנים האחרונות אף אחד ישראלי לא נפגע בצמחן'.  
 אולם צה"ל שילט מחיר כבד בעבור ההגנה של הגבול. אף  
 המשימות הושגו ריש שקט ברצות הבטחון ובגבול צמחני.  
 במקום אלפי חיילים, שהחזיק בה"ל בלבנון, מצויים שם באורח  
 קבע רק מאות אחדות. לזכריו בסיונות החזירה של המחבלים  
 מצביעים על מגמה של הארגונים להגביר את הסדר בגבולות,  
 כתגבור להתקדמות בטחית, מאז שזו פרצה. הרמטכ"ל, רב

10/10/10

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THE SECOND PART OF THE  
THE THIRD PART OF THE  
THE FOURTH PART OF THE  
THE FIFTH PART OF THE  
THE SIXTH PART OF THE  
THE SEVENTH PART OF THE  
THE EIGHTH PART OF THE  
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THE ELEVENTH PART OF THE  
THE TWELFTH PART OF THE  
THE THIRTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE FOURTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE FIFTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE SIXTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE SEVENTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE EIGHTEENTH PART OF THE  
THE NINETEENTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTIETH PART OF THE

THE TWENTY-FIRST PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-SECOND PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-THIRD PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-FOURTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-FIFTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-SIXTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH PART OF THE  
THE TWENTY-NINTH PART OF THE  
THE THIRTIETH PART OF THE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אלוף דן שומרון, שביקר בבקר ג'ולים שבגליל כדי לברך את  
הייתה אמין טרף ראש העדה הדרוזית לרגל חגיגות נבי שואב,  
נדרש לאירועי הימים האחרונים בהר זה. לדבריו, אנו עדים  
באחרונה לעלייה במספר נסיונות החריפה של המחבלים מלבנון  
לשטחנו, אולם הוא לא שבור שחל טיפוי במדיניות המחבלים.  
בברכו את השוית הטלה הרמטכ"ל על נס את מסירות החיילים  
הדרוזים והזגיש שכל מקדו היה גאה ורובה למקד על חיילים  
בנה טובים כמו חיילי היחידה הדרוזית. השייח הודה על  
הברכות וביקש מהרמטכ"ל לסייע בשחרורו מהכלא של איש דת  
דרוזי. שומרון הבטיח לעשה הכול כדי למלא את הבקשה.

ישראל - איטליה

מערב - טאט רבי לרדן  
כל כלי החקירות באיטליה הקדישו אתמול ביקור כרחב למרשת  
האשכוליות המורטלות. כל העתונים הביאו במסודיות  
הראשונים ובכותרות ענקיות את ברטי המרשה. מנהל מעבדות  
חומרי הדורה באגף להגנת הדומה במשרד החקלאות הישראלי,  
הטוקסיקולוג ד"ר ישראל אוטו, נשלח על ידי שר החקלאות  
לאיטליה. הוא הטביר באיטלקית דהוטה לטלויזיה הממלכתית של  
איטליה, כי מחיבה טכנית אי אפשר להזריק רעל לאשכוליות.  
המבנה התאי של הפרי אינו מאפשר כניסת נוזל זר, והצבע לא  
חד לבשר הפרי אלא רק מתחת לקליפה - ובכל מקרה אין בו  
סכנה לאוכלים. הסברו של ד"ר אוטו שורר במהדרות החזשות  
המרכזיות, ותום רבות להפתחת המתח ששרר בקרב שמרים  
וצרכנים. מומחים איטלקיים שיבחו בטלויזיה את ניתוחו. אחד  
המומחים הצהיר, שבאותו בוקר אכל שתי אשכוליות לארוחת  
בוקר.

הסברה/מידע

1.2.7

**תפ: שהח' מכבד, המנכ"ל, סגן מנכ"ל, מטות, הסברה, תמריצות, מצטא, הדרבה, אירג,**

100



ידי

בלנס

143

למנ

הרצם: 16795/4

אל:

ני/927/רוש/772/לרטאנגלט/163/אתונה/251/ברן/429/בריטל/305/  
 האג/294/לונדון/392/פריס/724/מרסיי/169/מדריד/232/רומא/336/  
 מילנו/160/ברן/248/גנבה/355/קומבהגן/248/שטוקהולם/226/  
 וינה/275/נירטיה/197/אנקרה/178/אוסלו/168/פרטוריה/177/  
 בירובי/141/טוקיו/423/ביירט/602/ברזיליה/269/מרטבידאו/163/  
 מביקו/252/קרקט/86/ריו/142/מרטריאול/106/טורנטו/115/  
 אטלנטה/34/ברסטון/113/שיקגו/166/יוסטון/86/מיאמי/116/  
 ברנצייטקו/117/הילולמיה/90/רולינגטון/108/סידני/111/  
 קנדה/220/ארטבה/13/  
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 280488, דח: 1634, טג: בל  
 נד: 8

בלמ'ט/רגיל

הנציגוריה

מיסים ותשלומים עבור שירותים בשטחים.

להלן לשימושכם בתורים על תשלומי מיסים ותשלומים עבור  
 שירותים בשטחים בהשורה למצב בישראל.

א. מיסים עקיפים בגין מכס, מע"מ - זהים לחלוטין לתעריף  
 הנגבה מאזרחי ישראל.

ב. מיסים ישירים (מס הכנסה) משולמים מע"י החוק הירדני,  
 ביו"ש, והחוק המברי במזה.

ג. מע"י החוק הירדני, הקלאים למשל לא משלמים כלל מס  
 הכנסה ואלה מהדורים בפלים ממרטקו יו"ש. שליש נרטן,  
 המוטעק בישראל משלם מס הכנסה במקובל ונהנה מהטבות  
 בהתאם. הכותרים, המוטעקים ביו"ש משלם כאמור מס מע"י החוק  
 הירדני שהוא גבוה, דרך כלל, מזה הנחוג בישראל.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ד. כל המיסים הנגבים ע"י הממשל רע"י הרשויות המקומיות מוחזרים במלואם לשטחים ומהווים חלק מהתקציב לשטחים. אי תשלום מס מובט בראש רב-ראשונה ותקציב זה, גביית המיסים ואכיפתה נעשית ע"י החוק.

ה. תעריפי התשלום עבור השמל, גז וטלפון בשטחים זהים לאלה שמשלמים אחרת וישראל.

במקרים שבהם אזרחים מהשטחים מקבלים חשכל מהחברה הישראלית  
בשיטת הצובר (BULK) עד למחל הכפר או הרשות המקומית,  
נעשית חלוקה החשכל והשרותים ע"י הרשות המקומית, הרשאית  
לגבות עמלה קטנה יחסית (איתה לא משלמים אזרחי ישראל).

הסברה/מיוע - מדת'ים

7.23

**תפ:** שהם, מנבל, ממנובל, סמנובל, אוקיאניה, מצרים, מצבא, אירא, אירוב,  
אסיה, מאם, אמל, מזרחיט, ארבל, אריג, הדרנה, מעת, הסברה, ממד,  
מתאשטות

1  
The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the  
methods used in the investigation. The second part is devoted to a  
description of the results of the investigation.

The third part of the report is devoted to a discussion of the  
results of the investigation.

The fourth part of the report is devoted to a discussion of the  
conclusions of the investigation.

APPENDIX

The following table gives a summary of the results of the  
investigation.

ירצא

בלמט

104.3: מ/ל

חוזם: 4/16348

אל: בני/886, ורם/739, ורנה/260, גנבה/333, בנג'וק/398, טוקיר/405,  
 קנורה/204, בוטורן/386, מרטוריה/166, אתונה/235, בון/413,  
 בריסל/285, האג/279, לונדון/374, מזריו/221, מרטייר/161,  
 אוטבה/199, מריס/698, רומא/321, ביקרטיה/189, סינגפור/218,  
 קינשאסה/206, בון/238, אנקרה/167, קומבהן/233, שטוקהולם/212,  
 איסטנבול/139, בייירווי/130, קהיר/235  
 מ-: המשד, תא: 280488, זח: 1107, רח: מ, טג: בל  
 נד: 8

סקירת בוקר בשני חלקים

להלן חלק ראשון:

סקירת תקשורת בוקר יום חמישי יא' איור תשמ"ח 28.4.88

בוחרות ראשיות

הארץ - נהג משאית נמצא מחבלים ליד קיבוץ נן.  
 דבר - בדורס להלוויית המג'ר הוזעקו חיילי גבעתי למרוץ  
 אחר עוד 2 מחבלים. דובר - נחישלו.  
 ג'רוזלם נוסט - 2 מסתובבים נהרגו אחרי שהתקימו משאית.

מח"ע

הארץ - מאת מנחם הררוביץ  
 דני דהאן (24) תושב קריית שמונה, נמצא אתמול אחה"צ מאש  
 מחבלים שעה שנהג משאית עבר בדרך המטרולים במורדות  
 המטרוביים של הר דב. בעבור 3 שעות הרגו חיילי צה"ל את שני  
 המחבלים שהצליחו לחזור לשטח ישראל, במרחק קילומטר אחד,  
 בקירוב, ממקום ההיתקלות שאירעה יממה אחת קודם לכן, ושבו  
 נהרגו שני חיילי צה"ל ושניים אחרים נמצעו. המחבלים חזרו  
 לשטחם בשעות היום. הם הסתתרו על גבעה המשקיפה על כביש  
 המערבת, ובעת שמשאיתו של דהאן קרבה אליהם פתחו באש וזרקו  
 רימוני יז. למקום הוזעקו כוחות צה"ל, שפתחו במירוץ אחר



11-1-41

Dear Mr. [Name]  
I have just received your letter of the 28th inst. regarding the matter of the [Name] and I am sorry to hear that you are having trouble with it. I will try to help you in any way I can. I will be in touch with you again soon.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

[Address]

[City]

I am sorry to hear that you are having trouble with the [Name] and I will try to help you in any way I can. I will be in touch with you again soon.

I am sorry to hear that you are having trouble with the [Name] and I will try to help you in any way I can. I will be in touch with you again soon.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

המחבלים בשטח שלמי קשה ביותר לתכננה, בתוך צמחיה עבותה. בראש הכוח עמד רב סרן ניצן מחטיבת גבעתי, סגנו של המג"ד שמואל אזיב שנהרג שלוש בהיתקלות בדרום לבנון. 'היינו בורכנו להלוחה של שמואל, על בגדי א', עם תגי היחידה של גבעתי. למת קיבלתי הודעה על חזרת מחבלים. מיד הגענו למקום עם הגשמים ועם חיילי גבעתי. הנכנסו את כל הגיזרה לכוננות, האזור בסגר, היישובים היגברו שומרים, נכנסו עם כוחות לאזור החזירה'.

'כוננות גבוהה ביותר הוכרזה בכל יישובי גבול הצפון. כל הקיבוצים לאורך כביש הצפון וגד לקרית שמונה היר חסומים. התושבים לא הרשו לבאת מבתיהם. 'הלכנו אחרי העקבות עם גשמים. התקדמנו תוך כדי ירי, עד שנתקלנו במחבלים בסדוק קצר מאוד. הסתברנו והרגנו שני מחבלים'. המחבלים נהרגו מאות מטרים מקיבוץ דן. 'לאחר שירדנו שאין עוד מחבלים, חזרו יישובי הצפון לחיים הרגילים'.

דבר - מאת שמעון וייס וטלי זלינגר  
בסיקוד צפון אין כוונה לשנות את הערכות הבטחון השוטף והמעילות המבצעיות בגבול הצפון ובאזור הבטחון על דקת התגברות נסיונות חזרת המחבלים לשטח ישראל בעיקר בגזרת הר דב והגזרה המזרחית של דרום לבנון. אולם, צה"ל נערכים לאפשרות שאכן מדובר בגל גובר והולך של פיגועים ונסיונות של ארגונים מלשתינים בדרום לבנון להחדיר בכל מחיר ובזרבים שונות חוליות מחבלים לביצוע פיגוע מיקוד ופיגועים וישובים אזרחיים בגליל. אתמול, בתוך כחות משלושים שעות לאחר שהוטלה חוליה שלוש המחבלים של ארגונו של נאיף חוראתמה בהר דב, שוב נתקל כוח של צה"ל מגדוד גבעתי בחוליה שמנתה שני מחבלים לא הרחק ממקום ההתקלות הראשונה בהר דב וחיסל את שני המחבלים בלא נפגעים לחיילינו.

יוש"ט

הארץ - מאת נדב שרגאי  
כוננות של ערבים מקומיים למגע במטוילים יהודים, היא הגורם העיקרי להתמתחות האירוע בביתא ולסיומו הטראגי - קובע טעין א' בפרק הסיכום לדו"ח על האירועים לפני 3 שבועות בנפר ביתא, שבמהלכם נהרגה תרצה מרת מאלון מורה, נפצע קשה המאבט רומט אלזובי, נהרג שני ערבים מקומיים ונמצעו רבים מתמטילים ואחרים מהערבים. את הדו"ח כתב אלוף מיקוד המרכז, עמרם מצנע, בהתבסס על דו"חות המשטרה והשב"ב, והוא נמסר אתמול לקבינט, ולאחר מכן לעתונאים, ע"י האלוף מצנע עצמו.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בדו"ח בן חמשה העמודים, 7 ערכים, במדק הראשון, העוסק בתכנון הטיול ובתיאורו, נקבע כי 'הטיול לא תואם עם הצבא... הוראות הקבע של ביקור המרכז בנוגע לנוהלי תיאום טיולים יזדווגו לרוב הבטחון השוטף באלון מורה, שלמה דורון, וגם איתו לא נעשה תיאום... ירום הטיול, מתכננו והאחראי עליו היה מבחם אילן, ובלוה אליו... רומם אלדובי'.

המדק השני מתאר את האירועים ביראד, שם ישבו הנערים מאלון מורה לארוחת בוקר: 'בשלב זה מושמעת ברמקולים של מסגד ביתא התרעה על התקרבות מתנחלים... מתחילים להתקל עשרות ערבים... מידים אבנים ומתגרים במטיילים... המאבטח אלדובי... יורה מספר יריות מנשקו, המ'ק עוזי'. המשך תכונת המטיילים ביראד מלווה בזריקת אבנים והתגרירות. אמורה אלירז נפגעת מאבן בידתה, כאשר על הגבעות מסביב ובסמוך למטיילים מתרכזים כ-200-100 ערבים מקומיים. במהלך התכונה ביראד אוסר מבחם אילן על רומם אלדובי להשתמש בנשק, אלא במצבי חרום. על דקק זה ניסס ביניהם כנראה עימות מילולי ופיזי. אלדובי החליף את נשקו מרובה אמ-16 של מבחם אילן. 'מירי אזהרה לכיוון הרכס... שוליו התגרדו מקומיים, נהרג מוסא צאלה דאוד... בריחה עם מקומי... מוצע המקומי נסיון לחטוף את נשקו של המאבטח... האחרון מתרחק... יורה ופוצע את המקומי בוטנו... מבאן ואילן מאלצים המקומיים את המטיילים ללכת לכיוון הכפר ביתא... המטיילים מובאים לכפר בארנס'. 'הקבוצה מובלת כאשר היא מוקפת בהסוון רב של ערבים הממשיכים בהתגרירות. במרכז צעד המאבטח אלדובי, כאשר המטיילים מגורמים עליו מפני הנסיונות לחטוף את נשקו. במרכז הכפר נזרקה אבן ע"י אחתו של ההרוג מהיראד (מונירה דאוד), שהיא גם אשתו של הפצוע מהיראד, על המאבטח... מתחילה התפרצות המוניות הכוללת התנפלות על המטיילים, זריקת אבנים וחפצים שונים ומכות במקלות ומבל הבא ליד. ההתפרצות נמשכת זמן קצר ומסתיימת לאחר שהתושבים מבחינים כי יש נפגעים רבים בין המטיילים. מתחילות קריאות שיש הרוגים, רובם הערבים במלטים מהכפר. 'בסופה של ההתפרצות מוטלת במקום גופתה של תרצה פורה ז'ל, מקומי הרוג, מקומי פצוע, רומם אלדובי פצוע קשה ומרבית המטיילים הכולין ומגורמים'. האלון מצנע כותב כי 'ההשערה שעל המטיילים נזרק דימון או מטען מאולתר אחר, נשללה... האפשרות שנשק בוסף, מעבר לעוזי ולאמ-16, היה בשימוש כלפי המטיילים באירוע, במרכז הכפר, לא הוכחה... האפשרות שמישהו מהערבים המתפרעים השתמש בכלי הנשק שנחטפו מהמטיילים, לא נמאז הימובין'. 'פעמיים לפחות יורה המאבטח... במרכז הכפר: 1. בתגובה

1. The first of these is the fact that the  
the first of these is the fact that the  
the first of these is the fact that the

2. The second of these is the fact that the  
the second of these is the fact that the  
the second of these is the fact that the

3. The third of these is the fact that the  
the third of these is the fact that the  
the third of these is the fact that the

4. The fourth of these is the fact that the  
the fourth of these is the fact that the  
the fourth of these is the fact that the

5. The fifth of these is the fact that the  
the fifth of these is the fact that the  
the fifth of these is the fact that the

6. The sixth of these is the fact that the  
the sixth of these is the fact that the  
the sixth of these is the fact that the

7. The seventh of these is the fact that the  
the seventh of these is the fact that the  
the seventh of these is the fact that the



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אינסטנקטיוויות לאחר שנמצא מאבן בראשו, יורה אלדובי מספר כדורים תוך כדי שהוא מסתובב לאחור. בארבע זה נורים למחות חלק מהכדורים בכיוון שטח מסלול. 2. מספר כדורים נורים תוך כדי מאבק על נשק של רומם אלדובי.

תרצה מורה 'בהרגה מבגינת קליע בטל קוטר בינוני ומהירות לוע גבוהה. מלבד מבגינת הקליע, אין בראשה או בגופתה של תרצה מורה כל מבגינת אחרת שהיא. ניתן להגיט למסקנה שתרצה מורה ד"ל נורתה מנשק של אלדובי, בכל הנראה כאשר הגיב באופן אינסטנקטיוויות על מבגינת האבן בראשו. הדו"ח קובע, כי רק מעטים מבין תושבי הכפר, לקחו חלק פעיל בנסיגות להרגעת הרוחות, בסיוע לחילוצי רבמתן עזרה רפואית למטיילים. לעומת זאת, הוקמו המטיילים ע"י מאות שהשמינו קריאות הסתה ע"י שורות שתקפו במדעל. האלוף מצבט אמר בתשובה לשאלות הכתבים, לאחר הקראת הדו"ח, כי העוזי נמצא מיד לאחר האירוע, כשהוא שובר ומשוקם. המחטניות לא נמצאה עד היום. באשר לרובה האם-16 אמר מצבט כי הוא נמצא שלם, אן מוסתר יום לאחר האירוע. לדבריו, תבסרן המשטרה להחליט האם חלה אחריות פלילית או רשלנית על מי ממארגני הטיול, והאם להגיט תביעה נגד מי מהאכשים שהיו מעורבים בארגון הטיול.

הארץ - מאת נדב שרגאי

משפטם של 14 הסוחרים ממזרח ירושלים, הנאשמים כי הסרו צורים שהורו להט למרות את חנויותיהם, יומתח הבוקר בירושלים. אם יודעו, יכזב בית המשפט להטיל עליהם עונש של עד שנתיים מאסר במדעל. במשך כל יום אתמול היו כל החנויות, אשר נגדן הוצאו צורי איסור פתיחה בשעות אחה"צ סגורות.

אתמול מתה מבגינת ילדה בת 14, אריג' סלמן דאור מהכפר א-דיק, שגנבת טול כרם. הילדה נמצעה שלוש במהלך תקרית, שעל דבר קיומה נמסר רק אתמול. מקורות צבאיים מסרו כי במסגרת פעולה יזומה של צה"ל בכפר א-דיק התפתחה במקום התפרעות אלימה. לאחר ירי גז מומיט וכדורי גומי, נאלץ הכוח להשתמש בנשק חם. בשעות הערב הגיעה לבית החולים בשכט צעירה מהכפר שנמצעה כנראה מהירי. הצעירה נפטרה אתמול. אתמול שרו שקט יחסי ברחבי הגדה. למעט תקריות בודדות, לא נרשמו אירועים חריגים. בבילטה ובקלקיליה התקיימו בשעות הבוקר הפגנות. בקלקיליה עקר צה"ל שלוש שורות עצי פרי דור מצוי בבוש הראשי, בטענה כי מאחורי העצים הסתתרו מיידי אבנים. בחלחול ובחברון נפתחו אתמול העסקים שלא במתכונת שביית המסחר הרגילה.

אתמול נכגעו בחברון שלושה שוטרים ממשטרת בית לחם, שחזרו רק באחרונה למקום עבודתם, לאחר שקודם לכן הגיו התפטרות.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and the conclusions reached.

The second part of the report deals with the financial aspects of the work. It gives a detailed account of the income and expenditure of the organization and shows how the funds have been used. It also gives a statement of the assets and liabilities of the organization at the end of the year.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תושב הכפר סמוך, שגבר ליד השלושה בעת ששמרו במרכז הכרוב, שכן על פניהם חוממה. הם הועברו כשהם מחתולים מכאבים לבית החולים 'הזטה' בירושלים. המינהל האזרחי שלל אתמול רשיונות של 10 חברות אוטובוסים ותחבורה פרטית, בשל מה שהוגדר 'שיבוש סדרי התחבורה והשתתפות בהסתה להפרת סדר'. גורמים ערבים מסרו כי כהגי כלי הרכב חששו להפריע את הוראות מנהיגי ההתקוממות, מחשש שיתנכללו להם ובלגיו משמחותיהם. מסיבה זו לא שברו ההגאים כרגיל בתקופה האחרונה. אלמונים פגשו שלושם בלילה בשלוש חממות ובצידוד קלאי רב במושב חמרה שבטומרון. הושחתו 12 אלק שתילים, מחשבי השקיה, מערכות השקיה ומטרבות דשן נוזלי. עקבות המדגעים הובילו לכפר ערבי סמוך.

עד כאן חלק ראשון של סקירת בוקר

**תפ:** שוה, מנכל, ממכסל, סמככל, מעט, הסברה, תפרצות, מצאא, הדרכה, אירג,  
תרבות, אמלט

1. The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to penetrate my coat. I shivered as I walked towards the building, my hands tucked into my pockets. The air was thick with the scent of old books and the faint, sweet smell of incense. I had heard that the library was a place of great knowledge, but I had not realized it would be so... so different. The building itself was a masterpiece of architecture, with its stone walls and arched windows. The interior was a vast, open space with high ceilings and a floor of polished wood. The shelves were filled with books of all sizes, colors, and shapes. I had never seen so many books in one place before. The silence was absolute, a heavy blanket that seemed to wrap around me. I had heard that the library was a place of great knowledge, but I had not realized it would be so... so different.

2. The second thing I noticed was the light. It was a warm, golden light that seemed to emanate from the walls themselves. The light was soft and gentle, creating a peaceful atmosphere. I had heard that the library was a place of great knowledge, but I had not realized it would be so... so different.

3. The third thing I noticed was the people. They were all dressed in formal attire, and they all seemed to be looking at me with curiosity. I had heard that the library was a place of great knowledge, but I had not realized it would be so... so different.



ירמא

בלמס

104.3

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נד: 8

בלמס/מייזי

הנציגויות

עצירות פלסטיניות בטוריה - מיום והדגשי הסברה

1. להלן ידיעה שהופיעה ב-'הארץ' היום 28.4.86

'סלח חלף', האיש מספר שתיים במיקור הארגון לשחרור פלסטין  
 אחרי יאטר ערמאת, טוען כי סוריה תשחרר כ- 2,000 עצורים  
 פלסטיניים בתוך מספר ימים. האלף, הידוע בכינויו 'אבו  
 איאד', ליווה את ערמאת במסע הסיום לסוריה בעקבות קבוצתו  
 בדמשק של הליל-אל-רזיר (אבו ג'יהאד). הביקור הסתיים ביום  
 ב' השבוע וציון את סיומו של קרע בן 5 שנים בין סוריה  
 וארגון אש'ף. כ- 2,000 עצורים פלסטינאים ישוחררו מתאי הכלא  
 הסוריים בתוך מספר ימים כדי לבין את תחילתו של פרק חדש  
 ביחסי אש'ף-סוריה, אמר האלף בראיון שהעניק לעיתון

11/10/50  
2-30

I have been thinking about you a great deal lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been busy with my work, but I always find time to think of my friends. I would love to hear from you soon. Please write when you have a chance. I am sure you will have many interesting things to tell me. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

With love,  
Your friend,

John Doe

11/10/50

I hope you are well and happy. I have been busy with my work, but I always find time to think of my friends. I would love to hear from you soon. Please write when you have a chance. I am sure you will have many interesting things to tell me. I am looking forward to hearing from you.



Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter.

I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the results of the examination.

I have been very busy lately, and have not had time to devote to this matter as much as I would like.

I am sure that you will understand my position, and that I am doing my best to give you the most satisfactory results possible.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours,  
J. H. [Name]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours,  
J. H. [Name]





28/4/88

תאריך

178/88 -7

تاریخ

לכבוד

דר' ת. טולצ'ינסקי

מתאם פעולות משרד הבריאות בשטחים

שלום רב לך.

הנדון: התייחסות לדו"ח ועדת הרופאים למען זכויות האדם  
אשר ביקרה באיו"ש ובאזח"ע

סימוכין: מכתבי ק- 82/88 מיום 11/2/88

1. הדו"ח הינו עויין מתחילתו ועד לסופו וההיבטים הפוליטיים הם שנותנים בו את הטון ולא ההיבטים הרפואיים.
- זהו כתב שיטנה מגמתי אנטי-ישראלי המצטיין בחד-צדדיות משוועת. ועדת 4 הרופאים האמריקאים (ש- 3 מהם יהודים) אינם מנסים בכלל להיות מאוזנים ונראה ששמו לעצמם למטרה קדושה להציג כל נושא וכל פרט תחת הכותרת: כל מה שקשור בישראל ובצה"ל הוא רע או אכזר או מתנשא ומדכא או מעורר בחילה, וכל מה שקשור בפלשתינים ובמפירי-הסדר הוא טוב או הומני או מסכן ומדוכא או מעורר הערצה.
2. כבר העליתי בעבר על הכתב את התמונה שנצטיירה בעיני בעקבות ביקורם במשרדי לצורך קבלת סקירה ממני על מערכת הבריאות באיו"ש, באצטלה של התעניינות טהורה במצב שרותי הבריאות והשיפור והקידום שחל בהם - אצטלה אותה הציגו בפני סגן מתאם הפעולה בשטחים. (ראה מכתבי שבסימוכין).
3. הדו"ח מוסר על "מגיפת אלימות" בשטחים בעיקר בשל ארועי החבלות הגופניות מחבטות אלה והשימוש בגז מדמיע, וברור שהמונח מגיפה של אלימות אינו מונח רפואי טהור.
4. בעת ביקור הועדה במשרדי הורו הנתונים הרשמיים שבידי על מספר של 250 נפגעים באיו"ש, אך חברי הועדה התקוממו וזעמו בנוכחותי על מספר זה וטענו שהמספר הנכון הוא בסדר גודל של אלפים. חברי הועדה טענו בביטחון מתנשא שאין להם שום צל של ספק שהצדק אתם ולא אתי.
5. מסמך הועדה מלא וגדוש בפרטים אודות מצב הנפגעים שנבדקו, כביכול, על ידי חברי הועדה את הפרטים לא ניתן לאמת אבל התרשמתי היא שחברי הועדה נהנו מאד לכתוב את הפרק הזה בדו"ח והתחושה שלי שבעת כתיבת הפרק העשיר בפרטים היה להם את הכוח המניע של השאיפה הבלתי-מרוסנת להכפיש את שמם של כוחות צה"ל, של רשויות המינהל האזרחי בשטחים ושל ישראל בכלל.
6. במסמך מופיעה טענה על פיה שרותי הרפואה בשטחים לא היו ואינם מסוגלים לטפל באופן סביר בנפגעים וכן טענה שעל פיה שירותי רפואה ובריאות בשטחים מושבתים ואינם פועלים בתקופת הפרות-הסדר - שתי טענות אלה הן שיקריות וחסרות כל בסיס.
- שרותי הרפואה והבריאות בשטחים פעלו וממשיכים לפעול ללא כל שינוי, ללא הפסקה בפעילות כלשהי וללא השבתות.
- שירותי הרפואה בשטחים טיפלו ומטפלים בכל הנפגעים ברמה סבירה ומקובלת כאשר במקרים בהם דרוש טיפול במחלקות מתוחכמות שלא קיימות באזורים, הנפגעים מקבלים את טיפולם במסגרת שירותי האשפוז בישראל.
7. ראויות לציון שלוש קביעות מעוותות של הועדה:
- (א) נגרמו פגיעות אורטופדיות נוירולוגיות ונוירופסיכיאטריות - עם השלכות לטווח הארוך
- (ב) מצב הנפגעים יחייב בעתיד את שרותי הרפואה בשטחים לעסוק בפעולות של שיקום ממושך הן מבחינה פסיקלית והן מבחינה פסיכולוגית.



תאריך  
תאריך

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(ג) נגרם נזק פסיכולוגי לאוכלוסיית הצעירים והילדים בשטחים.  
- הקביעות הן חסרות שחר בהיותן חסרות בסיס מדעי או בסיס מוצק אחר.

8. הועדה מלגלת על תכנית ההשתלמות הדו-שנתית לרופאים בשטחים מביעה אי-הערכה כלפיה ופוסלת אותה למעשה.  
חברי הועדה מסרו לי בשיחתם אתי שהם מאמצים את תלונותיהם של הרופאים הערבים על כך שאינם עוברים את תכנית ההתמחות הישראלית המלאה בת 5 - 6 שנים, על פי כללי המועצה המדעית של ההסתדרות הרפואית בישראל, כולל בחינות התמחות וזכאות לתעודת מומחיות ישראלית.  
חברי הועדה מסרו לי בשיחתן אתי שלא מקובל עליהם ההסבר שלי שמטרתנו היא להשיג בשלב ראשון שיפור מידי של הרמה הרפואית ע"י הכשרה אינטנסיבית במסגרת דו-שנתית (ובמקרים מסוימים עפ"י ההצדקה והצרכים עם הארכה עד 5 שנים).  
חברי הועדה הצהירו אז בפני שכל תכנית-פשרה של השתלמות או התכנית מאולתרת אינה מקובלת עליהם אלא אך ורק תכנית התמחות מלאה המעוגנת בתקנון של מועצה מדעית שליד ההסתדרות רפואית ממוסדת של מדינה.
9. בסיכום, הגוון הפוליטי העויין מבצבץ מכל שורה ושורה בדו"ח, הצבע הכביכול רפואי-מדעי הוא מאוד קלוש ומאוד דל, אבל, אם מטרת הדו"ח הוא לעורר עמדות פוליטיות אנטי-ישראליות כי אז הדו"ח יכול להשיג את מטרתו בקרב קהיליה רפואית עויינת לישראל ובקרב כל קהל שהוא הצמא לחומר אנטי-ישראלי.
10. אני מקווה שלהבא יצליח משרד הבטחון לאבחן וועדות דומות איבחון מוקדם על מנת למנוע ביקורים מגמתיים מהסוג הנידון המעוררים בחילה ושאת נפש, ושחוצאותיהם עלולות להסב נזק חמור לישראל.

ב ב ר כ ה,  
ד"ר י. סבר  
קמ"ט בריאות  
במנהל האזרחי  
לאזור יהודה ושומרון

העתק:

לשכת שרת הבריאות  
לשכת מנכ"ל משרד הבריאות  
תא"ל פ. זך - סגן מתאם הפעולה בשטחים  
תא"ל י. ארז - ראש המינהל האזרחי לאיו"ש  
גב' פ. הרצוג - הממונה על קשרי חוץ במשרד הבריאות  
מר ד. פלג - מנהל מחלקת ארבי"ל במשרד החוץ  
מר י. לוי - מנהל מחלקת ההסברה במשרד החוץ





11/2/88

תאריך

82/88 ק-

ס'א'ר'ח

רמ"א  
רע"נ מו"ש  
דובר

הנדון: ביקור משלחת רופאים אמריקאים יהודים  
חברי ארגון רופאים למען זכויות האדם

1. עפ"י בקשה תא"ל פרדי זך קיימתי עם משלחת הרופאים האמריקאים-יהודים הנ"ל, שיחה לצורך העברת סקירה על מערכת הבריאות באיו"ש (רע"נ מו"ש תודע על ידי אחרי פניית תא"ל זך ולפני פגישתי עמם).

2. האורחים הציגו עצמם כרופאים השייכים לארגון הרופאים האמריקאי למען זכויות האדם ואלה שמותיהם ומקצועותיהם של 4 חברי המשלחת:

יו"ר המשלחת - דר' ג'ק גייגר - מומחה לבריאות הציבור מניו-יורק.  
חברים - גב' דר' ג'ניפר לינינג - מומחית לרפואת חרום ולרפואה דחופה מבוסטון.  
- דר' בנט סימון - פסיכיאטר מבוסטון.  
- דר' לאון שפירא - פסיכיאטר מבוסטון.

3. את הסקירה על שרותי הבריאות איו"ש העברתי להם במשרדי ביום ג' 9.2.88.  
את הסקירה הם קטעו מדי פעם בשאלות לגבי הנפגעים בחקופה הפרוה הסדר והטיפול בהם.  
הם התעניינו במספר הנפגעים וקבלו ממנו את המספר של 250 נפגעים אשר אושפזו בכל בתי"ח באיו"ש בחקופה 21.12.87 - 3.2.88 וקבלו טיפול מלא. ציינתי בפניהם שלא היה מחסור בתרופות ובחמרי רפואה.

המשלחת ביקשה מספר נפגעים ישראלים בחקופה המקבילה והודעתי על בקשתם לרע"נ מו"ש ולרע"נ אג"מ אך מנהא"ז איו"ש לא יכול היה לספק להם מידע מיידי על הנפגעים הישראליים.

4. המשלחת הודיעה לי שהיא הגיעה אלי לאחר שכבר ביקרו בבתי-החולים חברון ורמאללה והתרשמו לרעה משני בתי-החולים (תחיתי בפניהם על חוות דעה הקטלנית הבלתי מוצדקת והבלתי אובייקטיבית). הם טענו שכל כוונתם היא למצוא דרך לעזור לישראל ולעזור לנו כמנהא"ז לשפר את שרותי הרפואה ע"י גיוס כספים. לטענתם הם מעוניינים לתגבר את תקציבנו לצורך פיתוח מואץ ומוגבר של בתי-החולים לשם הפיכתם לבתי-חולים מודרניים יותר וכן לסייע לנו באספקת אמבולנסים נוספים לרשת בתי-החולים הממשלתיים.

5. חברי המשלחת הודיעו לי שאינם מאמינים למספר של 250 נפגעים ולדעתם המספר גבוה יותר. הם הביעו "דאגתם" שבקבות שבירת עצמות הגפים ממכות האלה, הנפגעים יפתחו סיבוכים אורטופדיים קשים בעתיד כולל סיבוכים זיהומיים ואנו נזדקק לתקציבי בריאות מוגברים על מנת לטפל בהם בעתיד. (שללתי את ההנחה הזו אך הם לא הסכימו אתי).  
האורחים גם הביעו "דאגה עמוקה" מהמצב הנפשי של האוכלוסיה הבריאה באיו"ש ו"דאגה" מהמצב הנפשי של הנפגעים והביעו את התאוריה שכל החולים הפסיכויטיים והחולים הנוירוטיים באיו"ש יסבלו מהחרפת מצבם בעתיד לאור כל הארועים הכרוכים בדיכוי המהומות ושאלו בעתיד נצטרך לבנות עצמנו לטיפול באוכלוסיה גדולה שתסבול מבעיות נפש שונות. (שללתי את התאוריה הזו אך הם התעקשו על דעתם).

6. האורחים טענו בפני שהם ראינו רופאים ערבים משתלמים בבית"ח הדסה ורופאים אלה הביעו בפניהם את אכזבתם הקשה מן העובדה שהם מופלים לרעה בהשוואה למתמחים ישראלים בכך שאינם רשאים לעבור התמחות ישראלית מלאה על כל החובות והזכויות ואינם זכאים לתעודת מומחה ישראלית.

מסברתי למשלחת את כל מפעל ההשתלמויות שלנו ואת נוהל הדיפלומות למשתלמים, נוהל המהווה פריצת דרך משמעותית והתקדמות חיובית ביותר לקידום הרמה הרפואית של רופאי האזור. (חברי המשלחת טענו שלמרות הכל לדעתם איננו פועלים מספיק בכיוון החיובי של הכשרת כח אדם ושהם ישתדלו לגייס כספים בארה"ב למילגות השתלמות בארה"ב עבור רופאים פלשתינאים).



תאריך \_\_\_\_\_

## تاریخ

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7. חברי המשלחת טענו שיש בידם מידע על כך שחלק מסויים מהכנסות מהשטחים מופנה לישראל כך שאוכלוסיית השטחים לא נהנית ממלוא התקציב המגיע לה במערך המשרדים השונים. הם ביקשו ממני להתייחס לנושא זה אך עמדתי היתה שטענתם אינה מקובלת עלי ואינני מחשיב אותה כאמינה. (האורחים טענו שאינני צודק ועליהם יהא לפנות למשרד הבטחון לקבלת תשובות).
8. חברי המשלחת טענו שהתרשמו מדיכאון מתח וחרדה בקרב הרופאים בבתי"ח חברון ורמאללה וזאת בשל "כמויות הנפגעים העצומות" שזרמו לבתי-החולים שלהם ובשל אי-יכולתם להתגבר על הצפה כזאת בנפגעים. הם חזרו על הטענה שבי"ח חברון איננו כלל בי"ח ושבי"ח רמאללה טוב ממנו אבל רק במקצת. הם שללו את בי"ח רמאללה כבי"ח שמסוגל לתפקד כבי"ח כירורגי.
- שלחתי את טענותיהם והודעתי להם שבאשר לביה"ח רמאללה קבלתי דוקא חוות דעת חיוביות מאד מפרופ' הורטון וצוות הכירורגיים-הפלסטיים מארה"ב אשר שהו וניתחו במשך שבועיים בביה"ח רמאללה.
9. המשלחת הודיעה שבכוונתה לבקר באזח"ע כדי להתרשם גם מהאזור השני ובנוסף לכך עליה לשוחח עם מר שמואל גורן מחאם הפעולות בשטחים. חברי המשלחת בקשו ממני להודיע לתא"ל פרדי זך להחקר אליהם למלון אנטרקונטיננטל בירושלים היות ועליהם לקיים עמו שיחה דחופה לקבלת כל הנתונים והמידע אשר לא קבלו ממני.
10. לסיכום - המשלחת נחגלתה כמשלחת לא אובייקטיבית, שופעה צביעות, וכעוקצנית ומאד מגמחית בשאלותיה. כל התעניינותה כביכול בסקירה על שרותי הבריאות היתה מין כיסוי מלאכותי נעדר כנות. היא "הקפידה" להצהיר על שאיפתה הכנה לעזור לישראל ולמנהא"ז וטענה שברצונה לשפר את תדמית ישראל בארה"ב.

ב ב ר כ ה,

ד"ר י. סבר  
קמ"ט בריאות  
במינהל האזרחי  
לאזור יהודה ושומרון



בלתי מסווג

משרד החוץ

מחלקת חקשר

בוסטון

מברק יוצא

בוסטון	
35	נר
27.4.88	תאריך
דחיסות	רגיל

*למחלקת חקשר  
משרד החוץ  
בוסטון*

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נוש העבירות

אל: מצפ"א, חסברה, מזחי"ם.

דע: נוש נר 9, ניו יורק נר 2 (חועבר)

(ג'ויס)

ארגון רופאים למען זכויות אדם.

1. הארגון חסר הבטחה שנתן לי להמתין לקבלה תגובתנו לפני פרסום הדו"ח הסופי שלו ויצא איתו לעחונות. אבוקר (27.4) התפרסם ב"גלוב" מאמר נוסף בו מצוטט הדו"ח (בכתבה גם תגובתי, אך עם מספר שיבושים).
2. שוחחתי עם העורך הראשי של ה"גלוב" והסבתי תשומת ליבו לכך שעיתוני מפרסם זו הפעם השלישית את אותה ידיעה מפי אותו מקור ובכך נותן יד לארגון שכל רצונו הוא לפרסם את עצמו ותז לא. הודה בטעות ואמר שיהיה מוכן לאפשר לנו פרסום ידיעה, כתבה או מאמר בנושא הרפואה בשטחים הכל לפי ראות עינינו. בענין זה הייתי רוצה להמתין עד קבלה הוצאות בדיקותיכם ואז ננסה להביא לערעור מעמדו ותדמיתו של הארגון. הייתי שמח לו במקביל הייתי מקבל מכם מאמר חיובי על הרפואה בשטחים אותו ננסה לפרסם ללא קשר עם דו"ח ארגון הרופאים.
3. מובן שאמרתי לראש הארגון מה דעתי עליו. אני מתרשם שחם מתכווננים לשלוח בעוד מספר חודשים עוד צוות ארצה כדי לבדוק איך אנחנו מתנהגים. נצטרך לשקול היטב כיצד לנהוג בהם.
4. בינתיים שלחתי בדיק חומר מאת ידידנו ד"ר בלאס העשוי לסייע לכם בניסוח תגובה.

אבנון.

ג'ויס, אלכס, אביסל, חסברה, אלכס, אלכס, אלכס



# Hub doctors report Israeli abuses against Arabs

By Maria Alvarez  
Contributing Reporter

A team of Boston-based doctors said yesterday that Israeli soldiers are invading hospitals and are preventing doctors from giving medical care to Palestinians in refugee camps and villages.

Four doctors associated with Physicians for Human Rights who made a seven-day trip in February to Israel amid Palestinian protests released a report describing injuries to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

According to the report, people injured in the uprising are not receiving medical attention, and hospitals are inadequate.

"The four of us found it extremely painful to spend day after day and see case after case of injured people, including women and adolescents and some children, who have been put under curfew and denied medical care,"

Dr. Jack Geiger, who headed the team, said yesterday.

Ambulances and doctors were turned away seven times on one occasion, Geiger said. The Palestinians are given two hours each day to leave their homes, he said.

A copy of the report was given to each member of the Israeli Knesset. Physicians for Human Rights expect a response in a month, said Dr. Jonathan Fine, executive director of the group.

Arthur Avnon of the Israeli Consul General's office in Boston said last night that the report's allegations that soldiers are invading hospitals and prohibiting medical care to Palestinians "are not true. Much of what they say is untrue."

However, Avnon said he agreed that hospital facilities were inadequate. "The conditions are not adequate by United States standards, but many hospitals in Israel suffer inadequacies."

Avnon criticized Physicians for Human Rights for releasing the report. "They made a very hasty presentation. They held press conferences without presenting it to the Israeli government. We all agreed in good spirit that this report would be forwarded to the Israeli government and wait for our reaction before going to the press," Avnon said.

"This report will be forwarded to the government of Israel and it will be treated very seriously by Israel and a reaction will come," Avnon said.

Geiger, of City University of New York Medical School, said that many of the injured were related, living in homes that were invaded by soldiers during curfew. "There are nighttime sweeps into villages and refugee camps. These people were pulled out of their houses," Geiger alleged.

## World Court rules arbitration for US in PLO mission dispute

Reuters

THE HAGUE - The International Court of Justice unanimously ruled yesterday that the United States must go to arbitration to end a dispute with the United Nations over the Palestine Liberation Organization's UN Mission.

The court's 12-page advisory opinion backed the United Nations, which appealed to the court after the US Congress last December passed an anti-terrorism law to close the PLO observer mission in New York.

"The court had to conclude that the United States is bound to respect the obligation to enter into arbitration," Jose Maria Ruda, court president, said, reading the opinion of the court's 15 judges.

The US Justice Department, saying domestic law must take precedence over international obligations, rejects arbitration and last month appealed to a New York court to close the mission. The world court ruled "international law prevails over domestic law."

The antiterrorism law has prompted the most serious rift between the United Nations and its host in the world body's history and US Secretary of State George Shultz has called its passage "one of the dumbest things Congress has done."

The United Nations views the new law as a violation of its 1947 Headquarters agreement with the United States that set up the international organization in New York.

"Many of the beatings were incredibly severe," he said.

The report recommends "the restoration of the absolute sanctity of medical facilities and personnel and the absolute right of medical intervention on behalf of the injured."

Geiger said soldiers have arrested patients and thrown tear gas into hospitals and buildings.

Fine said the Palestinians have reported that tear gas caused some deaths. A concentrated form of tear gas is being used, Fine said.

"We are particularly concerned about the high velocity of the bullets," Fine said. "They have such speed that the bullet fragments break up into bits of pieces and go into a dozen different parts of the

body, destroying vital organs."

As a result, he said, there are a high number of reported spinal cord injuries, requiring neurosurgery and long-term rehabilitation care, which is not available, Fine said.

"They are treating this as a war. This is not a war," said Fine. Israeli soldiers are using lethal weapons against stone-throwers, "most of them . . . teen-agers," Fine said. Doves of young people will live the rest of their lives blind and without limbs, he added.

Other doctors on the trip were Jennifer Leaning of Brigham and Women's Hospital; Leon Shaptrou of Massachusetts Mental Health Center; and Bennet Simon of Cambridge Hospital.

Boston Globe 4/24/88

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488 525

## March Top Stories

(ranked in order of minutes of coverage)

	Total	weeks					ABC	CBS	NBC
		# 1	# 2	# 3	# 4	# 5			
1 Panama power struggle	160	54	25	40	27	34	56	52	53
2 Contra war: offensive, ceasefire	129	4	0	78	40	7	35	43	52
3 Israel-Palestinian conflict	101	20	27	22	18	27	33	40	28
4 1988: Super Tuesday primaries	85	32	60	0	0	0	24	33	28
5 Iran-Contra affair prosecutions	53	0	13	24	15	1	11	23	19
6 1988: Illinois primary	42	0	18	24	0	0	18	17	7
7 1988: Jesse Jackson campaign	39	8	10	0	0	21	11	11	17
8 Meese troubles: resignations	30	0	0	0	0	42	8	7	14
9 1988: Bob Dole quits race	28	4	11	5	6	6	9	9	10
10 Colombia cocaine cartel threat	28	15	3	0	0	9	2	5	20
11 Gallaudet U students protest	24	0	24	1	0	0	11	3	11
12 NATO Summit in Brussels	21	21	0	0	0	0	10	5	6
13 Iran-Iraq war continues	19	3	1	0	11	6	11	6	2
14 Afghan War: Soviet pullout plan	17	5	0	6	4	2	3	7	7
15 N.Ireland troubles continue	16	0	0	8	8	0	6	2	8
16 TV preacher Swaggart sex scandal	16	0	2	2	0	17	5	6	4
17 Inner-city drug violence	15	7	0	6	0	9	0	8	6
18 1988: Michael Dukakis campaign	14	3	4	2	5	0	4	3	7
19 USSR nationalities problem	13	2	2	4	5	0	5	6	3
20 1988: Dems' Mich caucuses	12	0	0	0	12	0	4	5	3
21 US-USSR Summit scheduled	12	0	0	0	12	0	6	3	3
22 Civil Rights veto override	11	0	0	0	10	0	3	3	5
23 1988: Richard Gephardt campaign	9	7	0	0	0	2	4	0	5
24 New York Stock Exchange activity	9	2	2	2	2	1	3	4	3
25 Austria remembers Anschluss	8	0	8	0	0	0	3	3	3
26 1988: SC primary	8	8	0	0	0	0	2	3	3
27 Baseball spring training	8	0	6	0	2	3	5	3	0
28 Ethiopia: war and famine	8	4	0	0	0	4	0	8	0
29 1988: Albert Gore campaign	7	4	3	0	0	0	6	0	1
30 1988: Pat Robertson campaign	7	9	1	0	0	0	3	1	3
Total TOP 30 stories	949	214	219	224	180	193	299	319	331
All other stories	505	104	96	92	136	123	183	175	148

## TYNDALL

Week #1: 29Feb88-04Mar88 (one day not counted in monthly totals)

Week #2: 07Mar88-11Mar88

Week #3: 14Mar88-18Mar88

Week #4: 21Mar88-25Mar88

Week #5: 28Mar88-01Apr88 (one day not counted in monthly totals)

The data and analysis in The Tyndall Report are produced as a result of a scrutiny of the New York broadcasts of ABC World News Tonight (6:30 feed), CBS Evening News (7:00 feed) and NBC Nightly News (7:00 feed) each evening during the week (Monday-Friday). The newscasts are videotaped and printed so that the duration of program elements can be measured second-by-second. The monthly data represent time, in minutes, devoted to news stories and features during these broadcasts. Times for commercials and program openings, closings and logos have not been counted in the totals.

Before publishing The Tyndall Report, ADT Research supplied analysis of the format and content of network news evening newscasts, morning programs and news magazine programs for the Research Department of one of the television networks.

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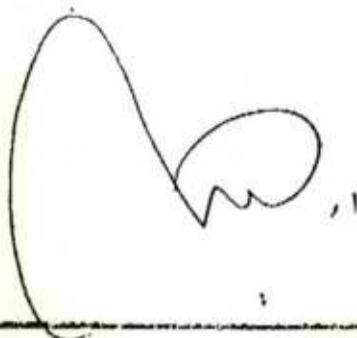
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		מאת: נאו"ם

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דע: משפט  
מאת: יששכרוף


משרדי אש"ף - ביה"ד בהאג

1. רצ"ב הודעה לעיתונות מטעם המזכירות בעניין החלטת ביה"ד הכינ"ל בהאג בעניין משרדי אש"ף.
2. ביה"ד החליט שחובה על ארה"כ להיכנס לתהליך בוררות ליישוב הסכסוך בלנה לבין האו"ם בהתאם לסעיף 21 להסכם ה-HQ.

נאו"ם



כינוס ארב"ל סייב ג'סס /  
כיון ארב"ל  
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אישור:

שם השולח: ג' יששכרוף

27.4.88

תאריך:



## Press Release

Department of Public Information • Press Section • New York

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ICJ/475  
26 April 1988

### WORLD COURT DETERMINES THAT UNITED STATES IS OBLIGED TO ARBITRATE WITH UNITED NATIONS ON PLO PERMANENT MISSION DISPUTE

THE HAGUE, 26 April (ICJ) -- The following information is made available to the press by the Registry of the International Court of Justice:

Today, 26 April, the International Court of Justice delivered a unanimous Advisory Opinion in the case concerning the Applicability of the Obligation to Arbitrate under Section 21 of the United Nations Headquarters Agreement of 26 June 1947. It had delivered this Advisory Opinion, after the application of an accelerated procedure, in response to a request submitted by the General Assembly of the United Nations under resolution 42/229 B, adopted on 2 March 1988.

In its decision, delivered at a public sitting, the Court had given its opinion that the United States of America is under an obligation, in accordance with section 21 of the United Nations Headquarters Agreement, to enter into arbitration for the settlement of a dispute between itself and the United Nations.

The Court was composed as follows: President Ruda; Vice President Mbaye; Judges Lachs, Nagendra Singh, Elias, Oda, Ago, Schwebel, Sir Robert Jennings, Bedjaoui, Ni, Evensen, Tarassov, Guillaume and Shahabuddeen.

Judge Elias appended a declaration to the Advisory Opinion.

Judges Oda, Schwebel and Shahabuddeen appended separate opinions.

(The declaration and separate opinions are briefly summarized at the end of the attached annex.)

The General Assembly's request had arisen from the situation which had developed following the signing of the Anti-Terrorism Act adopted by the United States Congress in December 1987, a law which was specifically aimed at the Palestine Liberation Organization and, inter alia, declared illegal the establishment or maintenance of an office of the organization within the jurisdiction of the United States. The law thus concerned, in particular, the

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Press Release 1CJ/475  
26 April 1988

office of the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations, established in New York after the General Assembly had conferred observer status on the PLO in 1974. The maintenance of the office was held by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to fall within the ambit of the Headquarters Agreement concluded with the United States on 26 June 1947.

Alluding to reports submitted by the Secretary-General of contacts and conversations he had pursued with the United States Administration with a view to preventing the closure of the PLO office, the General Assembly put the following question to the Court:

"In the light of facts reflected in the reports of the Secretary-General, is the United States of America, as a party to the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, under an obligation to enter into arbitration in accordance with section 21 of the Agreement?"

The relevant part of section 21 referred to in the question is transcribed in the analysis annexed hereto.

The printed text of the Advisory Opinion will become available in a few weeks' time (orders and enquiries should be addressed to the Distribution and Sales Section, Office of the United Nations, 1211 Geneva 10; the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017; or any appropriately specialized bookshop).

An analysis of the Advisory Opinion is given below: this has been prepared by the Registry for the use of the press and in no way involves the responsibility of the Court. It cannot be quoted against the text of the Opinion, of which it does not constitute an interpretation.

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Press Release ICJ/475  
26 April 1988Analysis of the Advisory OpinionSubmission of the request and subsequent procedures (paras. 1-6)

The question upon which the Court's advisory opinion had been sought was contained in resolution 42/229 B of the United Nations General Assembly, adopted on 2 March 1988. This resolution read in full as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 42/210 B of 17 December 1987 and bearing in mind its resolution 42/229 A above,

"Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General of 10 and 25 February 1988 [A/42/915 and Add.1],

"Affirming the position of the Secretary-General that a dispute exists between the United Nations and the host country concerning the interpretation or application of the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, dated 26 June 1947 [see resolution 169 (II)], and noting his conclusions that attempts at amicable settlement were deadlocked and that he had invoked the arbitration procedure provided for in section 21 of the Agreement by nominating an arbitrator and requesting the host country to nominate its own arbitrator,

"Bearing in mind the constraints of time that require the immediate implementation of the dispute settlement procedure in accordance with section 21 of the Agreement,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 10 February 1988 [A/42/915] that the United States of America was not in a position and was not willing to enter formally into the dispute settlement procedure under section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement and that the United States was still evaluating the situation,

"Taking into account the provisions of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, in particular Articles 41 and 68 thereof,

"Decides, in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter of the United Nations, to request the International Court of Justice, in pursuance of Article 65 of the Statute of the Court, for an advisory opinion on the following question, taking into account the time constraint:

'In light of facts reflected in the reports of the Secretary-General [A/42/915 and Add.1], is the United States of America, as a party to the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations [see resolution 169 (II)], under an obligation to enter into arbitration in accordance with section 21 of the Agreement?'

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Press Release ICJ/475  
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In an Order dated 9 March 1988 the Court found that an early answer to the request would be desirable (Rules of Court, Art. 103), and that the United Nations and the United States of America could be considered likely to furnish information on the question (Statute, Art. 66, para. 2), and, accelerating its procedure, fixed 25 March 1988 as the time-limit for the submission of a written statement from them, or from any other State party to the Statute which desired to submit one. Written statements were received from the United Nations, the United States of America, the German Democratic Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic. At public sittings on 11 and 12 April 1988, held for the purpose of hearing the comments of any of those participants on the statements of the others, the Court heard the comments of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations and his replies to questions put by certain members of the Court. None of the States having presented written statements expressed a desire to be heard. The Court also had before it the documents provided by the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 65, paragraph 2, of the Statute.

Events Material to the Qualification of the Situation (paras. 7-22)

In order to answer the question put to it, the Court had first to consider whether there existed between the United Nations and the United States a dispute as contemplated by section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement, the relevant part of which was worded as follows:

"(a) Any dispute between the United Nations and the United States concerning the interpretation or application of this agreement or of any supplemental agreement, which is not settled by negotiation or other agreed mode of settlement, shall be referred for final decision to a tribunal of three arbitrators, one to be named by the Secretary-General, one to be named by the Secretary of State of the United States, and the third to be chosen by the two; or, if they should fail to agree upon a third, then by the President of the International Court of Justice."

For that purpose the Court set out the sequence of events which led first the Secretary-General and then the General Assembly to conclude that such a dispute existed.

The events in question centred round the Permanent Observer Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the United Nations in New York. The PLO had on 22 November 1974 been invited, by General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), to "participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer". It had consequently established an observer mission in 1974 and maintained an office in New York City outside the United Nations Headquarters District.

In May 1987 a Bill had been introduced into the Senate of the United States, the purpose of which was "to make unlawful the establishment and maintenance within the United States of an office of the Palestine Liberation Organization"; section 3 of that Bill provided, inter alia, that it would be unlawful after its effective date:

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"notwithstanding any provision of the law to the contrary, to establish or maintain an office, headquarters, premises or other facilities or establishments within the jurisdiction of the United States at the behest or direction of, or with funds provided by the Palestine Liberation Organization ..."

The text of that Bill became an amendment, presented in the Senate in the autumn of 1987, to the "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989". From the terms of that amendment, it appeared that the United States Government would, if the Bill became law, seek to close the office of the PLO Observer Mission. On 13 October 1987, the Secretary-General accordingly emphasized, in a letter to the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, that the legislation contemplated ran counter to obligations arising from the Headquarters Agreement, and the following day the PLO Observer brought the matter to the attention of the United Nations Committee on Relations with the Host Country. On 22 October, a spokesman for the Secretary-General issued a statement to the effect that sections 11-13 of the Headquarters Agreement placed a treaty obligation on the United States to permit the personnel of the Mission to enter and remain in the United States in order to carry out their official functions.

The report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country was placed before the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly on 24 November 1987. During consideration of that report, the Representative of the United States noted:

"that the United States Secretary of State had stated that the closing of that mission would constitute a violation of United States obligation under the Headquarters Agreement, and that the United States Government was strongly opposed to it; moreover, the United States Representative to the United Nations had given the Secretary-General the same assurances".

The position taken by the Secretary of State, namely, that the United States was

"under an obligation to permit PLO Observer Mission personnel to enter and remain in the United States to carry out their official functions at United Nations Headquarters",

was also cited by another representative and confirmed by the Representative of the United States.

The provisions of the amendment referred to above became incorporated into the United States "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988-1989" as Title X, the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987". At the beginning of December 1987, the amendment had not yet been adopted by Congress. On 7 December, in anticipation of such adoption, the Secretary-General reminded the Permanent Representative of the United States of his view that the United States was under a legal obligation to maintain the long-standing arrangements for the PLO Observer Mission and sought assurances that, in the event the proposed legislation became law, those arrangements would not be affected.

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26 April 1988

The House and Senate of the United States Congress adopted the Anti-Terrorism Act on 15-16 December 1987, and the following day the General Assembly adopted resolution 42/210 B whereby it called upon the host country to abide by its treaty obligations and to provide assurance that no action would be taken that would infringe on the arrangements for the official functions of the Mission.

On 22 December, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988-1989, was signed into law by the President of the United States. The Anti-Terrorism Act forming part thereof was, according to its own terms, to take effect 90 days later. In informing the Secretary-General of this development, the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States, on 5 January 1988, stated that:

"Because the provisions concerning the PLO Observer Mission may infringe on the President's constitutional authority and, if implemented, would be contrary to our international legal obligations under the United Nations Headquarters Agreement, the Administration intends, during the ninety-day period before this provision is to take effect, to engage in consultations with the Congress in an effort to resolve this matter."

The Secretary-General responded, however, by observing that he had not received the assurance he had sought and did not consider that the statements of the United States enabled full respect for the Headquarters Agreement to be assumed. He went on:

"Under these circumstances, an dispute exists between the Organization and the United States concerning the interpretation and application of the Headquarters Agreement and I hereby invoke the dispute settlement procedure set out in section 21 of the said Agreement."

The Secretary-General then proposed that negotiations should begin in conformity with the procedure laid down in section 21.

While agreeing to informal discussions, the United States took the position that it was still evaluating the situation which would arise from the application of the legislation and could not enter into the dispute settlement procedure of section 21. However, according to a letter written to the United States Permanent Representative by the Secretary-General on 2 February 1988:

"The section 21 procedure is the only legal remedy available to the United Nations in this matter and ... the time is rapidly approaching when I will have no alternative but to proceed either together with the United States within the framework of section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement or by informing the General Assembly of the impasse that has been reached."

On 11 February 1988, the Legal Counsel of the United Nations informed the Legal Adviser of the Department of State of the United Nations' choice of its arbitrator, in the event of an arbitration under section 21, and, in view of the time constraints, urged him to inform the United Nations as soon as

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possible of the United States' choice. No communication in that regard was, however, received from the United States.

On 2 March 1988, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on the subject. In the first, resolution 42/229 A, the Assembly, inter alia, reaffirmed that the PLO should be enabled to establish and maintain premises and adequate facilities for the purposes of the Observer Mission; and expressed the view that the application of the Anti-Terrorism Act in a manner inconsistent with that reaffirmation would be contrary to the international legal obligations of the United States under the Headquarters Agreement, and that the dispute-settlement procedure provided for in section 21 should be set in operation. The other resolution, 42/229 B, already cited, requested an advisory opinion of the Court. Although the United States did not participate in the vote on either resolution, its Acting Permanent Representative afterwards made a statement pointing out that his Government had made no final decision concerning the application or enforcement of the Anti-Terrorism Act with respect to the PLO Mission and that it remained its intention "to find an appropriate resolution of this problem in light of the Charter of the United Nations, the Headquarters Agreement and the laws of the United States".

Material Events Subsequent to the Submission of the Request (paras. 23-32)

The Court, while noting that the General Assembly had requested it to give its opinion "in the light of facts reflected in the reports" presented by the Secretary-General prior to 2 March 1988, did not consider in the circumstances that that form of words required it to close its eyes to relevant events subsequent to that date. It therefore took into account the following developments, which had occurred after the submission of the request.

On 11 March 1988, the United States Acting Permanent Representative informed the Secretary-General that the Attorney-General had determined that the Anti-Terrorism Act required him to close the office of the PLO Observer Mission, but that, if legal actions were needed to ensure compliance, no further actions to close it would be taken

"pending a decision in such litigation. Under the circumstances, the United States believes the submission of this matter to arbitration would not serve a useful purpose".

The Secretary-General took strong issue with that viewpoint in a letter of 15 March. Meanwhile, the Attorney-General, in a letter of 11 March, had warned the Permanent Observer of the PLO that, as of 21 March, the maintenance of his Mission would be unlawful. Since the PLO Mission took no steps to comply with the requirements of the Anti-Terrorism Act, the Attorney-General sued for compliance in the District Court for the Southern District of New York. The United States' written statement informed the Court, however, that no action would be taken:

"to close the Mission pending a decision in that litigation. Since the matter is still pending in our courts, we do not believe arbitration would be appropriate or timely".

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END



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The Court pointed out that its sole task, as defined by the question put to it, was to determine whether the United States was obliged to enter into arbitration under section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement. It had, in particular, not to decide whether the measures adopted by the United States in regard to the PLO Observer Mission ran counter to that Agreement.

Existence of a Dispute (paras. 34-44)

Given the terms of section 21 (a), quoted above, the Court was obliged to determine whether there existed a dispute between the United Nations and the United States and, if so, whether that dispute concerned the interpretation or application of the Headquarters Agreement and had not been settled by negotiation or other agreed mode of settlement.

To that end, the Court recalled that the existence of a dispute, that is to say, a disagreement on a point of law or a conflict of legal views or interests, is a matter for objective determination and cannot depend upon the mere assertions or denials of parties. In the present case, the Secretary-General was of the view, endorsed by the General Assembly, that a dispute within the meaning of section 21 existed from the moment the Anti-Terrorism Act was signed into law and in the absence of adequate assurances that the Act would not be applied to the PLO Observer Mission; he had, moreover, formally contested the consistency of the Act with the Headquarters Agreement. The United States had never expressly contradicted that view, but had taken measures against the Mission and indicated that they were being taken irrespective of any obligations it might have under that Agreement.

However, in the Court's view, the mere fact that a Party accused of the breach of a treaty did not advance any argument to justify its conduct under international law did not prevent the opposing attitudes of the parties from giving rise to a dispute concerning the treaty's interpretation or application. None the less, the United States had, during consultations in January 1988, stated that it "had not yet concluded that a dispute existed" between it and the United Nations, "because the legislation in question had not yet been implemented", and had subsequently, while referring to "the current dispute over the status of the PLO Observer Mission", expressed the view that arbitration would be premature. After litigation had been initiated in the domestic courts, its written statement had informed the Court of its belief that arbitration would not be "appropriate or timely".

The Court could not allow considerations as to what might be "appropriate" to prevail over the obligations which derived from section 21. Moreover, the purpose of the arbitration procedure thereunder was precisely the settlement of disputes between the United Nations and the host country without any prior recourse to municipal courts. Neither could the Court accept that the undertaking not to take any other action to close the Mission before the decision of the domestic Court had prevented a dispute from arising.

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The Court deemed that the chief, if not the sole, objective of the Anti-Terrorism Act was the closure of the office of the PLO Observer Mission and noted that the Attorney-General considered himself under an obligation to take steps for that closure. The Secretary-General had consistently challenged the decisions first contemplated and then taken by the United Nations Congress and Administration. That being so, the Court was obliged to find that the opposing attitudes of the United Nations and the United States showed the existence of a dispute, whatever the date on which it might be deemed to have arisen.

Qualification of the Dispute (paras. 46-50)

As to whether the dispute concerned the interpretation or application of the Headquarters Agreement, the United Nations had drawn attention to the fact that the PLO had been invited to participate in the sessions and work of the General Assembly as an observer; hence the PLO Mission was covered by the provisions of sections 11-13 and should be enabled to establish and maintain premises and adequate functional facilities. In the United Nations' view, the measures envisaged by Congress and eventually taken by the United States Administration would thus be incompatible with the Agreement if applied to the Mission, and their adoption had accordingly given rise to a dispute with regard to the interpretation and application of the Agreement.

Following the adoption of the Anti-Terrorism Act, the United States had first contemplated interpreting it in a manner compatible with its obligations under the Agreement, but on 11 March its Acting Permanent Representative had informed the Secretary-General of the Attorney-General's conclusion that the Act required him to close the Mission irrespective of any such obligations. The Secretary-General had disputed that view on the basis of the principle that international law prevailed over domestic law. Accordingly, although in a first stage the discussions had related to the interpretation of the Agreement and, in that context, the United States had not disputed that certain of its provisions applied to the PLO Observer Mission, in a second stage the United States had given precedence to the Act over the Agreement, and that had been challenged by the Secretary-General.

Furthermore, the United States had taken a number of measures against the PLO Observer Mission. Those had been regarded by the Secretary-General as contrary to the Agreement. Without disputing that point, the United States had stated that the measures in question had been taken "irrespective of any obligations the United States may have under the Agreement". Those two positions were irreconcilable; thus there existed a dispute between the United Nations and the United States concerning the application of the Headquarters Agreement.

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The question might be raised as to whether in United States domestic law the Anti-Terrorism Act could only be regarded as having received effective application when or if, on completion of the proceedings before the domestic courts, the Mission was in fact closed. That was, however, not decisive in regard to section 21, which concerned the application of the Agreement itself, not of the measures taken within the municipal laws of the United States.

Condition of Non-Settlement by Other Agreed Means (paras. 51-56)

The Court then considered whether the dispute was one "not settled by negotiation or other agreed mode of settlement", in the terms of section 21 (a). The Secretary-General had not only invoked the dispute-settlement procedure but also noted that negotiations must first be tried, and had proposed that they begin on 20 January 1988. Indeed, consultations had already started on 7 January and were to continue until 10 February. Moreover, on 2 March the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States had stated in the General Assembly that his Government had been in regular and frequent contact with the United Nations Secretariat "concerning an appropriate resolution of this matter". The Secretary-General had recognized that the United States did not consider those contacts and consultations to lie formally within the framework of section 21 and had noted that the United States was taking the position that, pending evaluation of the situation which would arise from application of the Anti-Terrorism Act, it could not enter into the dispute settlement procedure outlined in section 21.

The Court found that, taking into account the United States' attitude, the Secretary-General had in the circumstances exhausted such possibilities of negotiation as were open to him, nor had any "other agreed mode of settlement" been contemplated by the United Nations and the United States. In particular, the current proceedings before the United States courts could not constitute an "agreed method of settlement" within the meaning of section 21, considering that their purpose was the enforcement of the Anti-Terrorism Act and not the settlement of the dispute concerning the application of the Agreement. Furthermore, the United Nations had never agreed to a settlement in the domestic courts.

Conclusion (paras. 57-58)

The Court had therefore to conclude that the United States was bound to respect the obligation to enter into arbitration. That conclusion would remain intact even if it were necessary to interpret the statement that the measures against the Mission were taken "irrespective of any obligations" of the United States under the Headquarters Agreement as intended to refer not only to any substantive obligations under sections 11-13 but also to the obligation to arbitrate provided for in section 21. It was sufficient to recall the fundamental principle of international law that international law prevailed over domestic law, a principle long endorsed by judicial decisions.

For those reasons, the Court was unanimously of the opinion:

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"that the United States of America, as a party to the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations of 26 June 1947, is under an obligation, in accordance with section 21 of that Agreement, to enter into arbitration for the settlement of the dispute between itself and the United Nations".

\* \* \*

Judge Elias appended to the Advisory Opinion a declaration expressing the view that the dispute already came into being when the Congress of the United States passed the Anti-Terrorism Act, signed on 22 December 1987, and adding that the purpose of the Secretary-General could only be achieved if Congress adopted further legislation to amend the Act.

Judge Oda appended a separate opinion stressing that little difference of views subsisted between the United Nations and the United States as to the interpretation of the substantive provisions of the Headquarters Agreement affecting the PLO Observer Mission, and that, where application of the Agreement was concerned, both sides agreed that any forced closure of the Mission's office would conflict with the international obligations of the United States. The issue was rather as to what course of action within the domestic legal structure would be tantamount to such forced closure, and the consultations that had been undertaken had been concerned with the applicability not so much of the relevant substantive provisions of the Agreement (sections 11-13) as of the compromissory clause (section 21) itself. The crux of the matter was the question whether a domestic legislation had power to override treaties, an issue which the Court had not been called upon to address. That being so, the General Assembly had not presented the Court with the question which it would have been the most useful for it to answer if the Assembly's underlying concern was to be met.

Judge Schwebel maintained in a separate opinion that, while the Court's essential conclusion was tenable, the question posed admitted of more than one answer. He agreed that it was axiomatic that a State could not avoid its international legal obligations by the enactment of domestic legislation; that a party to an arbitration clause could not avoid its arbitral obligations by denying the existence of a dispute or by asserting that its arbitration would serve no useful purpose; and that international arbitral clauses do not require for their implementation the prior exhaustion of local remedies. However, as to the interpretation of the Headquarters Agreement, it was clear in the current case that there was no difference of interpretation between the United Nations and the United States; in the Secretary-General's term, their interpretation "coincided". The real issue was whether a dispute had already arisen over the application of the Agreement, or would only arise if and when the Anti-Terrorism Act were effectively applied to the PLO's Observer Mission. The Secretary-General had repeatedly taken the position that a dispute would arise only if the United States failed to give assurances that current arrangements for the PLO Mission would be "maintained" and application to it of the Act would be "deferred". The United States had given assurances that no action will be taken to close the Mission pending a decision in

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current litigation in United States courts. It was not clear why such assurances were not sufficient for the time being. Should the Act be effectively applied, a dispute would then arise triggering the United States obligation to arbitrate; should the Act be held by United States courts not to apply to the PLO's New York City office, there would be no dispute. However, it could be reasonably maintained, as the United Nations Legal Counsel had, that a United States court ruling against applying the Act to the PLO would not mean that a dispute had never existed but merely would put an end to the dispute, a consideration which had led Judge Schwebel to vote for the Court's Opinion.

Judge Shahabuddeen appended a separate opinion expressing the view that the central issue was whether a dispute existed at the date of the request for an advisory opinion and noting that the Court had not determined the stage at which a dispute had come into existence. In his view, the giving of assent to the Anti-Terrorism Act on 22 December 1987 had automatically brought the competing interests of the parties to the Headquarters Agreement into collision and precipitated a dispute. As to any suggestion that no dispute could exist before the Agreement had been breached by enforced closure of the PLO office, Judge Shahabuddeen denied for various reasons that such actual breach formed a pre-condition of that kind but, even if it did, the position of the United Nations could be construed as connoting a claim that the very enactment of the law in question, whether in itself or taken in conjunction with steps taken in pursuance of it, interfered with the United Nations' right under the Agreement to ensure that its permanent invitees were able to function out of established offices without needless interference; such a claim was not so unarguable as to be incapable of giving rise to a real dispute. The parties agreed that enforced closure of the PLO office would constitute a breach of the Agreement, but did not agree as to whether the Act was in itself creative of a current violation. Accordingly, there in fact existed a dispute concerning the interpretation of the Agreement as well as its application.

\* \* \* \* \*

ירצא

71אט

16/3

חוזם: 4/15057

אל: בני/901/ורט/674

מ-: המשרד, תא: 230488/חז: 2037/דח: 1/טג: 1/בל

נד: 2

בלחם/בהוד לבוקר

מנהל לעמ' זימן אליר הינח את גלן פרנקל מה-'וורשינגטון פוסט' ואת מרטין פלסטר מה-A.B.C בעקבות פרסום ידיעות שלא הוגשו לביקורת הצנזורה.  
להלן ההודעה שפרסמה לעמ':

'מנהל לעמ' מר. יורם אטינגר השנה מהיום ועד תום הברור עם הכתבים את תגובות העיתונאי של מר מרטין פלסטר מה-N.B.C ושל גלן פרנקל מה-'וורשינגטון פוסט' בגין אי הגשת כתובת לביקורת הצנזורה הצבאית.  
מר אטינגר הדגיש כי אין כל קשר בין הברורה או אי נכונות הידיעות שפורסמו לבין החובה להגיש בכתובת ידיעות לביקורת הצנזורה.  
מנהל לעמ' אמר עוד כי חרף מצבה הבטחוני של מדינת ישראל מבדיים שילטרבותיה את חופש העיתונות ונוהגים בליברליות רבה עם העיתונאים ועתונות החוץ בישראל.  
ישראל נוהגת בהם בבוד מספקת להם שירותים ומצפה מהם להקפדה על חוקי המדינה לרבות תקנות הצנזורה.  
מנהל לעמ' הרמיק כי בימים הקרובים יעביר שוב לידיעת עיתונאי החוץ את כללי הצנזורה החלים עליהם בעת שהותם בישראל.'

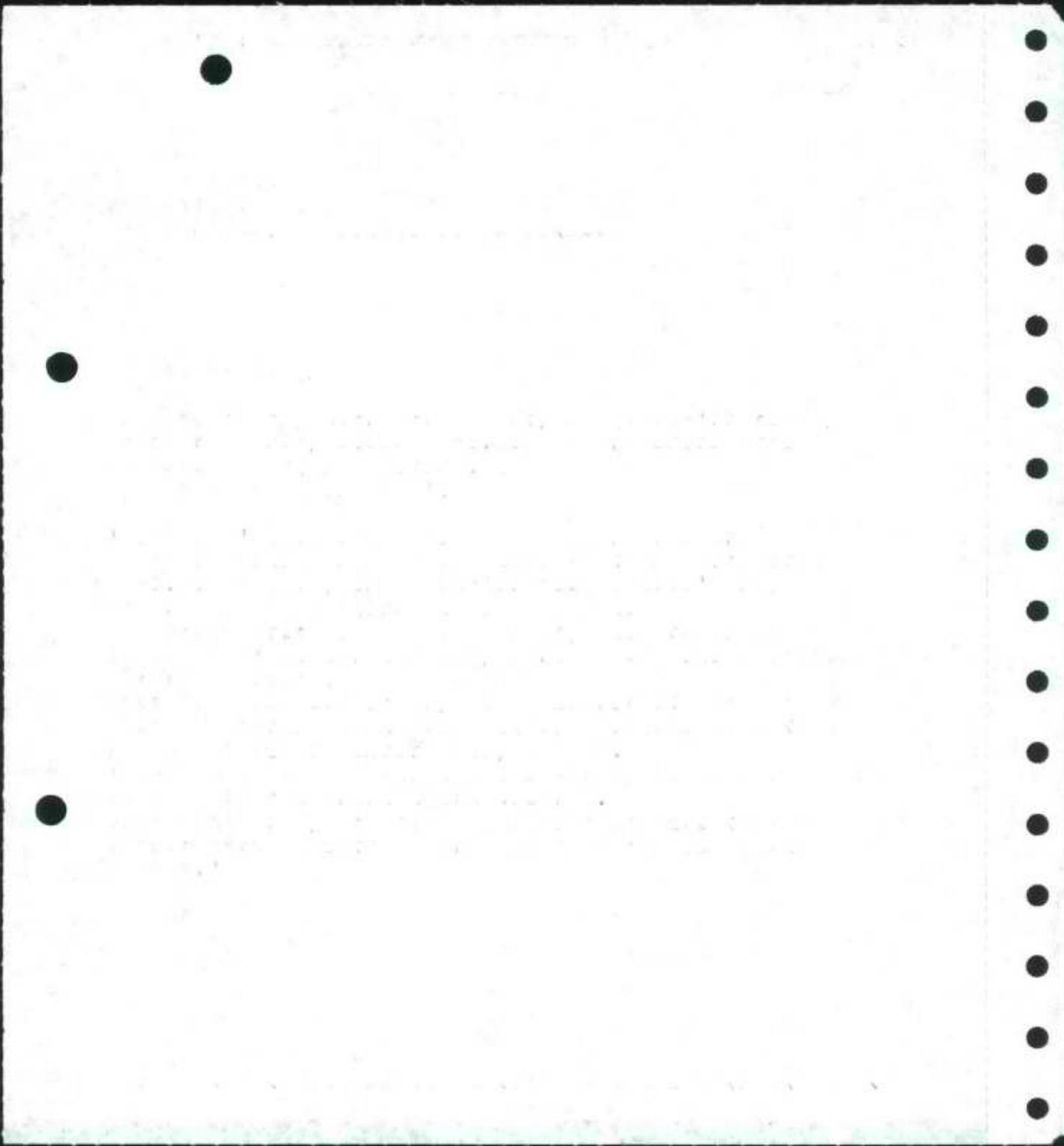
עד כאן

מעט

1/א

תב: שהח/דחמ/מכסל/מחבט/בירך/מצמא/אביטל/מעמ/הטורה/לעמ





ירצא

בלמ

104.3

חוזם: 13883/4

אל:

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 לוטאנגלט/140, בנגקוק/333, טוקיו/345, קנברה/174, אירופ/1106,  
 מ-:המשרד, תא: 250488, דח: 1830, דח: מ, טג: בל

ג: בל

מברק בלמ'ט/מיידי

אל: הרשימה הרב'ב

גז מזמיע - המלות.

בהמשך למסמכים מפורטים שהוגשו במספר נתונים השבוע (ראה  
 טקירת תקשורת של אתמרל 24.4).  
 להלן הנתונים המוסמכים כפי שבמסדר לנו ע"י נמרוו שרשן  
 קמ'ט בריאות בעזה שקיבל את הנתונים ממנהל בית החולים  
 'שימא' בעזה שמטפל בכשני שלישים מהנשים ההרות באזח'ע  
 ולכן מהווה מדגם מייבג למעשה ברורה:

א. מספר ההמלות:

דצמבר 87-115

דצמבר 86-92

ינואר 88-120

ינואר 87-108

מרואר 88-143

מרואר 87-135

העליה במספר ההמלות בחודשים האחרונים בעזה, לעומת

1944-1945

1944

1944-1945 was a year of great change for the world. The war in Europe ended in May, and the war in the Pacific ended in August. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers of the world. The United States led the world in the development of nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union emerged as a major power. The United States and the Soviet Union began a rivalry that would last for decades. The United States led the world in the development of nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union emerged as a major power. The United States and the Soviet Union began a rivalry that would last for decades.

1945-1946

1946-1947

1947-1948

1948-1949 was a year of great change for the world. The war in China ended in October, and the war in Korea ended in July. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers of the world. The United States led the world in the development of nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union emerged as a major power. The United States and the Soviet Union began a rivalry that would last for decades.

1949-1950

1950-1951

1951-1952

1952-1953

1953-1954 was a year of great change for the world. The war in Korea ended in July, and the war in China ended in October. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers of the world. The United States led the world in the development of nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union emerged as a major power. The United States and the Soviet Union began a rivalry that would last for decades.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

המטכ"ל בחודשים המקבילים אשתקד, נרבעת מהשכלול בקבלת החולים והטיפול. כתוצאה מכך נשים רבות יותר מוכנות לבתי החולים ויולדות או מפילות בבתי החולים ולא בבתייהן. בכרך ש-116 נשים טענו שהפילו לאחר שנחשפו לגז מזויט אך רופאי בית החולים 'שיפא' (שכולם תושבי עזה) לא מצאו הוכחות רפואיות לטענות הנ"ל.

ב. לגבי 30 הנשים המצוינות בדיעות העתונאיות - שפ"י תחקירים של רופאי בית החולים ושל ו"ר שושן עצמו עולה כי עצם מעורבות הנשים בהפגנות אלימות גרמו להפלות ולא חוזר לא החשיפה לגז עצמו.

מזת'ים - הסברה/מיוע

צ.ש.ר

תפ: שהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, טמנכ"ל, אוקיאניה, מבריס, מצפא, אירא, אירב, אסיה, מאפ, אמלט, מזחים, ארבל, 2, אירג, הדרכה, מעת, הסברה, ממד, מתאסשטחים



104.3 סטיון ז"ל



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL  
1020 STATLER OFFICE BUILDING  
BOSTON, MASS. 02116  
TELEPHONE (617) 542-0041

ט' באייר תשמ"ח  
26 באפריל 1988  
/145

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל  
בוסטון

אל : מנהל הסכרה  
מזתי"ם  
מנהל מצפ"א ✓  
העתק: סמנכ"ל אמית"ק  
מר ד. מתני, וושינגטון  
ציר הסכרה, וושינגטון  
הקונכ"ל ניו-יורק  
מאת : הקונכ"ל, בוסטון

הנדון : רופאים למען זכויות אדם

עם העברת דו"ח הארגון הנ"ל אליכם ציינתי שמו של רופא יהודי צעיר, ד"ר בלאט המוכן להתגייס לעזרתנו.

ד"ר בלאט (שותף של פרופ' לואון - חתן פרס נובל לרפואה בשנה שעברה) מכיר את המערכת הרפואית בארץ (כולל בשטחים) וכבר הספיק לנסח כתב תשובה לדו"ח הארגון. בנוסף הוא נפגש עם ראשי הארגון וממה שמסר לי תרמה הפגישה לערעור כלשהו של ביטחונם העצמי.

אני שולח לכם במצורף את תשובתו המוצעת של ד"ר בלאט לדו"ח (אותו אני מבין העברתם לבדיקה ותגובה של הרשויות המתאימות). ד"ר בלאט מעיד על עצמו שאת התשובה כתב בחופזה והיא אינה מושלמת (מספרי העמודים אליהם הוא מתייחס בנייר שלו למשל אינם מדויקים - טעות טכנית שלו). עם זאת הוא מקווה שהנייר הזה יהיה לעזר לאלה העוסקים במתן תשובה לדו"ח ארגון הרופאים. הוא מוכן להמשיך ולסייע גם בעתיד.

העבירו נא העתק הדו"ח למי שצריך - א"ל / א"ל / א"ל.

בברכה

ארטור אבנון





COMMENTS ON THE PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON A  
MEDICAL FACT FINDING MISSION TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP  
FEBRUARY 1988

As an initial impression and general comment, I find the disclaimer of an ideologic or politically partial view difficult to accept when the introduction of the report is laden with clinically unacceptable, nondefined terms such as "essentially" "epidemic" "scale" "degree" "severity" "most serious" "frequent." In addition, they make a comment that they were unable to see Israeli civilian hospitals without indicating why not. I was able to visit both Israeli and Palestinian hospitals.

Of the 103 patients examined "directly", they note three had household burns and 100 had injuries directly related to the uprising. The implication is that they saw a range of all trauma taking place on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and that it was overwhelmingly related to the demonstrations. However, how was the source of trauma confirmed other than that of report of the doctors showing these patients to the group from PHR? A simple question is whether trauma cases occurred for other reasons in that area, ie from auto accidents. In addition, domestic squabbles, falls, industrial accidents may contribute to trauma cases in hospitals. <sup>4</sup> A very sensitive, but important point, is the issue of the manner of parental disciplining of children in Arab society. This is well known to be extremely tough and direct, with a father often beating the child into submission. <sup>4</sup> How many patients would be <sup>expected</sup> ~~accepted~~ to ~~be~~ occupy hospital beds in a population of 1.5 million. Do these 100 patients represent an inordinately large fraction of this group? How many

fathers per day in this Arab population of 1.5 million? How do the figures reported in this report reflect the <sup>ignit</sup> ~~ambulant~~ level of violence in this population?

On page 10, 3rd paragraph, the obvious counter is what occurs whenever <sup>soldiers</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>hit</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>with stones</sup> hit, and when molotov cocktails set clothes on fire?

Page 11, "we had several times been told stories" of demonstrators held spread eagle against the ground while soldiers jumped on their limbs. How factual are these stories?

On page 11, paragraph two - this is not clinical investigation, this is sensationalist storytelling from a population eager to inflame anger in the proper audience. Paragraph 3, the statement beginning with a 59 year old man is also a sensationalist type of description.

Page 12, the IDF "denied responsibility." This reports take what an unidentified witness says as fact, but extensively discusses why a denial of responsibility by the IDF is implausible or should be doubted.

Page 14, "frequently told" that on "many occasions" these are not clinical research terms. They have no meaning other than to be sensationalist or inflame.

Page 15, the method of extrapolation over the entire two month

period presents a major problem with their overall methods since the violence was sporadic. The "multiple occasion" assumption generates a major error in the total number of casualties. It would be necessary to put this extrapolation rate to the test of trauma figures generated over a similar period a year ago. On the basis of a presumed observation of 4% of injuries, they assumed that this may have been as much as 15% of the trauma cases, ~~and~~ <sup>leaves</sup> This, however, ~~relieves~~ 85% of their reported figure as an extrapolation, ~~and that their statement that~~ <sup>This</sup> They arrived at, a total trauma figure in excess of 10,000, means that 8,500 are a result of inaccurate extrapolative measures.

On page 16, the use of the term "epidemic of violence" is not justified because no attempt has been made to: 1) verify the diagnosis of violence due to the demonstrations; 2) confirm the method of extrapolation, ie the 85% issue; 3) to determine the <sup>acute</sup> ~~ambulant~~ level of trauma during a nonpolitically turbulent period.

Page 16, long-term consequences - what about chronic care provided by Israeli clinics, especially in comparison to what was ongoing prior to 1967.

Page 17, paragraph 2, "reliable sources" - UNRWA, since when are they unbiased?

Page 18, the baseline number of first trimester miscarriages is an



extremely difficult number to determine and may be 20% or greater in the United States and Western Europe. The descriptions of the obstetric cases are clearly, to my mind, inflammatory reports of gory medical facts that are taken out of perspective. "Allegations of a large number of fetal deaths due to tear gas were widely reported in the Palestinian press." Why are reports of allegations contained in this report?

Page 19, "we heard many reports." This is not defensible content for this type of report. What is the purpose of a strategy of detailed description of eye injuries, etc. Has this description ever been placed in perspective in terms of management of civil arrest, ie 1) to methods and results of ?Syrian use of forcing <sup>of the</sup> in civil population in <sup>Hama(?)</sup> ~~homes~~. 2) Jordanian use of force in the East Bank refugee camps with armored personnel carriers and machine guns; <sup>in January 1988</sup> 3) Iraqi use of chemical weapons with 5,000 deaths within an hour <sup>in March 1968</sup>

Page 20, "in controvertible and result" - as a documentation of the pattern of violence on the West Bank and Gaza Strip raises the central question of what methods of determining the source of the trauma except by reports of patients and doctors.

Page 21, the reported agreement with respected organizations, ie the Red Cross and Amnesty International, raise the issue of these organizations' extreme distortion of reports in the 1982 Lebanon conflict where there is now general agreement that the reports were extraordi-

narily inaccurate and inflammatory and in which no mention of the Israeli .  
casualties which were documented to take place as a result of attempts to  
limit civilian casualties.

Page 22, paragraph 2, this paragraph presents serious distortions.  
I attempted to go to the Ramallah Hospital on March 16, 1988 at  
approximately 2:00 p.m with Dr. Kamal, an Arab doctor with blue Arab  
license plates. We were forced to turn back because of Arab rock  
throwers hitting our car with rocks. I had an appointment to interview  
the cardiac surgeon completing open heart surgery on that day in an  
Israeli equipped and trained unit. In addition, 20 to 50% of the  
pediatric cardiac catheterization cases at Tel-Hashomer Hospital in Tel  
Aviv are performed on children from the Gaza Strip.

Page 23, top of page - the stones scattered over the roads were  
placed there primarily by Palestinians not Israelis. In fact, often  
soliders would be the victims of rocks being thrown at them as they tried  
to clear roads of the stones, so to imply that the road blocks that pre-  
vented a passage of ambulances were the doings of the Israelis is quite  
inaccurate, ~~and inflammatory~~.

Page 24, to counter this information, confirmation with Dr. Eliezer  
Kaplinsky at Tel-Hashomer should be made regarding the continuation of  
the similar figures in the pediatric cardiac catheterization at  
Tel-Hashomer, ie Gaza children making up 20 to 50% of the case load.

Page 25, paragraph 2, why were IDF soldiers going into the hospital? Was it not in hot pursuit of rock throwers.

Page 28, the overwhelming of hospital facilities by trauma victims has to be kept in perspective. I visited the Beit Jallah Hospital which had many of its 64 beds empty. Three of the 64 beds were occupied by young men with fractures who were reported to have sustained these by bullet wounds from IDF.

Page 28, paragraph 1 - My comment is look at Bellevue and Boston City Hospital Emergency Rooms for a comparison of "physicians doing an admirable job in keeping these patients free of infection." Where is objectivity in this?

Page 29, "General medical services and systems" - these comments should contain some care in comparison to the pre 1967 conditions.

Page 30, "total disruption" of medical care system by the uprising is a grave overstatement and fault of this disruption has to be placed on the riotors. The relationship between Israeli and Palestinian physicians was described as "meager." I was impressed by the pride expressed by three Arab physicians regarding the fact that they could arrange for a patient to go to an Israeli Hospital for special care if needed on a single days notice.



Page 31, There is no mention of a preferred association with a Jordanian medical establishment and access to the establishment, ie examples to illustrates the "real and substantive contributions to the improvement of health facilities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." A larger question to be addressed is how to integrate a people sworn to achieve your destruction and trust them to be a part of your medical care system. The fact that training programs do exist for the Palestinians is quite remarkable. This information must be kept in perspective of a territory under Israeli control only because Hussain attacked Israel in 1967.

Page 33, Buried deep in this report is one episode of Israel being "good guys." Data regarding the pediatric catheterization schedule in Tel-Hashomer should be emphasized.

Page 34, paragraph 2 - The fact that young boys had been more defiant was precisely the effect intended by the Palestinian Unified Command, ie to provoke an Israeli response and to cause as many highly visible, "severe" injuries as possible and put these people on view for organizations like PHR to observe and to gain further press coverage.

Page 36. Do these psychiatrists know anything about the manner in which Palestinian children are disciplined by their fathers?

Page 38. What is so "occasional" about molotov cocktail throwing?

Page 41. Why start with the "small minority" when describing the reactions of IDF troops. Is this a balanced presentation?

Page 44, Number 8 linked causeway to number 9.

Page 45, Number 13. In any counter report, the "real and substantive contributions to the improvement of the level of health care facilities on the West Bank and Gaza Strip" should be detailed by the Israeli Information Services.

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Dr. John E. Woods  
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pin 104.3



Dear Member of Congress:

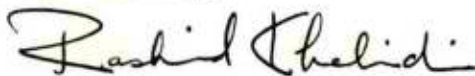
Two hundred academic specialists on the Middle East and other scholars concerned about that region, including 20 Center and Institute directors and associate directors and department chairmen, have signed the enclosed open letter calling for a major change in U.S. policy in the Middle East in light of the ongoing uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

We have stressed elements absent from American policy, and from the plan put forward by Secretary of State Shultz: **recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to full and formal representation in any negotiations;** and an approach based on **respect for this country's international obligations as regards both the occupied territories, and an international format for peace negotiations based on U.N. resolutions.**

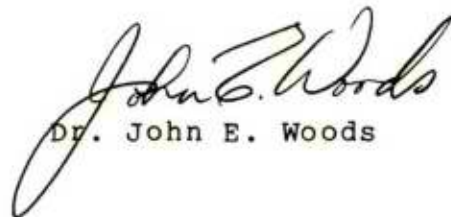
We argue that if the United States is to play an evenhanded and responsible role in the conflict, it must be concerned with **"the security, sovereignty and well-being of all the peoples concerned, including both Israelis and Palestinians"** and recognize that a resolution is only possible when **"all the parties to the conflict can be brought together to deal with one another."**

Should you wish further elaboration on this open letter, please write or call us at the above address or telephone number.

Sincerely,



Dr. Rashid Khalidi



Dr. John E. Woods

/nd  
Enclosure



OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, SENATORS, CONGRESSMEN AND  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

As scholars, specialists, and students of the Middle East, and others concerned about that region, we are responding to recent events in the occupied Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip.

We believe that the deaths, injuries and unrest which have occurred are a direct consequence of the failure of efforts to end Israel's 20-year occupation of these areas, and of a refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people guaranteed by the U.N. Charter.

Because of its special relationship with Israel, and its role in the region, the United States shares in the responsibility for what is now happening, and for initiating moves towards a resolution of the conflict. Such a resolution can only take place when all the parties to the conflict can be brought together to deal with one another.

If the US is to begin to play a balanced role in the Middle East, it must be committed to the security, sovereignty and well-being of all the peoples concerned, including both Israelis and Palestinians, and must work towards a resolution of the conflict between them, and between the Arab states and Israel, on the basis of justice, equality, and mutual recognition.

We therefore urge the U.S. government to:

1. Recognize that the Palestinian people are a party to the conflict, and that their chosen representative, the P.L.O., must be involved on a basis of equality in settlement efforts if the conflict is to be resolved.
2. Rescind laws and administrative measures which ban U.S. Government contacts with the PLO, or which by closing the Palestine Information Office, prevent the American people from learning the Palestinian side of this conflict.
3. Work towards convening an international conference including Israel and the PLO, to be based on U.N. resolutions calling for withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, in exchange for peace, recognition and security; negotiations under appropriate auspices; and the principle of Palestinian self-determination.
4. Uphold the principles of international law regarding all the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, and work to bring an immediate halt to all actions which violate it, such as land confiscation and settlement, deportations, and detention without trial.

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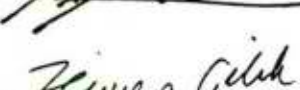
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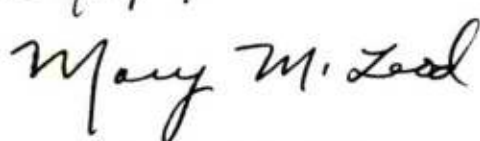
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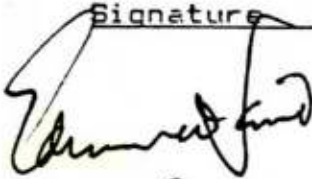





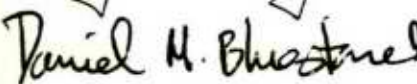



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William W. Boyer

William W. Boyer, The Charles Polk Messick  
Professor of Public Administration,  
University of Delaware

David L. Colton

David L. Colton, Professor of  
Mathematical Sciences, University of Delaware

M. Z. Nashed

M. Z. Nashed, Professor of  
Mathematical Sciences, University of Delaware

Drayn Schussay

Dept of Accounting, University  
of Delaware

James Magee

JAMES MAGEE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR  
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UNIVERSITY PASTOR, UCM



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Michael J Simpson      Karin C. Pyding

Lawrence Lee Gotes      Research Fellow      Centre for Hebrew Studies, Oxford

Charles E. Butterfield      Professor of Government & Politics, Al-Maqbal College, Ash

Hisham J. Harabi      Georgetown Univ

John Ruedy      John Ruedy      Georgetown Univ.

Louis J. Cantori      Louis J. Cantori      Georgetown University

Judith Tucker      Judith Tucker      Prof. of History      Georgetown University

Afaf Mahfouz      Afaf Mahfouz      Prof. of Intern. Law - Helwan University

Editor & Research Fellow      Institute for Palestine Studies

Michael C. Hudson      M.C. HUDSON      GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Richard Stites      Richard STITES      Georgetown University

Barbara Stowasser      Barbara Stowasser      Georgetown University

Signature      Name      Position & Institutional Affiliation\*

Mano Pedika      Assoc Prof of History, Georgetown U.

Herbert Hare      African Studies Professor. G.U.

Dina Khoury      Lecturer, Georgetown U.

Helena B. Chauncy      Asst Prof, History Georgetown U.

Peter Ibrahim Ali      PhD student Georgetown U.

Thomas F. Walsh      Professor - English Dept, Georgetown U.

Greg Mancini      Grad Student Georgetown Univ.

Halim Barakat      Professor - Soc., Georgetown Univ.

Jamil Khoury      Student Georgetown Univ.





ט' באייר תשמ"ח  
26 באפריל 1988  
432

104.3.

א"ל: לשכת המנכ"ל

ממנכ"ל

סמנכ"ל: מז"ת; אירופה; מצפ"א; אפאסו"ק; אמל"ט

מנהלי מחלקות אירופה 1; 2; 3;

אמל"ט 1; 2; מצפ"א; מא"ף; מא"ס; ראש הטקס

מאת: מנהל מזתי"ם

הנדון: העברת כספי אש"ף לשטחים באמצעות דיפלומטים  
בהמשך למכתבנו מ-16.3.88

בידי גורמי הבטחון ידיעות נוספות על נסיונות ארגוני אש"ף לנצל דיפלומטים להכנסת כספים לשטחים.

גורמי הבטחון מחדשים בקשתם שנפנה תשומת לב הדיפלומטים לכך.

נודה על טיפולכם בנושא ברוח מכתבנו אליכם מ-16.3.88.

בברכה,

זהב"ח

יהודע חיים

העתיקים: סא"ל רון קרומר, מתאם הפעולות ברשטחים, משהב"ט

יחידה 490, ש.ב.כ.





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בטחון

MITZ62.PRT

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*[Handwritten signature]*

שמור/מידי.

ע.ב.ש.

2646

משרד הבטחון.

אורי און - סגן מקש"ח.

שטחים-זכויות אדם.

1. בהמשך לשיחתנו הטלפונית, רצ"ב נייר השאלות שהוגש לציר בושינגטון ע"י האגף לזכויות אדם במחמ"ד.

2. מדגישים שוב שמדובר בחילופי מידע בלתי-פורמליים כאשר אלו אמורים לעזור למחמ"ד לאזן את התמונה המצטירת מזרם הפניות והתלונות המגיע אליהם מגורמים שונים בקונגרס ובמגזרים אחרים בציבוריות האמריקנית.

3. אנו ממליצים להענות לבקשה בחיוב, זאת ע"י מפגש עם איש מחמ"ד (זכויות אדם) ריצ'רד אהרן שישוה כאן בשבוע הבא.

4. נודה להחלטה עקרונית חיובית בנושא.

מצפ"א  
משה בת  
26 באפריל 1988

העתק: מנכ"ל, בירן, ליאור, מזתי"ס, ארבל 2, מצפ"א.

2 / / / / 3

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$\frac{2}{2}$ ~~381-PI~~~~342-07~~ $\frac{2}{2}$ 

A variety of sources report that the beating of Palestinians by Israeli Defense Forces continues on a widespread basis.

c

Circumstances in which beatings regularly occur include:

-- During the dispersing of crowds, even when the demonstrations are non-violent. Passersby not involved in disturbances are often victims.

-- Often family members, including women, children and the elderly, not under suspicion have been subjected to beatings. These incidents reportedly occur most often during nightly roundups of suspects.

After individuals have been taken into custody, particularly during interrogation. We have received a sizable number of recent reports of such mistreatment at the Daharfeh prison, near Hebron.

-- When troops are attempting to apprehend individuals. In several cases, Palestinian hospital personnel and patients have been abused by soldiers searching for demonstrators who have fled demonstrations into hospitals or clinics. We have received reports of these incidents in Ramallah and at the al-Ahli hospital in Gaza.

- o Reports indicate that beatings are being carried out by sizable patrols of soldiers, not merely by troops acting alone.
- o The practice is so widespread and disciplinary action against the soldiers involved has been so lenient that it has the appearance of being sanctioned by IDF commanders.
- o We would appreciate your Government's comments on these reports.

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END

ירצא

בלמס

חוזם: 13580/4

אל:ני/733/דורס/605/רונה/224/גובה/271/בנג'וק/326/טוקיו/339/  
 ביורס/487/קומנהגן/195/ברזיליה/228/לימה/237/ליסבון/143/  
 אוסלו/125/ארטבה/162/מבסיקו/205/קרס/234/קנברה/170/  
 אתונה/185/בון/353/בריסל/225/האג/220/לונדון/291/  
 ניקוסיה/155/פריס/578/רומא/263/מילנו/117/מדריד/182/  
 אנקרה/140/קינטאסה/160/סינגפור/180/בוקרשט/135/  
 מ-:המשרד/תא:250488/דח:1413/מ:מ:טג:בל  
 נד:@

בלמס / מיוזר

זר'ה ארועים יומי - 25 באפריל 1988

ערבאת בסוריה

1. בתקשורת הסורית (24) שערמאת הגיע לזמשק יחד עם מצטמא  
 ח'רובי, חבר ההנהגה הלובית. נתקבל ע"י חבר ההנהגה  
 הארצית של הבט'ה, סעיד חמאדי, ושר הפנים מחמו חרבה.  
 עפ"י ה-S.B.C (25) שצטריה בגישה בין ערבאת לאסד.  
 קדמה לבואר סורת שיחות בין משלחת סוריות ופלס'  
 בדמשק. ב'אלראי' (יורדן, 24) שזמשק אינה מתכננת עוד  
 ליחסי אש"פ עם חלק ממדינות ערב האחרות (קרי: מצרים).  
 לעומת זאת טגן הנשיא ח'דאט אמר (סוי'ב, 24) שהקשר עם  
 מצרים אינו יכול להוביל את אש"פ למימוש זכויות העם  
 הפלס'.

2. חואתמה מזב'ל התז'ד, אמר כי נקודת המחלוקת המרכזית  
 העומדת בין סוריה לפתח הינה הקשרים המדיניים בין  
 פת'ה למצרים, לעומת זאת נושא הנוכחות הפלס' בלבנון  
 לא יהווה נקודת מחלוקת. הנושאים המרכזיים העומדים  
 לדיון עם ההנהגה הסורית הינם: סיוע להמשך ההתקוממות  
 בשטחים, טירפוד יוזמת שולץ והגשת נייר עבודה משותף  
 סורי-פלס' לועידת הפסגה הקרובה באלג'יר. הוסיף,  
 החלטת ההנהגה הפלס' לקבור את אבו ג'האד בדמשק הינה



— 1992

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

החלטת מדיניות אסטרטגית (ר' מונטה קרלו, 24).

3. שר החסות והירדני (ר' מונטה קלור, 24) קידם בברכה את  
ניצני ההתקדבות הסורית-פלס'. 'כל מפגש בין שני צדדים  
ערבים וטילוק חילוקי הדעות ביניהם הם דברים שאנו  
מטיבים להם'.

תהליך מדיני

4. תוספין לרשת הטלויזיה N.B.C (ס'ק, 24):

א. רצח אבר ג' האד ש"י ישראל יגרום להגברת המתיחות במזרחית וליצירת סכסוך של תגובה שיגרור להרס הזרמבורות לשלום.

ב. הממשל הראשי לשלום הוא שמדת ישראל ובמיוחד  
עמות שמיר והגורמים המתנגדים לו.

ג. אינו יכול לסמוך על ארה"ב שכן זו מהססת ללחוץ על ישראל.

ד. ידון לא תהיה תחליף לפלס', אלא תדבר בשםם ולא תכסה עצמה עליהם. אין הוא יכול לייצגם שכן הם חשים שיש להם זכות לייצג את עצמם.

ה. על המדינה הפלס' לקדם על שטחם של הפלס' בדגמ' 11411.

5. בראיון ל"אלאחאד" (מאמ"מ, 24) הזהיר שה"ח התורניסטי מחמוד מסתיר, כי וטו אמר' על החלטת מועב"ט המגבה את רצח אבו ג'האד עלול לחבל ביחסי תורניסיה-ארב'ב. כך הדגיש כי ישראל למעשה הרגה את תהליך השלום ע"י חיטול אבו ג'האד. הוסיף כי המטבה הערבית הקרובה שאמורה להתכנס בירנ'י לא תדרך בשום תכנית שלום במזה"ת משום ש"ישראל וחתה את השלום".

177

**תפ:** שהה, והם, שהבט, מנכסל, ממנכסל, ממד,רט, אמך, ארבלו, מרב,  
מעת, הסדרה, לעמ, מתאשטחים, תרבות, אוקיאניה, מזרים, מצפא, איורא  
איירב, אסיה, מאכ, אמלט, מזתיט, ארבל2, איירג, לובדני, תולונות

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ירצא

בלמס

חרזם: 13554/4  
 אל: ני/731, רוש/602, וינה/223, גנבה/270, בנגקוק/325, טוקיו/338,  
 קנדה/169, בטורן/319, מרטוריה/133, אתונה/184, בון/352,  
 בריטל/223, האג/218, לונדון/290, מזריד/179, מרטיי/129,  
 אוטבה/160, מריס/575, רומא/264, ניקרטיה/154, טינגבור/179,  
 קינשאסה/159, ברן/194, אנקרה/139, קרמנהגן/193, שטוקהולם/181,  
 איסטנבול/115, נידרובי/105, קהיר/191  
 מ-: המשור, תא: 250488, דח: 1326, דח: מ, טג: בל  
 נד: 8

בלמס/מיידי

סקירת תקשורת צהרי יום שני ה' אייר תשמ"ח 25.4.88

ברתרת ראשית

ידיעות - מיטראן מוביל בסיבוב הראשון. עלייה מדאיגה של  
 הימין הקיצוני.

מפריט - ערמאת: דף חדש עם טוריה. סיכמנו על הרחבת  
 ההתקוממות.

חושות - חוסיין התחרט: לא מוכן לייצג המלשתינים במו"מ.

ירש"ע

פקקי תנועה ארובים, שלא היו כמותם מאז תחילת ההתפרעות  
 בשטחים, חסמו אתמול, משעות הבוקר המוקדמות את הכבישים  
 ביציאות מרצועת עזה לישראל. זאת, לאחר סיום 5 ימי סגר  
 שהטיל צה"ל על השטחים.

עם הסרת העוצר הלילי והסגר יצאו עשרות אלפים מתושבי  
 רצועת עזה לכיוון ישראל. רבים מהם שבו למקומות העבודה  
 שלהם בארץ ובין היוצאים היו גם סוחרים רבים, שיצאו  
 להעטייו בסחורה למכירה בחוץ הרמזאן. פקקי התנועה  
 הארובים נמשכו ממחסום ארז לכיוון אשקלון וממחסום נחל עוז

10/10/1944

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לכידון הנגב עד לתוך העיר עזה עצמה. בתי הספר וברשות עזה חידשו את הפעילות רכל האיזור נפתח לתנועה, למעט העוצר שנמשך במחנה הפליטים נוטויראת. אתמול הופעל גם, לאחר הפסקה ארוכה, שוק הירקות המסורתי ואלפי תושבים ערכו במקום את קניותיהם.

בזרות הכטחון הדטו אתמול מיוונים ארעיים, שנכנו בניגוד לחוק במחנה הפליטים אל-בורייג' ברצועת עזה. בשעות הבוקר הטיל צה"ל עוצר על המחנה ונכנס בכוחות מתוגברים כדי להרס את הכתונות והצריפונים שנכנו ללא היתר. כדוע, כי לאחרונה מנצלים תושבי הרצועה את המחומות בשטחים ומוסיפים בטמון לכתייהם מבנים בלתי חוקיים. בצומת מחנות הפליטים נוטויראת ואל-בורייג' הדטו כוחות הכטחון מבנה שהיה מיועד לשמש כתחנת דלק. העוצר במחנות הפליטים אל-בורייג' ונוטויראת נותר, עקב כך, על כנו גם אתמול. הסרת המגבלות על תושבי השטחים לא החזירה אתמול בגדה את החיים לטויראת. במרבית הערים התקיימה שובתה כללית מרצון לאחר שהממשל הצבאי לא התיר לבעלי העסקים לפתוח את עסקיהם אחה"צ.

תושב הכפר בית ערוש שבאיזור חברון נהרג ביום ו' כך כדוע אתמול. הצעיר הועבר לבית החולים שבחברון בשבת ושם נקבע מותו. מקורות צבאיים נמסר, כי ביום ו' הושלך בקבוק תבערה לעבר כוח צה"ל. הכוח ירה לעבר מיווי הקבוק. צה"ל בודק אם גופתו של הצעיר בבית החולים, הינה של מיויה המקבוק.

### ירושלים

מערב - כוח גדול של משטרה יגיע בצהריים לחנויות שבאזור שער שכם

בירושלים וימנע מבעלי החנויות לפתוח את עסקיהם בין 2 בצהריים ל-7 בערב, כדי לאכוף את הצו שהוציא אתמול אלוף פיקוד המרכז האלוף עמרם מצנע. הצו, שהוצא לתקופה בלתי מוגבלת, אוסר על בעלי העסקים לפתוח את חנויותיהם בשעות אלו, בעוד שעל פי הוראות המפקדה העממית של אש"ף עליהם לפתוח את החנויות רק בשעות אלו. זה למעשה השלב השני במאבק שבין השלטון הישראלי לבין גורמים קיצוניים ערבים, כאשר בשלב הראשון, שהיה אתמול ניתן לזקוף בחון לקיצונים הערבים. הללו מנעו באיומים מבעלי 25 החנויות לפתוח את עסקיהם אתמול ב-8 בבוקר, כפי שחייב הצו הקודם של אלוף פיקוד המרכז. בעלי החנויות התשלמו אתמול מהצו: 'אנו פוחדים לפתוח כדי שלא ישרפו לנו את החנות. אנחנו נמצאים בין המטיש לסוף ולא יודעים מה לעשות', אמר אתמול אחד מבעלי החנויות.





## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

כ"ט

ידיעות - מאת רבקה בוימן וגו' ליאור  
הממשלה אישרה אתמול ברוב קולות את הרכב הוועד המנהל החדש  
של רשות השידור. כיו"ר הוועד המנהל נבחר ח"כ אהרון הראל  
ולמשנה ליו"ר נבחר שלמה קור. במהלך הישיבה הסתייג השר  
מרץ מהמינויים האחרונים ברשות השידור, ואף הצביע נגד  
הרכב הוועד המנהל.

הסברה/מידע

תפ: שח, מנכל, ממככל, סמנכל, מעת, הסברה, תפוצות, מצמא, הדרכה, אירג,  
תרבות, אשלט

STATE - THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE  
AND THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE  
JANUARY 1900  
THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
AND THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
AND THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE



ירצא

בלמט

הרזם: 13513/4  
 אל: בני/723, רוש/598, וינה/219, גנבה/269, בנגקוק/324, טוקיו/336,  
 קנברה/168, בטורן/315, מרטוריה/132, אתונה/183, ברן/330,  
 בריטל/222, האג/216, לונדון/287, מוריד/178, מרטיי/127,  
 ארטבה/159, מריט/573, רומא/263, ניקרטיה/152, סינגפור/178,  
 קינשאסה/158, ברן/193, אנקרה/138, קופנהגן/192, שטוקהולם/180,  
 איסטנבול/114, ניררובי/103  
 מ:- המשור, תא: 250488, דח: 1230, דח: מ, ט: ג, ב: 7  
 ב: 2

בלמט/מיידי

סקירת תקשורת בוקר יום שני ח' אייר תשמ"ח 25.4.88

בתורות ראשיות

הארץ - ערמאת בא לפירט בזמשק. 'אני שב אל אחים-לנשק'.

דבר - חוסיין: היעדר פתרון עלול לגרום שואה גרעינית.  
שמיר: לא ניפרד מהשטחים.ג'רזלס פוסט - ביקור ערמאת מבשר על קשרים טובים יותר עם  
טוריה.

התהליך המדיני

הארץ - מאת אילן שחורי  
 מ"מ ראש הממשלה ושה"ח שמעון פרס הניח בפני שרי העבודה  
 משמך בו עמד אחד רביקש כי השרים יאשרו את תוכנו והוא  
 יהווה את העמדה המדינית הרישמית של מפלגת העבודה לקראת  
 מערכת הבחירות. המשמך יחולק לכל אלפי פעילי ההסברה של  
 העבודה ויומץ כמודעה בעתונות.

המשמך המדיני של מפלגת העבודה מורכב מעיקרי המצע המדיני  
 של מפלגת העבודה כפי שאושר בוועידה האחרונה ועיקרי  
 תוכניתו המדינית של מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי ג'ורג' שולץ



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

כפי שמסכימה להם מפלגת העבודה. בין היתר מודגש במסמך, כי מפלגת העבודה דוגלת בהסדרי ביניים בתוכנית האוטונומיה למשך כשלוש שנים, תוך מתן סמכויות אזרחיות רחבות למתיישבי השטחים והעברת הטיפול בענייני בטחון לידי מדינת ישראל. במסמך מודגש כי מפלגת העבודה מצודת בהחזרת שטחים ביו"ש וכעזה בעיקר אלו המאוכלסים בצמימות ע"י תושבים ערבים, אן מנגד מודגש כי מפלגת העבודה מתנגדת לחזרה לגבולות 1967, והדגשה כי ירושלים תישאר מאוחדת בריבונות ישראלית. החידוש היחיד הוא בטעיף האחרון הקבוע כי כל אחד מהסכמים שיושגו עם שכני ישראל ירוא לאישור במישאל עם מיוחד טרם ביצועו.

ירוש'ע

דבר - מאת סוכרו המדיני שלדור  
165 תושבים בשטחים כהרגו מאז פרוץ האינתיפאדה - מסר אתמול שהב"ט יבחן דבין בשיבת השמשלה. השר רבין אמר כי 147 כהרגו בידי כוחות צה"ל והיתר כהרגו בידי מקומיים או בתאונות. מספר העצורים בשטחים הגיע ל-4700. 1700 מהם עבריים עמ"י צורים מינהליים והיתר נשפטו או ערמוים לפני משפט. שר המשטרה חיים בר לב מסר כי בשבוע האחרון נרשמה עליה גדולה במספר הארועים הבטחוניים בתחום הקו הירוק ובמזרח ירושלים. 93 מקרים נרשמו ביומני המשטרה ברחבי הארץ (לעומת 59 בשבוע שקדם) מהם 66 ארועים בירושלים. בעיקר מורבר על ייודיי אבנים וקבוקי תבערה, הפגנות והתנגדות דגלי אש"ף.

הרמטכ"ל ושהב"ט היו תמימי דעים באשר למידת ההיענות ההולכת ופוחתת בקרב ערביי השטחים להנהגת האינתיפאדה. ברור מס' 14, הכרז האחרון של 'כתח' שעסק בחיסולו של אבר ג'יהאד, נאעט שלא היתה לו השפעה דמעט מאד מההנחיות שפורסמו בכרז אכן ברצור.

הארץ - מאת נדב שרגאי  
ירט ללא הרוגים היה אתמול בגדה וברצועה. מספר הפרות הסדר שנרשמו היה כמון יחסית. רבות מההגבלות שהטיל צה"ל על התושבים מאז חיסול אבר ג'יהאד הוסרו ו-80 אחוז מהפועלים יצאו לעבודתם בישראל. כמו כן הוסר העוצר מ-14 מחנות פליטים כגדה ומחציר שכם. בין מחנות הפליטים, שמהם יצאו אתמול התושבים מבתיים, אחרי תקופה ארוכה, היה גם מחנה הפליטים ג'לזון, שהיתה נתון בעוצר 40 ירט. לעומת זאת נשאר העוצר בעיכו בענבתא ובמחנה הפליטים כור א-שמט ליד טול כרט. כמו כן הוכרז על עוצר מדי ירט, בין השעות



[illegible]

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18.00-24.00 בעיר קלקיליה, שם יודו בימים האחרונים בעירים אבנים בכלי רכב יהודים.

למשטרת ירושלים יזומנו הבוקר 25 הסוחרים שלא צויתואתמול לבו של אלון מיקוד המרכז עמוס מצנע, אשר הורה להם לפתוח את חנויותיהם ליד שער שכם בירושלים. הם צפויים לערש מירבי של שנתיים מאסר, אם יועמדו לדין.

אתמול הוציא מצנע צו נוסף, האוסר על סוחרים אלה לפתוח את חנויותיהם לתקופה בלתי מוגבלת בין השעות 14.00-19.00 מזי יום.

(\*) הערת מדור מידע: צעד זה מיועד למנוע הליכה של הסוחרים אחר הנחיות הכרזים).

שביתת המסחר במזרח ירושלים נמשכת כזכור זה ארבעה חודשים, למעט כמה שעות שבהם פותחים הסוחרים את עסקיהם אחר הצהריים. במשטרת ירושלים שוקלים להוציא בימים הקרובים צווי פתיחה לחנויות נוספות. בבית לחם הורה הצבא על הסוחרים לפתוח את חנויותיהם בשעות אחה"צ, לאחר שהללו סירבו לפתוח את החנויות בשעות הבוקר.

הארץ - רב טוראי שגיא הרפז, אחרון הנאשמים בפרשת הכאת הערבים בשכם, שנחשפה בידי צוות דשת הטלויזיה האמריקאית טי.בי.אס, נידון אתמול בבית הדין הצבאי של מחוז המרכז ביטול לחגישה חודשי מאסר על תנאי והורדה לדרגת טוראי. במקביל עיסקת טיעון בין נציגי התביעה הצבאית, סרן ש. יניב וסרן גיל גרשוני, לסנגורים, עורכי הדין אורי סלובין, אמציה אטלס וגיורא אורת, שונה סעיף האישום מתקיפה והתעללות להתנהגות מבישה, הנאשם הודה באשמה זו והורשע על סמן הדואר. בגזר הדין קבעו אב בית הדין, סא"ל ד"ר עמנואל גרוס, סא"ל יצחק רייכר ורב סרן אלון גילון, כי התחבטו לא מעט, אולם החליטו להתחשב באווירה הקשה בטטחים - כאשר האוכלוסיה המקומית מנצלת את מוסר חיילי צה"ל ורומסת את כבוד החיילים. השופטים ציטטו את דבריו של שה"ט יצחק רבין, שאמר בין היתר, כי חיילי צה"ל לא עמדו זה 40 שנה במבחן כגון זה.

תקשורת

הארץ - זאת לילי גלילי תוכנית היוקרה 'ביוטליון' של דשת אי.בי.טי תשדר השבוע מישראל כ-7 שעות שידור, בעלות של כמיליון דולר. לשם הפקת התוכנית שהיא חסרת תקדים בהיקפה הגיע ארצה המדאיין-הכוכב של המישור, טו קופל. בארץ כבר שוחים כ-30 אנשי צוות, ובהם 10 מפיקים. הצוות התמקם באולם 'הנרי קראון'





## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בתיאטרון ירושלים ובחזרות הסמוכים השמורים כמעט ב'שטח  
בבנין סגור' מסיקור מתוכנני. עד כה ביצעה 'בניטליין' שאינה  
מדינה לצאת מארה"ב, הפקות דומות מהפיליפינים ומזר"מ, אף  
כי גט הן בהיקף מבוטא בהרבה. גורמים המקורבים להפקה  
אומרים כי ההחלטה להפיק מישור מסוג זה בישראל, נבעה  
מביקורת שנשמעה מחוגים יהודיים ולא יהודיים בארה"ב על  
סיקור האירועים בשטחים. שידור התוכנית יחל ביום שלישי  
בבוקר (11.30 בליל יום ב' בארה"ב) בשעת שידור, שבה  
ידואינו שהב"ט יצחק רבין, ובניגון אש"ף, בנפרד. שיא  
המשדר יהיה בלילה שבין הימים ג' וד' בתוכנית מיוחדת של 3  
שעות שתוקרן מאולם התיאטרון, בהשתתפות 8 חברי כנאל  
ישראלים ופלשתינאים. מן הצד הישראלי יופיעו, ככל הנראה,  
ח"כ דני צוקר, חיים רמון, אהוד אולמרט, דן מרידור או  
בנימין נתניהו. במשדר ישתלבו גם 17 פריטי חדשות שיצולמו  
בכל הארץ, לאורך הסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי, מן ההיבט  
ההיסטורי, הדתי והאקטואלי.

מכאן

דבר - מאת עליזה רלן

הפתעות נפלו אתמול בבמה מחוזות מפלגת העבודה, שבהם  
התקיימו בחירות למועמדי המחוזות לרשימה לכנסת. הכוללת  
ביותר היתה במחוז ת"א שבו צבר הח"כ לשעבר מיכאל בר זוהר  
יותר קולות מהמזכיר הוועממני של המחוז, ח"כ אליהו  
שפיידר. מחוז ת"א שולח להתמודדות על הדירוג ברשימת  
המועמדים לכנסת שתייה במרכז המפלגה, שני מועמדים,  
ולשימור התמיכה בהם במחוז יהיו הלשכות גם על מיקומם  
ברשימה לכנסת. בר זוהר קיבל 369 קולות במועצת המחוז  
ואילו ח"כ שפיידר קיבל 340 קולות. הפתעה גדולה נפלה גם  
במחוז התק"ם שבו לא נכלל שמעון שבט, עוזרו של שהב"ט יצחק  
רבין, ברביעיות מועמדי המחוז לדירוג ברשימה לכנסת.  
האירוע שנבחרו הם עב"י הדירוג הפנימי של המחוז: ח"כ עדנה  
טולדור שצברה 1,148 נקודות, חגי מירום, מזכיר הנוער  
העובד והלומד, שצבר 1,095 נקודות, מנחם גלעד, מרכז ועדת  
המשק בתק"ם, שצבר 753 נקודות, וירוסלה בר-ציון, ראש אגף  
ההעברה במפלגת העבודה, שצבר 744 נקודות.

העברה/מידע

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the work and the method of its preparation. The author states that the work is a result of a long and arduous process, and that it is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the subject matter.

2. The second part of the document is a detailed analysis of the subject matter, which is divided into several sections. Each section contains a thorough examination of the relevant issues, supported by a wealth of data and references.

3. The third part of the document is a conclusion, which summarizes the findings of the analysis and provides a final assessment of the subject matter. The author concludes that the subject matter is a complex and multifaceted one, and that it requires further research and exploration.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of references, which includes a comprehensive list of the sources used in the work. The references are organized alphabetically, and each entry includes the author's name, the title of the work, and the publisher's name.

5. The fifth part of the document is an index, which provides a quick and easy way to find specific information within the work. The index is organized alphabetically, and each entry includes the page number where the information can be found.

—

The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The next step is the collection of data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The next step is the analysis of the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The next step is the interpretation of the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The next step is the presentation of the results. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The next step is the conclusion. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation.

## RESULTS

[illegible]

ט ז פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 4 דפים

סוג בטיחוני גלוי

דחיפות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 1815 20 אפר 88

מס' מברק

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

393 368 79  
המשרד, ביטחון, ניו-יורק

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת הסברה

דע: יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת

יועץ שהביט לתקשורת

מנהל לשכת העתונות הממשלתית

ניו-יורק

דו"ח תקשורת - 20 באפריל, 1988

כללי

בשבוע שחלף הרבתה העתונות לעסוק בנושאים הקשורים לישראל. שני הנושאים המרכזיים - רצח אבו-ג'יהאד ומשפט דמיניוק - הופיעו במרבית העיתונים בעמודים ראשונים בליווי תמונות, ובראש מהדורות החדשות. העתונות גם הרבתה לעסוק בהמשך אי השקט בשטחים ובעיקר בעקבות ההתחממות לאחר הרצח בטוניס. נושא זה זכה למקום מכובד בעמודים הפנימיים ומשני בראשונים.

מעט מאמרים, בעלי אופי מחקרי אנאליסטי הוקדשו ל-40 שנה לישראל ולייצוג פחות אף מזה, המשלחת הישראלית-יתודית לפולין לציון 45 שנה למרד גטו נרשה.

שמה של ישראל הוזכר גם בהקשר לבחירות המועמד הדמוקרטי לנשיאות ניו-יורק, בעיקר בהקשר לעמדותיהם של דוקיטס וג'יקסון, אשר יחסם לישראל, לדעת מומחים, היה אמור להשפיע על הקול היהודי בעיר. הכיסוי הטלביזיוני הנרחב מקדיש דקות ארוכות לניתוח הנושא.

היום, 20.4.88, החלו להופיע תגובות בנושא הגרושים האחרונים מהשטחים, ברובן בעמודים ראשונים, ובהבלטה.

ביחס לנושאים אחרים, ובהתחשב בעובדה שהשבוע תקפה ארתי"ב את איראן במפרץ, ובניו-יורק התקיימה מערכת בחירות שאמורה היתה להכריע מי יהיה המועמד הדמוקרטי לנשיאות, אפשר לומר שהופענו בצורה מאסיבית למדי בעתונות הכתובה ובתקשורת האלקטרונית.

ב / תפוצה פנימית / משרד / משרד / משרד



שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו ס ס מ ב ר ק

דף 2 מחובר 4 דפים

סווג בטחוני

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

79/368/393

רצח אבו-ג'יהאד

חנושא הופיע במשך יומיים בעמודים הראשונים, מעל הקפל, בכל העיתונים. הכתבות הראשונות היו בעלות אופי דיווחי בעיקר. סיפרו את תולדות חייו של האיש (והקפידו לכנותו בשמו ולא בשמו המבצעי), וכן תארו את פעולת הקומנדו שבמהלכה נרצח. החל מהדיווחים הראשונים מופיע שמה של ישראל כאחראית כמעט ודאית ואפשרויות אחרות כמעט לא נשקלות. בהמשך השבוע השתנה קצת הטון הדיווחי ומתחילות לעלות שאלות כמו "למי זה מועיל?" או "מה הלאה?", "בין מי יתחלקו תפקידיו בארגון?" כן מובעות עמדות בגנות רציחות פוליטיות ומודגש הגיבוי של מחמ"ד. לקראת אמצע השבוע מתואר אבו-ג'יהאד גם כאיש "מתחנן" בתוך הארגון וכאינטלקטואל של אש"ף. פקידים בממשל, שלא לרקורד, הביעו תסכול מן המעשה. מאמרי המערכת (שניים עד כה) מדגישים כי לאיש פנים רבות: זה שמאחורי החרב - הטרוריסט, סמל הזרוע המבצעת של אש"ף, והאחר - המתחנן, סמל למאבק ולחזון המדינה הפלסטינאית, מטרות צודקות וחשובות.

נשמעים גם קולות המודאגים מהסלמה במעגל הרציחות והנקמות ההדדיות בעקבות הרצח. פה ושם ניתן לאבחן נימה מטויימת של הערצה לישראל על יכולת הביצוע הצבאית שלה, ויש אף שכינו את המבצע - אנטבה 2.

את המאמרים ליוו תמונות רבות של האיש, ביתו ופלסטינאים אבלים.

המשך אי השקט בשטחים והתחממות לאחרי הרצח בטוניס

הופיע בצרוף מספרי ההרוגים החדשים בעמודים ראשונים במקומות מרכזיים, בליווי תמונות. הסיפורים, בעלי אופי דיווחי בעיקר, דיברו על סגירת השטחים, עוצר, וסיפורים אנושיים על חפים מפשע שנפגעו. כמו אותה אישה שנהרגה כי רצה ברוחב לחפש את ילדיה, וכן עסקו בחישובים מחדש של מספר ההרוגים הכללי מאז תחילת ההקומות.

בכל הדיווחים הודגשה התחממות הרוחות ולהט הנקמה שבעקבות הרצח, והובעה הערכת שהרצח יגרם להקצנה בעמדותיו של אש"ף. בטלביזיה אנו צופים בהמשך התמננות של עימותי מפגינים-חילים.

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטוןט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 3 מחוד 4 דפים

סוג בטחוני

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

3/4 79/368/393

משפט דמיניוק

דווח בהרחבה על-ידי כל רשתות הטלביזיה ותחנות הרדיו. כמו כן תפס מקום בעמודים ראשונים, לא בחלקים מרכזיים, בליווי תמונות. סיפורים דיווחיים בעיקר, אשר עסקו, מעבר לסיפור, בשאלת זהותו של הנאשם, בנושא אמינותו של בית משפט יהודי לשפוט פושעים נאציים ממרחק של 45 שנה ועל מאראתו קריאת פסק הדין שנסתיים בהכרזתו של דמיניוק "אינני אשם" בעברית ובאנגלית.

40 שנה למדינה

מעט מאמרים, בליווי תמונות רבות, סיפורים מורחבים, מעמיקים וארוכים, המנסים לחקור ולנתח את הבעיות המרכזיות המעסיקות את המדינה אז והיום. מדברים על חג שהוא יותר יקציה מאשר מסיבת יום הולדת, על חוסר הבטחון החיצוני והפנימי שלא פסק מאז קום המדינה, על כך שבעיות קיומיות מרכזיות נשארו בלתי פתורות, ועל כך שמדינת ישראל עדיין לא מקובלת על מרבית שכניה. הרבה ביקורת על הדרך בה מנהלת ישראל את ענייניה היום, עם גוון של "החלום ושברו" המלווה את חגיגות ה-40.

מערכת הבחירות בניו-יורק

הופיעה בעמודים ראשונים במקומות מרכזיים, וכמובן שעמדה במוקד השידורים בטלביזיה. בהקשר שלנו הוזכר המתח בין יהודים לשחורים בניו-יורק והערותיו של ראש העיר אד קנץ' בנושא, שרק החריפו את המתח, בבחינת יציקת שמן למדורה. הערכות המומחים היו, שקולות היהודים ינחנו במידה רבה בהתאם ליחסו של המועמד לישראל, אם כי התנהל גם ויכוח בנושא. היו שטענו שחלק מהיהודים, כמו שרגישים תמיד לנושאים סוציאליים, יעדיפו לתת קולם לג'קסון בעל התדמית של "דואג לעניים".

סגירות ישראל / וושינגטוןט ו ס מ ב ר ק

דף 4 מחוד 4 דפים

סוג בטחוני

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

4 79 / 368 / 393

המשלחת הישראלית-יהודית לפולין

הסיפור הופיע בעמודים פנימיים בלבד ולא בהרחבה יתירה. הוזכר המרד ותוארה מבוכת הפולנים ביחס למשלחת הגדולה, לאור התנגדותה הנמרצת של פולין לנעשה בשטחים. הוזכר גם סיפור קבוצת הסטודנטים הפלסטינאים שהניחו זר לזכר הקורבנות היהודים בשם הקורבנות הפלסטינים, למרגלות המצבת לזכר מרד גטו ורשה.

גרושים נוספים בגדה

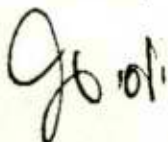
הסיפור הופיע היום, אחרי שחסיק אתמול את כל רשתות הרדיו והטלביזיה, בעמודים ראשונים במרבית העיתונים, ובעמודי "חדשות העולם" באחרים. נושא אופי תאורי בעיקרו, ללא ניתוחים או הבעות עמדה. אולם מוקדם לסכם עדיין, שכן עם כל העיפות מהכיסוי המתמשך, לא יורד הנושא שלנו מהכותרות.

נושאים אחרים

ההתקפה האמריקאית במפרץ - חופיעת בעמודים ראשונים בהרחבה, בתוספת למאמרי הערכה או ביקורת רבים בעמודים הפנימיים.

חטיפת המטוס הכויתי - ידיעות קצרות בעמודים הראשונים. עבר השבוע ברובו לעמודים הפנימיים. לעומת זאת, כיסוי נרחב בטלביזיה.

עתונות





ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מחוד 2 דפים

סווג בטחוני שמור

דחיות מיידי

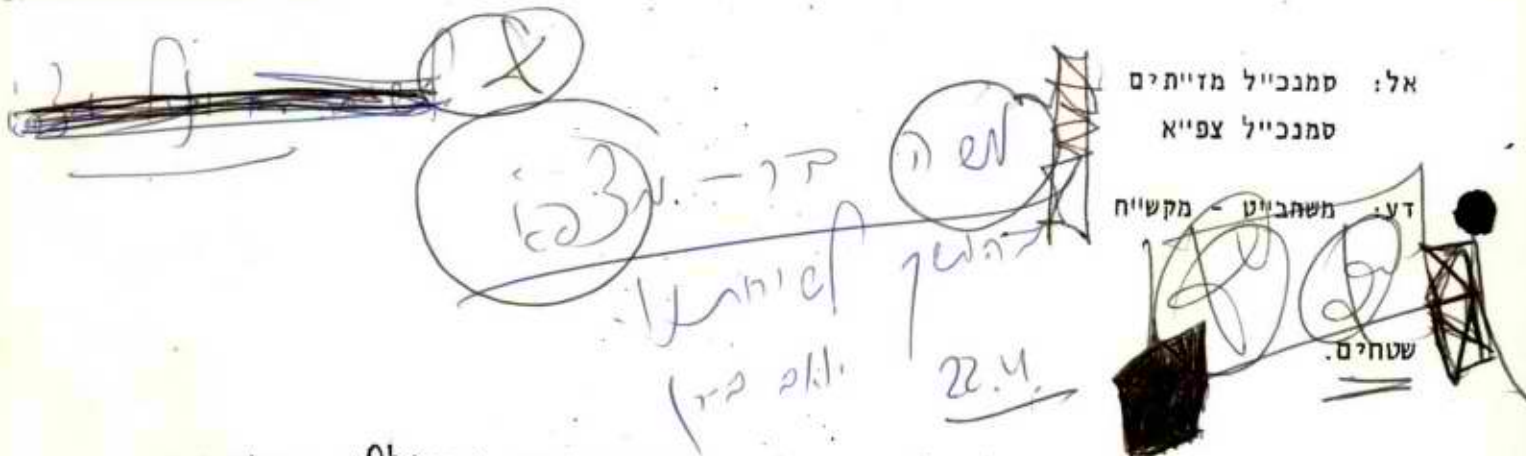
תאריך/ז"ח 1410 20 אפר 88

מס' מברק

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

347 381

המשרד, ביטחון

אל: סמנכ"ל מזייתים  
סמנכ"ל צפ"אדע: משתב"ט - מקשיח  
שטחים

גיון הירש ביקש שאסור אליו לפגישה. נכח גם ריצ'רד אהרן (Ahern). מנהל המשרד לזכויות אדם באגף של דיק שיפטר. הירש אמר שזה המשרד לשיחה שלי עם שיפטר בשבוע שעבר. הוא הגיש לי את הנייר ההצ"ב וביקש שניתן להם תשובות. הוא הוסיף שהנייר הוא סינתזה של כל התלונות השונות שקיבלו.

הירש אמר שהם מקבלים פניות מגופים שונים בארה"ב, כולל מהקונגרס, והם גם מפרסמים דו"ח שנתי על הנעשה בתחום זכויות האדם. מתוך כך הם מבקשים לתת לנו הזדמנות לחדש את האינפורמציה שלנו ובכך לאזן את התמונה. חילופי האינפורמציה אינם פורמליים והם אינם נוטלים לעצמם כל זכויות של חקירה וכדומה. בסוף השיחה אמר אהרן שהוא יוצא לביקור בישראל בשבוע הבא, וישמח אם יוכל להפגש עם אנשים העוסקים בנושאים בתחום זה. הוא מתברק עם פיקרינג בעניין זה.

בעת הפגישה אמר הירש שהוא מבקש להעלות עמנו את נושא השימוש בגז מדמיע. נכון, הוא הוסיף, שהחומר נמכר על-ידי ארה"ב ולארה"ב אין התנגדות לשימוש בגז מדמיע ואכן היא עצמה עושה זאת לעתים בפיזור הפגנות. מאידך, הוא אומר, על המיכל כתוב במפורש שלא להשתמש בגז באזורים סגורים, שכן זה עלול לגרום לנזקים. הירש הביע תקוותו שבהנראות לחילים יובהר הדבר היטב.

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a large signature 'אחרי' and various numbers and scribbles.



381 - P1

2/2

A variety of sources report that the beating of 347-67  
Palestinians by Israeli Defense Forces continues on a  
widespread basis.

c Circumstances in which beatings regularly occur include:

-- During the dispersing of crowds, even when the  
demonstrations are non-violent. Passersby not involved in  
disturbances are often victims.

-- Often family members, including women, children and  
the elderly, not under suspicion have been subjected to  
beatings. These incidents reportedly occur most often  
during nightly roundups of suspects.

After individuals have been taken into custody,  
particularly during interrogation. We have received a  
sizable number of recent reports of such mistreatment at  
the Daharfeh prison, near Hebron.

-- When troops are attempting to apprehend individuals.  
In several cases, Palestinian hospital personnel and  
patients have been abused by soldiers searching for  
demonstrators who have fled demonstrations into hospitals  
or clinics. We have received reports of these incidents  
in Ramallah and at the al-Ahli hospital in Gaza.

- o Reports indicate that beatings are being carried out by  
sizable patrols of soldiers, not merely by troops acting  
alone.
- o The practice is so widespread and disciplinary action  
against the soldiers involved has been so lenient that it  
has the appearance of being sanctioned by IDF commanders.
- o We would appreciate your Government's comments on these  
reports.

\*

END





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החלון

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✓ שמור/מייד.

ע.ב.ש.

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משרד הבטחון.

אורי און - סגן מקש"ח.

שטחים-זכויות אדם.

1. בהמשך לשיחתנו הטלפונית, רצ"ב נייר השאלות שהוגש לציר בווינגטון ע"י האגף לזכויות אדם במחמ"ד.

2. מדגישים שוב שמדובר בחילופי מידע בלתי-פורמליים כאשר אלו אמורים לעזור למחמ"ד לאזן את התמונה המצטיירת מזרם הפניות והתלונות המגיע אליהם מגורמים שונים בקונגרס ובמגזרים אחרים בציבוריות האמריקנית.

3. אנו ממליצים להענות לבקשה בחיוב, זאת ע"י מפגש עם איש מחמ"ד (זכויות אדם) ריצ'רד אהרן שישהה כאן בשבוע הבא.

4. נודה להחלטה עקרונית חיובית בנושא.

מצפ"א  
משה בת  
26 באפריל 1988

העתק: מנכ"ל, בירן, ליאור, מזתי"ס, ארבל 2, מצפ"א.

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2

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מחוך 3 דפים

סווג בטחוני שמור

דחיפות מיידית

תאריך/ז"ח 1600 15 אפר' 88

מס' מברק

1/3

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תמשרד + משתב"ט

אל: סמנכ"ל מזת"ים

סמנכ"ל צפ"א

דעו מקשי"ח/משתב"ט

התנהגות צ.ה.ל.

דיק שיפטר ביקש שאסור למשרדנו. ביקש שנסייע להם על ידיד שתופס באינפורמציה לגבי:

1. דווחים על מקרים של שמוש בכח שהתגלו כמופרכים.

2. דווחים על צעדים משמעתיים שננקטו נגד חיילים שנמצאו אשמים בשמוש בכח מופרז.

כאשר אמרתי לשיפטר שכל עוד שבקשתם תתיחסה למגיעות באזרחים אמריקאים עוד הבנו אבל עכשיו כשתוא מבקש אינפורמציה כללית וזו נראית לי התערבות מוגזמת הוא ענה שאיננו מעריכים נכון את גודל הבעיה בפניה הם ואנחנו עומדים. הוא מבקש את הבקשה מתוך רצון לעזור ואין כל כוונה להתערב בענייננו, עובדה היא שהם פונים לברה"מ בענייני אזרחים יהודים ואחרים. והסובייטים נותנים להם תשובות. הוא אומר שיש הרגשה של ירידה מסוימת בפעילות ובתוצאה מכך בודאי, גם ירידה בדיווח על שמוש בכח וכו'. הוא רוצה להיות במצב שיוכל לענות על שאלות בתחום זה וכמו כן גם על שאלות המופיעות למשל במכתבי של המילטון למזכ"ר שאת העתקו מסר לי. (רצ"ב) הרגשתו שאין דיאלוג ביננו בנושא זה והדבר לא מקל על מצבה של ישראל כאן.

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עמית גש 2  
גש 3  
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11 NTS B. FASCELL, Florida, Chairman

LEE H. HAMILTON, INDIANA  
GUS YATRON, PENNSYLVANIA  
STEPHEN J. SOLARZ, NEW YORK  
DON BONKER, WASHINGTON  
GERRY E. STUDDS, MASSACHUSETTS  
DAN MICA, FLORIDA  
HOWARD WOLPE, MICHIGAN  
GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR., MICHIGAN  
SAM GOLDENSON, CONNECTICUT  
MERVYN M. DYMAALLY, CALIFORNIA  
TOM LANTOS, CALIFORNIA  
PETER H. KOSTMAYER, PENNSYLVANIA  
ROBERT G. TORRICELLI, NEW JERSEY  
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JAMES MCCLURE CLARK, NORTH CAROLINA  
JAMES S. FUSTER, PUERTO RICO  
JAMES H. BILBRAY, NEVADA  
WAYNE OWENS, UTAH  
KOFU I.F. SUNUA, AMERICAN SAMOA

JOHN J. BRADY, JR.  
Chief of Staff

P880 044 - 1344  
One Hundredth Congress

# Congress of the United States

## Committee on Foreign Affairs

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

March 30, 1988

WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, MICHIGAN  
BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, NEW YORK  
ROBERT J. LAGOMARINO, CALIFORNIA  
JIM LEACH, IOWA  
TOBY ROY, WISCONSIN  
OLYMPIA J. SNOWE, MAINE  
HENRY J. HYDE, ILLINOIS  
GERALD B.H. SOLOMON, NEW YORK  
DOUG BEREUTER, NEBRASKA  
ROBERT K. DORNAN, CALIFORNIA  
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, NEW JERSEY  
CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA  
MICHAEL DEWINE, OHIO  
DAN BURTON, INDIANA  
JAN MEYER, KANSAS  
JOHN MILLER, WASHINGTON  
DONALD E. BUE, OHIO  
BEN BLAZ, OREGON

STEVEN K. BERRY  
Minority Chief of Staff

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
2201 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I write seeking clarification of U.S. policy with respect to Israeli guidelines on the use of force against Palestinian civilians in the West Bank and Gaza.

On March 15 Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, testified before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories was too harsh, that "It doesn't solve the problem, it just deepens it." In response to a question whether the U.S. was comfortable with the orders of the Israeli Defense Minister, Assistant Secretary Murphy said, "No, we're not. Of course not."

On March 29 Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and International Organizations, Richard Schifter, testified before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations that the U.S. found Israeli engagement orders in the West Bank and Gaza "acceptable". Schifter stated, in response to a question, that these guidelines were generally consistent with techniques officials would employ to subdue demonstrators in the United States.

These statements are not consistent. I would like to know:

- What is the U.S. position with regard to Israeli guidelines on the use of force against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza during the current unrest?
- What do we believe those guidelines to be?
- Do we approve of these Israeli guidelines?
- What do we say to the Israelis on this issue?

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01 APR 1988

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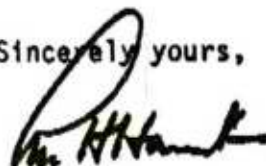
March 30, 1988  
Page 2

- Is it your view that incidents of brutality, such as those reported in the press, have been aberrations, in violation of official Israeli guidelines?
- Is it your view, as Mr. Schifter stated in his testimony, that the policy and the practice of beating West Bank and Gaza demonstrators in order to subdue them has now ceased?

I appreciate your consideration of this matter and look forward to your reply.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,



Lee H. Hamilton  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Europe  
and the Middle East

cc: Chairman Gus Yatron



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

111 EAST WACKER DRIVE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601  
PHONE (312) 565-3300

כז' ניסן תשמ"ח  
14 אפריל 1988  
161

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל  
שיקאגו

*[Handwritten signature]*

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
מאת: הקונכ"ל, שיקאגו

הנדון: תגובה לתקרית ביתא.

לא היינו עדים בשבועות האחרונים למכתבי שיטנה, אך אנו ממשיכים לקבל מכתבי יהודים המשיאים לנו עצה או דורשים יתר תקיפות בדיכוי האלימות הערבית.

ר"פ לידיעתכם העתק אחד המכתבים הללו, שהגיענו השבוע מיהודי האמור לעלות ארצה בשנה הבאה.

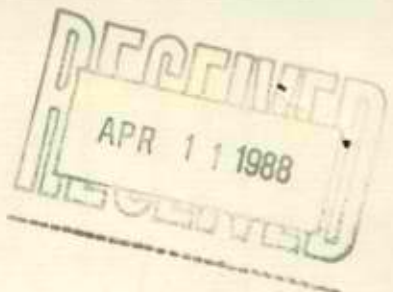
בברכה,

*[Handwritten signature]*  
צבי ברוש

העתק: מנהל הסברה  
הציר (הסברה) וושינגטון



DR. RICHARD L. KRAMER, P.C.  
Pittsfield Building, Suite 3300  
55 E. Washington  
Chicago, Illinois 60602



B"H

April 7, 1988

Zvi Brosh  
111 East Wacker  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Dear Mr. Brosh:

After learning of the tragic and barbaric killing of Miss Tirtsah Porat, I felt compelled to write you. I, and my family, plan Aliyah in less than two years and I demand as a Jew that the government of Israel make the Land of Israel safe for all Jews. This must be done by rejecting the Schultz plan as the epitome of insensitivity toward the Jewish People and as a complete fantasy of the Arab willingness to live in peace with the Jews. An Arab Palestine certainly includes Haifa and Tel Aviv. The Arabs must be taught that this is our land and they cannot push us off of it. Zahal must use a tough stance and Medinat Yisroel must remember that not even one Jew must die between a choice of one Jew and one thousand Arabs. Consequently, I strongly urge a proliferation of settlements in the Yehuda and Shomron. Israel must disregard world opinion as well as American Jewish opinion (of those with no plan to live in Israel) and must deal with these murderers in a swift and timely fashion.

Very sincerely yours,

Richard L. Kramer  
6440 North Francisco  
Chicago, Illinois 60645  
(312) 368-1881 ofc  
(312) 274-0951 home

cc: Yosef and Nechama Porat



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

5668

תאריך : 13.04.88

יוצא

בלמס



חוזה: 4,5668

מ: 241/ש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 130488, זח: 1709, דח: ב, סג: בל

נד: a

בלמס/בהול

גל

לשלך נר 172 מה-12.4

מדו'צ נמסר כי ברשימתם המעודכנת עד ה-7.4 נהרגו 35 תושבים  
ערביים ברצועת עזה ו-36 תושבים ערביים ביו'ש - בסה'כ 131.

בימים האחרונים דווח בעיתונים על ארבעה הרוגים  
נוספים, דו'צ מאשר שניתן לצרפם למנין ההרוגים.

הסברה/מידע

צ.ש.י

תפ: ב'ירן, מצפא, אביטל, מעת, הסברה, ליאור, מזתים





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2/8

DAILY NEWS-APR. 13, '88

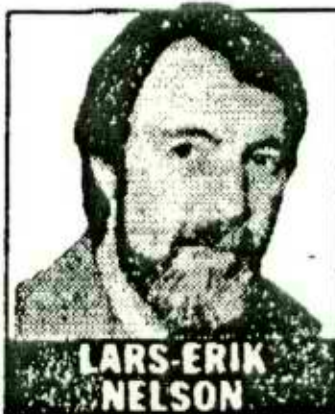
# East Side, West Bank

**M**ICHAEL DUKAKIS is a cool and rational man, and he has a cool and rational solution for the Middle East: If the PLO acknowledges Israel's right to exist, he says, Israel will sit down with PLO leaders and negotiate a peace settlement.

Interesting if true—but it isn't. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir says he will not negotiate with the PLO under any circumstances. Dukakis refused to believe the Israelis held such an intransigent position.

"What do they say?" he asked a group of Daily News writers and editors. Answering his own question, he went on: "(They say), 'We'll be happy to sit down at the table with anybody who's willing to say, 'You have a right to exist.''"

No. Wrong. Shamir, in a definitive statement of Israeli foreign policy, written for Foreign Affairs quarterly



LARS-ERIK NELSON

last fall, said, "The PLO cannot be a participant in any political process." It doesn't matter what they say about Israel's right to exist; Israel says the PLO is not a fit partner for the peace process.

"I don't think he said that," Dukakis said yesterday. "That's not my understanding."

Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-Brooklyn), sitting just behind Dukakis at The News session, confirmed to him that Israeli policy is that it will never negotiate with the PLO. Dukakis was unconvinced. As Mr. Spock would say on "Star Trek," it is not logical. "I'd want to take a look at what he said," the logical Dukakis muttered.

The Israeli view is, in fact, logical. Israel believes that the PLO exists only to destroy Israel. If the PLO ever said it accepted Israel's right to

exist, it would be a) lying, or b) no longer the PLO. See LARS on Page 13.



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## LARS FROM PAGE FOUR

longer the PLO. To urge Israel to negotiate with a "reformed" PLO might make sense in the abstract, but the very notion is offensive to the Israeli leaders whom Dukakis is trying so hard to support.

And here we see a characteristic Dukakis trait. When confronted with a problem, he tackles it with logic, his own unquestioned moral values and his sound political instincts. But sometimes you cannot make up for a lack of experience by overpowering a problem with reason, morality and common sense. If ever there was a problem that challenges morality and defies logic; it is the conflict in the Middle East, in which each side is driven by passions that bewilder outsiders.

Throughout this campaign, the candidates have ducked this irrational reality, and relied on formulas they think are safe. Ask any candidate a question about the Middle East and it's hard not

to hum Olivia Newton John's song about punching the buttons on a jukebox: "Please, Mister, Please, Don't Play B-17." But out come the same old songs.

It serves no one's purpose—least of all Israel's. These are perilous times for Israel. Some of the actions on the West Bank—by both sides—have been nothing less than atrocities. Seldom have American Jews been as anguished about the actions of the Israeli government; seldom has the American public so openly questioned why the U.S. gives a blank check to the expansionist policies of a fraction of that Israeli government and a minority of the Israeli people.

In the past, a good rule to follow has been, "When in doubt, support Israel." It is no longer possible. The doubts are too great; the mistaken policies are too obvious and too damaging.

Some of Israel's alleged friends argue that Israel most needs unconditional U.S. support when it is least popular. But that is doubly dangerous. To support Israel

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rael uncritically while it is on a course that undermines its American support is no service to Israel. To support Israel blindly for the sake of short-term political popularity, in search of votes in a primary election, is simply selfish.

And yet it is a politician's natural instinct to tell voters what they want to hear. At the candidates' debate yesterday, we were asking them to give a solution for the Middle East in a minute or less. Maybe we had only ourselves to blame if the answers seemed too simple, too pat, too predictable.

But the most vocal voters also want the simplest, pattest answers. A man running for the presidency is torn between defending the long-term national interests of the U.S.—and its ally, Israel—and catering to the loudest mouths.

Jesse Jackson has made an adroit attempt to escape this trap. He told the "debate forum" yesterday he identified with Israel's Labor Party and the "Peace Now" movement, rather than with Shamir's Likud. But Jackson's

goodwill toward Israel may have been irretrievably tainted by his embrace of Yasser Arafat and Louis Farrakhan.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. proposed a rational solution of his own: Israel can trade the Arab lands it occupies in exchange for peace. Problem: The Israeli government rejects that, too. Shamir will not acknowledge that UN Resolution 242, which Gore cited as a basis for settlement, applies to the occupied territory on the West Bank. For religious Israelis, the West Bank is part of the land granted by God to the children of Abraham. It is not theirs to give away.

**A** NEW YORK primary is no place to expect a clear-eyed analysis of Israel's problems. But one of these men has a good chance of being president. Whoever it is will have to live with the promises he has made and the stands he has taken here. En route to the White House, he will have to risk mothering Israel with kindness. You die from being smothered.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4881

תאריך: 12.04.88

ירוצא

בלמט

חוזם: 4,4881

אל: מילולמיה 22

מ-: המשרד, תא: 120488, זח: 1742, דח: מ, טב: בל

נד: 8



בלמ'ס/מיידי

אל: מילולמיה

האשמות על פגיעות בכנסיות. בהמשך לשלכם נר 26 ושלנו נר 1001 (פקט)

1. לסעיף 1א': מדוי'צ מטרר כי לא יורע להם על תקרית בזו  
אן מאחר ומדובר בארוע שקרה לכאורה לפני בשלושה חודשים  
הבדיקה מוסבת וקשה יותר. נודיעכם אם יודעו פרטים  
מדוי'צ.

2. לסעיף 1ב': מדוי'צ מטרר כי לא ארעה כלל תקרית זו.

3. על סעיף 2 שלכם ענינו ב-3.4 נר 1001 (פקט).

הטברה/מידע

מ.ג.י

תפ: הטברה, מזמית, מבמא





# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4807

תאריך: 12.04.88

ירצא

בלמס



חוזם: 4,4807

אל:ני/262,אירור/401

מ:-המשרד,תא:120488,זח:1650,דח:מ,סג:בל

נד:פ

בלמ'ס/מיידי

בינה.

ירי בכנסיה. לשלכם נר 133 מה-9.4

מדו'צ מסרו כי תקרית זו אינה מוכרת להם אך מאחר ומדובר  
באירוע שקרה לכאורה לפני כשלושה חודשים הודיעה מסובבת  
וקשה יותר.

נודיעכם אם יודעו פרטים מדו'צ.

הסברה/מיוע

ת.מ.ר

תפ: אביטל,הסברה,כנסיות,ליאור,מזתים,מצמא

6406 288

336667 סד. 336667

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ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מחוד 2 דפים

סווג בטחוני גלוי

דחיסות מידי

תאריך/ז"ח 12.4.88

מס' מברק

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון



187 186

המשרד, בטחון

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת, הסברה  
 דע: יועץ רוה"מ לתקשורת, יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת  
 מאת: עתונות

ביחא

מאמר המערכת המזעזע דלהלן הופיע ב"בליטימור איונינג סאן".  
 שוחחנו עם ראשי הקהילה המתכוונים להגיב בחומרה כלפי העתון.

יוסי גל

# The Evening

A10 *Balt.-Eve. Sun* Baltimore, Monday, April 11, 1988

2/2

## Lidice, 1942; Beita, 1988

187 186

In the inflamed atmosphere which engulfs the Middle East today, it took genuine courage for Israeli Army Chief of Staff Gen. Dan Shomron to lay out in grim detail the events surrounding the death of a 15-year-old Jewish girl last week. The army's investigation has established these facts:

Led and guarded by an identified fanatic named Romam Aldubi, a group of children of Israeli settlers on the West Bank set out for "hike" — an egregiously provocative act — near the Arab village of Beita. Encountering a group of Arabs, Aldubi panicked and started shooting wildly. One of the bullets appears to have struck Tirza Porat in the head, fatally wounding the young girl. Another stray bullet killed a young Arab working in a field nearby. The children, vastly outnumbered, fled to Beita, where many found safe haven in the homes of Arabs until order could be restored to permit their safe exit; otherwise, all might have been killed.

Despite these facts, Israeli news media, apparently basing their first stories on false accounts of the settlers, reported widely that the girl had been "stoned to death by Arabs." A national hysteria quickly took over, with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowing at the girl's funeral that "God will avenge her blood."

The settler-colonists, who constitute Israel's most fanatic element, sent up a cry for summary execution of any Arab suspected of throwing a stone at the girl, expulsion of all Arabs from the area and total obliteration of the village of Beita. The Shamir government responded to this bloodthirst by ordering a wholesale roundup of Arabs. Some who fled in panic were shot. Fifteen homes of suspected stone-throwers were systematically blown up. Orchards were leveled by bulldozers.

What happened at Beita is eerily reminiscent of one of the most barbaric chapters of World War II. In 1942, the hated Nazi gauleiter of Czechoslovakia, Reinhard Heydrich, was killed by a bomb thrown by two Czech patriots who had parachuted into the area from England. In the aftermath, thousands of innocent Czech citizens were rounded up; needless to say, it was the Jews who suffered the most. Then, for no other reason than to set an example, the Germans systematically obliterated the village of Lidice from the face of the earth. All male inhabitants over 16 were summarily executed; the women and small children were scattered into the winds.

The difference between what happened in Lidice in 1942 and in Beita in 1988 was only a matter of degree, and if the more fanatic settlers and their partisans in the Likud bloc like Ariel Sharon, were to have their way, even the degree might disappear.

Now there is a clamor among the fanatics to dismiss Gen. Shomron — for telling the truth. (It is inconceivable that an Israeli military officer would have fabricated such a shocking story.) Prime Minister Shamir has already done enough damage by satisfying bloodthirsty cries for revenge against innocents. If he now responds by firing Shomron, the United States will have no alternative but to begin to distance itself from such a regime which calls human beings "grasshoppers" and treats them as such; American aid simply cannot be used to supply the dynamite to blow up the homes of innocent people.

★



למסכרה או מכתים או מיליון אחר י.א.3/11  
 תאריך מפורסם. מין התקופה למקלט.  
 (3 גזעיות) לביט



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 BOSTON, MASS. 02116  
 TELEPHONE (617) 542-0041

כ"ה בניסן תשמ"ח  
 12 באפריל 1988  
 /126

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל  
 בוסטון

אל : מנהל הסכרה  
 מזת"ם  
 ✓מנהל מצפ"א  
 העתק: סמנכ"ל אמית"ק  
 מר ד. מתני, וושינגטון - ציר הסכרה, וושינגטון  
 הקונכ"ל, ניו-יורק  
 מאת : הקונכ"ל, בוסטון

# הנדון: "רופאים למען זכויות אדם"

כזכור ביקרו נציגי הארגון הנ"ל כארץ בינואר השנה וכאשר שבו לארה"ב עם ממצאיהם התחילו לעורר רעש גדול בתקשורת.

השבוע התיצבו במשרדי והגישו לי הנוסח הסופי של הדו"ח שלהם על "המצב הרפואי בשטחים". בעקבות השלמת הדו"ח הם עומדים לצאת לתקשורת שוב אך מוכנים להמתין (עד שלושה שבועות) לקבלת תגובתנו ואז לפרסם את הדו"ח יחד עם התגובה.

מפגישתי עם הקבוצה התרשמתי שיש בין הרופאים החברים בה כאלה שכוונתם טובה ושהם פועלים מתוך תמימות (לא כך לגבי יו"ר הארגון - ד"ר פיין שסובל כנראה מתסביך קרייסקי קשה). קארגון אנשים ששמותיהם מזכירים וכיניהם כאלה שטפלו בעבר בנכי צה"ל שהגיעו לארה"ב לטפול רפואי.

כתוצאה מפעולה שלנו הסכימו כבר לכלול בדו"ח ספח העוסק בבעיה הרחבה יותר במזה"ת (ראו נא הפרק האחרון בדו"ח). נוסח הפרק הזה די נוח לנו ואני סבור שאם נגיב בצורה ענינית והולמת נוכל להביא להוצאת העוקץ מפעולותיו של הארגון בנושאים שלנו.

אני מצרף עותק הדו"ח ואודה אם תוכלו להעביר לנו תגובה בהקדם האפשרי. אגב, בינתיים הננו מקיימים קשר עם רופא המלמד בהרוורד והקשור עם ד"ר לואון שקיכל פרס נובל בשנה שעברה. הרופא הזה מכיר את ישראל היטב ומוכן להתגייס לעזרתנו. שמו ד"ר צ'רלס בלאט, הוא קוויבולוג ועוזר נספר לכט מה הצלחנו לעשות בעזרתו.

כברכה  
 ארטור אבנון





# PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

AN ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

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Johns Hopkins Univ.  
School of Medicine, MD

Levi Watkins, M.D.  
Johns Hopkins Univ.  
School of Medicine, MD

Levi Watkins, M.D.  
Johns Hopkins Univ.  
School of Medicine, MD

April 5, 1988

Mr. Arthur Avnon  
Consul General  
Consulate of Israel  
1020 Statler Office Building  
Boston, MA

Dear Mr. Avnon:

Attached is the draft report of the mission to Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip of Physicians for Human Rights. This mission is based on a visit by our delegation of four physicians from February 4 to February 12, 1988.

Physicians for Human Rights continues to be concerned about each of the issues raised in this report. We respectfully request the attention of the government of Israel to our findings and conclusions. Should your government conclude that there are substantive errors of fact or judgement, or otherwise wish to comment, please do so as soon as possible. We intend to release the report, with some revisions, in a week's time. Then, in about one month, we intend to issue it in its final form.

Sincerely,



Jonathan E. Fine, M.D.  
Executive Director

## STAFF

Jonathan Fine, M.D.  
Executive Director  
Susannah Sirkin  
Associate Director

THE CASUALTIES OF CONFLICT:  
MEDICAL CARE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP

THE REPORT OF A MEDICAL FACT-FINDING MISSION  
OF  
PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Physicians for Human Rights  
408 Highland Avenue  
Somerville, Massachusetts 02144  
(617) 623-1930

March 30, 1988

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## INTRODUCTION: THE CONDUCT OF THE MISSION

From February 4 to February 12, 1988, our delegation of four physicians from Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) undertook a fact-finding mission to investigate the medical consequences of civil disturbances and police and military actions in Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The purpose of PHR, a national voluntary nonprofit organization of physicians and other health workers, is to bring the skills of the medical profession to the defense of human rights. Physicians for Human Rights is non-ideological and politically impartial. The mission to Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was initiated by PHR itself, without invitation or co-sponsorship from any other group or organization. The expenses of the trip were provided primarily by the team members themselves and secondarily from contributions of PHR members and supporters.

Before our departure, PHR notified the Israeli embassy in Washington and the U.S. State Department of our mission and its purpose, and requested assistance in arranging meetings with relevant Israeli government officials and U.S. officials at the embassy in Tel Aviv. We also notified Palestinian physicians and medical organizations in an effort to arrange for as much time as possible actually seeing medical sites and facilities, and scheduled meetings with both Israeli and Palestinian human rights and legal organizations. Before our departure, in the course of a detailed briefing, we drew on the knowledge of Middle East experts from the Boston academic community to assemble background materials and studies and to list additional contacts in the field.

The major part of our visit was taken up with visiting hospitals, emergency rooms, blood banks, clinics and homes in the refugee camps, Arab villages, towns and cities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Much of that time was spent seeing, examining or interviewing patients and attempting to assess what we knew best, doctors at work with patients and the human rights aspects of medical care. In the course of four days of such field work, we examined and interviewed 103 patients, most of them injured within the preceding 24 hours.

We spoke at length with officials and staff of the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) and the leaders of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, and made briefer contacts with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Palestinian Red Crescent. We interviewed the chief Israeli health officer of the Civil Administration, a branch of the Ministry of Defense, in the West Bank, and met with staff



physicians, nurses, administrators and other personnel of the hospitals operated by the Israeli Civil Administration in Ramallah, Hebron and Gaza City. We spoke sometimes at length and sometimes briefly with representatives of a broad spectrum of Israeli opinion, both within the government and private citizens. We talked informally to a few Israeli physicians, some mental health professionals, and at length with Israeli Defense Force psychologists commissioned by the army to survey and report on the effects on soldiers of the present disturbances and the IDF's methods of response. We also spoke with both Palestinian and Israeli lawyers and human rights advocates on issues of human rights violations involving injury, medical care and treatment, and met with Israeli and Palestinian university professors.

We were not able to see Israeli military hospitals or clinics where military casualties might have been treated, nor Israeli civilian hospitals where civilian casualties might have been treated and recorded. We made strenuous efforts to obtain official figures on such casualties, but without success. Our own review of published unofficial sources yielded a total, as of March 29, of two serious Israeli civilian injuries (a skull fracture and a severe burn), one Israeli soldier shot and killed, and 186 injuries, none major, to Israeli soldiers and police.

Because of time and language limitations, we did not interview Israeli soldiers directly, except for several brief encounters. For information on the soldiers, we relied primarily on reports from the Israeli army psychologists and secondarily on extensive Israeli press accounts of interviews with soldiers in the field. We were unable to visit Israeli army detention camps or prisons, although we heard testimony from Palestinians who had been arrested and detained or imprisoned.

Since our return, we have studied in detail a variety of reports on human rights, health and administrative issues that were given to us in the field. We have also reviewed several published reports and academic studies from U.S. institutions on health and administrative issues relevant to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and conferred with their authors on particular points of information germane to our own observations.

In the course of preparing this report, we have on several occasions presented our findings informally to people with a variety of political views and agendas in an attempt to refine our own understanding, place our observations in context and subject the formulations of each of the four of us to constant discussion, review and critique. We have also invited comment on early drafts from sources in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the United States.



We have attempted, finally, to distinguish carefully between the things we witnessed directly, those that we did not observe but believe to be reliably reported, those on which no final determination was possible, and those which we believe are sources of error or have been incorrectly reported. We understand that, in the intensely political climate of Israeli-Palestinian tension and the continually evolving flow of events, no report can be "final," but the final responsibility for the present report is, of course, entirely our own.

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#### A SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

In the report that follows, we present the observations and recount the experiences that led to our central conclusions about the time period covered by our investigation. These are:

1. There is an essentially uncontrolled epidemic of violence by soldiers and police in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, on a scale and degree of severity that poses the most serious medical, ethical and legal problems.
2. In addition to more than 90 deaths between early December 1987 and mid-March 1988, the numbers of the seriously injured can be estimated in the thousands, not the hundreds. The frequency of assaults leading to injury is such that these episodes cannot be considered as aberrations or exceptions to established policy; they are close to being the norm.
3. There are systematic and identifiable patterns of injury in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which suggest that the application of force is both indiscriminate in choice of victim and particular in consequence, suggesting an attempt to inflict maximum damage while minimizing the risk of death. The systematic fractures of the bones of the arms and hands are but one aspect of these patterns. There are special and serious problems that attend the use of high velocity military rifles, clubs, tear gas and rubber bullets.
4. There may be no methods of controlling prolonged civilian uprisings that do not, sooner or later, entail serious medical consequences. But while many of these injuries are inflicted in the course of controlling violent demonstrations or making arrests, many others have occurred during unilateral army or police violence in the course of systematic "sweeps" and beatings in refugee camps, villages or neighborhoods under curfew and in the absence of demonstrations. Many other injuries have been inflicted on persons not directly involved in demonstrations, and on persons not resisting arrest or already handcuffed or otherwise restrained. While most of those injured are adolescents and young men, injuries have also been inflicted on children, women, the chronically ill and the elderly.
5. The medical care system in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, of marginal adequacy to begin with, is being overwhelmed by the daily burden of serious trauma, lacks the resources to deal with injury on this scale, and is less and less able to meet the ordinary medical care needs of the populations it serves.

6. The health of civilian communities has been threatened by prolonged curfews during which people have limited or no access to medical care, the chronically ill lack both medications and treatment, clinics are limited in function or closed completely, programs of prenatal care and immunization have been disrupted and, on occasion, the provision of food, water and essential sanitary services has been limited.

7. The violence is not only producing injuries with serious short-term consequences. It is steadily creating a cohort of patients with serious long-term orthopedic, neurological and neuropsychiatric injuries. These patients will require prolonged physical and psychological rehabilitation, on a scale which massively outstrips presently available resources and facilities.

8. Serious and potentially long-lasting psychological damage may ensue for many segments of the Palestinian population, especially to children and adolescents, and for the Israeli population, especially the soldiers. The consequences of the present violence may well affect a whole generation and thereby further constrict the possibilities of peaceful resolution in the future.



THE MEDICAL CONSEQUENCES OF "FORCE, MIGHT, BEATINGS"

Our team spent three 18-hour days in the West Bank and one day in Gaza City examining people who had been injured in the uprisings, interviewing physicians and medical staff, observing medical care, listening to histories and reviewing medical records, X-rays and other documents. We visited the emergency rooms and inpatient units of Mokassed Islamic Charitable Hospital in East Jerusalem and three hospitals operated by the Israeli occupying authorities: the hospitals at Ramallah and Hebron in the West Bank and Shifa Hospital in Gaza City. We also spent several hours in the emergency room of Hadassah Hospital at Ein Kerem in West Jerusalem.

We saw patients and staff at the UNWRA clinics at Jalazon, Kallandia and al Amaari refugee camps, and patients of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees at Jabaliya refugee camp. We also went into homes within the UNRWA camps and examined injured people who had not sought formal medical care for fear of political reprisal, or were recovering from injuries incurred earlier in demonstrations or in Israeli army detention centers.

Of the total of 103 patients we examined directly, three had severe burns due to a household fire and 100 had injuries related to the uprisings. Of these, 72 had been injured within the previous 24 hours and 28 had injuries which had been incurred at various points during the previous two months of the uprisings. Whenever possible, we reviewed medical charts, operative notes, and X-rays. The majority of the patients we saw were young men ages 15-25, but the list included some children, some pregnant women and some older women. Some of the information on patients is presented in tabular form (See Tables I and II). These tables are descriptive of the patients we examined and are not presented as a representative sample of all injuries in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, or as having statistical significance.

The injuries fell into one of four categories: those inflicted from beatings, from gunshot wounds, from tear gas, or from rubber bullets. Since our survey was predominantly hospital-based, our sample is biased towards those with more severe injuries. Those with simpler injuries remained in their camps or villages or had been discharged from emergency rooms after first-aid treatment. Among the patients we examined in the camps, 80 per cent of the injuries due to beatings were confined to the arms and hands. In the hospitals, beating injuries included the lower extremities and other sites as well.

Among the hospitalized patients we examined, the percentage of those with gunshot wounds was higher among those with longer times of hospitalization than among the newly admitted. Of the hospitalized patients with older injuries (more than 24 hours),



78 per cent had gunshot wounds; of those hospitalized with injuries incurred in the previous 24 hours, 5 per cent had suffered gunshot wounds. This difference is the result of two independent factors, one affecting prevalence and the other affecting incidence. First, recovery from gunshot wounds takes longer, on average, than recovery from other forms of injury, so the hospitalized population over time will reflect a disproportionate share, or prevalence, of such injuries. Secondly, during the period of our observation, the Israeli army had decreased its use of live ammunition and shifted to the policy of beatings, resulting perhaps in a lower daily incidence of Palestinians suffering gunshot wounds.

Some patients experienced injuries from more than one source. Within each category, certain injuries were typical. In the descriptions and case reports that follow, we have attempted to use non-technical language wherever possible to facilitate public understanding.

As a result of beatings, patients incurred either fractures of limbs, soft tissue contusions--deep bruises, lacerations and scrapes, often with bleeding into the muscles--or both. The contusions occurred on the limbs, the upper back and posterior shoulders. In Gaza, each individual patient had been beaten more extensively and a number of patients had also been beaten on the head. Among the 62 patients who were beaten there were 67 serious beating injuries. Of the 67, 40 were in the upper extremities, 18 in the lower extremities, and 9 in other sites on the body.

From gunshot wounds, patients sustained either open comminuted fractures of one or more major bones of the leg, in which the bone is splintered or crushed, with an external wound through which bone may protrude, or complex internal injuries from bullets entering the abdomen or lower back. Of the 26 gunshot wounds we saw, 2 were in the upper extremities, 12 in the lower extremities, 8 in the abdomen, flank or pelvis, and 4 in the head, neck or chest. Eight of the gunshot wounds had resulted in serious neurological deficits.

Those hit with rubber bullets rather than live ammunition displayed lacerations, abrasions and contusions of the face, upper body, arms and legs, and some had serious eye injuries.

Tear gas injuries we witnessed 24 hours or more after the time of exposure were limited to those caused by shrapnel from the tear gas cannisters: lacerations, contusions, or fractures of facial bones or, in one case, a direct blow to the face at short range from a tear gas cannister before it exploded.

TABLE I

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF 59 PATIENTS INJURED  
IN THE UPRISING<sup>1</sup>

	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Mean Age</u>	<u>Median Age</u>
Males	87	24	21
Females	13	41	45
Total	100	27	23

<sup>1</sup>This table is based on 50 of 87 males and 9 of 13 females whose age was determined precisely. The ages of the other 41 patients with uprising-related injuries were known approximately and had a similar distribution, but are not included here.



(A) The Systematic Patterns of Injury

Early on, we began to realize that we were seeing a strikingly uniform pattern of injuries, an impression that was later confirmed by a review of all 100 uprising-related cases. (See Table II). One pattern prevailed in the West Bank, another even more severe one in Gaza. Three cases from the West Bank will illustrate this pattern:

(1) In the emergency room of Ramallah Hospital, we saw three of four members of one extended family who said they had been attacked in their home at noon, when 12 soldiers broke into their third-floor apartment overlooking the scene of stone-throwing and accused them of throwing stones from their balcony. The family head, a 32 year-old shopkeeper, told us he had been sitting in his pajamas eating soup when the soldiers broke in and "began to beat up the whole family." He sustained two mid-shaft fractures of the bones in the back of his right hand between knuckles and wrist (the metacarpal bones). One younger relative, about 20 years old, sustained a mid-shaft fracture of his right radius, the larger of the two bones in the lower arm, located on the thumb side of the arm. Another relative, about 15 years old, incurred deep bruises of his upper shoulders, both upper arms, and both forearms. The fourth relative had left the emergency room without being registered.

(2) At the UNRWA refugee camp at Khallandia, we examined a 50-year old man with deep bruises on his back and shoulders and a mid-shaft fracture of his right radius.

(3) At Mokassed Hospital in Jerusalem, we saw an 18-year old youth from the West Bank who had multiple mid-shaft fractures of the metacarpal bones in his left hand and a mid-shaft fracture of the left radius. He was left-handed.

It is important to understand, in non-medical terms, the significance of this pattern. None of these fractures, in a pattern that we saw over and over again, are of the kind that usually occur when swinging a fist, warding off a blow with upraised arm, or otherwise resisting arrest. They are precisely consistent with widespread press accounts and photographs, television images and eyewitness reports of deliberate assaults by soldiers and police, including assaults on people who are not involved in demonstrations and who have neither provoked nor are resisting arrest.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION AND TYPES OF INJURY AMONG THE 100 PATIENTS  
WITH UPRISING-RELATED INJURIES  
EXAMINED IN 4 DAYS

	<u>OLD INJURIES (&gt;24 HOURS)</u>		<u>NEW INJURIES (&lt;24 HOURS)</u>		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Beatings <sup>1</sup>	6	2	52	10	62
Gunshot Wounds <sup>2</sup>	17	0	9	0	26
Rubber Bullets/ Tear Gas	2	1	1	0	4
Total	25	3	62	10	100

<sup>1</sup>Of the 58 males with beating injuries, 22 were examined in clinics or hospitals; of these, 11 (or 50%) had clear X-ray evidence of at least one mid-shaft metacarpal fracture or one mid-shaft fracture of the radius. The other 36 males were seen at emergency care sites, had fresh injuries, and were examined prior to X-ray. Of these, approximately 50% had clinical evidence of hand and/or forearm fractures, with the rest showing signs and symptoms of beatings at other sites.

Among the 12 females with beating injuries, 1 (or 8%) had a mid-shaft fracture of the radius; the others had signs and symptoms of beating injuries at other sites.

<sup>2</sup>Of the 26 total gunshot wounds, 12 (46%) were in the legs. Two of the 26 wounds were above the chest (face and neck); the remainder were in the chest, abdomen, pelvis or flank. Eight of the 26 gunshot patients (31%) had serious neurologic injuries (monoplegia, paraplegia, one case of quadriplegia).



A highly effective way to break the metacarpal bones is to force a victim to place his palm against a wall or table and then to hit the back of the hand with club or rifle butt. A highly effective way to break the radius in midshaft is to forcibly extend the subject's arm, outstretched with thumb side up, and then strike the forearm from above, hitting downward with considerable force perpendicular to the long axis of the bone. We noted also that almost all of these hand and arm fractures occurred on the dominant side--on the right in right-handers, on the left in left-handers.

We also noted the significant absence of certain kinds of injuries. We saw no fractures of the collarbones or at the MCP joints (the knuckles), and only one fracture of the ulna (the other bone of the forearm). Almost all of the soft-tissue injuries, the deep bruises with rupture of small blood vessels and swelling, were on the upper back and shoulders and the backs of the arms and legs; we saw no soft-tissue injuries to the chest, the abdomen or the lower back, sites where damage to internal organs can be lethal. In the West Bank, we saw relatively few people who had been hit on the head. Such injuries, in a much more random pattern, would have been expected in free-swinging melees, in people resisting arrest or actively attacking others.

What does all of this suggest, and why is it important? It suggests a deliberate policy of systematic beating designed to disable and not to kill, to inflict maximum damage while reducing the risk of death. It might be easy to regard this as a welcome manifestation of restraint; to us, looking at the flow of patients with similar wounds, it seemed more a planned and purposeful form of brutalization, indiscriminate in choice of victim but precise in choice of injury, adhered to quite consistently at least during the time of our visit to the West Bank.

In Gaza, both the extent and the severity of the beatings seemed worse. Indeed, the word "beating" does not properly convey the literal pounding and mauling with clubs and other weapons required to produce the injuries we saw. Two case reports reflect this:

(1) In Shifa Hospital, we saw a 40 year old man, admitted 24 hours earlier, who had been beaten by soldiers and brought to the emergency room semi-conscious, without an appreciable blood pressure. He had fractures in all four limbs: mid-shaft fractures of both bones in his left forearm and one bone in his right forearm, fractures of multiple metacarpal bones in both hands, and fractures of both bones in his right lower leg and both bones in his left lower leg. He also had received 12 scalp lacerations, each 3-5 centimeters in length. An examination of his back revealed a continuous area of swollen, bruised and blood-infiltrated tissue extending from the bottom of his shoulderblades to the hips, and from right side to left. We found clinical



evidence of right rib fractures and we suspected a punctured lung; air had leaked into the soft tissues and under his skin from an area around his right collarbone, extending up into his neck and lower face. There was a 10-centimeter long vertical bruise on his breastbone. Both legs also had deep puncture wounds. We were shown a broken club, found with his body, around which coils of quarter-inch copper wire had been wrapped, and periodically snipped off to leave sharp protruding points.

We had several times previously been told stories of demonstrators held spread-eagled on the ground while soldiers jumped high in the air to come down with both feet on their extended limbs. We had regarded such reports as probable exaggerations. The injuries just described appear to give them credibility.

(2) A 59 year old man had been admitted to Shifa Hospital 20 days earlier after what witnesses described as an attack by two different groups of soldiers within a one half-hour period. For many years before his current injuries he had suffered severe respiratory disease, and seven years ago had had a tracheostomy, a permanent opening in his windpipe to ease his breathing, but he had continued to manage the normal activities of daily living. Upon arrival at the hospital he was unconscious, and remained so for ten days. We saw him one week after he had regained consciousness. He still had no short-term memory, could not remember the beating or anything that had happened since, did not know where he was or the date, could not identify his doctor and was barely able to speak. All these symptoms are indicative of a severe post-concussion syndrome and, depending on his future course, may reflect significant brain damage.

The pattern of beating injuries we observed in Gaza City was more serious and extensive than what we had seen in the West Bank. In addition to the baseline pattern of dominant-side forearm and hand mid-shaft fractures, we frequently saw lower limb mid-shaft fractures and patellar fractures--split and shattered kneecaps, consistent with a blow from a club. We also saw more evidence of beatings about the head.

The most striking difference, however, was in the nature and severity of the soft tissue trauma that patients from the Gaza Strip had experienced. Four of the eight young men we saw on the wards of Shifa Hospital had been beaten repeatedly on the upper arms and thighs, resulting in such extensive swelling of the muscles and subcutaneous tissue that the outline of the limb itself was distorted and it was difficult to determine where the joints were. The overlying skin had acquired, 8 to 12 hours after the beatings, a dusky red raspberry hue, and wrists, hands, ankles and feet below the points of injury were markedly swollen with fluid oozing from damaged tissue. These findings are consistent with serious crush injury, of the type that occurs in industrial accidents or when an arm is caught in an old-fashioned washing-



machine wringer. In several of these patients, it seemed probable that an operation would be necessary to split the connective tissue and relieve the pressure on blood vessels in order to save the limbs.

The week during which we made our field visits in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was marked by the first press reports of deaths due explicitly to beatings. A 15-year-old youth from Deir el Balah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, a 17-year-old from Al-Bureij camp near Gaza City, and a 19-year-old from Gaza City all died at Shifa Hospital, allegedly after beatings by soldiers in their homes or at the army's "Ansar II" detention facility in Gaza. Another youth, brought from Gaza to Mokassed Hospital while we were visiting that institution, died of an intracerebral hemorrhage. Later in the week, the beating deaths of two men, each aged 60, were reported in Nablus and Gaza City. In each of these cases, the IDF has denied responsibility. In these and other cases, medical evidence that might clarify the circumstances and causes of death has been impossible to obtain or to subject to independent professional review, in part because Palestinian families traditionally resist autopsies and in part because the only forensic pathology facility at which autopsies are performed is operated by the government itself. In the case of the 19-year-old, the first pathology report made by the IDF stated that the cause of death was "heart failure."

In both the West Bank and Gaza Strip we saw survivors of gunshot wounds. These patients survived in one of two states. Some were adolescents as young as 15 with extensive intra-abdominal injuries, perforations of the small and large intestines, the stomach or the bladder, often complicated by damage to the spinal cord, paraplegia (paralysis of both legs), and loss of bladder and bowel control. Others were young men with shattered and fragmented bones of the legs accompanied by massive soft tissue loss. X-rays revealed widespread scattering of bullet fragments -- "lead snow," as it appears on X-ray film -- throughout the area of injury, whether or not the bullet had hit bone. In both the West Bank and Gaza Strip hospitals, many of the patients with combined damage to internal organs, the spinal cord, major blood vessels and nerves had been transferred first for immediate care to hospitals within Israel and then, after a variable period of stabilization that might have necessitated multiple diagnostic and surgical procedures, were transferred back to the hospitals within the Occupied Territories. The patients with complex leg wounds were first seen at medical facilities within the West Bank and Gaza but were often eventually transferred either to Shifa or Mokassed Hospitals. They presented difficult management problems, in that initial delays in obtaining appropriate treatment added to the inherent complexities of the injuries themselves and increased the incidence of infections and damage to blood vessels.



Several of the most seriously injured patients we saw had been brought to hospitals from army detention centers, where their injuries had reportedly occurred. On two occasions, young Palestinian men described to us their experiences in such detention centers. They reported prolonged sleep deprivation; being forced to stand outside in the rain for 72 hours; being denied access to bathrooms except for one 10-second period, timed by guards, every 24 hours; beatings; hooding and blindfolding, and denial of access to medical care.<sup>1</sup>

The Israel Defense Force's official regulations permit the use of live ammunition only when soldiers' lives are directly threatened by guns or explosives, when troops are assaulted with weapons other than firearms in such a way that there is a real and present danger to their lives, and only after all other means, including warning shots, teargas and rubber bullets, have failed. Other forms of physical force, such as beatings, are permitted only in self-defense (when there is immediate danger to life), in order to subdue suspects who are forcibly resisting arrest, and in the context of riots. The scale, the pattern and the range of victims of the injuries we observed indicate widespread and persistent violations of these constraints.

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<sup>1</sup>[Without access to the detention centers, we were unable to make any judgment as to the veracity of this testimony. However, in a recent (March 10) letter to Prime Minister Shamir from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, a U.S. organization whose fact-finding mission was in the West Bank and Gaza Strip at the same time as ours, attention is drawn to similar reports and in particular to the adoption by the Israeli Cabinet of the findings and recommendations of the Landau Commission of Inquiry into interrogation techniques used at detention centers by Israel's domestic intelligence agency, the Shin Bet. The Landau Commission's report, published in October 1987, confirmed the use of the same methods described to us in February by former detainees, endorsed the use of what it called "non-violent psychological pressure" against detainees and added that, when this failed, a "moderate measure of physical pressure is not to be avoided." The letter from the Lawyers Committee noted that at least 3,000 Palestinians have been arrested and detained since December, and concluded that "physically abusive interrogation methods are still being used on a significant scale in regular prisons as well as in some of the military detention camps," in violation of international law.]



(B) The Numbers: Estimates and Extrapolations

How many people have suffered serious injury during these past two months of the uprisings? What is the real magnitude of violence? We believe the reporting of deaths--now exceeding 90 since December--is reasonably accurate, but the effort to count injuries is complicated by the official policy that requires the Government health care sites and the UNRWA clinics to register and notify the civil administration of all patients who show signs of trauma, presumably as an aid to subsequent interrogation and arrest. Further, we were frequently told that on many occasions soldiers have raided hospitals, arrested patients in their beds, and taken them off to prison or detention camp.

These policies put a constraint on self-reporting, since people obviously fear arrest. Consequently, we were told repeatedly, only some of the injured seek care at the formal medical sites. Instead, many go to a physician not connected with the health facilities of the Civil Administration--which is a branch of the Israeli military--and arrange for an outpatient referral to take place a day or so after their injury, which they can then describe as one sustained in the normal course of daily activity rather than at the hands of soldiers. Others will go outside the medical system completely and obtain advice or treatment from people within the villages and camps who are referred to as "traditional healers." In our own observations, we saw many such people in the villages and camps who had not yet sought medical care. Their injuries were comparatively trivial: foot fractures, forearm contusions, lower leg hematomas.

Dr. Yitzhak Sever, Chief Medical Officer for the West Bank Civil Administration, told us in an extensive interview that for the West Bank during the period from 12/21/87 through 2/3/88 there had been a total of 250 Palestinians reported injured as a result of the uprisings. Press reports for this period suggested an over-all total of 350 to 500 cases of injured people, in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We know of no independent Israeli group gathering such statistics.

Three other groups are gathering data on the incidence of injuries. Al Haq, an organization of Palestinian lawyers affiliated with the International Commission of Jurists, the Gaza Center for Rights and Law, and the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees have all compiled statistics based variously on field investigations, personal interviews, and sworn affidavits citing time, place and person.

As a crude first step toward estimating the total number of injured, we summarized their lists and extrapolated from the time frames of their samples to the entire two month period. So treated, their reports yield an estimates of injuries in the



following ranges: for the West Bank, 630 to 766 cases, and for Gaza, from 450 to 1,320 cases. The wide ranges reflect considerable differences among the three lists.

Of those who had suffered gunshot wounds, approximately 50 per cent were injured in the legs. All the deaths reported in these samples occurred to patients hit by gunshot in the chest or head. (In the time period represented by these samples, blunt trauma to the head had not yet begun to appear as a cause of death. One death in this series was reported, without confirmation, to be due to a tear gas cannister explosion).

During our three days of observation on the West Bank, we examined 53 cases of newly injured people who were hospitalized or being treated in clinics, for an average of 18 per day. In addition, during our visits to clinics in the refugee camps, we saw approximately 2 cases a day in the West Bank of people who had been moderately injured (contusions, one foot fracture) who had not made contact with the formal medical system. For Gaza, the comparable figures we observed were 15 cases who had sought treatment and/or been admitted, and 2 cases who remained in the camps without formal medical attention.

If we were to assume that these same injury rates had occurred at these same sites on each of the 60 days of the uprising, then--at these sites alone--there would have been 1,200 newly injured cases in the West Bank and 1,020 such cases in Gaza since the start of the uprising, for a total of 2,220 cases of significant injury in the two areas.

That assumption is unlikely, for the intensity of violence and confrontations surely waxed and waned during that time. There were quiet periods and flare-ups, and while shootings were less restrained in December, widespread beatings did not begin until January. On the other hand, our observations constituted only a fraction of the sites that contributed to the overall incidence of injury each day throughout the Occupied Territories. There are approximately 20 hospitals in the West Bank and approximately 28 refugee camps, each with a clinic--a total of nearly 50 sites where people might be brought for treatment of injuries. Our team's observations, on each of our four days in the field, covered only 4 per cent of that total. If we make the conservative assumption that we were seeing not 4 per cent but 15 per cent of the total injury cases (because our visits included large hospitals that were referral sites from other areas), we can arrive at a total injury figure for the two-month uprising well in excess of 10,000 cases.

These figures, we must emphasize, are crude guesses, made simply to establish a range. The basic point is that in just four days we ourselves examined and interviewed 100 cases of uprising-related injury, 72 of them new. Such a volume casts doubt on the comprehensiveness of the 60-day total of 250 injured as reported by the Israeli civil administration. Such a volume also makes credible an estimate of overall incidence that finds casualties numbered in thousands, rather than hundreds. The precise numbers of people who have been and are continuing to be injured may never be known, given the multiple sites of violence and the difficulties always inherent in tracking chaotic conflicts. But in our view, even the lowest numbers--far higher, we believe, than most people have recognized as the consequence of army and police actions--justify the term we have used to describe what has been taking place in the Occupied Territories since December: an epidemic of violence.

(C) Some Long-term Consequences

In the day-by-day urgency of uprising and response, little attention has been given to the fact that a substantial number of seriously injured, chronically disabled people will be added to the Palestinian population. They will be there for decades, constituting a social, economic and human problem of troubling proportions.

About 30 per cent of the gunshot injuries over one day old that we saw in hospitals had resulted in serious long-term or permanent loss of leg function: monoplegics, paraplegics and one quadriplegic. Most of them will never walk again. Some are unlikely ever to leave the hospital or nursing home. They remain at risk of infection and other complications.

Others had suffered such extensive damage to leg bones and muscle that recovery of function is problematic, even with extensive physical rehabilitation, for which present resources in the Occupied Territories are totally inadequate. The consequences of the beatings we observed in the Gaza Strip will be long-term. Many of these patients are at risk of continued crippling due to the formation of scar tissue and contractures of muscles and joints. For many of the young people with fractures or relatively superficial injuries, full recovery is likely. Many others, however, will never fully recover from their injuries, and they will need physical care and psychological support for the rest of their lives.



(C) Special Issues and Problems

(1) Injury and Death due to Tear Gas

Wherever we went in the West Bank and Gaza, we heard descriptions of the widespread and often indiscriminate use of tear gas. On several occasions, we witnessed it directly. To many people the term "tear gas" connotes something benign and mildly irritating. Both the medical literature and prior observations by Physicians for Human Rights in South Korea and Panama suggest that it can cause serious medical problems, particularly if it is misused. Exposure to high concentrations of tear gas in small, enclosed spaces for ten minutes is potentially lethal, particularly to infants and children, the elderly, and those with respiratory and cardiac disease. The tear gas cannisters we saw were labelled "Extremely dangerous. For outdoor use only."

Although we could not confirm the reports we heard of at least two deaths from tear gas inhalation, we received frequent and detailed reports that soldiers were deliberately throwing tear gas cannisters into the houses of refugees in the UNRWA camps, particularly during night-time raids on sleeping communities, and into small stores, health clinics and even (on several well-documented occasions) into hospitals, posing a severe respiratory threat to inpatients and requiring the urgent evacuation of some wards. These reports came from such reliable sources as physicians in the camps, UNRWA workers, and neutral observers. Professor Gene Sharp, Director of the Program on Non-Violent Sanctions at the Harvard University Center for International Affairs who was on a trip to Israel at the same time as ours, described to one of us his own direct observation of soldiers tossing a tear gas cannister through the window of a small apartment in the Old City of Jerusalem, from which there presently emerged five small children, gasping and choking.

In both the West Bank and Gaza Strip, large cylinders of tear gas have been dropped into camps and villages by helicopter. A mechanism within these cylinders is triggered upon landing and the tear gas is spewed out. We saw one of these spent cylinders, about two and a half feet tall and 18 inches in diameter, in the UNRWA headquarters in Gaza City. At many sites we visited, we also saw four other kinds of spent tear gas containers, two of them clearly marked as CS gas. One type of cannister we saw repeatedly, a cylinder 5 inches long, was labelled "Manufactured by Federal Laboratories, Inc., Swartsburg, Pennsylvania, January 1988".

From all reports, several different kinds of tear gas are being used: one, emitting a white cloud, that leads to intense tearing of the eyes and irritation of the respiratory tract, creating symptoms similar to an acute asthma attack and



aggravating any underlying pulmonary disease. In the Gaza Strip, it was reported by many we talked to that a new gas had been recently introduced that caused intense nausea, retching, abdominal cramps and, particularly in children, severe and protracted diarrhea.

In the Occupied Territories, as in other areas where tear gas have been used, effective medical care of heavily exposed victims is hampered by lack of information on the composition and toxicity of the substances and on recommended treatment. Physicians who called the Poison Control Center in Haifa, the central resource of Israel and the Occupied Territories, said they were frequently told that such information was unavailable or "classified."

## (2) Reported Increases in Miscarriages and Stillbirths

We could not substantiate in any way rumors we had heard of an increase in the incidence of miscarriage in the first trimester of pregnancy. Since this incidence has a high baseline rate (approximately 20 per cent of all pregnancies in Gaza), accurate reporting of any possible increase is obviously difficult. Although allegations of large numbers of spontaneous abortions and miscarriages were widespread in the Palestinian community, no obvious change in the rate was apparent to physicians we spoke with.

In the Gaza Strip, however, there was a different problem. A senior obstetrician told us he had seen seven cases of intra-uterine fetal death in one day. Other obstetricians in the area had noted a similar increase in the previous two months, he said, and collectively they had identified approximately 40 cases of second- and third-trimester fetal death and stillbirth. Since many women had been unable to reach a hospital or doctor because of curfews, and since infant deaths and stillbirths are often unreported, they surmised that the real number could be as high as eighty. The phenomenon had already come to the attention of UNRWA staff, who were launching a formal study and collating baseline data from earlier years. All these cases were among women who noticed the absence of fetal movement two to three days after exposure to tear gas when soldiers had entered their camps or villages. Allegations of a large number of fetal deaths due to tear gas were widely reported in the Palestinian press.

On our return, we discussed this report with American epidemiologists who had conducted detailed studies of infant mortality and stillbirth in Gaza in 1985. The "normal" stillbirth rate in Gaza is sufficiently high to account for all these newly reported cases--if they represent all the cases in the entire Gaza Strip area, and not in some smaller population. We do not know that, and no judgment can be made at this time. In Gaza, the



health data monitoring systems are sufficient to allow authorities to determine over time whether this apparent increase will be statistically significant. Since there are many risk factors for fetal death, and since reported exposure to tear gas, while widespread, lacks any quantitative measures of concentration, it will remain difficult to establish what role, if any, tear gas exposure may have played. We believe it is equally important that the planned studies measure the incidence of congenital defects and follow the course of infant development among children born to mothers with known exposure to tear gas during pregnancy.

### (3) Gunshot Wounds

We saw many patients in the hospitals with gunshot wounds to the abdomen, back and legs. X-rays of these patients showed a diffuse pattern of lead fragments--the "lead snow" we have mentioned. We consulted U.S. military ballistics experts on the question of bullet fragmentation. Although further investigation of this question is needed, the cause of the X-ray and clinical findings we observed appears to be that almost all military weapons, including those used by the Israeli army, fire bullets at such high velocity that even jacketed bullets will fragment inside the body, whether or not they hit bone. If this is so, then the injuries we saw reflect the inappropriateness of high-powered military weapons for civilian crowd control. In any case, as we have noted, the wounds that result from bullet fragmentation are extensive, involve damage to many structures, and often cause neurologic injury of devastating consequence.

### (4) Eye Injuries

We heard many reports of eye injuries, including at least three cases resulting in total destruction of one eye. We were unable to determine whether any patients had indeed lost an eye because we could not gain admission to the hospital to which these cases had been referred. In our own observations, we saw several cases of lacerations and contusions about the eye, inflicted by tear gas cannister shrapnel or rubber bullets. We also saw one case, in Shifa Hospital, of a young man injured the previous day by a tear gas cannister that had hit his left eye before it had exploded. The left side of his face was encased in plaster; his medical chart indicated that he had suffered a rupture of the left eyeball and fractures of the nose and left zygomatic arch (cheekbone). We were later told that troops were firing rubber bullets at torso and head level, although the proper crowd control technique is to fire these bullets at the ground so they hit people on the ricochet. Even in the latter case, however, the use of rubber bullets carries risk of facial and eye injuries.



(E) MEDICAL EVIDENCE AND THE DOCUMENTATION OF VIOLENCE

We have used the incontrovertible end results as medical evidence to document the pattern of violence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Witnessing and documenting the direct infliction of these injuries, though possible, is more difficult. At several points during our trip, we were on the edges of violent clashes, but events seen at some distance, through clouds of tear gas and smoke from burning tires, cannot be described in detail. To move closer, it was clear, would have been to put ourselves at risk. The question remained for us: do our medical observations of a pattern of violence match the documentation of real events?

The beatings of people, including those not resisting arrest and not involved in demonstrations, have been repeatedly described in the Israeli and international press, and occasionally captured on film and in television footage by Israeli and foreign journalists. We consulted them during our trip. Direct independent documentation of night-time raids, invasion of homes, and the systematic beating of families in camps or villages under curfew was not possible.

However, the beatings have produced a flood of affidavits and eyewitness descriptions from Palestinians, Palestinian and Israeli legal and civil rights organizations, and neutral observers. We examined many of these detailed statements in Israel and on our return to the United States. While we cannot confirm the veracity of any single statement, we were impressed by the consistency of the reports from multiple observers, multiple sites, multiple events. They did establish a pattern, in our view, and the pattern matched our medical observations.

For example, the following excerpts are from an affidavit supplied to an Israeli legal organization by an American observer describing events near Palestine Square in Gaza City on January 29:

"We heard terrible screaming behind us. We turned and saw several Israeli soldiers dragging a young man along the ground on his back, kicking him over his entire body, punching him with their fists and pounding him with wooden truncheons. The boy's head, face and neck were entirely covered with blood, his nose was obviously broken, and he had deep, bleeding gashes on his forearms. The Israeli soldiers pulled him upward and as the boy began to stand, one soldier kicked him twice in the genitals ...While they pushed and pulled him to the opposite side of the street, one Israeli soldier held the boy's arm outward and struck it repeatedly with a wooden truncheon. They then handcuffed him to the door, and one soldier took the boy's head in his two hands and bashed his head as hard as he could repeatedly against the door....The boy's little sister, who appeared to be about 13 or 14 years old, was standing next to him, screaming."



On February 25, CBS Television network news in the U.S. included a segment, filmed that day in Nablus on the West Bank, showing Israeli soldiers pursuing two young men who had been throwing rocks, capturing them, handcuffing them and putting hoods over their heads, and then beating them. The beating was filmed continuously for 45 minutes. In one unusually graphic segment, as other soldiers continued kicking and punching, the film showed one soldier forcibly extending a prisoner's arm and pounding it repeatedly from above with a large rock.

There is virtual agreement between our observations and findings and the subsequent reports of other respected organizations independently investigating problems of medical care and human rights in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On February 23, the vice president of the International Committee of the Red Cross communicated to the Israeli government his organization's conclusion that "thousands of people have been the victims of brutality and grave ill treatment at the hands of Israeli soldiers, and unacceptable measures have been employed against innocent victims such as young children, pregnant women and the elderly. On February 24, the head of an Amnesty International investigating team concluded that "these are not isolated incidents: they are happening on a large scale and with signs of official encouragement." On March 10, in a formal communication to Prime Minister Shamir, the U.S. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights reported its conclusion that "violations of well-established rules of international law are occurring on a significant scale, violations that cannot be justified," and specifically cited beatings under impermissible circumstances in people's homes, while victims were in custody, or as a form of punishment and intimidation; the excessive use of force in riot control, and the widespread and inappropriate use of live ammunition when soldiers' lives were not in danger.

Events subsequent to the completion of our mission unfortunately suggest that the patterns we have noted are continuing and may be escalating. The New York Times reported on February 20 that the Israeli army has ordered 10,000 new riot clubs. Daily reports of beating injuries continue. There has been an apparent shift back to the use of live ammunition; the totals of shooting fatalities and injuries have reached as high as 26 in a single day. As of March 29 the total of Palestinian fatalities since the beginning of the uprising was at least 110. Three Israeli civilians were killed in a terrorist attack on a bus outside the Occupied Territories, in Israel proper. As of March 29, there had been one reported death of an IDF soldier. The imposition of a total ban on press and other investigators in the Occupied Territories, and the imposition of a three-day total curfew on the Gaza Strip, raise the risks of further violations. On March 29, Prime Minister Shamir stated that "The means are not important; it's the ends that matter."



VIOLATIONS OF MEDICAL HUMAN RIGHTS

(A) Denial, Delay and Disruption of Medical Care

At every hospital, clinic, physician's office and UNRWA facility our team visited, we were told with special urgency of repeated instances in which Israeli soldiers and police had refused entry to ambulances, physicians and other health workers trying to reach the victims of beatings and shootings. These reports were precise and specific. They named camps, clinics, sites, dates and hours, and they were made to us by senior physicians and UN administrators.

The consequence--which we witnessed directly--was that seriously injured people had to be brought to medical care, often with delays of up to 4 hours, in private cars, in the backs of panel trucks, sometimes simply carried in the arms of family or companions. Two instances were cited in which patients had bled to death; we found them believable. We saw patients brought by car to Mokassed Hospital in Jerusalem and Hebron Hospital with serious vascular injuries and chest wounds. Some of these injured might have survived had there been access to a modern, multi-center trauma care system served by an emergency ambulance and transportation network. Instead, there occurred marked delays in bringing people to sites of care, in part because almost all patients were brought by private cars or vans, and in part because improvised, circuitous routes were used in order to avoid army roadblocks, checkpoints and other potential dangers of arrest.

In the midst of a very busy morning at the Mokassed Hospital emergency room, with more than 20 wounded patients arriving in the space of a few hours, the emergency room choked with victims and medical personnel and all five operating rooms in use for patients with gunshot wounds and head injuries, we were told that the hospital's one ambulance had been hijacked by police as it tried to reach the scene of a violent confrontation in East Jerusalem. The ambulance driver later reported to us in detail: police had approached the ambulance with guns drawn, ordered two physicians, an aide and the driver out, and held them at gunpoint. Six policemen entered the ambulance and drove it into the Arab neighborhood, behind the lines of the demonstration. Two members of our team drove directly to the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross to file a complaint. The message was relayed from the Red Cross to a military liaison officer. After 45 minutes, the ambulance was returned to its team and the crew was ordered to go back to the hospital, still without picking up any wounded.



Other Palestinian witnesses told us that Israeli soldiers repeatedly barred ambulances, doctors and health teams from their work in refugee camps and villages when there were no demonstrations, particularly in communities that had been placed under curfew. At Jalazon camp near Ramallah on February 5, our team, accompanied by two Palestinian physicians, sought entry. We were stopped at gunpoint at a checkpoint at the camp gate, on a hilltop overlooking the community. Below us, we could see the community and the UNRWA health clinic; it was absolutely quiet. We waited alongside the highway for the UNRWA medical van to arrive, joined their team of nurse-midwives and nurses, and again approached the gate. The soldiers refused entry. The UNRWA team protested that this was the sixth day in a row in which medical access had been denied. Pressed for a reason, a soldier said "if the clinic is opened, there will be excitement, people will mill around, there will be trouble." Uncomfortably, he added: "Of course, if anyone is sick, we'll let them out." The UNRWA team pointed out that such patients had no transportation to doctor or hospital, and no money to pay for care. While we talked, a woman labored up the hill from the camp carrying an obviously ill and feverish five- or six-year-old child whose foot was wrapped in a dirty bandage; as she pleaded with a soldier, the child was visibly cold and shivering. We abandoned the attempt to enter, picked up child and mother, and drove them to Ramallah Hospital. As we left, one of the soldiers--to whom some of us had identified ourselves as Americans, physicians and Jews--complained about what he called distorted television coverage of the Army's behavior and said "Look, I don't like being here either."

There were other instances of interference with care. Palestinian physicians at every location we visited in the West Bank and Gaza Strip described instances of harassment by soldiers and police. These included repeated delays for multiple searches of ambulances and physicians' cars, incidents in which physicians trying to reach health centers or hospitals had been forced to jack up their cars and remove all wheels for searches, or to lift and carry stones from the road. Their status as physicians and the nature of their work was dismissed or demeaned.

A particularly important medical problem, not widely noted in media reports focussed on the demonstrations, is created by prolonged curfews of Palestinian camps and villages. A curfew extending over time can have serious medical and human consequences. An UNRWA field director gave us a detailed compilation of curfews in Gaza, the majority lasting from 10 to 17 days. In these curfews, people are restricted to their houses all day and all night except for a two- or three-hour break every 24 hours. In many cases, health teams are denied entry. Camp clinics, the only regular source of medical care for much of the population, remain closed. In other cases the clinics are open but people are unable to leave their homes to attend them.



Such curfews interfere with access to care for those with serious injuries. The consequences are also serious for residents with chronic illnesses--hypertension, heart disease, diabetes, asthma, epilepsy and the like--who depend on the UNRWA and volunteer Palestinian physician teams for their medications and medical care. They go without either, for substantial periods, and some have subsequently required hospitalization. Prenatal care of pregnant women is interrupted. UNRWA immunization programs in Gaza have been completely brought to a halt. According to senior UNRWA officers, outbreaks of measles and other communicable diseases are anticipated in the next several months. UNRWA operates six maternity centers in Gaza; in order to maintain some level of service, nurse-midwives and other staff have elected virtually to live at the centers.

Some measure of the magnitude of the problem is provided by data from physicians entering camps when the curfews are lifted. They face a real backlog of people seeking care. At Kallandia camp near Ramallah, 170 patients were seen in the first four hours; at Jalazon camp, 164 patients appeared, including 35 with beating injuries. At Al Amaari camp, a health team sneaked in "illegally" on a back road and found 106 patients waiting, including some who had climbed over a back fence to avoid soldiers stationed outside the clinic.

In the Gaza Strip, UNRWA field directors reported other violations of medical and human consequence. At several camps, they said, Israeli soldiers turned off or cut all of the camp's water pipes as "punishment". At another camp, people were prevented from going to water pumps. At one UNRWA maternity center, babies had to be delivered "without water to wash the babies, wash the mothers, wash the linens." On three occasions, an UNRWA team was prevented from delivering food to its tuberculosis hospital. At another Gaza Strip maternity center, UNRWA reported to us, soldiers stopped mothers leaving a food distribution office, confiscated their packets of milk powder and threw them on the ground.

(B) Violations of Medical Sanctuary: Assaults on Hospitals, Clinics and Physicians

Since the beginning of the uprisings in early December, there have been well-documented reports of Israeli soldiers and police entering hospitals, assaulting physicians, nurses and other hospital staff, seizing patients from hospital beds and removing them to prison, beating doctors and other health workers, and making tear-gas attacks on hospitals and clinics. A number of these instances were described to us by physician eyewitnesses. Again, these reports were specific as to sites, dates and details.

For example, the Chief of Staff and four other senior physicians at Mokassed Hospital told us that on December 26 soldiers threw teargas cannisters into the hospital's front courtyard. The cannisters landed and exploded near the airconditioning intake units. Teargas was sucked into the neonatal intensive care unit, the delivery rooms and the maternity ward, and hospital staff had to race to turn off the airconditioning, open windows and check the infants for respiratory difficulty. On January 16, at 7 p.m., they said, four male nurses on their way to work were stopped at the main hospital gate--where patrols of soldiers and police are frequently stationed--and beaten. On January 28, four Israeli soldiers carrying clubs and rifles dashed into the hospital's main lobby, reportedly in pursuit of two boys who had been throwing stones, and--carrying their weapons--entered the maternity area and the neonatal unit, which are located on the first floor. Entry to the neonatal unit routinely requires the wearing of sterile gowns and masks. The soldiers were stopped from going further only after a physician barred their way.

In the Gaza Strip, an Amnesty International report described a clash on December 25 in which Israeli soldiers opened fire with live ammunition in front of Shifa Hospital. The report continued: "Soldiers stormed the hospital compound, scuffling with nurses and doctors who tried to prevent them from taking wounded youths away for questioning...doctors and nurses were highly agitated and complained that an Israeli officer...had kicked and beaten hospital staff trying to attend to the injured youths wanted for questioning. A nurse, her smashed fingers bandaged and her body badly bruised, said she had been hit with a rifle butt and kicked on her legs and ribs as she fought to keep a gunshot victim from Israeli soldiers. 'He may die,' she said she protested. The Israeli soldier, she said, replied 'Let him die. Palestine is lost.'" This incident was independently and spontaneously described to us on February 10 by a senior staff surgeon who took



us on rounds at Shifa Hospital, which we were able to enter only after avoiding soldiers stationed at a 24-hour checkpoint at the hospital entrance, where Palestinians seeking treatment are often required to leave their identity cards. A second physician, interviewed separately at the Gaza City offices of the Palestinian Red Crescent, reported that during the first three weeks of the violence, in December 1987, two people had been shot dead on hospital property, more than 40 were injured by gunshot wounds, a dozen young men with fractures and other injuries had been taken away for imprisonment, and tear gas had been dropped on the hospital from a helicopter.

UNRWA field directors and Palestinian physicians on different occasions in Gaza City described an incident in which a Palestinian physician had opened his residence door at night--a violation of curfew orders--to admit a woman with a sick child. Soldiers subsequently dragged the doctor from his home, beat him with clubs, propped him on the hood of an army jeep and drove down the street until he fell off. A subsequent protest strike by Shifa Hospital staff resulted in an apology from the area military commander, but no identification or punishment of the soldiers and officer involved.

In the Ramallah and Hebron areas of the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, physicians told us of instances in which health centers and clinics had been tear-gassed. Some of these may well have been occasions when tear-gas used on demonstrators and in public areas had drifted into health centers. In at least two cases, however, the allegations were that soldiers had thrown tear-gas cannisters into crowded health centers to "flush out the wounded" for arrest.

On a number of occasions, politically activist physicians have been placed under "town arrest"--barred from travelling outside a defined area--for varying periods of time. One Gaza City physician currently under town arrest reported that on January 20 and 21, soldiers had entered his home, the offices of the Gaza Medical Society and the offices of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society and seized files, medical journals and books. He believes the search was in connection with Israeli opposition to Red Crescent plans to build a new 100-bed general hospital in the Gaza Strip, independent of the Israeli civil administration, and was specifically related to an Israeli ban on the receipt of charitable funds from abroad except from "approved" sources.

In the three weeks immediately following the PHR mission, the Israeli and international press reported that IDF soldiers invaded hospitals at Ramallah, Hebron and Nablus; tear gas was fired into a maternity ward at Ramallah, and the directors of the civil administration hospitals formally protested the beatings of physicians and the use of live ammunition inside hospitals.



(C) A System Overwhelmed: The Response to Trauma

At the government hospital in Hebron, the incoming wounded had been arriving all day, in an irregular stream of cars, in the arms of friends, sometimes on foot. (This hospital, which serves an area of more than 200,000 people, has one ambulance). That morning, a violent clash with soldiers had taken place in a village nearby, resulting in 3 deaths and many casualties from beatings and gunshot. We arrived at 5 p.m. to witness a medical care system stressed to the limit of capacity.

The emergency room was littered and dimly lit. Other adjacent areas, without equipment, had been pressed into service for emergency work. Patients lined the rooms and corridors. Intermittently, a sudden crush of men would race toward the operating room, carrying a gunshot victim. On the floor were trails of blood, discarded and bloody articles of clothing, rags that were used to wipe the examining tables between patients.

Four or five staff physicians tried to work in an orderly fashion, assessing damage, applying splints or casts, routing patients off to the x-ray unit, the operating room or, after first aid, out the door. At the end of the corridor there was an emergency room command post, with a desk and a telephone. The hospital has one outside line. On the wall was a notice from the civil administration, in Arabic and Hebrew, giving detailed instructions on how to report to the authorities the names, ages and addresses of all injured persons.

Upstairs, several wards held the most serious of those wounded in previous days. Two rooms held this day's minor injuries, those with scalp and facial lacerations requiring sutures. There we saw several young doctors at work, exhausted to the point of demoralization, closing wounds without gloves, without local anesthesia, without water, by the light of a ceiling bulb. (A study of medical response to the tornado of 1953 in Worcester, Massachusetts, revealed the same phenomenon: physicians confronted with a mass casualty situation may rapidly develop cognitive overload and function at levels far below their usual level of competence.)

This hospital in Hebron, one of eight operated by the Israeli civil administration in the Occupied Territories, is staffed and equipped to provide care at what we judged to be a competent third-world level. It is particularly weak in supplies, cleaning and maintenance, nursing stations, procedure rooms, kitchens and bathrooms. With the recent addition of a new operating room wing, we thought it adequate for the delivery of primary and secondary care to a civilian population in time of relative peace. In resources and capabilities, it differed by orders of magnitude from the standards of the Israeli hospital system 20 miles away.



In the current situation, this hospital in Hebron is overwhelmed. It is probable that this is true of all the hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Mokassed Islamic Charitable Hospital in East Jerusalem, a voluntary hospital which serves to some extent as a referral center for patients from the Occupied Territories, is a possible exception. Very few of the physicians in the Occupied Territories have training in emergency medicine or trauma management; there is no coordinated emergency ambulance system oriented to rapid and appropriate transport of trauma victims. The uprisings have been going on since early December. After two months with the constant pressure of incoming casualties, inadequate facilities and resources, physicians working 100-hour weeks and often subject to curfews, harassment and constraints on travel between home and hospital, the medical system was visibly cracking.

Three days later, at the civil administration's Shifa Hospital in Gaza City, we saw a similar pattern of exhausted physicians and inadequate facilities. This hospital, first opened in the early 1950s during the days of Egyptian rule, is a collection of aging ramshackle buildings and makeshift annexes. It has 360 beds and 90 doctors, including orthopedic surgeons, neurosurgeons and others with trauma experience. Although it serves as the major medical emergency center for a population exceeding 600,000, it has no intensive care unit, CAT-scan equipment, or modern operating suites, though basic equipment was better than that at Hebron.

The wards were overcrowded, grimy and dirty. A ward "kitchen" consisted of a tiny room with dirty dishes piled on a chair and one electric hotplate. There was no sink. In a ward bathroom, the floor was smeared with feces and urine. A family of feral cats raced about the hospital lobby and down the corridors. In the wards lay patients with open fractures, complex abdominal wounds, and extensive lacerations over deep soft tissue trauma. The physicians and nurses were doing an admirable job in keeping these patients free of infection.

Staff physicians said it is routine for one to two dozen beating victims to arrive each day, though they estimate that there is at least an equal daily number of injured who do not come to the hospital at all because of curfews or fear of arrest. At peak periods of violence, the load can be much greater; on one day (February 8) two days before our visit, Shifa Hospital admitted 31 patients with beating or gunshot injuries, or close to 10 per cent of its total beds.

Many patients with serious injuries are transferred to better-equipped Israeli hospitals in Ashkelon or Beersheba for immediate management of trauma, and then, after their conditions have been stabilized, sent back to Shifa Hospital for continuing care. There are, however, obvious problems of coordination and



communication between the two systems, some of which we observed directly. Transfers to the Israeli hospitals, even in some emergency situations, are not automatic, and even essential medical communication may be limited. At Shifa Hospital, we saw one patient with complex gunshot injuries to the spinal cord, bladder, small and large intestines who had been transferred back from Ashkelon. The transfer note on his medical chart noted that five operations had been performed but described none of them, and failed to note that the patient was incontinent and had developed intermittent seizures.

Underlying the immediate problem of providing medical care during the uprisings is the whole troubled issue of what kind of health care the Israeli government has provided the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the last 20 years of occupation. This issue includes a number of topics, such as what access to health insurance and health care is available to Palestinians, how the Palestinian physicians are treated, what barriers exist to development of autonomous private Palestinian hospitals and health centers, and the nature of relationships between the West Bank/Gaza Strip and Israeli medical systems. These have been the subjects of studies by American, Israeli and Palestinian researchers and international agencies.

Two major points deserve mention. The West Bank and Gaza Strip populations we saw appeared basically healthy, in that there was little visible evidence of malnutrition or widespread infection among either children or adults. The adolescent and young adult population is well-nourished and physiologically resilient, judging from how their wounds are healing. In the past two decades, officially reported infant mortality rates have improved, although Israeli government claims about the extent of the decline have been disputed by American researchers, UNRWA health officials, and Israeli government statisticians who conducted independent surveys and sample studies outside the Israeli civil administration. The network of civil administration hospitals, health centers and public health teams, although underfunded and operating at a standard far lower than that of Israel proper, has certainly made a positive contribution to the health status of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

However, the problems of health insurance coverage and of affordable access to medical care are complex. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who work in Israel have payments deducted from their paychecks for Israel's national health insurance system, but they are not eligible to seek health care outside the Occupied Territories, where they live and pay taxes towards the health care system maintained by the civil administration. There is a large disparity between per capita health expenditures in Israel and in the Occupied Territories. Patients with complex medical problems are referred to Israeli hospitals,



but funds for these referrals are limited. The problems of inadequate coverage, uneven access to care and underfunding of health care systems resemble those in many Western industrial societies.<sup>2</sup>

There are also important gaps in the delivery of primary and preventive care in the Occupied Territories: for example, the screening service for cervical cytology (Pap smears) is limited, rudimentary and slow, despite the fact that this population is at high risk for cervical cancer.

Since 1979, the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC) has attempted to fill the gaps and develop an autonomous infrastructure for primary and community health care by mobilizing the voluntary efforts of physicians, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory technicians and other health workers to provide services where primary care is extremely scarce, particularly in rural areas and refugee camps. The first steps were taken in mobile clinics. In 1982, 2,000 people attended 30 such clinics; by 1986, 47,000 people attended 265 clinics in 171 localities; more recently, six permanent health centers have been established to provide preventive, curative and health education programs, a dental program, a dermatology program, and special screening programs for children in kindergartens and schools. A cervical cytology program is now beginning. The UPMRC estimates that about 300 of the approximately 900 Palestinian physicians have worked in medical relief.

These efforts also have been disrupted and overwhelmed by the medical burdens of the uprisings. The UPMRC physicians and other health workers we saw were almost totally preoccupied with trauma care and responses to emergencies. Access to refugee camps and Palestinian neighborhoods was frequently blocked by curfews, and primary care operations faced huge backlogs after curfews were lifted. Health education efforts had shifted to first-aid and self-help instructions for stabilizing fractures, controlling bleeding, and dealing with the effects of tear gas.

Relationships between Palestinian and Israeli physicians seemed to us to be meager. Relatively few Israeli physicians have visited hospitals in the Occupied Territories or assessed the quality of care the civil administration is providing there. Palestinian physicians, for their part, describe a pattern of Israeli medical condescension, denial of Palestinian competence, and affronts to feelings of professional pride and equality. This attitude was confirmed to us in interviews we had with Israelis.

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<sup>2</sup> Detailed surveys and studies of health expenditures and health status in the Occupied Territories are available from the West Bank Data Base Project, Jerusalem.



In one striking example, Dr. Yitzhak Sever, the Israeli chief medical officer for the West Bank, told us with evident pride of a program in which young Palestinian physicians are sent to Israeli hospitals for residency training in neurosurgery, cardiac surgery, pulmonary disease, oncology and other specialties. (West Bank and Gaza Strip students cannot attend Israeli medical schools; they must obtain their undergraduate and much of their graduate medical training abroad). The standard residency programs for such specialty training take from four to seven years. The Palestinian doctors in the Israeli residency programs receive two years and then, with few exceptions, are returned to the West Bank to practice in Ramallah, Hebron and other government hospitals. The Palestinians refer to them as "half-trained specialists." Dr. Sever assured us that "they get a condensed course--it has everything in it that Israeli physicians get." He did not explain why, if time and expense could be saved in this fashion without sacrifice of quality, Israeli hospitals did not similarly shorten their own training programs. The day after our interview with Dr. Sever, a senior Israeli physician spoke disparagingly to one of us about what he regarded as the poor work of Palestinian neurosurgeons.

The structural and psychological obstacles to better integration of the two health care systems are numerous and entrenched. Yet the absence of integration perpetuates inequalities whose effects we observed. The relative disadvantages under which the health care system in the Occupied Territories must operate are thrown into sharper relief when, as in the last several months, the system is forced to respond to challenges for which it is completely unprepared.

Ultimately, the health status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip populations, like that of all populations, depends not only on the availability and quality of medical services but on the adequacy of housing, incomes, nutrition, environmental and social services--factors which are also deteriorating in the disruptions attendant on the uprisings. If this deterioration is prolonged, the disparity between needs and the capabilities of the health care systems in the Occupied Territories will be even greater.

(D) Intervention: A Family with Life-threatening Burns

The inability of the West Bank and Gaza Strip hospitals, overwhelmed by the flood of casualties from the uprising, to deal effectively with the normal needs of their populations--heart attacks, pneumonias, complications of delivery, accidents in the community--required us, on one particularly moving occasion, to shift from objective assessment as human rights observers to active intervention as physicians. We had left the emergency room of the civil administration hospital in Hebron and were walking down a second-floor corridor when a staff physician emerged from a side room and asked us to look at three patients.



In the grimy, crowded and dimly lit room were a 24-year-old mother with second and third-degree burns over 50 per cent of her body surface: face, neck, breasts, arms and legs. Next to her was her six-year-old daughter, with second and third degree burns of most of her face, her neck, chest and hands. In a third bed was a six-month-old daughter, with second-degree burns of most of her scalp, extending down the right side of her forehead to her eyebrow. A kerosene-fueled heater had exploded in their home in a nearby Palestinian village, an event totally unconnected to the uprisings. They had been brought to the hospital two hours earlier, at the same time as the peak of the influx of riot casualties.

The Hebron doctors had done what they could, and with considerable skill. They had done a surgical cut-down on the mother's left foot to find a vein for intravenous fluids; IV fluids were also running into a vein in the six-year-old's arm and a small vein in the baby's foot. The patients had been given morphine. But these three people were going to die if they stayed as they were and all of us, Palestinian and American doctors alike, knew it. Both mother and older daughter had soot-stained saliva and mouths coated with smoke--evidence that they had inhaled flames or smoke, burned their upper airways, and might require intubation to keep breathing. Without the surgical and other resources of a burn unit, in any case, we felt certain they were doomed to rapid infection, fluid loss and death. They were still in their grimy, kerosene-soaked clothes, the sheets were dirty, there was no oxygen line in the room, and most of the staff was still in the emergency room. The hospital had only one laryngoscope (an instrument for examining airways) and that had to remain in the operating room. The only blood pressure cuff available did not work.

There is only one burn unit in the area, at the Hadassah-Ein Kerem Hospital 40 miles away on the far side of Jerusalem. The staff doctors told us they had telephoned the Hadassah Hospital three times, describing the patients' conditions and asking permission to transfer them. Each time, they said, they had been told that the burn unit was full and a transfer was impossible. The Hadassah hospital system in Israel had its own huge problems: most of their staffs were on strike in a dispute with the government and only skeleton staffs were on duty. Nevertheless, for these patients there was no alternative, and the problems of the interface between the two systems were, for them, literally life-threatening.

In this situation, neutral detachment as human rights observers was no longer ethical. A team was formed to supplement the hospital's overburdened staff and carry out the emergency measures necessary to stabilize the conditions of the three patients. Then they were lifted onto litters, carried outside and



into the hospital's one ambulance, accompanied by two doctors, one a Palestinian and the other an American. Their improvised equipment consisted of an oxygen tank and mask, a penlight and a tracheotomy knife in case a patient's airway was compromised. The ambulance and our own cars formed a small caravan on the highway. We drove the three patients, unannounced and without advance permission, to the Hadassah hospital emergency room at Ein Kerem.

The response to our unanticipated arrival was swift, efficient, professionally superb, courteous and kind. No one in the emergency room--a clean, fully equipped and supported facility that contrasted strikingly with the hospital at Hebron--worried about Palestinians and Israelis. One surgeon swept through on his way to the operating room and in five minutes assessed the situation and gave brisk, appropriate instructions pertaining to all three of the patients we had brought. A pediatric surgeon was called in from home and immediately took charge of the care of the two children. The mother and the older daughter were taken to the operating room for the urgently needed surgical procedures. We later learned that, although the burn unit was full and the mother had to be cared for in the emergency room for 24 hours, a possible transfer back to Hebron was avoided and the Hadassah Hospital, despite its stressed circumstances, had continued to provide ongoing intensive care to these patients, all of whom are doing well. This response was consistent with Hadassah's expressed commitment to provide medical care without any distinction as to ethnic, religious or political affiliations of the patients.

In a medical and human rights mission that dealt almost unrelievedly with conflict, hostility, violence and brutality, and inequity, this episode struck all of us as the single most positive event. It made manifest some of the serious and long-standing problems; but more importantly, it signalled to us a note of compassion, professionalism and human connection that gave us--for a few hours at least--a perspective on the realm of peaceful possibilities that still might exist.



THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF VIOLENCE

(A) Effects on the Hearts and Minds of Palestinians and Israelis

We believe that the prolonged violence in the Occupied Territories will have serious consequences for both Israelis and Palestinians. We base our judgment on our own observations, more extensive conversations and interviews with Israelis and Palestinians knowledgeable about the background of the uprisings, and accounts in the Israeli press. Because of language barriers and the limitations of time, we conducted no in-depth psychological interviews. Our assessment is buttressed by studies done of other populations in difficult and violent political situations, e.g., Cyprus, Lebanon, Northern Ireland, the American South in the early 1960's. There is also a body of work on the Arab-Israeli conflict conducted by a group of psychiatrists and psychologists sponsored by the American Psychiatric Association and including Arab, Israeli and Palestinian professionals. Finally, there is now also a substantial literature on factors that predispose individuals to the use of violence in situations in which fear, political polarization, and racial or ethnic stereotyping are rampant.

We observed young men and boys actually throwing stones, and we talked to many who had been beaten. The beatings were clearly not limited to the stone throwers. The effect of the beatings seemed to us to be the very opposite of what the Israeli authorities, according to their own public statements, intended. Young men have been made more angry and defiant and unified around their sense of outrage. We witnessed such a unification at a blood bank where dozens of young men were scrambling for a place in line to donate blood. Over 100 units were donated in a few hours, in a community that traditionally has been most reluctant to donate blood.

Many elements in the community see these men as "heroes." But the violence derails their lives and the normal timetable of adolescent development, already distorted by profound feelings of futurelessness, by the prospect of menial employment or unemployment, even for the highly educated, and by a sense of loss of national identity. In the uprisings, adolescents are becoming leaders in action before they acquire adult wisdom and judgement. The prolonged violence and closing of schools massively interferes with necessary education and job training. These young men are not being prepared for life as functioning adults: the schooling they are getting is for a life of violence. In addition, we know that violence and the sense of a heroic battle can produce a kind of "high" for teenagers. It will be difficult for many of them to come down from the high and settle into the prolonged and undramatic day-to-day work of schooling or apprenticeship, especially since they feel that in their protests they are now doing their community's most crucial work and carrying out its most central purpose.



The Palestinian adults we saw who have been beaten, including many older men and some women, seemed initially stunned, helpless, depressed, and bewildered, especially in instances where soldiers have broken into their homes in night-time raids, smashed furniture and terrorized their children. The other adults around them were outraged that their kin or neighbors have been beaten and their homes invaded. They believe that the soldiers are carrying out the intention of the government. And the evident failure of the Israeli government to punish the perpetrators of the beatings, the repeated denials that uncontrolled violence is occurring or the assertion that it represents only a few "aberrations," strengthens this conviction.

There may be other long-term consequences of this period of violence, no matter what political solution is ultimately reached. Though the literature on the relationship between war (or civil disturbances) and hospitalization for major mental illness is not altogether consistent, it appears likely that (a) in areas directly caught up in violence, there is generally not an increase in hospitalization rates at the time, but that (b) in areas adjacent to the most intense violence, there is an increase, and (c) there tends to be an increase when the violence subsides, and (d) insofar as there is dislocation of families, including the destruction of homes, there is likely to be an increase in the need for institutionalization of elderly patients and of the chronic schizophrenics. We can therefore anticipate, over time, increased rates of hospitalization for both preexisting and new cases of major mental illness. We also can expect increased frequency of anxiety, depression, and stress-related or psychosomatic illness, not necessarily requiring mental hospitalization. This is more than a matter of concern to health officials; the whole Palestinian society will feel the human costs.

The question of effects of the uprisings and violence on the Israeli public is much more difficult to determine. Given the brief span of our visit and despite our attempt to talk to people in government, in the Defense Ministry and across the full spectrum of political opinion, there is little about which we feel competent to conclude. The political situation within Israel seems, indeed, so complex as to defy generalization in any case. The uprisings are causing fear among Israelis, threatening a comfortable sense of domination of Palestinians that has been the bulwark of many Israelis, awakening echoes of terrorist assaults in others, and increasing the ambivalence about the future of the West Bank and Gaza in many. We noticed a tendency for all discussions to shift immediately to the difficulties or impossibility of a long-range and permanent political solution. This shift struck us as a way of not dealing with the problem of the violence that is occurring now. The army's response to the uprisings is producing reactions in the Israeli public that range



from moral anguish--the Zionist mother of three children who said, on learning that soldiers had buried four young Palestinians alive with a bulldozer, "How can I go on living here? What do I have in common with the people who did that?"--to what struck us as moral blindness: an Israeli settler who earnestly explained to us, with absolute conviction, that the beatings and fractures were not the work of the army but were inflicted by sadistic P.L.O. agents in the camps each day just before television cameras arrived.

(B) The Effects on Small Children

When parents are unable to protect their small children, and children are repeatedly exposed to scenes of beatings and bloodshed, the consequences may be profound and long-term. On one level, children try to adapt: in the villages, we saw five-year-olds playing with their collections of rubber bullets and shell casings, and older children, their hands protected with pieces of paper, gleefully carrying expended tear-gas cannisters. In a refugee camp, we noticed a two-year-old carefully clutching an onion wherever she went. Asked why, her mother explained: "It's for protection when she goes outside, she thinks it helps when there's tear gas." Thousands of small children are at risk of chronic anxiety and irritability, childhood depression, sleeplessness and nightmares, and disturbances of maturation.

We heard reliable reports (and the press and television screens have repeatedly carried the images) of 8, 9 and 10-year-old children being clubbed, shot with rubber bullets and teargassed. For each such case, hundreds of others must have been terrorized. In a very real sense, for these children, today's blood and tears are the least of the consequences. When children perceive that their parents are powerless against violence and that they themselves are therefore vulnerable, fundamental attitudes toward the world are shaped, defining it as a very dangerous place--and one that is divided, furthermore, into good ("my tribe") and evil ("the others"). These can be lifelong effects, distorting the perceptions of a whole generation, with consequences not only for their own lives but for the political future and the lives of a next generation as well.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Some Israeli soldiers themselves seem aware of these consequences of their actions. During our visit, we were struck by the following vignette, a narration by an Israeli soldier to a Jerusalem Post reporter who was spending twenty-four hours with an infantry unit on duty in Gaza:

"Driving his jeep into a narrow alley in Rafah, Fashi (the soldier) pointed at a woman in a flowery kerchief holding a baby



(C) Effects on the Israeli Soldiers

Our information on soldiers' reactions comes from extensive interviews with Israeli army psychologists, who were preparing a report and recommendations for the Ministry of Defense, from reports by both Palestinian and Israeli citizens of interactions with soldiers during quiet periods or on leave, and from numerous interviews with soldiers quoted in the Jerusalem press. With a few brief exceptions, we were not able to interview soldiers on duty during demonstrations, curfews and at checkpoints, nor did we have access to army barracks and camps or the army's detention centers for prisoners.

It was clear to us from the outset, however, that the soldiers' situation was one of striking ambiguity. "Official" policy during the uprisings underwent serial change and has remained in essence unclear, and there has been a continuing disparity between formal military or cabinet pronouncements and effective or "real" policy on the ground.

Long before the uprisings began, the army had a clearly promulgated set of official rules defining four stages in the use of fire-arms in riot control, beginning with a loud announcement in the language of the crowd to disperse, escalating to shooting in the air, to shooting at the legs of people, to shooting to kill--only if the lives of soldiers and/or bystanders are clearly threatened. Formal army regulations had never allowed the use of physical force and beatings beyond what was necessary to subdue an attacker or someone resisting arrest. Beatings after an arrest, or random beatings of people who were in a crowd, were strictly forbidden. There are hundreds of affidavits on file with Palestinian and Israeli legal organizations, however, and some reports from Amnesty International, asserting that there were repeated violations of these rules in the years before December 1987.

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in her arms. "See her?" he asked. "We declared a curfew one morning and before dawn went out to get people to erase graffiti. We knocked at her door and no one answered. We opened the window, saw her inside and told her to open the door. But she refused. She said she had children at home. We assumed that any one who refuses to open the door has a good reason. So we broke in and got her and the children out of the room. There was a closet there and we were afraid that someone was hiding inside with a knife or a bomb. So we took up positions and necessary precautions--and finally dragged her husband out. The trauma will no doubt follow the children for the rest of their lives."



The uprisings--community-wide demonstrations marked by rock-throwing, barricade-building, tire-burning and occasional throwing of Molotov cocktails, and jeering and taunting of Israeli soldiers--were a new phenomenon. During the first weeks of the uprisings, the primary reliance of the Israeli forces was on gunshot, though many reports of beatings also date from this period. After 31 Palestinians were shot fatally in the first month, official orders were introduced to rely primarily on tear gas and rubber bullets. When these proved ineffective, according to numerous reports in the Israeli and international press, the practice (whether "policy" or not) of breaking hands appeared. (One senior military correspondent for an Israeli newspaper reported the rationale as "If you arrest a demonstrator he can be turned loose in 18 days, but if you break his hands he can't throw a rock for months.")

While a world-wide outcry ensued, Defense Minister Rabin, on January 19, 1988, publicly announced that "the first priority of the security forces is to use force, might, beatings." On January 25, in an interview with the Jerusalem Post, he endorsed this policy and stated that it was "decided upon and instituted by the government as a whole." There has been much controversy about the precise operational intent of the words "force, might, beatings," but they were clearly taken with the power of orders by many soldiers and commanders. At the same time, other techniques were being used: mass punishment of refugee districts and villages, including cutting off electricity and water, selective arrests of purported leaders, and mass roundups and arrests of adolescents and young men, often when no demonstrations were in progress.

On a number of occasions in January and February, Israeli soldiers themselves told Israeli and foreign journalists (from Hadashot, New York Newsday, and the Jerusalem Post, among others) that they had been ordered to pull people from their homes during curfews and beat them, that they had been ordered to enter houses after demonstrations were over and take suspected stone-throwers to busses, where they were blindfolded, handcuffed and beaten indiscriminately while other soldiers stood guard outside.

Throughout, official statements from the army's leadership, the Ministry of Defense and other senior government officials insisted that the formal, long-standing restrictions on the use of force were still in effect and being observed, and that the army behaviors widely reported in the press, described in affidavits and pictured in photographs represented isolated "aberrations" or "exceptions."

During the latter part of February and in March, this position gradually eroded. In an interview published in a Jerusalem daily, Haaretz, two army psychologists noted that officers in the field were giving their troops specific



instructions "to break property, break legs and arms, hit people even while not actually dispersing a demonstration." In a letter to Defense Minister Rabin on February 22, Israel's Attorney General, Yosef Harish, said complaints of soldiers illegally beating civilians were so numerous as to raise "the suspicion that classifying these incidents as exceptions no longer reflects the reality." After confirmation that soldiers had buried four young Palestinians alive in the village of Salim, near Nablus, and subsequent television filming of the prolonged beating of two handcuffed prisoners in the same area, General Amram Mitzna, commander of West Bank forces, announced the arrest and filing of charges against the soldiers accused of involvement, and publicly called on officers to enforce the official policy. In an interview published by the New York Times on March 13, an army officer identified as a "top-ranking commander" conceded that soldiers had raided homes at night, pulled out people and beaten them and smashed property; he added that "We need to make it clear to the whole corps of second echelon commanders that there is no nonverbal message, that the generals really mean what they say."

The controversy over methods, and the larger political conflict over the occupation should not obscure the fact that the occupying authority has a responsibility--in fact, a legal obligation--to maintain law and order. Although we were unable to obtain official IDF figures during our visit, press reports subsequent to our return quoted army sources as stating that 186 soldiers had been injured, mostly by rocks but with several instances of minor stabbings. As of March 18, there had been no army fatalities, but if violence continues at the present level, more serious injury seems almost inevitable. No figures have been released on injuries to settlers in the Occupied Territories; a review of press accounts indicates that there have been two serious injuries. On numerous occasions, public highways have been temporarily blocked and settlers' cars have been stoned, and in some instances hit with Molotov cocktails. Violence by settlers against Palestinians, including several fatal shootings, and raids by armed settlers on Palestinian communities, have represented an additional set of problems for the IDF.

A number of widely publicized statements have indicated that the use of force has purposes in addition to the control of rock-throwing or other violent demonstrations: the intimidation of the Palestinian population. On January 25, Prime Minister Shamir stated publicly that recent events had "shattered the barrier of fear of the IDF among the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Our task now is to recreate that barrier and once again put the fear of death into the Arabs." A number of published interviews with soldiers suggest that this goal, along with desires for revenge against rock-throwers who have injured their comrades, anger over jeers and insults from demonstrators, and frustration over the inability to halt the uprising, is an important determinant of their behavior.



Finally, although violent demonstrations are not new--the West Bank Data Project's 1987 report estimated that since 1982 the number of violent demonstrations in the Occupied Territories averaged 3000 a year, before the onset of the current uprising--a number of military journalists have noted that the IDF has, until very recently, provided no proper riot-control equipment and almost no training in riot control to IDF troops. Most of the soldiers involved in the West Bank and Gaza, as forces were introduced in rotation, have been young recruits trained primarily for combat.

The IDF itself has expressed concern over the impact of the uprisings, and the methods of army responses to them, on its soldiers. A study by the IDF's own psychology unit was ordered. A survey conducted as part of the study by the army psychologists, we were told by one of its authors, revealed three main reactions of the troops. (The accompanying anecdotes are drawn from our interview with the psychologist and from interviews with soldiers published in the Jerusalem Post on February 12).

(1) A small minority are unaffected, unbothered, or even enjoy performing the beatings. For example, in a heated argument among a group of soldiers some said that "a good Arab is a dead Arab". "I know their mentality," one company commander said. Living near Beit Safafa and observing the 27 Arabs his father employed in the family's carpentry shop made him an expert, he maintained. "Beating those who take part in riots has proven itself," he claimed. "It's quiet now only because we were tough. If you would have had a tougher unit here, it would have taken only one day to restore order." The brutality involved did not disturb him. "A mother who cries over a son whose head was bashed doesn't bother me. If she really cared, she would have kept him home," he said.

(2) The largest number feel a mix of emotions and defensive rationalizations. About 70 per cent of those surveyed said they were angry and frustrated by their duty suppressing riots, but believed that they were acting fairly. They made comments like: "This is unpleasant but I have no choice until there is a political solution." "At least it's better than shooting them." "We are under orders."

But many of the soldiers carrying out the beatings also spoke of their inner recoiling. One said "We beat stone throwers and curfew breakers --but in time you realize you're dealing with human beings, not animals." Another reported: "Someone drove up on a bike, didn't obey an order to stop, so we beat him up pretty badly. He fainted...I came to realize they're just like us. Some women even remind me of my mother."



A common defense mechanism reported to the Israeli press by Dr. Charles Greenbaum, a co-author of the army psychologists' report, was dehumanization of the Palestinians. "Sometimes, soldiers will laugh at an incident when they beat people up and use force, or imitate a woman who was screaming because they took her child. It's awful."

(3) Ten to 15 per cent are torn apart. Some soldiers have refused to go in and break up riots. At first they were not disciplined for this, but by February a few had been court-martialled and given three week jail sentences. One soldier said "The more I break other people's bones the more I am broken myself." Another described what he experienced as "the worst feeling I've ever had". One soldier, a resident of Halamish west of Bir Zeit, said he had often passed by the Jalazon refugee camp "but I was never aware of the situation there. Here it hits you and when you see a soldier beating a person who is old enough to be his father, it turns something in your head."

There have been variations from unit to unit in the use of violence, and informal discussions on policy within units. One unit had made a decision early on not to beat, and to use minimal force. By the end of three weeks, they were convinced, however, "you have to hit women and children, break into houses".

The army psychologists expressed concern that, in their words, a kind of Vietnam syndrome is already in the making. When the soldiers go home, people on the left say "you animals!" People on the right say "why didn't you shoot them?" Many soldiers feel "I'm doing this for you--in your name--so you're not getting off from the responsibility." The psychologists predicted that opposition to the policy of beating will increase as as more reserve units are called in, explaining that "the army is to a large extent going against its own norms. What had once been a deviation is now the norm. Most psychologists feel it's wrong for the army. The present policy carries a heavy psychological price for the soldiers." The army group is strongly recommending real limitations on the use of force and urging the IDF to give unambiguous orders and punish violators.

Overall, from a psychological perspective, we anticipate that the most serious collective consequences of the brutality in the present situation are likely to be a strengthening of resolve and hardening of positions among the Palestinians. The irrationality and violence of the beatings, injuries and intimidation will likely beget further irrationality in the political process. The impact of the chronic humiliation inherent in any occupation is multiplied many times by actual violence. The effects of the violence on the Israeli public are more problematic and harder to predict--perhaps both increasing the will to move towards a political resolution and increasing fear and determination to continue domination of the Palestinians at all costs.



### OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recognize that the serious medical and human rights violations we have described in the Occupied Territories are occurring in the context of many decades of violence, reflecting long-standing and deep political conflicts in which both sides perceive communal survival and security to be at stake, and that these conflicts must ultimately find a political solution. As a medical and human rights organization, the form and content of such a solution is beyond our purview.
2. We further recognize that, pending such a political solution, Israel has both a responsibility and a legal obligation to maintain public order and security in the territories under its control, and that Israeli Defense Forces are repeatedly confronting violent protests in which they are exposed to physical assault primarily with thrown stones and rocks, improvised gasoline bombs and similar weapons, with the notable exception of firearms.
3. The basic pattern of IDF responses to the uprisings, however, has violated internationally accepted principles of human rights and constraints on the use of force. It has caused avoidable fatalities and inflicted serious injury on thousands of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents. Specific violations include the use of high-powered military firearms in what are essentially battle-field tactics against unarmed Palestinian protestors; systematic but indiscriminate beatings in Palestinian homes, in communities under curfew and not engaged in demonstrations at the time; injuries inflicted on individuals who are not resisting arrest or have already been subdued, as a form of punishment or intimidation, and the inappropriate use of tear gas indoors.
4. While there may be no methods of controlling prolonged civilian disturbances that do not risk serious medical consequences, these tactics stand in sharp contrast to the riot-control methods, including water cannons, outdoors use of tear gas, and horseback charges against rioters, used by Israeli police in the recent past against violent crowds of stone-throwing ultra-Orthodox Jewish residents in Jerusalem.
5. We are particularly concerned by recent characterizations of the uprisings by high Israeli officials, including the Prime Minister and the Defense Minister, as "a war," "a war of civilians, women and children in order to achieve a political goal." While such descriptions may have been intended only in a political sense, such statements have the potential to justify military attacks on civilians, women and children, the siege or curfew of civilian commun-



ities, and other acts whose consequences we observed during our investigation.

6. The level of responsive force must be lowered immediately, in accord with the Israeli Defense Force's own official regulations, Israeli law and accepted principles of international law, to what is necessary to disperse crowds of protestors, make arrests, clear the public roads and protect civilian traffic. Shooting at crowds with high-velocity weapons when soldiers' lives are not threatened, life-threatening beatings, breaking bones, and the inappropriate uses of tear gas must be stopped.
7. If soldiers and police are using more than the minimal, mandated use of force, they should be consistently and uniformly charged and brought to court-martial. This is not, in our view, a step that can be reserved for occasional especially egregious violations such as burying people alive. Soldiers are entitled to unambiguous policies, must know clearly that their commanders and the government will not tolerate these behaviors, and have a duty and an obligation to refuse illegal orders.
8. The absolute sanctity of medical facilities and personnel, and the absolute right of medical intervention on behalf of the injured, must be restored. No one should be permitted to invade hospitals, fire tear gas or ammunition within their walls, seize and remove injured patients from their beds, physically assault physicians or other health workers, or interfere with ambulances and medical personnel attempting to reach, treat or transport the injured. Interference with access to medical care by the injured, through force, intimidation or the threat of arrest should not be permitted.
9. Any misuse of hospitals and health facilities as a sanctuary for uninjured demonstrators, stone throwers, or those assaulting troops in other ways, and any acceptance of such misuse by hospital administrators or medical personnel, should also be regarded as a violation of medical rights and a threat to the care of the sick and injured.
10. The health of civilian communities must be protected. This mandates more than an end to the random or patterned invasion of homes, the beating of whole families and the destruction of family possessions and property. It also prohibits the indiscriminate dropping of tear gas on whole communities from helicopters and the deliberate use of tear gas indoors. It also mandates uninterrupted operation of health centers and clinics, free entry of medical teams, and unfettered access to medical care during curfews, as well as maintenance of adequate medication for the chronically ill and food, water and sanitary services for the population.



11. To assure the protection of these rights during the current conflicts, monitoring teams of physicians and other health workers from neutral nations should be invited to the Occupied Territories under the auspices of the World Health Organization or a similarly appropriate nongovernmental organization. Such teams should have the full cooperation of Israeli and Palestinian authorities, unrestricted right of access to hospitals, other health facilities, communities under curfew, UNRWA facilities, prisons and detention centers, and the right to make public reports.
12. The occupying authorities have a responsibility to take special measures, during the present conflicts, for the protection of children, women, expectant mothers and the elderly. Palestinian protestors share this responsibility.
13. The occupying authority has a responsibility for the provision of a medical care infrastructure adequate--as an immediate goal--to the overwhelming burden of trauma that now confronts it, and sufficient--in the longer term--to meet medical care needs at a level comparable to that enjoyed in Israel proper. We recognize that Israel has attempted to make real and substantive contributions to the improvement of health facilities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but we have been direct observers of the gross inadequacies described in our report. Major and immediate improvements in the physical facilities, staffing and support of the civil administration hospitals are urgently needed.
14. We urge that volunteer Israeli physicians join with physicians from the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees to respond to the emergency and primary care burdens consequent on the uprisings. An overriding professional ethic might enable Palestinian and Israeli physicians to work cooperatively on health care concerns in the Occupied Territories that can and should be defined as a common interest. This recognition does not deny the many contributions to Palestinian patients that have been made in the past and during the present conflicts by Israeli hospitals and health workers, nor does it overlook the intensive and continuous efforts of the many skilled and dedicated Palestinian physicians whom we met. Rather, such a recognition implies a common commitment to professional dignity and equality and to the needs of all patients.

15. Regardless of the political status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip now or in the future, the health of their populations requires the development of a modern, first-world-level medical care system. Palestinians abroad, and sources in Arab and other nations, have repeatedly offered funds for this purpose. While there is apparently a legal right of an occupying power to restrict currency influx, it appears to us that significant improvements in health care are being blocked by Israeli government restrictions on donations earmarked for this purpose. We urge a thorough review of these policies, and unrestricted support for the development of voluntary, non-government health care facilities and autonomous, community-based primary care programs.



AUTHORS' NOTE: THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Almost all serious violations of human rights occur in the context of conflict: national, political, social, economic, cultural, ethnic or racial. Whether the conflict involves hostile or competing groups within a single society or conflict between two societies or nations, any investigation of human rights violations limits must be read in the light of the relevant history of conflict and the broader context in which violations occur. That attempt should neither compromise the investigators' nonpartisan status nor dilute their findings, but it is an obligation of their work.

These general observations apply equally to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and were very much a part of the planning and the conduct of this mission. Both the Board of Physicians for Human Rights and the four physicians who travelled to Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from February 4 to 12, 1988, were profoundly aware that the current Palestinian "uprising" and the Israeli response to it were but the latest episodes in a half-century of almost continuous violence, bloodshed, terrorism and counter-insurgency, including three full-fledged wars, violations of every sort, and prolonged occupation. We were reminded constantly, both before our departure, in the field and on our return, of that history and its relationship to the attitudes, the behaviors and the events that were the focus of our concern.

It is not possible, in this brief preface, to describe all the complex forces and perceptions which are at work in the current conflict. Any attempt to do so would inevitably result in a balance sheet, the accuracy and fairness of which might be bitterly contested by one side or the other and which might ultimately serve only to distract attention from the principal focus of this report. Nevertheless, during our mission and in extensive discussions during the preparation of this report, we were repeatedly made aware of the importance of these competing viewpoints and urged to describe them as an essential aspect of the context in which human rights problems are occurring. We have accordingly attempted to describe briefly the central perceptions we encountered among many Israelis and Palestinians, in the full knowledge that we cannot satisfactorily represent every given viewpoint.

Among the Israelis, we found perceptions of a nation and a people beleaguered and profoundly vulnerable, vastly outnumbered and confronted by hostile neighbors committed to their destruction, refused recognition by much of the world and surviving only through its own military strength and determination in the face of continuing terrorist assaults. Some of those perceptions are based on a long and harsh reality: more than 40 years of history which are real to every Israeli, and are the prism through which



the Palestinian uprising is inevitably seen, although the interpretation of the current hostilities and the definition of an appropriate response varies widely. It is the reason the uprising is viewed by many (though certainly not all) Israelis as a profound threat to national security, simply another stage in the continuing attempt to destroy their country, despite the obvious disparity in military power in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In this view, the central lessons of the last five decades are that stones are merely the precursors of rockets, force is a necessary response, and a policy of intimidation and subjugation is not merely justifiable but essential. For others, the uprising represents dangerous claims by an enemy to a land they believe, on religious grounds, to be their own. There is also a large and politically active segment of the Israeli population which draws different lessons from the decades of bloodshed, and urges negotiation over issues of land and peace. For this group too, however, national security and the maintenance of military strength are essential concerns.

Among the Palestinians, we heard similarly fierce and proprietary feelings of lands, villages, cities--homes--lost or threatened. There was an acute awareness of a large population in refugee status, some for as long as 40 years, and a parallel awareness of bloodshed extending through several generations and touching almost every family. A growing nationalism on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a strongly felt denial of a basic right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and a decision to take their fate into their own hands, seem to be fueled by a powerful sense of need for political recognition and of effective abandonment by other Arab nations. Terrorism is overwhelmingly defined as Israeli state terrorism, and their own violence as justifiable attempts at liberation. But the central perception, as it was presented to us repeatedly, is of an indefinitely prolonged and intolerable occupation marked by chronic degradation and brutalization, systematic injustice, an absolute denial of their own equal status as humans, and an inexorable attempt to destroy their community and identity through the confiscation of land, arrests, arbitrary detention, collective punishment, economic subjugation and discrimination, and the use of military force.

Both sides, in short, believe that what is at stake is communal and national survival. That belief overwhelmingly influences the actions and responses of Palestinians and Israelis alike, and provides the context in which human rights problems are occurring.

We are aware of other limitations and potential biases in a human rights mission of this sort. The report of an investigation lasting barely more than one week can present a single snapshot in time, inevitably incomplete despite our best efforts to be both comprehensive and fair. Nevertheless, if it is the product



of careful investigation and documentation, as we believe this report to be, and if it has been compared with the findings of other nonpartisan and experienced observers, and examined for consistency with events both antecedent and subsequent--as we have attempted to do--it can have real value.

We also recognize a paradoxical bias of a larger sort. In most cases (though not uniformly) it is in the relatively open and democratic societies that detailed human rights investigations are easier and violations are more likely to be known, documented and publicized. Such societies may therefore be subject to critical attention precisely because they are open. In nations that are closed and dictatorial, and thus intrinsically more likely to be human rights offenders, secrecy and hostility to free inquiry keeps the record blank, and unfettered investigation is rarely possible. Less is known, less is reported, and there is less likely to be either the capacity or the inclination for self-correction or response to outside pressure. The freedom of investigation that we experienced distinguishes Israel from a large number of other countries to which access is unavailable. (That freedom was eroded in March, however, by disruption of telephone communication and travel, by local bans and finally by a total media ban in the Occupied Territories and a total curfew in Gaza. We concluded our mission before these restrictions were imposed). To examine human rights violations in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not to suggest that Israel is unique; there is ample evidence to affirm that human rights problems are virtually world-wide in distribution.

Finally, we are aware that any report may be misused for partisan purposes by critics of one side or the other--and probably will be. That risk is outweighed, in our view, by the power of public statements and documentation to induce change in human rights practices, and to lend support to forces already at work in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to bring about such change, but it is another problem that should be acknowledged.

Yet, with all these constraints, the overriding insistence of human rights advocates must be that there are no circumstances in which the persistent, widespread and major violations of human rights described in this report are acceptable. The belief that initiated this investigation, with full recognition of the historical and political context but with a single-minded focus on the protection of basic rights, is that the proper understanding and explanation of violations does not constitute their justification. Most things, we know, can be explained; but some things, we believe, must never be explained away. These include the medical and psychological dimensions of human rights violations which are the central focus of our report.

H. Jack Geiger, M.D.	Jennifer Leaning, M.D.
Leon A. Shapiro, M.D.	Bennett Simon, M.D.





ירוצא

בלמס

3/3 מנ"ל - כ"א



תדום: 4,3959

אל: 167/רש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 8, 11048, דח: 1534, דח: 1, טג: 1, בל: 1

בלמס/רגיל

מתני

עבורים מנהליות בשטחים

לשלך 58 מ-5/4

להלן תשובות לשערימים ב' ג' ו' ד'

א. GHAZA AFIF MUHAMAD SHISHTARI היה בלוא ב- 1986 רבן  
בדצמבר 87

מזוהה עם החז'ע רשעיל מטעם ארגון דח

סיבת המעצר: הפיץ כדורים הקוראים להפירות סדר

ב. ZAHY ABDEL HADI MOHAMMAD JARADAT  
היה בלוא ב- 1982. פעיל החז'ע.סיבת המעצר: ריכוז אה פעילות הפירות הסדר מטעם החז'ע בהר  
הברוןג. SHAWAN RATIB ABDALLAH EL JABARIN ככלא בעבר, נעצר  
בדצמבר 85. פעיל בכיר בחז'ע.

סיבת המעצר - ארגון הפירות סדר מטעם החז'ע.

ד. ABDEL KARIM AHMAD KANA'AN ככלא נעצר בעבר. פעיל  
החז'ע.

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

סיבת המעצר: ארגון פעילות הפרות סדר בשומרון, מטעם החז"ר.

ה. JOWDAT MANA'A מיתונאי, בעל משרד בבית לחם

סיבת המעצר: שלח חומר לצמרת אש"ף בחו"ל היורה גורם נשחית

ר. כביל ג'עברי

קיום קשרים עם פעילים בניירים של הפת"ח לצורך קבלת נשחים. קיום קשרים עם פעילי פת"ח בשטחים ובחו"ל ופעל נשחי הנחיות לקידום מטרות הארגון בשטחים.

קבל נשחים מהפת"ח לצורך סיוע לגורמים שניזוקו בזמן המהומות בשטחים. היה שותף בארגון הפרות סדר בארביבדיסט חדרון כדי שתוכר ע"י אש"ף כ"מורס לאומי ותזכה במענקים נשחים מטעם הארגון

יתר על כן, בלמי חוץ ייתכן וירצו רושם של איש שקט ורדוף שלום, אך למטה הוא בעל קשרים נשחים עם גורמי פת"ח וממלא תפקיד מרכזי במסגרת קשרים עם ארגוני טרור

נז'תים

ג.ג.ר

תפ: שהח,מנכ"ל,ממכ"ל,בירן,מצמא,לואדר,מזתים,אביטל,מעת,הסברה,  
טיובל,משפט,ר/מרכז,טמו,מתאם,שטחים



The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the above mentioned cases.

1. John A. Smith, 2. John B. Smith, 3. John C. Smith,

4. John D. Smith, 5. John E. Smith, 6. John F. Smith,

7. John G. Smith,

8. John H. Smith, 9. John I. Smith, 10. John J. Smith, 11. John K. Smith, 12. John L. Smith,

13. John M. Smith, 14. John N. Smith, 15. John O. Smith, 16. John P. Smith, 17. John Q. Smith,

18. John R. Smith, 19. John S. Smith, 20. John T. Smith, 21. John U. Smith, 22. John V. Smith,

23. John W. Smith,

24. John X. Smith,

25. John Y. Smith,

26. John Z. Smith, 27. John A. Smith, 28. John B. Smith, 29. John C. Smith, 30. John D. Smith,

31. John E. Smith, 32. John F. Smith, 33. John G. Smith,

34. John H. Smith, 35. John I. Smith,

36. John J. Smith, 37. John K. Smith,

38. John L. Smith, 39. John M. Smith,

40. John N. Smith, 41. John O. Smith,

42. John P. Smith, 43. John Q. Smith,

44. John R. Smith, 45. John S. Smith,

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תד: 4,4091

אל: 207/בי

מ-: המשרד, תא: 110488, דח: 1657, דח: כר, טג: שם

נד: 8

שמו: רגיל

א.ד. 484

הטברה נ"י.

אבלין מושר.

להלן פרטים על מותו חלא':

יליד 1932. מרצה בארה"ב. עורך מגזין דו-חודשי בשם 'פלסטיין  
פרספקטיב' היוצא בארה"ב.

השתתף ב-1984 ברושדה בינלאומית לזכויות הפלסטינים  
שהתקיימה בשיקאגו.

ב-20/3/88 דו איין בעתון 'אל מאג'ר' (באנגלית) על המצב  
בטחים והתבטא בנושאים ברוח דברי הפרומטורים טעיר ולורד.

לא היה מעורב בעבר בפעילות מח"ט רח"מ.

מזת י"ס

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תפ: ליאור, מזת י"ס, בירן, מצמא, אביטל, הטברה, מתאססתחים

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חוזם: 3947/4

אל: אתונה/39, ברן/66, בריסל/42, האג/47, מזריד/34, מרסיי/28,  
 מריס/126, רומא/65, אמקרה/26, איסטנבול/23, גירובי/16,  
 ניקוסיה/31, טינגבור/34, מרסוריה/30, קינשאסה/28, קהיר/45,  
 וינה/62, אוסלו/27, בוקרשט/41, ברן/57, הלסינקי/12, גנובה/63,  
 ליסבון/29, מילנו/27, קומנהגן/44, שטוקהולם/46, ניו/203,  
 בירס/132, בוגרטה/32, ברזיליה/58, גואטמלה/22, לימה/65,  
 מנסיקו/48, טבחודזה/25, סבטיאגו/54, קיטו/49, קרקט/63, ריו/19,  
 לוטאנגלס/32, לוגקוק/97, טוקיו/107, קמברה/43, רוש/68, ארטבה/33,  
 לונדון/58, מונטבידאו/26  
 מ: המשרד, תא: 110488, דח: 1515, דח: מ, טג: טמ  
 נ: פ

שומר/מיוזי

שטחים - מאפיונים

1. המאפיין המרכזי של המאורעות בשטחים בימים אלה הוא  
 הושדוש במקום והקפאון ברמת הפרות הסדר ואי יכולת  
 המתסיסים לתת תגובה מחדשת להתקוממות. דבר זה מוצא  
 ביטוי:

א. הפרות הסדר שנה הן מקומיות והתקלות נעשות ע"י  
 מספר קטן. בהרבה של משתתפים מאגר קודם, ועיקר ממירי  
 הסדר הם נערים. תגובה זו קיומה ברצונה זה מכבר  
 ולאחרונה היא מאפיינת גם את האירועים ביו"ש.

ב. מאז נרוז 10 ול שלוש גרסותיו, חוזרים הכרזים של  
 'ההנהגה המאוחדת' על אותן דרישות מבלי לחוש במעט דבר.  
 יתר על כן, הכרזים האחרונים יש אף נטיגה, שכן כאשר  
 דאו המחורים שאין הענות למשל למהיחם מרסדות החיכוך  
 בכוח הם ירדו מורשה זר.

ג. הפעילות האינטנסיבית של המסיחים לקריאות הכרזים  
 להתפטרות ראשי ערים ומזעצות ממונות הביאו עד שנה רק



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

למספר מטענות קטן, וזאת למרות השימוש באיומים ובאלימות. כראה שהסיבות העיקריות לכך הם איתנות מצד חלק מהממשל בירדן לראשי הערים, הידועים כפרו ירדנים, להימנע מעוד כזה וכך צעדי המנהל האזרחי. המצב בתחום זה נזיל והתפתרות או רוח ראש עיר חסר ועלול להביא לגל התפתחות.

יצוין שמספר מועצות בשטחים התפסרו אך ממשיכים בעבודתם למרות ההתפתחות. במקביל, לאחר גל התפתחות השוטרים וחלק מגובי המיסים (במיקר ברצועה) לא ארעה תופעה דומה אצל קרוב ל-18,000 עובדי המנהל האזרחי. בלימת ברוחב הכתף בין הממשל הישראלי לאוכלוסיה בשטחים הוא לצנינים בעיני המחסימים ואלה ימשיכו להציגם ואיומיהם כדי לחדש גל ההתפתחות. אין להוביא מכלל אפשרות הצלחות למסיתים בתחום זה ובמיוחד אם יחדשו את השימוש ברציחות באמצעי לחץ.

2. הדריכה במקום של 'ההתפתחות', המאפיינים את השבועות האחרונים, היא תדאגה של:

א. הצעדים הצבאיים, כלליים ואדמיניסטרטיביים שננקטה ישראל.

1. עייפות מצטברת של התושבים מהפרות הסדר הגוררות צעדים צבאיים ואחרים בגוש והפגיעה הכלכלית שמגזר רחב של האוכלוסיה נפגע.

2. למחות חלק מהאוכלוסיה לא רואה שיצמחו תוצאות של ממש 'מההתפתחות' וזאת למרות הקורבנות הרבים בנפש וברכוש.

3. לאחר תקופה ארוכה של קיפאון בפעילות של הגורמים הפרו-ירדניים חידשו אלה את פעילותם במקצת במגמה לבלום הסתף שחל בממשל ולהראות שהם חלק מ'ההתפתחות'. ידוע שלמחות חלק מהממשל הירדני מעודד את הגורמים הפרו-ירדניים להגביר פעילותם וזאת במגמה להחזיר לירדן קצת מיוקרתה והשפעתה, וכך מחשש להשלכות של המהומות על ירדן עצמה שכיווץ רוב אוכלוסיתה היא פלסטינית.

4. מאכיון אחר של המאורעות הוא ירודה לאחרונה של הביטוי התקשורתי הבינ"ל בשטחים. זאת הן בשל הקיפאון ברמת הפרות הסדר והן בשל עייפות אמצעי התקשורת מהכושא. עם זאת, נמשך זרם הפניות לישראל מצד ארגונים בינ"ל



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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

(אמנסטי, סטו"ת, אונסק"ו, רכ"י) וארגונים אחרים המוחים  
נגד צעדים ישראלים שונים במטחים

5. למרות העוינות בקרב האוכלוסיה והמטקת תאוצת  
המאורעות הרי תהרגשה הכללית האוכלוסית היא שהשיגו הישג  
גדול ולמחנה בקרב הצעירים קיימת אופורית ניצחון. תחושה  
זו בשל עצמה יש בה מספיק עידוד כדי להמשיך המהומות ברמה  
הנוכחית. עם זאת נראה שאם לא יימצאו גורמים מאיצים  
חדשים לליבוי המאורעות הרי צפוי שישארו בפרופיל  
העכשווי ואפשר שתתחיל ירידה הדרגתית ברמתם.

מדי"ת ים

ג.ע.ר

תפ: שהח,מנכל,ממנכל,טמנכל,אוקיאניה,מברית,מאפא,אירא,אירוב,  
אסיה,מאפ,אמלט,מזרחים,אדבלט,אירג,הדרבה,מעט,הסברה,ממד,  
מתאסשטחים

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress.

2. The second part of the document is a report on the state of the Union.

3. The third part of the document is a report on the state of the Union.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report on the state of the Union.

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17. The seventeenth part of the document is a report on the state of the Union.





ירושלים, כ"ג בניסן  
10 באפריל 1988  
מספר 185

אל : ציון אברונר, ניו-יורק

מאת : מנהל הסברה

תעמולה ערבית בקמפוסים על רקע הארועים בשטחים

הואל נא לתת לנו הערכת מצב על השתקפות הארועים בשטחים בקמפוסים בארה"ב.

כזכור בכנס קונסולים בסוף ינואר הובעה דאגה מהתגברות תעמולה נגדנו בקמפוסים.  
ע"פ המלצתך נערך כנס חרום של ISFY בתחילת פברואר.  
האם התאמתו חששותינו? מה היו הפעילויות העיקריות של ISFY ושל APPME בחודשים האחרונים.

בהזדמנות זו הואל נא לענות על סדרת מכתבים קודמים שלנו בנושא הפעילות בקמפוסים.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי  
מנהל הסברה

העתקים: סמנכ"ל הסברה  
ציר הסברה, וושינגטון  
מצפ"א ✓  
עודד בן חור, צוות העיון  
הסברה/מרחבי



Jerusalem, 19 November 1987

Dear Michael,

I refer to your query regarding the case of Mr. Rasmi Haifa and his family.

After checking with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty and with the official in charge at the Ministry of the Interior, I have been informed of the following:

On Wednesday, 11th November, at 23.45 hours, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty received a call from Vice-Consul Jennifer Irish, who informed him about the case of Mr. Haifa and requested to know the reasons for his denial of entry to Israel. The officer-on-duty checked with our Consular Division and the official from the Ministry of the Interior, who informed him that Mr. Haifa was denied entry since he appeared on the lists of the Immigration Authorities, at the border control.

The above was communicated to Ms. Irish at the Embassy, who asked that Mr. Haifa and his family be permitted to stay in Israel for a few hours, on a humanitarian basis, which would enable his wife to pick up their children from their family in Ramallah. Ms. Irish also asked that the request for Mrs. Haifa to deposit a suitable guarantee that would ensure her timely departure, before she would be allowed entry, would be dropped.

in 4.30



January 1, 1900

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours very truly,  
J. M. Smith  
Acting Director

Very truly yours,  
J. M. Smith  
Acting Director





After checking again, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty told Ms. Irish that Mr. Haifa and family would be permitted to stay an additional few hours, as requested by the Embassy. However, if Mrs. Haifa wished to enter, she would have to deposit the requested guarantees.

The Ministry of the Interior informed our Consular Division on the next morning that, Mr. Haifa had decided not to send his wife to pick up their children, even though she was entitled to, and instead, they decided to return on the very next flight. This decision was freely taken by Mr. Haifa.

The following are answers to your questions as put to us:

1) Mr. Haifa was denied entry to Israel as his name appears on the lists of the Ministry of the Interior. This information was given to Ms. Irish on Wednesday, 11th November 1987.

In accordance with International Law, each country has the sovereign right to decide whether or not to permit entry to aliens, and under which conditions. It is not surprising that certain individuals, for a variety of reasons (criminal, legal, security or others) are not permitted entry to a particular country.

2) There was no discrepancy between the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty and the Police Officer in charge at the airport. The Police Officer was given the same instructions, i.e. Mr. Haifa and family were permitted to stay a few hours longer. Mrs. Haifa, after depositing the requested guarantees, was free to enter and pick up her children.



As mentioned above, Mrs. Haifa chose not to do so.

As to the future:

3) If Mr. Haifa would like to enter Israel for a visit, may we suggest that he apply to the Israeli Consulate-General in Montreal or Toronto, for a visa (an entry permit). His request will be forwarded for the decision of the Minister of the Interior at his discretion. The Minister's decision will be communicated to Mr. Haifa.

I hope this answers your query to your satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Yaron

First Secretary

Mr. Michael Mays

Counsellor

Embassy of Canada

in Israel.



RECEIVED MAY 10 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO THE HONORABLE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES  
FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
SUBJECT: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]





North American Division

Jerusalem, 19 November 1987

Dear Michael,

I refer to your query regarding the case of Mr. Rasmi Haifa and his family.

After checking with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty and with the official in charge at the Ministry of the Interior, I have been informed of the following:

On Wednesday, 11th November, at 23.45 hours, the Ministry Foreign Affairs' officer-on-duty received a call from Vice-Consul Jennifer Irish, who informed him about the case of Mr. Haifa and requested to know the reasons for his denial of entry to Israel. The officer-on-duty checked with our Consular Division and the official from the Ministry of the Interior, who informed him that Mr. Haifa was denied entry since he appeared on the lists of the Immigration Authorities, at the border control.

The above was communicated to Ms. Irish at the Embassy, who asked that Mr. Haifa and his family be permitted to stay in Israel for a few hours, on a humanitarian basis, which would enable his wife to pick up their children from their family in Ramallah. Ms. Irish also asked that the request for Mrs. Haifa to deposit a suitable guarantee that would ensure her timely departure, before she would be allowed entry, would be



RECEIVED

January 1, 1900

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

The authorities have not yet had time to consider the same, but they will be given the most careful attention. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. Edgar Hoover

In answer to your letter of the 29th inst., I beg to say that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
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As to the future:

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Ruth Yaron

First Secretary

Mr. Michael Mays

Counsellor

Embassy of Canada

in Israel.



1964-1965

Le ministre des Finances, Ottawa

Le 15 mai 1965

2) Il est demandé que les renseignements soient fournis  
à l'égard de la situation financière de la compagnie  
et de la situation financière de la compagnie  
et de la situation financière de la compagnie  
et de la situation financière de la compagnie  
et de la situation financière de la compagnie

Le ministre des Finances, Ottawa

Le 15 mai 1965

Le 15 mai 1965

Le 15 mai 1965

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Le 15 mai 1965

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Sincerely yours,

Ruth Yaron

First Secretary

Mr. Michael Mays

Counsellor

Embassy of Canada

in Israel.





Dear Sir:

Enclosed for you are two copies of a report

of the Survey.

It is a report on the land survey of the  
State of California, and is a valuable  
contribution to the knowledge of the  
State. It is a report on the land survey  
of the State of California, and is a  
valuable contribution to the knowledge  
of the State.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

W. J. Hayes

Very truly,  
W. J. Hayes

W. J. Hayes

W. J. Hayes

W. J. Hayes

W. J. Hayes

W. J. Hayes

\*. FOLLOWING IS SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE P. SHULTZ' ADDRESS AT THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE, REHOVOT, UPON RECEIPT OF AN HONORARY DOCTORAL DEGREE, ON OCTOBER '8, '987

2. BEGIN TEXT:

THANK YOU. I AM DEEPLY HONORED TO RECEIVE THIS DEGREE. IT IS A VERY MOVING EVENT FOR ME.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, AND EXCELLENCIES, MY FRIENDS: I AM TRULY HONORED BY THIS DEGREE, AND IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO COME HERE AND IN A SENSE TO FEEL MYSELF TO BE A PART OF THIS GREAT INSTITUTION. A FEW DAYS AGO, I READ AN ARTICLE ABOUT WORK BEING DONE HERE AT THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE ON ONE OF THE MOST COMPELLING MEDICAL CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME.

THE ARTICLE WAS SHORT AND EASY TO UNDERSTAND. IT WAS WRITTEN FOR THE ORDINARY CURIOUS READER. BUT TO SOMEONE WHO COMES OUT OF THE UNIVERSITY WORLD, IT CONVEYED THE BEAUTY OF A CONCEPT AND ITS APPLICATION TO LIFE.

-- IT HAD THE SPARK OF A POWERFUL IDEA;  
-- IT HAD THE CLEAN AND CLEAR SIMPLICITY THAT SPRINGS ONLY FROM GENIUS;  
-- AND IT HAD A READY, PRACTICAL, AND IMMEDIATE USEFULNESS.

THIS, IN A GLORIOUSLY MYSTERIOUS WAY, REPRESENTS AN IDEAL OF OUR PURPOSE IN THIS WORLD AND IN THIS UNIVERSE.

JUST AS OUR FOREBEARS THROUGH THE CENTURIES, WE CONFRONT TODAY A GAP BETWEEN VISION AND REALITY. WE ENGAGE IN THE STRUGGLE TO GRASP KNOWLEDGE -- AND THE EVEN GREATER STRUGGLE TO BRING IT TO BEAR WITH GOOD EFFECT ON THE EVERYDAY WORLD BEFORE US.

3.4.10 104.3

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שירותי ישראל / וושינגטון

ט פ ס מ ב ר ק

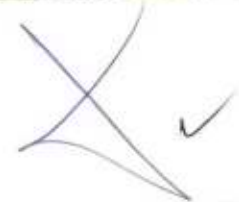
דף 1 מחובר 1 דפים

סווג בטחוני גלוי

דחיפות מיידי

תאריך/ז"ד 4.4.88

מס' מברק



10 43 50

המשרד, בטחון, ישר

אל: יועץ שהכייט לתקשורת

דע: מצפ"א, א. בן-יוסף/ישר

מאת: עתונות

צלצל דיוויד אוטוואי, כתב ה"וושינגטון פוסט", ובפיו הידיעה כי אנשי ה-ADC (Anti Discrimination Committee) פתחו במערכה נגד אספקת רימוני גז לישראל. במסגרת המערכה הם פונים אל חברות המיצרות את הרימונים (הזכיר את Trans Technology Corp. מלוס-אנג'לס) בבקשה להפסיק המשלוחים בטענה כי 32 פלסטינאים קיפחו את חייהם כתוצאה משימוש בגז ע"י צה"ל, וכי עשרות נשים הרות איבדו את הריונותיהן גם כן. אמרתי לאוטוואי כי כבר בעבר פירסם ה-ADC מודעות בתשלום עם טענות דומות.

לאחר בדיקה במערכת הבטחון מסרתי לו כי מדובר כנראה במקרה אחד בלבד של מוות כתוצאה משימוש ברמוני גז וכי המספר 32 מוגזם ביותר.

י/ס  
יוסי גל

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ירצא

בלמס

104.3 ש"מ

חידום: 4,974

אל:

רש/59, מריס/43, בורן/19, לונדון/16, דרמא/21, אוטבה/12, בריסל/12

מ-חמשוד, תא: 040488, זח: 1606, דח: ר, טג: בל

נד: 8

בלמ'ס/רגיל

166

בינה, גל, עמישב, קינר, מנור, גרנות, גיל, ברק.

טגירת השטחים לתקשורת 28-31/3

התובלו לזרוע לנר בקצרה במהלך השבוע הערכתכם כיצד השתקף  
הנרשא בתקשורת אצלכם.

מנהל הסברה - מנהל טע'ת

י.

תמ: שהח, מנבל, ממכבל, אביטל, מטת, הסברה, בירן, מצמא, אירא, אירוב,  
ליאור, מזתים

07-2596

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed style. The list includes names such as "J. H. Smith", "W. J. Jones", and "A. B. Brown", along with their respective addresses in various cities and states.

1995

[illegible]

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-11-2009 BY 60322

1995-1996 - 2000-2001

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דף \_\_\_\_\_ מחור \_\_\_\_\_ דפים \_\_\_\_\_

סוג במחור סודי

דחיפות מידי

תאריך/ז"ח 1700 1 אפריל 88

מס' מברק

המשרד ירושלים

19

1/2 92

סמנכ"ל צפ"א

דע: סמנכ"ל-מזכ"ל

סמנכ"ל ארבי"ל

מצפ"א

מקטי"ח בטחון

מנכ"ל משרד רה"מ

המצב בשטחים

עוזר מזכיר המדינה דיק שיפטר בקשני לסור אליו עוד היום אחה"צ, כדי למסור לי דאגתם על המצב בשטחים לפני צאתי לארץ. הדברים באים בהמשך לעדות שניתנה על ידו בפני ועדת המשנה לארבי"ל וזכויות-האדם ב-29 במרס (ראו שלנו 707 ו-718).

שיפטר ציין כי משאלות חברי הקונגרס בעקבות עדותו הצטברו עדויות וחששות כי נמשכות חריגות והפרות בתחום זכויות האדם ב-3 מישורים:

1. הכאת מפגינים אחרי מעצרים ובמיוחד במכוניות המסיעות אותם למקום המעצר.
2. חיפושים בבתי המלווים הכאות והשמדת-רכוש מתוך כוונה להפחיד ולהרתיע התושבים. דברים אלו נעשים לדבריו, ללא הבחנה.
3. הכאות ועינויים בעת מעצרים של חשודים שהשתתפו בהפגנות ובעת חקירתם.

למרות כל בקשותיהם עד עתה לקבל הבהרה מאתנו כי דברים אלו נוגדים מדיניות צה"ל והממשלה לא הצליחו לקבל עד היום הבהרה חד-משמעית כי הנחיות מתאימות הוצאו ליחידות צה"ל בשטח.

שיפטר בעדותו אמנם הגן על ממשלת ישראל ועל הרקורד שלה בתחום זכויות-האדם אך הוא היה מעריך אם ניתן היה לקבל הודעה כי הנחיות הרמטכ"ל ליחידות צה"ל אכן חד-משמעיות.

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Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including names like "פיקוד" and "המטה".



ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף \_\_\_\_\_ מחור \_\_\_\_\_ דפים \_\_\_\_\_

סוג בסחוני \_\_\_\_\_

דחיות \_\_\_\_\_

תאריך/ז"ח \_\_\_\_\_

מס' מברק \_\_\_\_\_

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18 - 4  
92 - 6

- 2 -

שאלתי האם יש בידיהם תלונות או ראיות כי חריגות אלו עדיין נמשכות כפי שהשתמע מדבריו אך שיפטר התחמק מלתת תשובה ברורה. הוא רק ציין כי בידי יו"ר וועדת המשנה לארבי"ל וזכויות האדם שקיימה השמיעה, חה"ק Yatron, הונח תיק של לי המילטון יו"ר הועדה לעניני חוץ ובו חאור מפורט של מקרי התעללות, הכאות ועינויים המתייחסים לתקריות שונות כאשר האחרון שבהם לפי מיטב זכרוננו היה בסביבות ה-3 במרס.

השבתי כי שהב"ט, הרמטכ"ל ואלוף פקוד המרכז נקטו בצעדים שונים כדי לשנן באזני החיילים הפקודות הנוגעות להתנהגות בעת פיזור הפגנות ולאחריהן וכי הנ"ל גם הופיעו בעדויות בפני ועדת חוץ ובטחון של הכנסת ובראיונות פומביים באמצעי התקשורת בישראל בהם הבהירו כי מדיניות צה"ל לא רק שאיננה מתירה התנהגות חורגת אלא אף מענישה אלו המפירים ההוראות והבאתי לדוגמה העמדתם לדין של 2 החיילים אשר הפעילו הדחפור.

הוספתי פרטים אחרים, אך בסיום השיחה חזר שיפטר על בקשתו כי לנוכח הביקורת הרבה שהושמעה נגדו ע"י גורמים פרו-ערבים בארה"ב ובין היתר הדרישה לפטרו מתפקידו - חשוב כי תבוא הבהרה חד-משמעית של שהב"ט או הרמטכ"ל על מדיניות צהל בתחום זה עתה.

שיפטר ביקש גם לדעת האם המלצות דו"ח ועדת לנדאו ביחס לשב"כ יושמו נכון האם ניתן לקבל את הנספח הסודי לדו"ח ועדת לנדאו.

השבתי כי זו פעם ראשונה מאזי שומע בקשה זו. אינני סבור כי אנו מוכנים לשתף אותם בנושא פנימי כה רגיש כמו יישום המלצות הועדה הנ"ל.

השיב כי הוא מבין הערותי אך יחד עם זאת מעוניין לבקש - למרות שידועה לו עמדתו של רה"מ בנדון - שניענה לבקשתם.

בביקורי הקרוב בארץ אני מבקש לקיים דיון בנושא, ואם צריך אנה קבעו לי פגישה גם עם גורמי צה"ל הנוגעים לעניין.

לסיכום, נראה לי שהתשובות לפניותיו הנ"ל דרושות לו כדי להוכיח למבקרינו וליריביו כי אין הוא מקל עם ישראל כפי שמבקרינו מאשימים אותו.

א"ד

