

Standing Firm, Two Years On

By Dr. Daud Abdullah

In the streets the people call it as-samud. They mean steadfastness. It has been the priceless fuel of the Aqsa Intifadah during the last two years. Its power has enabled three million impoverished Palestinians to withstand the onslaught of an Occupying Power armed with American military largesse at the rate of \$5 billion per annum.

After two years of untold sacrifices more than two-thirds of the Palestinians (70%) still believe that their armed resistance have helped achieve their national rights in ways that negotiations could not. This was the finding of a public opinion poll conducted in August 2002 by the internationally accredited Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR).

As a popular uprising against foreign occupation the Intifadah has confirmed an indelible truth that many both within and beyond the Middle East were reluctant to admit. That the peace

process launched in Madrid in 1991 was incapable of delivering a just and comprehensive solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This was not because the conflict is unsolvable. It was because those who installed themselves as the honest brokers of peace had themselves become partisans in the conflict. Hence they looked upon Palestinian legitimate aspirations as favors to be granted and not rights to be guaranteed and protected. Shlomo Ben-Ami before his appointment as foreign minister in the Barak government admitted that, "the Oslo agreements were founded on a neo-colonialist basis, on a life of dependence of one on the other forever."

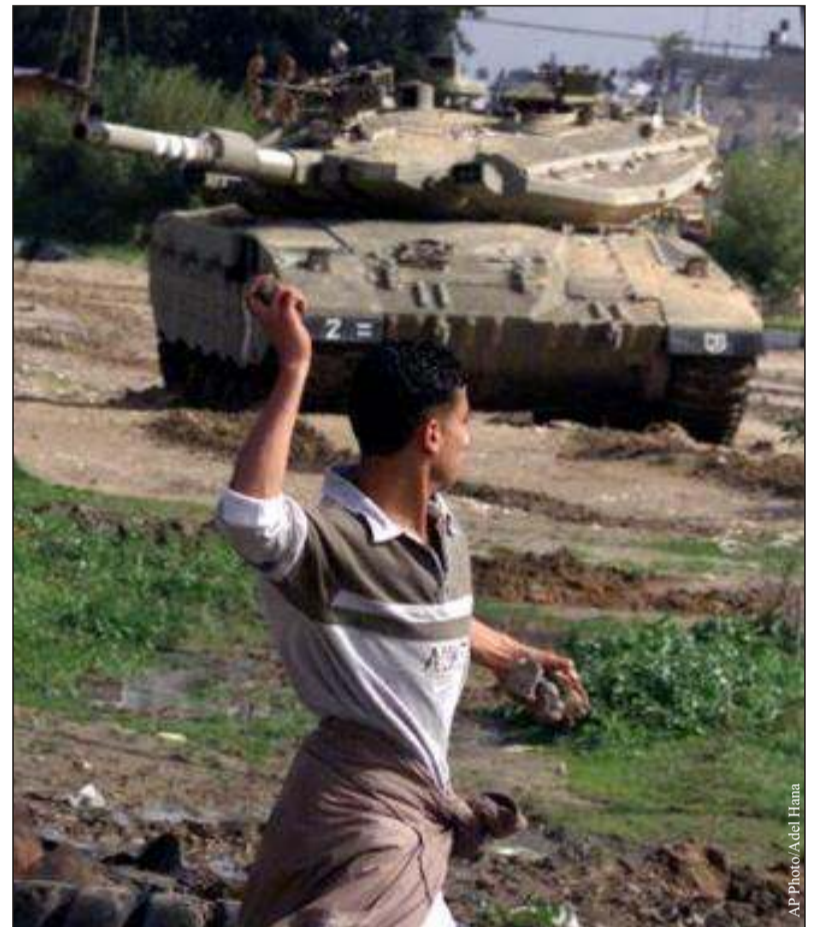
The fatal flaw in the supervision of the Oslo Peace Process, which terminated in the Camp David rendezvous in July 2000 was that American officials spent most of their time acting as sales representatives and

guarantors of Israeli proposals rather than honest brokers between two adversaries. This culture has continued to define the policies of the incumbent Bush administration. Reports from Washington's diplomatic circles recently revealed that George W. Bush's famous speech on "Palestinian reforms" was proof-read and edited in Jerusalem twenty-eight times before it was actually delivered.

Carnage in the camps

No other issue exposed the political complicity of the self-styled peacemakers more vividly than that of the Palestinian refugees. More than sixty percent of the estimated 3,000,000 inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza are refugees. Balata camp near Nablus, for example, is inhabited by some 20,000 refugees most of whom come from towns along the Mediterranean coast of historic Palestine.

The disastrous collapse of the 2000



AP Photo/Adel Hana

Camp David negotiations was primarily due to the inability of the parties to reach an agreement on the future of the world's five million Palestinian refugees. While the Palestinian negotiators insisted on the right of the refugees to return to their homes in accord with UN Resolution 194 the Israelis maintained – as they have since 1948 – that they should be resettled elsewhere.

In the event, Palestinian repatriation was declared a threat to Israel's "demographic security" otherwise termed the "purity" of the Jewish state. The Israeli electorate ditched their most decorated general, Ehud Barak, and voted for their most bloodstained general, Ariel Sharon, in the 2001 elections. From this point on the Intifadah was destined to become ever more bloody and destructive.

Ariel Sharon (Arik Scheinerman) resorted to the methods for which he is

best known, the methods of massacre and carnage whose history can be traced to Deir Yassin and Qibya. He maintains that the so-called 1948 war of independence is unfinished. The time has come, therefore, to complete the genocidal process that resulted in the 1948 annihilation of 530 villages and expulsion of 805,065 Palestinians.

From Jenin in the north to Rafah in the south, refugee camps throughout the territories were pounded from the air, land and sea. Men, women, children, animals, trees, schools, homes, hospitals, mosques, churches, shops and offices became targets. Nothing and no one were acquitted from the Sharonite reign of terror.

Between September 2000 and April 2002 the Occupying Power destroyed 485 shelters in the Gaza Strip, which accommodated 3,159 persons. Schools

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We Can Make a Change

The language of peaceful demonstration can affect government policy, and avert an attack.

By Anas Al-Tikriti

The world in which we live is changing rapidly. As well as the political fronts, we are witnessing dramatic changes on the economic and social levels. Some may argue that we are in the midst of an historical milestone, where the map of the world is being redrawn and re-defined. Since the attacks of September 11, this cycle of change has been turning ever more purposefully. However, not all change is good, and there can be little doubt that many aspects of the current wave of change leave little to be desired.

We have been living in a world dominated by a single major power for over a decade, but only recently has the world begun to feel the effects of this phenomena. Whilst dominating vital resources around the world has been an open secret of the US administration over the terms of a number of presidents, never has any administration ever openly called for a line to be drawn between 'us' and 'them', the latter referring to any entity or individual who has a problem with anything related to the former. Nor has any US administration been so blunt as to begin a

campaign calling for the removal and change of regimes around the world, in what marks a dangerous change in international relations which govern world politics.

The 'War on Terror', has clearly evolved into what many analysts agree is actually a 'War on Islam'. Little wonder that Muslims around the world feel targeted despite many of them claiming to be long-suffering victims of local, regional or international conflicts. The issues of Palestine and Iraq are stark reminders of the 'double-standard policies' repeatedly leveled at the West. How is it, many ask, that whilst assuming such a firm stand regarding to Iraq on the alleged pretext of its violation of UN resolution, the US and Britain can be so impassive as to the even more flagrant violation of the same on the part of Israel? Why has the US-led West been enforcing such a strict and even inhumane embargo against Iraq, leading to the death of more than 1 million children under the age of 12 over ten years, whilst continuing to supply Israel with billions of dollars every year in financial and military aid used to further oppress, occupy and terrorise Palestinian citizens? Why is Israel

allowed to possess, test and further develop nuclear capabilities, whilst such a capability is rigorously denied any other country throughout the region? Many would say that a similar case could be made of the Indian-Pakistani issue.

These questions and countless others concerning the treatment of Muslims residing in the West, such as the suspension and infringement on civil liberties in the United States, have led to Muslims in particular and ethnic groups in general, realizing at long last that unless they make a stand in promoting their rights and sounding their voices, they will be forever ignored and forgotten.

The Muslim Association of Britain as well as numerous organizations within the anti-war movement, saw a rare opportunity arise in the aftermath of the Terrorist attacks of September 11. This opportunity coincided with the media and political focus on the War in Afghanistan as well as the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation and the crimes committed by the Israeli Defence Forces throughout the West Bank and Gaza, as well as the clear division within government ranks on



The Rally on 13th April, 2002 saw an attendance of over 100,000

policy. It was clear that whilst the United States was fully capable of mounting any military assault on any target it deems appropriate, it would much rather do so with Britain by its side.

There can be little doubt that any government would think twice before embarking on a mission which is likely to cost it popularity and subsequently a re-election when the time comes, and that was the message which needed to be sounded by the British public. Various opinion polls repeatedly demonstrated that a substantial segment of British society was against the 'gung-ho' approach adopted by the US, and that even more people felt extremely concerned by the death of innocent civilians amidst the pursuit of alleged terrorists.

Calling for all those to come together, from all political parties, religions, ethnicities, races and cultures, on the 28th of September and to express peacefully and orderly their condemnation of our government's unethical stance as to the issues of Palestine and Iraq, will go far in portraying a national public stance which the Government would be foolish to ignore, and will add strength to the argument that no longer

are these issues connected solely to Islam, to Arabs, or to individuals of a particular ideological or cultural identity.

Such a turnout will undoubtedly affect the official stance of Britain, and may in turn affect the arrogant resolve of the Bush Administration in mounting an attack on Iraq and even on its unequivocal and unconditional support of Israel. Thus the question as to whether or not demonstrations such as this are worth the effort, becomes redundant. The cause is not blind militancy, nor a misguided urge to be seen as unruly and against the system. The cause is to continue the cycle of change, but towards a better and more constructive future for all sectors of British society. The cause is to pressure our Government into adopting a truly ethical policy, at home as well as abroad. The cause is to bring people together to enjoy what is good and eradicate what is bad and evil. The cause is to find a voice, which seemed to be buried under the rubble of the Twin Towers on the tragic day of September 11.

Have you signed the Million's Petition yet?

Copies will be passed around on March Day, otherwise go to www.millionspetition.com.

Make your voice heard!



With funeral after funeral, martyr after martyr, the Palestinians have proven that their spirit alone is enough to make up for their lack in weapons and armament.

Over two years of resistance in the face of an army equipped with all the latest armoury.

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in Balata, Tulkarm, Nur Shams, Jenin, Amari, Dheisha and Aida camps were attacked and damaged. Reports from the camps confirm that it took 60 volunteers five hours to clean the classrooms in the girls' school in Tulkarm camp of debris and excrement.

Voices of reason and terror

Like the victims of Nazi terror who were blindfolded, bounded and transported to concentration camps, here in Palestine young boys, fourteen years and above are rounded up from the besieged camps bounded, blindfolded, marked with numbers and taken to undisclosed destinations. Marek Edelman, a deputy commander and resistance hero of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising wrote a letter of solidarity early last month to the Palestinian leaders comparing the Aqsa Intifadah to their uprising against the Nazi invaders.

Israel's ruthless onslaught on the camps and daily destruction of Palestinian homes and public property is equally reminiscent of the French forces that plundered Algeria during the dying days of their colonial rule. While demanding the right to live in peace with its neighbours, the Jewish state has under the cover of 'fighting terrorism' stepped up its military campaign to destroy every facet of Palestinian society and the physical symbols of its sovereignty. Though never expected, it was understandable why Ted Turner the founding proprietor of CNN referred to Israel as a "terrorist state."

By their own admission it was impossible for the Zionist colonizers to proclaim the establishment of Israel on 78% of Palestine in 1948 without the destruction and depopulation of Palestinian towns and villages. Yet, the methods of plunder adopted since 1948 have not, in the least, altered the crucial fact that Palestine belongs to the Palestinian people.

Israel's current war in the West Bank and Gaza Strip can only be seen as

latter day attempt to address the existential problems that arose from its usurpation of another people's land. Incapable of establishing their craved superior and exclusive rights to Palestine, the Israeli Prime Minister has chosen to take his people down the same bloody path he took them twenty years ago when he ordered the invasion of Lebanon.

When Israel invaded the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982 it had among its objectives the destruction of the PLO's "terrorist" infra-structure in southern Lebanon and guarantee of protection for the Jewish settler-colonies in the Galilee. In strategic terms the current war may be regarded as a replica of the 1982 misadventure. At the time Sharon aimed to force the PLO leadership into a 'gilded cage' in Damascus, thereby isolating it and leaving the way open for Israel to impose a self-autonomous arrangement of its own making upon the inhabitants of the West Bank. If they rejected this, Sharon argued the Palestinians would have no other option but pursue their national aspirations in Jordan.

Stalked by the memories of failure and defeat in Lebanon, General Sharon has returned albeit in civilian attire to complete his unfinished business. His sinister enterprise is well supported both at home and abroad. Last July an outfit of former Israeli military officers and settlers called, Gamla, published a tract entitled 'The Logistics of Transfer' on its website (www.gamla.org.il/english). They proposed the mass expulsion of the Palestinians as the 'only solution' to conflict. It further reads, "Israeli must make clear to the world community that, if a decision cannot be made within 3 to 5 years to establish a state for the Palestinian Arabs in some viable location, she will be forced to start the forced expulsion of Arabs into Jordan and the Sinai." Since Gamla's publication of this article the Sharon administration has rejected out of hand an EU proposal for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

As Samud

Israel's systematic destruction of the Palestinian refugee camps has been counter-productive for a number of reasons. Instead of inducing Palestinian capitulation it has rejuvenated their efforts to exercise the right of return. Sharon's attempt to provoke an exodus to Jordan, which he claims is the real Palestine, has strengthened Palestinian resolve to regain their usurped land. Far from isolating the Palestinians, Ariel Sharon has galvanized international support for their cause. This is increasingly the case within the EU, which Israel accuses of encouraging Palestinian terrorism.

Given the huge number of genocidal acts that were perpetrated against the Palestinian people since September 2000, civil society throughout world must take immediate steps to ensure that their governments establish an International Criminal Tribunal for Palestine as was done in Yugoslavia and Rwanda to prosecute Israeli civilian, military and political war criminals. They must, furthermore, resist attempts by some governments to renege on their treaty obligations by concluding bilateral agreements that would guarantee immunity to certain nationals from trial by the ICC.

From the darkness of occupation a new generation of Palestinians has emerged bearing hope of a brighter future. They are distinguished by their unstoppable will and capacity to resist. Whereas in the past the Occupier exploited external crises to change conditions in Palestine, this generation is determined to frustrate and defeat every such future design. Their refusal to vacate the camps despite months of Israeli siege and bombardment has been the clearest sign yet that they neither seek, nor will accede, to a transitory solution in the Jordan or any other neighbouring country. Their cry remains - al-samud hatan nasr - steadfastness until victory.

The author is senior researcher at the Palestinian Return Centre, London.

Sharon, not Saddam, is the Real Criminal

By Dr. Azzam Tamimi

For six weeks, Israeli troops closed down Palestinian towns, villages and camps and carried intensive missions of assassinations, house demolitions and deportations in the hope of stemming the sources of 'terror'. Thursday 19 September proved the Israeli efforts to be in vain. Not willing to admit the failure of their policy, the Israelis, as usual, turn to their scapegoat.

No matter how much you dislike, or even despise, Yassir Arafat you cannot help but feel sorry for him. Holed up in his compound in Ramallah, his condemnation of the recent bombing carried out by Hamas in Tel Aviv has done him no good. Hours after the explosion, which killed five Israeli and wounded no less than forty others, Israeli tanks surrounded his offices, or what remains of them, and carried out a campaign of detentions amongst his Fatah commanders. The justification the Israelis put forward for this rather weird response to a Hamas attack on them is that Yassir Arafat has been doing nothing to curb the 'terrorists'. The reason one feels sorry for Yassir Arafat is that he has spared no effort in order to gain the trust and attain the pleasure of the Americans and the Israelis only to be described as 'spent' and to be accused of 'holding the Palestinians hostage to their national aspirations.'

Israelis refuse to accept that occupation and what it entails of persecution and humiliation of the Palestinians is the source of all evils. They refuse to believe that the bloodshed they suffer can come to an end once occupation is ended. What seems to be commonsense to most observers, to the Israelis it is nonsense. Commonsense says that a people under occupation will never cease to struggle for freedom until occupation is over but Israelis insist that the struggle, which they call violence or terrorism, must end first and then the talking begins.

To reassure his public that he has not yet lost the battle, Prime Minister Sharon ordered his Apache Helicopters to exact revenge in Gaza killing at least two and wounded no less than forty civilians including fifteen school children. The attack, which coincided with the release of pupils from schools, was directed at one of the busiest streets in Gaza during the busiest hour of the day. Claiming that they intended to kill Muhammad Dhaif, a known leader of Hamas military wing Al-Qassam Brigades, the Israelis conceded that their operation had failed because Dhaif was not among the casualties. On the same day another fourteen months infant was murdered by Israeli troops in the city of Hebron and several other Palestinian civilians were killed across the West Bank. None of these events, including the Apache Helicopter's attack, made it to the headlines on the world news channels, including CNN and BBC World TV, that usually interrupt their regular programming to report the killing of Israelis, especially when a 'suicide-bomber' hits in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. Clearly, the Israelis are treated as first class humans whereas Palestinians, who are the real victims, are well below in the scale of humanity.

In a scandalous indifference to what Sharon has been doing in Palestine, the United States of America and its allies in Britain seem to have no business other



than beat the drums of war against Iraq. Accusing Saddam Hussein of brutality and crimes against his own people, and using for that end documents and photographs dating back to the very first Gulf war between Iran and Iraq, the Israeli butchering and burning alive of Palestinian civilians in Gaza and the West Bank seem to mean very little to George W. Bush and Tony Blair. But even though policy makers in Washington and London do not care, increasing numbers of their citizens today care. The hypocrisy of the two 'Anglo-Saxon' emperors is no longer indistinguishable. World public opinion is more than ever fed up of the double standard employed by these war mongers whose justifications for war are feeble than a spider's net.

If action is needed, it is action to protect the Palestinians from the Israeli war machine. The Israelis, said to be the fourth largest military power in the world, are the real threat to peace and stability and are the only power in the Middle East region that possesses weapons of mass destruction that have been in use. The insanity of Sharon and those who elected him to office is a clear indication that Israel is a diabolic entity that cannot be trusted. The United States and Great Britain, Israel's main arms suppliers, should be held responsible for allowing this beast to unleash the most lethal of all weaponry on the unarmed and helpless Palestinian population.

Unless, and until, the United States and Britain take action, not against Iraq, but against Israel, and until the threat of Israel is deterred, peace loving peoples of the world, many of whom do sympathize with the plight of the Palestinian people, must support the right of the Palestinians to self-defense. The Palestinians have every right under the present circumstances to use all the resources at their disposal in order to deter the Israelis from waging their campaign of persecution, dehumanization and assassination.

The irony is that while the Israelis have killed thousands of Palestinians, over the past ten years the Iraqis have been on the receiving end of U.S. and British air strikes and severe sanctions. U.S. and British action against Iraq has so far claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis many of them children. One wonders whether the build for a total war against Iraq is nothing but an attempt to further turn attention away from the real savages, the real criminals, Sharon and his team.

BOYCOTT ISRAEL



for Palestinian Rights

By Diane Langford

Israel's ability to present itself as a "normal" part of the international community is being challenged by a rapidly-expanding boycott, of a kind unseen since the days of campaigning against South African apartheid.

Palestinians have long been calling for assistance from the international community; in the absence of an ethical response from governments it has fallen to civil society to take action.

Arab countries were first to boycott of Israel, but since start of the Al Aqsa Intifada, pro-Palestinian activity around the world has been revitalised. When the Palestine Solidarity Campaign launched the BIG (Boycott Israeli Goods) Campaign for Palestine, it was immediately supported by 22 other organisations (including Palestinian NGOs), numerous Members of Parliament and dozens of celebrities.

The boycott will remain in place until Israel ends its brutal, illegal occupation of Palestinian land, implements United Nations resolutions, the Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in relation to the Palestinian people. It is not aimed at Jewish businesses or individuals, but against Israeli occupation and apartheid.

The boycott is a non-violent tool which can be operated on any level from direct action at a sporting or cultural event to writing a letter or complaining personally to the manager of your local store. It sends a message to the Palestinian people that they are not alone. And proclaims to the Blair government that it is profoundly out of step with public opinion.

Shoppers are given information about Israel's war crimes and urged to become ethical consumers by refusing to buy goods labelled "Made in Israel." Many people tell us that they have been boycotting Israeli goods for years as individuals, but have never felt part of a movement, until now.

The campaign covers all Israeli goods, not only those from Occupied Territories. The State of Israel imposes apartheid conditions on Palestinians living inside Israel in addition to its illegal occupation of Palestinian land.

Israel fraudulently labels goods produced in illegal colonies in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights as "Made in Israel", avoiding European Union tariffs. Responding to our campaign this summer the Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) issued guidelines to supermarkets under which goods produced in the colonial settlements must be labelled "Made in Gaza" or "Made in the West Bank". Unfortunately, this may create confusion and we call on DEFRA to instruct supermarkets to label such goods as "Produce of Illegally Occupied Territory".

Better still, ban all Israeli goods from entering the country! Any other country would have had sanctions imposed long ago. Instead, Israel acts with impunity, given preferential trading status, and treated as if it was a European country across spheres diverse as the Eurovision Song Contest, the European Football Cup, academic research grants and exchange programmes. The boycott campaign draws public attention to these anomalies and spreads support for the Palestinian people to parts other campaigns cannot reach.

The annual general meetings of Marks and Spencer and Sainsbury's have been successfully picketed by boycott activists.

Eminent academics launched a boycott of Israel which has been copied across the world, including in the USA. Israeli academics have been censured, censored and sacked for signing petitions against the occupation. So much for Israel's plea for academics to be left alone for the sake of "academic freedom." How much academic freedom do Palestinians have while subjected to murders, curfews, closures and lockdowns?

Sporting ties have been challenged, kicking off with three activists invading the pitch to unfurl a Palestinian flag at Leyton Orient v Maccabi Tel Aviv match. The MABorganised successful protests against the Israeli Under 21s.

The Network of Palestinian Art Centres issued the following call to the international community of artists, intellectuals and academics:

"We address you from the devastated heart of Palestine where the Israeli army has laid waste to our towns, villages and refugee camps. Claiming that it invaded our land in order to root out terrorism, General Sharon's army in effect systematically tried to destroy everything about our society that made it function. This was no ordinary colonial raid: it was an attempt, using the ultimate in freely supplied American offensive technology, to reduce Palestinian life to zero, the life of a dispossessed and stateless people equipped neither with an army nor defences against tanks, attack helicopters and F16 jets.

"In this offensive thousands of homes were destroyed, as were the electrical, water and telephone systems. Every major office and civil installation was summarily entered, ransacked, pillaged, and records removed, including the ministries of Education, Culture, Health. Cultural heritage sites were callously destroyed. Cultural and Art centres barbarically vandalized, musical instruments broken, paintings damaged, and artists detained; the aim was to set back Palestinian life by at least a generation, to render Palestinian national and cultural existence untenable.

"Hundreds were brutally killed; thousands led off to uncertain futures in

secret tribunals, torture and detention centres. Palestinians were treated like dehumanised, lesser creatures. Refugees were made refugees for the 2nd or 3rd time. Ambulances, and aid workers were either shot at or prevented from reaching the wounded. Dozens bled to death, corpses callously left to rot in the ruins created by bulldozers and tanks. "And yet the Palestinian people have not been broken, its struggle continues, its resolve strengthened.

"We call on members of the international community of artists, academics and performers to show their moral disapproval for Israeli violation of the laws of war and the Geneva Convention by not coming to perform, attend conferences, or give lectures. Israel can no longer claim to be an enlightened state when its armies rampage across the land of a colonized and occupied people. To pretend that business as usual is possible while Israel is still actively involved in terrible aggression and destruction is to give it support where only condemnation is warranted.

"Boycott Israel so long as it violently denies Palestinian self-determination and occupies Palestinian lands. Express your disapproval as a constituency of conscience by refusing to lend your name and presence in support of colonial practices and inhuman behaviour. The cause of justice and humanity requires your support: Do not look the other way while evil is being done."

The divestment campaign, expected to take root in boardrooms, on campuses, and within trade unions, will be self-reinforcing. A decision by one investor or bank not to invest is seen by other banks or investors as making Israel a poorer credit risk.

Trade Unions can play a crucial role by cutting investment through their pension funds. Pensioners groups will be asked to spearhead a campaign to stop payment of the State pension to British "settlers" who have gone to live in Israel's illegal colonies. The Dutch Government has already done this.

The boycott effect is magnified by the cost of maintaining occupation, forcing Israel to impose massive budget cuts, stirring dissent and shaking confidence in the commercial sector. Despite massive aid from the American taxpayer, Israel is now staring into an economic abyss.

Initially writing off the boycott as "pathetic", a year later the Israeli Embassy in London was forced to orchestrate a relentless propaganda effort including setting up its ludicrous "Israel Solidarity Campaign."

We are proud that the Muslim Association of Britain has joined the BIG Campaign for Palestine on behalf of the long-suffering Palestinian people for their national, human and civil rights, including the inalienable right of return to their homes.

The Jubilee Award Proof of Complicity

On October 14, 1998, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu presented a select group of international business people with the highest tribute ever awarded by the "State of Israel". The Jubilee Award, marking Israel's fiftieth year of "independence", recognizes those individuals and organizations, that through their investments and trade relationships, have done the most to strengthen the Israeli economy.

Of those companies awarded the prize:

Marks and Spencer

From its birth M&S has been linked inextricably to Zionism. In fact in a book on M&S, Lord Marcus Sieff - long time Chairman of M&S - wrote that one of the fundamental objectives of M&S is to aid the economic development of Israel (Management: The Marks & Spencer Way, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990).

M&S supports Israel with approximately \$233 million in trade every year (Jerusalem Report, 5 June 2000). The JTA reported that "The Israeli ambassador to England recently honored Marks & Spencer for the company's continued support of Israel." (JTA, 13 December 2000).

In 1998 Sir Richard Greenbury Marks & Spencer, received the Jubilee Award by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Johnson & Johnson

In 1998, Mr. Roger S. Fineon behalf of Johnson & Johnson, received the Jubilee Award by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Nestle

The swiss company owns 50.1% of israeli food maker Osem Investments. In dec 2000, it announced, it will invest millions of dollars to operate the new R&D centre in israel.

In 1998, Mr. Peter Brabeck-Letmathe on behalf of Nestle, received the Jubilee Award by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

L'Oreal

After being fined \$1.4 million by the US in 1995 for writing a letter to the Arab League claiming that they had stopped production in Israel, they have been engaged in actively courting Israel with investments and large-scale commerce.

American Jewish Congress has expressed "keen satisfaction that L'Oreal has become a warm friend of Israel!"

L'Oreal has established Israel as its commercial center in the Middle East and has increased investment and manufacturing activities ranging from a new production line established in Migdal Haemek, to joint research and development projects with Israeli affiliates, as well as education and public service campaigns.

In 1998 Mr. Pascal Castres St Martin of L' Oreal, received the Jubilee Award by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Sara Lee

Sara Lee owns 30% of Israels leading textile company Delta Galil.[4] Sara Lee is the world's largest clothing manufacturer, this opens the worlds markets to Israel, with cloths originating in Israel being sold around the world under one of the many famous Sara Lee brands.[3]

In 1998, Mr. Lucien Nessim of Sara Lee Personal Products received the Jubilee Award by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

And there are more who support Israel...

L'ORÉAL

- * Giorgio Armani Perfumes
- * Redken 5th Avenue NYC
- * Lancome Paris
- * Vichy Matrix
- * Cacharel
- * La Roche-Posay
- * Garnier, Biotherm
- * Helena Rubinstein
- * Maybelline
- * Ralph Lauren Perfumes
- * Carson

ESTÉE LAUDER

- * Avamis
- * Clinique
- * MAC cosmetics
- * Bobby Brown essentials
- * Tommy Hilfiter
- * Donna Karan, DKNY
- * Jo Malone

DANONE

- * Actimel
- * Evian/ Volvic Mineral Water
- * Jacob's Biscuits
- * Galbani Cheese
- * Arroy, Lea-Perrins, HP Sauce

Kimberly-Clark

- * Andrex
- * Kleenex Tissues
- * Kotex Sanitary towels
- * Huggies Nappies

MARKS & SPENCER

Johnson & Johnson

Coca-Cola

RIVER ISLAND

SELFRIDGES & CO

Disney

REVLON

SaraLee

- * Sanex, Amibi put
- * Just my size
- * Plover tea
- * Pretty Polly
- * Brylcreem
- * Radax, Bloom

Nestlé

- * Kit Kat / Milkybar / Quality Street
- * Perrier/ Vittel/ Pure Life water
- * Maggi, Clusters cereal
- * Nescafe Coffee
- * Buitoni Pasta
- * Crosse & Blackwell, Sarsion's
- * Carnation, Libby's

DELTA

GALIL INDUSTRIES LTD.
This Israeli company's products are sold in the UK under the following labels:

- * Ralph Lauren
- * Calvin Klein men's underwear
- * Hugo Boss Clothing
- * Marks & Spencer
- * Gap, Hema
- * Structure, Dim
- * J.C.Penny, Lindex
- * J.Crew, Tchibo

For more information, including details and references visit:
www.inminds.co.uk/boycott-israel.html
www.bigcampaign.org.uk

Palestine is Still the Issue

By John Pilger, 16th September, 2002, johnpilger.com



Israeli checkpoints and roadblocks are just one of the routine forms of humiliation Palestinians must go through.

LAST October, in the early hours of the morning, a young expectant mother called Fatima Abed-Rabo awoke with intense labour pains; and she and her husband Nasser set out in a friend's car for the hospital in Bethlehem, in Israeli occupied Palestine.

The couple had been trying for a second child for three years and had undergone fertility treatment. "The news of the pregnancy had made us so happy," said Nasser, "that we celebrated by replacing the tin sheeting on our home with a concrete roof."

The couple were stopped at the Israeli military roadblock just outside their village. The soldiers turned them back, even though Fatima was now haemorrhaging. They got a taxi, hoping that would be allowed through. Again, they were turned back. No explanation was given; one soldier mimicked Fatima's moans.

Fatima gave birth to her baby in the taxi. She remembers the soldiers hurling her husband's ID into the blood on the floor.

"We cut the umbilical cord with a razor blade," she said. "My husband wrapped the tiny boy in his jacket, and eventually one of his relatives found a back route."

Barely three pounds in weight, blue and in a critical condition, the baby was dead by the time they arrived at the hospital.

"We don't know why they did this to us," she told me in my film on ITV tonight. "It wasn't personal. This is how they treat all Palestinians. I'm sorry to say this, but they would rather help an animal than an Arab."

STORIES like Fatima's are rarely news in Britain, yet they are typical of the everyday treatment of the Palestinians. Human rights groups run by Israelis have recorded hundreds of instances of pregnant and seriously ill Palestinians being turned back at Israeli checkpoints, including ambulances.

"We don't know how many have

died like this," said a spokeswoman for the Israeli Physicians for Human Rights, "because many people don't even bother to set out for hospital, knowing the soldiers will stop them. "These people offer no threat to Israel. Those who do, like the suicide bombers, of course never go through roadblocks, which exist only to control, subjugate and humiliate ordinary people. It is like a routine terrorism."

Fatima's remark about being treated worse than an animal is apposite. It is always easier to harm or kill people who, in the eyes of the powerful, do not matter: be it in Afghanistan or occupied Palestine.

Israeli soldiers enforcing the illegal occupation of Palestinian land can cause the death of babies and other innocents, or kill them outright, and words such as murder and terrorism are almost never used. The same immunity has been enjoyed by those politicians who design and permit this "routine terrorism," which is the product of a form of colonialism.

Indeed, to understand both the roots and the double standards of Bush's "war on terror," whose propaganda the Israeli regime of Ariel Sharon has adopted almost word for word, you need to come to Palestine, where one of the longest military occupations in modern times is now in its 36th year.

When I was passing through Israeli checkpoints last May, there were several of these routine murders. A nurse was one of them. Nine-tenths of Palestinians killed by the Israelis are civilians; 45 per cent are teenagers and children. In Gaza, five years ago, an amusement park opened beside the sea. It was the only one in a deeply impoverished place populated mainly by refugees whose families were forced off their land or out of their villages by the Israelis.

"At first, it was very successful," said Walid Al Dirawi, who looks after the deserted ruin of rusting rides and dodgem cars. "Then the shooting started

from across the road. The Israeli settlers and soldiers shot it up every weekend, and of course people stayed away." Behind the dodgems is a wall pock-marked with bullet holes, like a shooting gallery.

THE "settlers" are mostly religious Israelis or immigrants from Russia, America and elsewhere, who are subsidised by the government to live in what are colonial fortresses in the midst of Palestinian communities, guarded by the Israeli army.

They have no right to be there under international law, and the United Nations says they should get out. Their justification is usually Biblical.

For the Israeli state, they serve a practical purpose; they occupy and encroach upon more and more Palestinian land, while allowing the military to control the Palestinians with more and more roadblocks and restrictions. Many Palestinian villages are surrounded by barbed wire, and people require a special permit even to travel to the next one. Gaza, where 800,000 are trapped, is surrounded by an electrified fence.

When Archbishop Desmond Tutu came here recently, he said: "The way the Palestinians are treated is the way we were treated in apartheid South Africa."

Trapped by checkpoints and arbitrary curfews the Palestinian economy is in ruins. According to a US government survey, more than half of all Palestinian children suffer from malnutrition, including chronic malnutrition defined as stunted growth.

People struggle to live on less than £1 a day. One of the most moving sights I have seen are the kites that reach for the sky every dusk, displaying the colours of the Palestinian flag, flown by terribly thin children from their open prison in refugee camps.

Cutting a swathe through this poverty and despair are the Israeli "settlements": surreal, middle class suburbs that are armed fortresses with

watchtowers. From here, the "settlers" shot up the amusement park. I visited one of these fortresses. What struck me was the lushness: the constant sound of running water: sprinklers nourishing hothouse crops and manicured gardens. On the other side of what looks like the Berlin Wall, in impoverished Gaza, standpipes trickle and often run dry.

These illegal, provocative enclaves, and their surrounding security areas, control almost 42 per cent of occupied Palestine - a fact that, on its own, makes mockery of the popular myth that two years ago the Israelis made a "generous" offer to return 90 per cent of the occupied territories, which the Palestinian Authority rejected.

The truth is very different. Following peace negotiations in America in 2000, President Clinton's National Security Adviser Robert Malley, who was there with Clinton, revealed that, although the Palestinians rejected certain Israeli proposals, "it could also be said that Israel rejected the unprecedented two-state solution put to them by the Palestinians, including the following provisions: a state of Israel incorporating some land captured in 1967 and including a very large majority of its settlers; the largest Jewish Jerusalem in the city's history (and) security guaranteed by a US-led international presence."

Shortly after it was founded in 1948, Israel controlled, mostly as a result of a United Nations partition and partly by force, a total of 78 per cent of historic Palestine. The Palestinians, who were the majority, fled in an orchestrated campaign of fear and terror, or they were expelled. These days, this would be known as "ethnic cleansing".

When he retired, General Moshe Dayan, Israel's military hero, said: "Jewish places were built in the place of Arab villages. There is not one single place in the country that did not have a former Arab population."

DURING the Six-Day War in 1967, the Israelis occupied the remaining 22 per cent of Palestine. Today, the Palestinians, seeking to form their own independent state, want only that 22 per cent back.

Little of this background is known or understood widely in Britain, even though the region is constantly in the news. Last May, the Glasgow University Media Group, famous for its pioneering media analysis, published a study that found TV viewers in particular were rarely told that Palestinians were the victims of an illegal and brutal military occupation. Only nine per cent of those interviewed were aware that the Israelis were the occupiers. For years, representing the Israelis as oppressors has been a taboo with always the threat of slurs of anti-Semitism (a bleak irony, as Palestinians are Semites, too).

This has been manipulated by the Israeli government and its foreign lobbies, especially in the United States where the lobby commands most of the Congress and the White House.

Many Israelis, like many Jews in Britain and other counties, condemn this intimidation, just as they condemn the occupation and are fearful of its deeply corrupting effect on Israeli society. Recently, the Chief Rabbi of Britain, Jonathan Sacks, said he had long believed that Israel should give back the Occupied Territories. When I was in

Israel in May, some 50,000 Israelis crowded central Tel Aviv, demanding that the government of Ariel Sharon made peace.

They are still a minority. The Palestinian suicide bombers and their mass murder of innocents have hardened Israeli public opinion, but what is seldom reported is that they are a relatively recent phenomenon.

For much of their resistance, the Palestinians have fought back courageously with slingshots - against a modern army, equipped with tanks, fighter aircraft and helicopter gunships.

Britain has a historic responsibility towards the Palestinians. The 1917 "Balfour Declaration" promised Jews a homeland provided it would not prejudice the rights of the non-Jewish communities. The British famously reneged on this. Britain administered the League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine until the partition that created Israel in 1948, which the Palestinians call al-Nakba, "the catastrophe."

AS a permanent member of the UN Security Council, successive British governments have pledged to support the resolutions that have called upon Israel to end its occupation.

In the General Assembly, there have been an estimated 450 resolutions calling, in one form or another, for justice for the Palestinians. This is a world record. No country has incurred the opprobrium of the world community as often as Israel and no country has been excused its "rogue" behaviour so consistently, thanks to its backer, America.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, it was ordered to withdraw by the United Nations Security Council. When the Iraqis failed to comply, they were attacked with such force that tens of thousands were slaughtered. When Israel seized the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza, it was ordered to withdraw by the same UN Security Council. That was 35 years ago, and the occupation goes on.

On the contrary, Israel has since been rewarded with billions of dollars worth of aid and armaments, principally by the United States, which has helped it develop nuclear weapons and other so-called weapons of mass destruction.

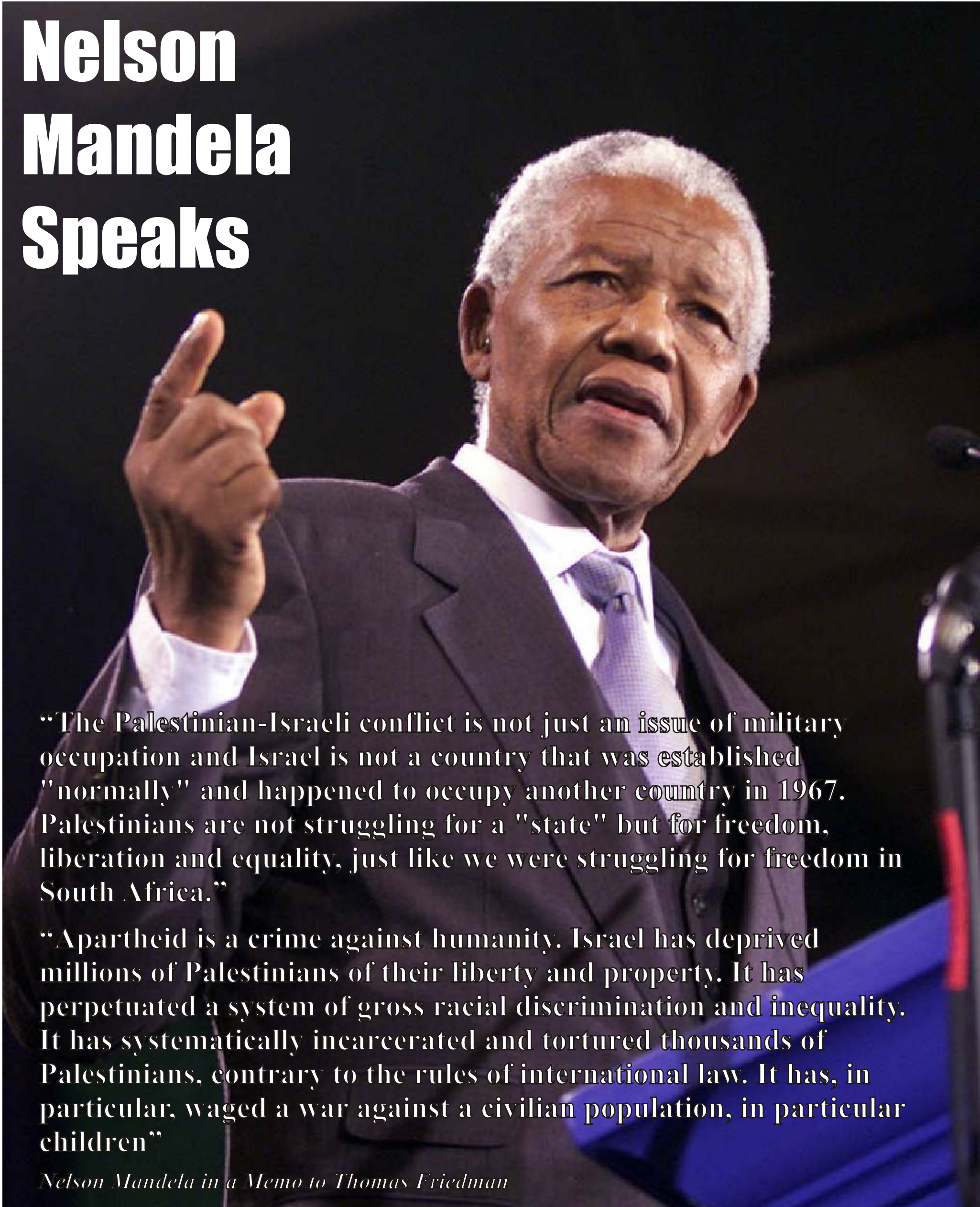
Britain has nurtured the hypocrisy that reached its apogee in the United Nations General Assembly last week when George Bush, speaking and postulating like a Mafia don, and with the full support of Tony Blair, threatened the very existence of the UN unless it provided him with a figleaf from behind which he could attack Iraq.

But it was Israel's flouting of UN resolutions on Palestine that was the spectre in the General Assembly. Every delegate knew it, especially the British who are fully aware of the enduring destabilising effect of the illegal occupation.

They also know that it is being intensified by Ariel Sharon, a man whom a commission of his own parliament found indirectly but "personally responsible" for the massacre of more than 800 Palestinians in 1982 and who once boasted: "They (the Arabs) have the numbers. We have the matches."

With Bush and Blair about to ignite another war in the Middle East, justice for the Palestinians remains key to peace.

Nelson Mandela Speaks

A photograph of Nelson Mandela speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a purple tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing upwards. The background is dark.

“The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not just an issue of military occupation and Israel is not a country that was established “normally” and happened to occupy another country in 1967. Palestinians are not struggling for a “state” but for freedom, liberation and equality, just like we were struggling for freedom in South Africa.”

“Apartheid is a crime against humanity. Israel has deprived millions of Palestinians of their liberty and property. It has perpetuated a system of gross racial discrimination and inequality. It has systematically incarcerated and tortured thousands of Palestinians, contrary to the rules of international law. It has, in particular, waged a war against a civilian population, in particular children”

Nelson Mandela in a Memo to Thomas Friedman

From the Horses' Mouths

A selection of quotes from the 'fathers' of Israel



David Ben Gurion

First Prime Minister of Israel

"We must expel Arabs and take their places."

1937, Ben Gurion and the Palestine Arabs, Oxford University Press, 1985.

"We must do everything to ensure they (the Palestinians) never do return."

Diary, 18 July 1948, quoted in Michael Bar Zohar's Ben-Gurion: the Armed Prophet, Prentice-Hall, 1967.

"The present map of Palestine was drawn by the British mandate. The Jewish people have another map which our youth and adults should strive to fulfill -- From the Nile to the Euphrates."

"If I were an Arab leader, I would never sign an agreement with Israel. It is normal; we have taken their country. It is true God promised it to us, but how could that interest them? Our God is not theirs. There has been Anti - Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They see but one thing: we have come and we have stolen their country. Why would they accept that?"

Quoted by Nahum Goldmann in Le Paradoxe Juif (The Jewish Paradox).



Moshe Dayan

Defence and Foreign Minister

"Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab

villages, and I do not blame you because geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahlal arose in the place of Mahlul; Kibbutz Gvat in the place of Jibta; Kibbutz Sarid in the place of Huneifis; and Kefar Yehushua in the place of Tal al-Shuman. There is not a single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population."

Address to the Technion, Haifa, reported in Haaretz, April 4, 1969.



Golda Maier

Israeli Prime Minister

"How can we return the occupied territories? There is nobody to return them to."

March 8, 1969.

"There was no such thing as Palestinians, they never existed."

June 15, 1969.

Israel Koenig

Northern District Commissioner

"We must use terror, assassination, intimidation, land confiscation, and the cutting of all social services to rid the Galilee of its Arab population."

"The Koenig Memorandum"

Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburg

"Jewish Blood and a goy's (gentile's) blood are not the same."

Inferring that killing isn't murder if the victim is Gentile, Jerusalem Post, 19th June 1989.

Joseph Weitz

Head of Jewish Agency's Colonisation Department

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country. We shall not achieve our goal if the Arabs are in this small country. There is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries - all of them. Not one village, not one tribe should be left."

1940, from "A Solution to the Refugee Problem"



Ariel Sharon

Current Prime Minister

"Everybody has to move, run and grab as many hilltops as they can to enlarge the settlements because everything we take now will stay ours... Everything we don't grab will go to them."

Then Foreign Minister, addressing a meeting of militants from the extreme right-wing Tsomet Party, Agence France Presse, November 15, 1998.

"Every time we do something you tell me America will do this and will do that... I want to tell you something very clear: Don't worry about American pressure on Israel. We, the Jewish people, control America, and the Americans know it."

October 3, 2001, to Shimon Peres, as reported on Kol Yisrael radio.

The British in Palestine 1945 - 1948

A Conveniently Forgotten Holocaust

By Robert Fisk, *The Independent*
3rd September, 2002

In the years that followed the Second World War, Lord Beaverbrook's old Sunday Express would regale its readers with the secret history of the 1939-45 conflict: "What Hitler would have done if England was under Nazi occupation"; "How Ike almost cancelled D-Day"; "Churchill's plans for using gas on Nazi invaders." Often--though not always--the stories were true. After war come the facts. It's not so long ago, after all, that we discovered that Nato's mighty 1999 blitz on Serbia's army netted a total of just 10 tanks.

But it took Eric Lowe of Hayling Island in Hampshire to remind me of the inversion of history, the way in which historically proven facts, clearly established, come to be questioned decades later or even deleted from the record for reasons of political or moral weakness. Eric runs a magazine called Palestine Scrapbook, a journal for the old British soldiers who fought in Palestine--against both Arabs and Jews--until the ignominious collapse of the British mandate in 1948. In Mr Lowe's magazine, there are personal memories of the bombing of British headquarters at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem--a "terrorist" bombing, of course, except that it was carried out by a man who was later to become Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin.

Dennis Shelton of the King's Royal Rifle Corps writes a letter, recalling an Arab attack on a British Army lorry in Gaza. "We opened up on them, the ones who could still run away. We found two [British] army bods under the wagon, both badly wounded. I went in the ambulance with them to Rafah hospital. I was holding the side of one's head to keep his brains in. I often wondered if indeed they recovered." Mr Lowe has asked for information about the soldier whom Dennis Shelton tried to save.

But he's probably wasting his time, because the British Army's first post-World War Two war--the 1945-48 conflict in Palestine--has been "disappeared", sidelined as something that no one wants to remember.

According to Mr Lowe, many of the British campaign medals for Palestine were never issued. Dennis Peck, of the Sherwood Foresters, only realised he'd been awarded one in 1998. Until two years ago, the campaign was never mentioned at the Armistice parade in London. There's not even a definitive figure for the British troops who died--around 400 were killed or died of wounds. And it took over 50 years for British veterans to get a memorial for the dead: in the end, the veterans had to pay for it from their own pockets.

But in the late Forties, all Britain was seized by the war in Palestine. When Jewish gunmen hanged two British sergeants, booby-trapping their bodies into the bargain, Britons were outraged. The British, it must be added, had just hanged Jewish militants in Palestine. But now-- nothing. Our dead soldiers in Palestine, far from being remembered at the going down of the sun, are largely not remembered at all.

So who are we frightened of here? The Arabs? The Israelis? And isn't this just a small example of the suppression of historical truth which continues over the 20th century's first holocaust? I raise this question because of a recent and deeply offensive article by Stephen Kinzer of The New York Times. Back in 1915, his paper--then an honourable journal of record--broke one of the great and most terrible stories of the First World War: the planned slaughter of 1.5 million Christian Armenians by the Turkish Ottoman government. The paper's headlines, based in many cases on US diplomats in Turkey, alerted the world to this genocide. By 16 September, a New York Times correspondent had spoken of "a campaign of extermination, involving the murdering of 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons".

It was all true. Save for the Turkish government, a few American academics holding professorships funded by Turkey and the shameful denials of the Israeli government, there is today not a soul who doubts the nature or the extent

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Did You Know?

- When the Palestine problem was created by Britain in 1917, more than 92% of the population of Palestine were Arabs and that there were at that time no more than 56,000 Jews in Palestine?
- Prior to the 1948 war, Palestinian Christians and Muslims were a two-third majority, who owned and operated 93% of Palestine's lands?
- Prior to the 1948 war, most Israeli Jews were persecuted and dispossessed European Jews who made a one-third minority?
- For Israel to become a "Jewish majority" it opted to expel and dispossess the two-third Palestinian majority?
- 80% of the Palestinian people were dispossessed from their homes, farms, and businesses for the past 54 years?
- 95% of Israel's lands (which is mostly owned by Palestinian refugees) are open for development to Jews only?
- That Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Palestinians at that time lived in peace with each other?
- Palestinians in the early 20th century owned 97.5% of the land, while Jews (native Palestinians and recent immigrants together) owned only 2.5% of the land?
- Just prior to the 1948 war, Jews owned under 7% of Palestine's land, and to increase their share after the war, they passed the "Absentees' Law" which dispossessed the Palestinian majority land owners who later became "absent". What is even more tragic was the passage of an oxymoron law, called "Present Absentees' Law," which
- dispossessed the Palestinian-Israeli citizens who became internal refugees in Israel. It is worth noting that the internal Jewish refugees were not dispossessed as a result of this racist law.
- The U.S. funneled into the Israeli economy over 130 billion dollars, which is almost twice the amount devoted to rebuilding Western Europe after WW II!

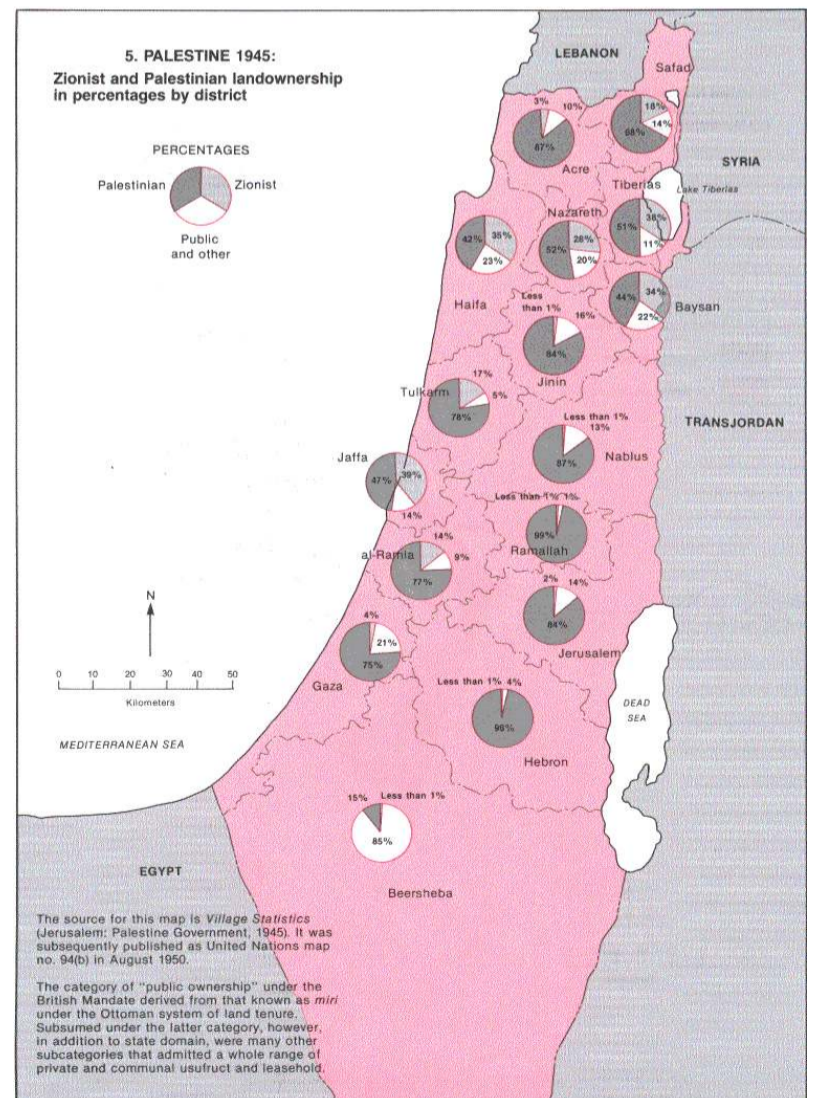
The hidden facts are what makes people think the issue of Palestine is simply one of two peoples in conflict. But History records facts, and the facts show how Israel was built upon the looted land of the Palestinians. Official Documents like the map below, show the true situation on the ground at the time around the "establishment" of the "state of Israel".

Suffice it to mention that in 1918, with the start of the problem, Jews numbered only 8.4% of the population, owning only 2% of the land of British Mandate Palestine. By 1948, after much support for further immigration of Jews, they still accounted for 31.7% of the population, controlling only 6.5% of the land. At this point, they established their state, and begun the mass ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians, destroying hundreds of villages.

Through these military operations, Israel exceeded even the biased UN two-state proposal borders (which had given the Jewish minority 54% of the land of Palestine.

Upon this bloody history is the "state of Israel" established. Any open-minded reading into the true history of the conflict will undoubtedly raise questions about the basis upon which Israel was established.

Compiled from materials on www.palestineremembered.com.



Source: Survey of Palestine, prepared by the British Mandate for the UN, p.566

For lots of historical facts see www.palestineremembered.com

Israel Flouts UN Resolutions



A Terrorist Deseccration

By Dr. Anthony McRoy

While George Bush uses Iraq's ignoring of UN resolutions an excuse for his campaign, a certain staunch ally of the US continues to flout dozens of UN resolutions, and the US continues to veto dozens more. Here is a list of those resolutions for the period between 1955 and 1992.

Resolution 106: "... 'condemns' Israel for Gaza raid"

Resolution 111: "... 'condemns' Israel for raid on Syria that killed fifty-six people"

Resolution 127: "... 'recommends' Israel suspend its 'no-man's zone' in Jerusalem"

Resolution 162: "... 'urges' Israel to comply with UN decisions"

Resolution 171: "... 'determines' flagrant violations' by Israel in its attack on Syria"

Resolution 228: "... 'censures' Israel for its attack on Samu in the West Bank, then under Jordanian control"

Resolution 237: "... 'urges' Israel to allow return of new 1967 Palestinian refugees"

Resolution 248: "... 'condemns' Israel for its massive attack on Karameh in Jordan"

Resolution 250: "... 'calls' on Israel to refrain from holding military parade in Jerusalem"

Resolution 251: "... 'deeply deplores' Israeli military parade in Jerusalem in defiance of Resolution 250"

Resolution 252: "... 'declares' invalid' Israel's acts to unify Jerusalem as Jewish capital"

Resolution 256: "... 'condemns' Israeli raids on Jordan as 'flagrant violation'"

Resolution 259: "... 'deplores' Israel's refusal to accept UN mission to probe occupation"

Resolution 262: "... 'condemns' Israel for attack on Beirut airport"

Resolution 265: "... 'condemns' Israel for air attacks for Salt in Jordan"

Resolution 267: "... 'censures' Israel for administrative acts to change the status of Jerusalem"

Resolution 270: "... 'condemns' Israel for air attacks on villages in southern Lebanon"

Resolution 271: "... 'condemns' Israel's failure to obey UN resolutions on Jerusalem"

Resolution 279: "... 'demands' withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon"

Resolution 280: "... 'condemns' Israeli's attacks against Lebanon"

Resolution 285: "... 'demands' immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon"

Resolution 298: "... 'deplores' Israel's changing of the status of Jerusalem"

Resolution 313: "... 'demands' that Israel stop attacks against Lebanon"

Resolution 316: "... 'condemns' Israel for repeated attacks on Lebanon"

Resolution 317: "... 'deplores' Israel's refusal to release Arabs abducted in

Lebanon"

Resolution 332: "... 'condemns' Israel's repeated attacks against Lebanon"

Resolution 337: "... 'condemns' Israel for violating Lebanon's sovereignty"

Resolution 347: "... 'condemns' Israeli attacks on Lebanon"

Resolution 425: "... 'calls' on Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon"

Resolution 427: "... 'calls' on Israel to complete its withdrawal from Lebanon"

Resolution 444: "... 'deplores' Israel's lack of cooperation with UN peacekeeping forces"

Resolution 446: "... 'determines' that Israeli settlements are a 'serious obstruction' to peace and calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention"

Resolution 450: "... 'calls' on Israel to stop attacking Lebanon"

Resolution 452: "... 'calls' on Israel to cease building settlements in occupied territories"

Resolution 465: "... 'deplores' Israel's settlements and asks all member states not to assist Israel's settlements program"

Resolution 467: "... 'strongly deplores' Israel's military intervention in Lebanon"

Resolution 468: "... 'calls' on Israel to rescind illegal expulsions of two Palestinian mayors and a judge and to facilitate their return"

Resolution 469: "... 'strongly deplores' Israel's failure to observe the council's order not to deport Palestinians" 39. b) "... 'expresses deep concern' at Israel's failure to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention"

Resolution 476: "... 'reiterates' that Israel's claims to Jerusalem are 'null and void'"

Resolution 478: "... 'censures' (Israel) in the strongest terms' for its claim to Jerusalem in its 'Basic Law'"

Resolution 484: "... 'declares' it imperative' that Israel re-admit two deported Palestinian mayors"

Resolution 487: "... 'strongly condemns' Israel for its attack on Iraq's nuclear facility"

Resolution 497: "... 'decides' that Israel's annexation of Syria's Golan Heights is 'null and void' and demands that Israel rescind its decision forthwith"

Resolution 498: "... 'calls' on Israel to withdraw from Lebanon"

Resolution 501: "... 'calls' on Israel to stop attacks against Lebanon and

withdraw its troops"

Resolution 509: "... 'demands' that Israel withdraw its forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanon"

Resolution 515: "... 'demands' that Israel lift its siege of Beirut and allow food supplies to be brought in"

Resolution 517: "... 'censures' Israel for failing to obey UN resolutions and demands that Israel withdraw its forces from Lebanon"

Resolution 518: "... 'demands' that Israel cooperate fully with UN forces in Lebanon"

Resolution 520: "... 'condemns' Israel's attack into West Beirut"

Resolution 573: "... 'condemns' Israel 'vigorously' for bombing Tunisia in attack on PLO headquarters"

Resolution 587: "... 'takes note' of previous calls on Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon and urges all parties to withdraw"

Resolution 592: "... 'strongly deplores' the killing of Palestinian students at Bir Zeit University by Israeli troops"

Resolution 605: "... 'strongly deplores' Israel's policies and practices denying the human rights of Palestinians"

Resolution 607: "... 'calls' on Israel not to deport Palestinians and strongly requests it to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention"

Resolution 608: "... 'deeply regrets' that Israel has defied the United Nations and deported Palestinian civilians"

Resolution 636: "... 'deeply regrets' Israeli deportation of Palestinian civilians"

Resolution 641: "... 'deplores' Israel's continuing deportation of Palestinians"

Resolution 672: "... 'condemns' Israel for violence against Palestinians at the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount"

Resolution 673: "... 'deplores' Israel's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations"

Resolution 681: "... 'deplores' Israel's resumption of the deportation of Palestinians"

Resolution 694: "... 'deplores' Israel's deportation of Palestinians and calls on it to ensure their safe and immediate return"

Resolution 726: "... 'strongly condemns' Israel's deportation of Palestinians"

Resolution 799: "... 'strongly condemns' Israel's deportation of 413 Palestinians and calls for their immediate return."

That's 65 resolutions up to 1992, and more since. This list would be much greater were it not for the vetoes of the US on many occasions.

Between 1972 and 1990, the US vetoed over 30 resolutions, in most cases, the only nation not to vote in favour.

Source: Paul Findley, *Deliberate Deceptions: Facing the Facts About the US/Israeli Relationship* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1993).

Israel is in blatant violation of over 65 UN resolutions (and that's only up to 1992)

Imagine if Al-Qaida were able to gain control of 'Ground Zero' the site of the World Trade Center. Imagine if they were to build an airport on the site of their massacre - over the graves of the people they massacred. Imagine the revulsion people across the world would feel if airlines agreed to use 'Bin Laden International Airport, New York'. Likewise, imagine if the Serbs did the same at Srebrenica, site of their massacre in July 1995 of 12,000 Muslim civilians. Similarly, imagine if the Nazis had won the War and did the same at Auschwitz. In each case the action would be seen as a calculated insult to the dead; every time a plane landed, it would rightly be viewed as a desecration of the massacre victims.

People sometimes refer to 'Tel Aviv' Airport, yet 'Ben Gurion Airport' is actually in Lod - originally the Palestinian town of Lydda. Few people - even British Arabs or Muslims - know the dark history of this place. The city was conquered by Haganah and Irgun terrorists in 1948. On July 13, 1948, Zionist terrorists forced the entire population of as many as 70,000 men, women and children to flee their homes. The initial attack against Lydda and its twin city, Ramleh, was led by Lt. Col. Moshe Dayan, later Israeli defence and foreign minister. It is the complicity of senior Israeli officials like Dayan, Rabin, Allon and Ben Gurion in the massacre and ethnic cleansing of Lydda and Ramleh that mark the event as a definitive symbol of the nature of the Zionist regime's terrorist creation. The Zionist State was born in the blood of innocent Palestinians. Two US journalists witnessed the attack on Lydda. The article 'Blitz Tactics Won Lydda' by Keith Wheeler of the Chicago Sun Times wrote that 'practically everything in their way died. Riddled corpses lay by the roadside.' Kenneth Bilby of the New York Herald Tribune reported that he saw 'the corpses of Arab men, women and even children strewn about in the wake of the ruthlessly brilliant charge.' Accounts of the attack and what followed recall uncomfortable echoes of Srebrenica. All men of military age were sent to camps. The residents of Lydda were promised that if they congregated in mosques and churches they would be safe. On July 12, a brief firefight broke out in Lydda between Zionist terrorists and a Jordanian reconnaissance team in which two Zionists were killed. The retaliation was terrible. The Zionist commander ordered his troops to kill anyone on the streets. The Zionist terrorists massacred 426 men, women, and children. Zionist terrorists then attacked the people sheltering in mosques and churches, killing 176 people in Dahmash mosque alone. This is important to remember. The massacre and ethnic cleansing of Lydda and Ramleh was not just racist, but also sectarian. Churches and mosques were desecrated, yet there has been a deafening silence on this issue from both Christian and Muslim leaders in the West. The same day Ben Gurion ordered the expulsion of all Palestinians from the towns. The order said: 'The residents of Lydda must be expelled quickly without attention to age.' It was

signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Yitzhak Rabin, operations chief of the Lydda-Ramleh attack and later Israeli military chief of staff and Prime Minister. A similar order was issued about Ramleh. Out of the 19,000 people who formerly lived in Lydda, only 1,052 were permitted to remain. Israeli historian Benny Morris reported: 'All the Israelis who witnessed the events agreed that the exodus, under a hot July sun, was an extended episode of suffering for the refugees, especially from Lydda. Some were stripped by soldiers of their valuables as they left town or at checkpoints along the way.... One Israeli soldier ... recorded vivid impressions of the thirst and hunger of the refugees on the roads, and of how 'children got lost' and of how a child fell into a well and drowned, ignored, as his fellow refugees fought each other to draw water. Another soldier described the spoor left by the slow-shuffling columns, 'to begin with [jettisoning] utensils and furniture and in the end, bodies of men, women and children, scattered along the way!' 'Quite a few refugees died-from exhaustion, dehydration and disease-along the roads eastwards, from Lydda and Ramleh, before reaching temporary rest near and in Ramallah. Nimr Khatib put the death toll among the Lydda refugees during the trek eastward at 335; Arab Legion commander John Glubb Pasha more carefully wrote that 'nobody will ever know how many children died.' Just as Bosnians were looted and plundered by the Serbs, and Jews looted by the Nazis, the same happened to the Palestinians of Lydda and Ramleh. Zionist terrorists searched Arabs to steal their possessions and indiscriminately murdered many. The Economist reported: 'The Arab refugees were systematically stripped of all their belongings before they were sent on their trek to the frontier. Household belongings, stores, clothing, all had to be left behind.' One youthful Palestinian survivor recalled: 'Two of my friends were killed in cold blood. One was carrying a box presumed to have money and the other a pillow which was believed to contain valuables. A friend of mine resisted and was killed in front of me. He had 400 Palestinian pounds in his pocket.' After the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians, looting began in Lydda and Ramleh. Israeli historian Simha Flapan reported: 'With the population gone, the Israeli soldiers proceeded to loot the two towns in an outbreak of mass pillaging that the officers could neither prevent nor control Even the soldiers from the Palmach-most of whom came from or were preparing to join kibbutzim-took part, stealing mechanical and agricultural equipment. Israeli troops carted away 1,800 truck loads of Palestinian property, including a button factory, a sausage factory, a soft drinks plant, a macaroni factory, a textile mill, 7,000 retail shops, 1,000 warehouses and 500 workshops.' In the light of Jewish groups lobbying Swiss banks to restore Jewish property looted by the Nazis, should not the same happen in this case regarding Palestinian property?

Continued on Page 10

The Israeli massacres have been completely erased by modern history.

Continued from Page 9

The interesting fact about Lydda and Ramleh is that it is the one massacre and ethnic cleansing that the Zionist regime has been forced to admit, if only because of the indiscretion of some of the perpetrators. Rabin referred to the Lydda massacre in his memoirs but the Israeli government censored the passage. He wrote in his diary soon after Lydda's and Ramleh's occupation: 'After attacking Lydda and then Ramla... What would they do with the 50,000 civilians living in the two cities... Not even Ben-Gurion could offer a solution... and during the discussion at operation headquarters, he [Ben-Gurion] remained silent, as was his habit in such situations. Clearly, we could not leave [Lydda's] hostile and armed populace in our rear, where it could endangered the supply route [to the troops who were] advancing eastward.

Ben-Gurion would repeat the question: What is to be done with the population?, waving his hand in a gesture which said: Drive them out!' (Soldier of Peace, p. 140-141)

350 people died of exhaustion and dehydration before reaching their final destination. Again, in echoes of Bosnia, the Zionist forces were guilty of rape against Palestinian women and girls. Aharon Cizling, Israeli Agriculture Minister, stated in July, 1948: '...It's been said that there were cases of rape in Ramla. I can forgive rape, but I will not forgive other acts which seem to me much worse. When they enter a town and forcibly remove rings from the fingers and jewellery from someone's neck, that's a very grave matter... Many are guilty of it.' (Tom Segev, 1949, The First Israelis, p. 71-72) It was clear that the massacre and ethnic cleansing was meant as a warning to other Arabs as to

what would happen unless they fled. Yigal Allon stated in mid-July 1948 about the ethnic cleansing at Lydda and Ramleh: 'Moreover, the phenomenon of the flight of tens of thousands will no doubt cause demoralisation in every Arab area [the refugees] reach... This victory will yet have great effect on other sectors. (Benny Morris, p. 211 Israel: A History, p. 218) Currently, the people of Lydda and Ramleh and their descendants number around half a million, mainly residing in refugee camps around Amman and Ramallah. The very fact that the regime named the Airport after Ben Gurion - the man who ordered the ethnic cleansing - demonstrates that its very existence is a deliberate insult to the memory of the dead and deported.

What can be done? Readers should flood their MPs with letters demanding that the UK and EU ban all flights to and from 'Ben Gurion Airport' until the refugees and their descendants are repatriated and compensated for their ordeal. If any Zionists soldiers are still alive, they should be hunted by the War Crimes court at the Hague. Councils should be lobbied to hold 9/11-like 'Lydda Memorial Days' every 11 July. Local Arab and Muslim communities in Britain should send delegations to all their local travel agents demanding that they refuse to handle booking that involve landing at the airport, warning them that unless they do so, they will face organised communal boycotts and pickets. At the 9/11 New York commemoration a banner stated 'We will never forget'. We owe it to the dead of Lydda and Ramleh to ensure that they are not forgotten - and the best way to commemorate their murders would be to force the closing of 'Ben Gurion Airport'.

Al-Aqsa



Israeli Army Patrols are a regular site on the complex of al-Masjid Al-Aqsa. Here, walking past the Dome of the Rock. Surrounded by such guards, Ariel Sharon decided to pay a "visit" to the site on 28th September 2000. This visit sparked the Al-Aqsa Intifada (Uprising), the second of its kind. This continues today, at the passing of two years. The steadfastness of the Palestinians has surprised all but themselves, a population whose spirit is more than a match for tanks, planes and bullets.

Its Importance

The centrality of al Masjidul Aqsa Haram Sharif and Jerusalem have been central to those who submitted to the will of Allah (Muslims) from time immemorial. According to an authentic narration of Prophet Muhammad (saas), al Masjidul Aqsa was the second house of worship for the Lord on planet earth. Further, this was only built forty years after the first house, the Ka'ba in Makkah

Allah (swt) through verses in the Holy Qur'an, Prophet Muhammad's (saas) teachings and his visiting al Masjidul Aqsa during his miraculous journey - al Isra al Mahraj - to the heavens has connected al Masjidul Aqsa and Jerusalem to the believes and respect of present day Muslims.

Al Masjidul Aqsa Haram Sharif besides being the first qibla (direction Muslims faced during Salah prayer) represents one of only three mosques where Muslims are recommended to undertake a journey for sole purpose of praying Salah. The virtues of praying in al Masjidul Haram Sharif are multiplied by a thousand times. The numerous virtues of al Masjidul Aqsa has made to central to Muslims all over the world - i.e. one every fiver person of the world today. The love and affection for al Masjidul Aqsa transcends all national boundaries, languages and colour. Muslims all over the globe through the teachings of Islam hold it dear and venerate it.

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The Children of the Intifada

By Samah Jabr, *Palestine Times*

I came from Africa like a real auntie, carrying gifts, pictures and fairy tales for five kids so eagerly awaiting my return home. I knew that ordinary stories would not satisfy my nephews' fun and adventure—thirsty souls. I feared that my real stories would sound dull and boring to extraordinary kids like them, so I spent most of my flying time making up exciting stories about the jungle, the wild animals of the Safari and the Sahara of 'deep and dark' Africa.

I told the kids that I lived with African people who wear leather and feathers and have lions and elephants in their backyard. "Every morning my African family fed me a huge ostrich egg, and after breakfast, we would all go to the bush or to the sea to hunt or fish for our dinner." The African kids of my tales left an impression on my nephews. "Instead of snacks and ice-cream, African kids eat Papayas and Pineapples. They don't go onto the streets on bicycles or dangerous scooters, but instead take a Zebra ride around the neighbourhood, only when their Moms allow it." I narrated to the kids who were paying full attention to my tales, with eyes popping in envy and faces yearning for such an exciting life. While the three little kids thought it would be more exciting to ride on a giraffe rather than a Zebra, the older ones spoke in protest. "Dad does not want to take us to the zoo because we should not go to the Israeli side," said 6-year-old Hamada. "Alas! We have no beach or sea to go to; you should take us to Africa, Samah!" said Suhaib (5 years old).

For two years, Palestinian children have been living under unbearable circumstances. While the kids in my family have little to complain about in comparison with their peers in the West Bank or Gaza who, because of the curfews, were made to spend the summer holiday in their little, overcrowded homes with very little available, all the Palestinian children are equal in their conscious or subconscious realization that their deprivation has been caused by a common "enemy." Whether it is the zoo, the sea, the medicine or the piece of bread, our kids are all aware that they have been robbed of what was once theirs.

More than 50 per cent of the Palestinian population are below the age of 15, to whom the word "children" should apply, but few of them—if any—are living a normal childhood. Living the intense reality of conflict over the last two years has affected the core of each and every Palestinian. But because kids are still in the process of physical and mental development and psychological formation, they have been the group most vulnerable to trauma and its associated complications.

During the Intifada, about 400 Palestinian kids were killed, thousands were injured and many of them were left



For Palestinian children, the military occupation is a fact they live, day in, day out.

with permanent disabilities. But those children were not the only ones hurt by the acute brutal experience; their siblings, classmates and peers had a share in the psychological trauma, as well.

These acute events add to the difficult and enduring circumstances of survival at the mercy of Israeli fire. A whole nation is living under curfews and sieges, night shelling and home and school destruction, unemployment and its consequences of poverty and social problems, and family upheavals as a result of missing members because of their being killed, being arrested or working beyond the closure. Those are just a few examples of the deliberate Israeli tools of oppression that aim to defeat our people, young and old, to lower their self-esteem and smash the Palestinian morale for generations to come.

Recent studies have concluded that 50 per cent of Palestinian children are suffering from malnutrition, 70 per cent of them are anemic; but if psychological complications of our kids are to be studied, they will show more horrifying results. I have noticed through my professional and personal experiences with children during the Intifada their excessive and prominent use of defence mechanisms. In order to rid themselves from unpleasant emotions and distance themselves from a full awareness of fear, threat and distress brought on by the occupation, many kids fall into regression and are brought to the clinic for such symptoms as bed wetting, sleep disturbances or thumb-sucking problems, especially among children who have had a first-hand experience of shelling, of witnessing assassinations or of bloody clashes. Other kids have become obsessed with toy guns and physical strength training or aggressive

fractures and open wounds. The boy bravely endured the painful management and improved, but every time he later came for dressings and follow-up treatment, he reacted in panic whenever the nurse tried to seat him in the right position for the procedure. "This is how one soldier held him while the others were hitting him with their boots and clubs," his brother said. That was a profound example of post-traumatic stress syndrome that many of us, kids and adults alike, have acquired over the last two years.

Probably the most harmful insult to a child's psychology is the knowledge of having no protector, no shield or refuge. When Palestinian kids see their parents beaten and humiliated by soldiers, when they see their mothers wailing in agony and helplessness for their loss, a whole world collapses in a child's eyes. It is such a deeply injured psyche that makes some of our kids admire "hero-like" characters that demonstrate perceived bravery and courage, like our bombers, fighters and martyrs. Aren't kids everywhere fond of the Gladiator, Zorro and Batman?

The use of defence mechanisms is just an indicator of the surging psychological problems Palestinian childhood is suffering. If we don't solve this critical issue, we will have to worry about the potential risk of developing a psychologically deformed, emotionally disturbed and morally confused Palestinian generation. The subtle psychological problem of the moment will be augmented when the kids of today make the men and women of a future Palestine.

Health care providers, educators, parents and responsible adults have a great role to play in saving Palestinian childhood and their future. We have to learn and teach our kids how to cope: to exert the physical and emotional energy and attention to deal with the surrounding circumstances, and how to adjust



Many children have had their homes destroyed.

and self-regulate their stresses in order to minimize the potential harm. We have to listen to our kids and urge them to speak of their internal fears and silent anger. Our kids need to see an example of steadfastness in themselves and those around them. They need to engage in direct action, like visiting the injured, or carrying token gifts to the victims of home demolition, thus helping themselves to put their lives back together in order to alter or master their troubled interaction with the environment. Preparing the kids beforehand to meet the danger can minimize the psychological trauma. We can tell the child what is it like to go through a checkpoint before sending them there, or teach them how to act at the time of shelling or when tear gas is thrown into their schools. Direct action mitigates the stress reaction before meeting the expected, but we have to avoid overwhelming the child with high, unrealistic expectations. If we know that the child cannot manage the environmental transaction, then we must use palliation—providing diversions or distractions through arts, sports and social activities that would in turn alter and distort the child's awareness of the original stress. Palliation provides self-confidence and clarity of mind, making stresses more tolerable and enabling the child to confront difficult situations.

Coping is different than subduing and submitting to injustice, however. We have to cope and try to continue living while targeting the root problem: ending the occupation. Our children should play a role in resistance and be aware of their importance in the process of change. They can resist and protest through learning, painting, writing, singing, dancing and demonstrating; their small actions might not stop the Israeli tanks from marching into their towns, their villages and their very own homes, but it will help them to maintain their sanity in this very brutal world.

Recently, the Israeli Mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert, spoke at a conference on education and said, "There will be no peace with the Palestinians until Palestinians teach their children to love each other more than they hate the Israelis." Olmert knows that we cannot hide our children from reality and truth. Who needs to teach the children to hate, when the tanks at their doorsteps and the guns pointed to their chests are doing the job? Olmert did not tell his audience how the Israeli army officers teach the soldiers the methods and techniques of tormenting and intimidating Palestinian kids. "You cannot control a nation if their children don't fear you"—Israeli soldiers are taught this concept in their training camps.

In his accusations, Olmert tried to blur the vision of those who would listen to him from the sadist and psychopathic action enacted against our kids by the Israeli soldiers, which has been reported by many international human rights organizations.

Children are the treasure of life and the hope of every nation. In my homeland, children are the seeds of an ambiguous future. I don't know if political truces will ever stop this war. But I do know that until children's rights and toys and their very bones are not allowed to be smashed under the boots of occupation, children's songs will continue revolving around guns and blood instead of flowers and butterflies, and our dream of peace in the Holy Land will be as fake as my fairy tales on South Africa.

Samah Jabr is a Palestinian physician and a life-long resident of the Occupied Jerusalem.

Why Does Everybody Hate the US?

Ellen Hale, 14th August 2002, USA Today

OXFORD, England -- On a packed train out of London recently to this historic college town, a young American woman struck up a conversation with her seatmate, a nattily dressed older British man. They chatted amiably about Oxford until she worked up the courage to ask what was weighing on her mind:

"Why," she blurted out, "does everybody hate us?"

The man paused -- but didn't disagree -- before proceeding to enumerate the reasons, from U.S. foreign policies to the seeping influence of American popular culture.

In the shock wave that followed the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, many Americans found themselves asking why so many people in Muslim countries hate the United States. But the anti-American sentiment has turned into a contagion that is spreading across the globe and infecting even the United States' most important allies. In virulent prose, newspapers criticize the United States. Politicians ferociously attack its foreign policies, especially the Bush administration's plans to attack Iraq. And regular citizens launch into tirades with American friends and visitors.

Here in Britain, the United States' staunchest friend, snide remarks and downright animosity greet many Americans these days. It's not just religious radicals and terrorists who resent the United States anymore.

"Now, it's everyone," says Allyson Stewart-Allen, a consultant from California who has lived in London 15 years and heads International Marketing Partners, which advises European companies on how to do business with Americans. The sea change in attitude toward the United States, she says, has "profoundly" altered her advice to clients: She now must counsel them to resist "taking digs" at her countrymen.

What happened, many Americans are wondering, to that wave of sympathy and stockpile of global goodwill they encountered after Sept. 11?

"It was squandered," says Meghnad Desai, director of the Institute for Global Governance at the London School of Economics and Political Science and a member of the House of Lords. "America dissipated the goodwill out of its arrogance and incompetence. A lot of people who would never ever have considered themselves anti-American are now very distressed with the United States," he says.

Desai and others blame what seems to be a wave of new U.S. policies that they regard as selfish and unilateral, stretching back to President Bush's refusal last year to support the international treaty on global warming. Many are enraged by Bush's support for steel tariffs and farm subsidies, his

refusal to involve the United States in the new international criminal court and what is widely regarded abroad as one-sided support for Israel and its prime minister, Ariel Sharon. The rash of corporate malfeasance and blanket arrest of terrorism suspects after Sept. 11 further fuels critics, who say the United States preaches democracy, human rights and free enterprise -- but doesn't practice them. Growing gap with Europe

In a recent article in Policy Review magazine, Robert Kagan, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, says the divide between the United States and Europe is getting wider than ever as the continents go their different ways -- one operating on a foreign policy based on unilateralism and coercion, the other on diplomacy and persuasion. Europeans, he says, have "come to view the United States simply as a rogue colossus, in many respects a bigger threat to (their) pacific ideals than Iraq or Iran." The differences, he says, are deep and likely to endure.

"Why do people attack Americans?" asks Tiny Waslandek, a social worker in Amsterdam, Netherlands. "Because they have a big, big mouth and they mind everybody's business."

Bush's plan to topple Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein is stoking anti-American hostility to bonfire levels. In Germany earlier this month, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder launched his reelection campaign by denouncing what he derisively called Bush's proposed military "adventures" in Iraq. In England, the new head of the Anglican Church and other leading bishops circulated a petition proclaiming that any attack would be illegal and immoral.

Linked to Iraq and Israel

"My sense is that much of the rampant anti-Americanism we see now is very much linked to a war with Iraq and the Israel-Palestine issue," says Mary Kaldor, a London-based scholar on international relations.

In the popular Straw Poll BBC radio show July 26, Kaldor debated with Washington Post reporter T. R. Reid whether "American power is the power of the good." She argued that the U.S. role as the sole superpower was a danger to the rest of the world.

At the end of the program, 70% of the studio audience said it agreed with her. Anti-Americanism is nothing new. Surveys a decade ago in Britain showed that one in four people here are what pollster Robert Worcester, a transplanted Kansan who runs the Market Opinion Research Institute, calls "culturally anti-American." (According to a survey taken in 1989, one in five said they found American accents irritating.)

To some degree, the resentment against the United States is inevitable

now that it's the only remaining superpower. Even so, Desai, who says that he is "very, very pro-America" and that people forget the United States saved Europe from itself twice in the past century, notes that America has been on top for a long time. "So what is happening now is not the inevitable result of being No. 1."

(Desai and many other Europeans give Washington credit for dismantling the hard-line Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which harbored Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda terrorist network).

In recent months, polls have shown a less-than-subtle change in attitudes toward Americans, U.S. foreign policy and, in particular, the president from Texas. British newspapers reported Thursday that secret polls commissioned by Prime Minister Tony Blair revealed "spectacular unpopularity" for Bush among voters here.

In April, the German news magazine Der Spiegel reported that less than half (48%) of Germans consider the United States a guarantor of peace in the world, compared with 62% who did in 1993. Nearly half -- 47% -- rated Americans as aggressive rather than peaceful (34%). And 44% called them superficial. Meanwhile, in an April poll for the Council on Foreign Relations, based in Washington, Europeans proved highly critical of Bush and what they label his unilateral approach to foreign policy: 85% of Germans, 80% of French, 73% of Britons and 68% of Italians said they believed that the United States is acting in its own interest in the war on terrorism. Philadelphia transplant Susan Steele, head of Forum management company in London, has noticed that many Europeans have started using the phrase "that's American," which is shorthand, Steele says, for "not taking anyone else into consideration."

"People here were truly shocked and horrified by Sept. 11," says Marjorie Thompson, an American who runs the consulting group C3I in London. "But since then, they've come to believe that the United States is using that as an excuse for a unilateral foreign policy, and they're starting to make sweeping anti-American comments."

'Oppressed opinion'

Even British pop star George Michael and tennis pro Martina Navratilova have taken swings at the United States. Last month, Michael declared he was "definitely not anti-American" after receiving criticisms for his new single, Shoot the Dog, which lampooned the relationship between Bush and Blair.

In June, Navratilova, a Czech native who became a U.S. citizen 20 years ago, had to defend herself after writing an article for a German newspaper in which she said that the United States now



Increasingly, it is not just Muslims who resent America.

"oppressed opinion" and that decisions there were based "solely on how much money will come out of it." That the United States is suffering an image problem abroad has become obvious at home. Two weeks ago, the White House announced it would create a permanent Office of Global Communications to enhance America's image around the world. At the same time, the House of Representatives approved spending \$225 million on cultural and information programs abroad, mostly targeting Muslim countries, to correct what Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill., called a "cacophony of hate and misinformation" about the United States.

Meanwhile, the Council on Foreign Relations simultaneously issued a biting report warning the Bush administration that it urgently needs to upgrade its efforts at public diplomacy to counteract the country's "shaky" image abroad.

It called for a range of actions, from increased spending on polling of foreign public opinion and more training of foreign service officers to giving journalists from other countries access to top U.S. government officials. 'Ominous' consequences

The consequences of neglecting such public diplomacy are "ominous," warns Peter Peterson, chairman of the

council and of The Blackstone Group, a New York private investment bank. He says bin Laden has "gleefully exploited" the United States' poor public image.

"Around the world, from Western Europe to the Far East, many see the United States as arrogant, hypocritical, self-absorbed, self-indulgent and contemptuous of others," Peterson says. "This is not a Muslim country issue. It has metastasized to the rest of the world and includes some of our closest European allies."

New Yorker Julia Magnet, a journalist who just moved to London, found that out when she decided to throw a Fourth of July party for British friends. Between grilled sausages and chocolate cake, her friends launched an attack on Bush and the United States. They called Bush a "homicidal maniac" and "stupid" and the United States the "world's biggest terrorist."

Magnet, 22, was forgiving, and she labeled their assault "uninformed" and "ignorant." Nevertheless, she was surprised by the venom in their words. "What I hear from people all the time now is that we're going to go to war with just about everyone and we don't need a coalition to do it," Magnet says.

"It's obvious they are very, very disturbed by the power America now has."

Islam and Human Rights

By Dr. Azzam Tamimi, IIPT

Any talk about human rights must begin with an elucidation of the concept of humanity. A number of fundamental principles define the Islamic concept of humanity.

1. Vicegerency

In Islam, man is God's vicegerent on earth. Humans have been honoured by the Creator and gifted with the faculties of the mind and will-power. Everything else in the universe has been created for the purpose of serving them and achieving their happiness. The Divine honour bestowed on them confers upon them rights that no one else has the right to deny or violate. Humans, in their capacity as vicegerents of their Creator, are expected to defend their God-given rights and struggle for preserving them.

A fundamental difference between the Islamic vision and that of the Western civilisation. It is the difference of maintaining, as opposed to severing, ties with God. The Islamic vision is based on the belief that Divine Revelation has been intended to serve the interest of humanity, and that the most pertinent interest is the administration of justice.

Ibn al-Fahim: The subject matter of Shari'ah-based policy is justice, although no provision in respect of it was revealed. This is so because God has sent His Messengers and revealed His Books in order to administer fairly the affairs of the people. This is the justice on which the heavens and earth are based and according to which if the signs of truth become apparent and its face is revealed, in whatever way possible, then it is there that God's law and religion are to be found.

Ibn As-Salah: Shari'ah-based policy is defined as every measure that directs people nearest to rightness and furthest from corruption, even if such policy was not prescribed by the nor was a revelation made in respect of it. The way that leads to justice is the way of religion.

In contrast, Western political thought is the fruit of rationalist philosophy and the principles of natural law. It is also the product of the grinding wars which took place in the West between reason and religion; between, on the one hand, the struggle for freedom, self-determination and the right to enjoy the goodness of this world on the basis of the centrality of man in the universe and the absolute ability of reason to understand and explain the universe and to organise life, and, on the other, the church and its despotic authority which it exercised for many centuries of darkness, backwardness and oppression. The battle in this conflict was won by reason and science, and as a result the people recovered their rights and rid themselves of the church's control over man's mind and conscience and over the organisation of life. In end, natural law replaced God's revelation as the philosophical basis for legislation.

2. Freedom

Classical Islamic scholars deduced from the Qur'an the golden rule of 'no responsibility without freedom and sanity'.

Freedom contributed in the past to the progress of Muslims who built a great civilisation. It had a considerable impact on the Western civilisation as well. It is believed that through direct contact with the Muslims in the Arab East during the days of the Crusaders, as

well as in Spain and in southern Italy, the Europeans were fascinated by the life style of the Muslims. Compared to their own life style, the Muslims had freedom, dignity and motivation. This influence contributed to the revival of the spirit of rebellion against the theocratic shackles imposed on the mind, conscience and social conduct of Europeans, and thus was the starting point of the Renaissance.

Freedom of faith, and what it entails in terms of freedom of thought and expression, is the basis of freedoms and rights in Islam, because of the great influence belief has on all aspects of individual and collective behaviour. If man does really have the freedom of faith and if compulsion is forbidden, even unimaginable in this zone because of its importance, then compulsion in everything below that is forbidden a fortiori, such as compulsion to marry, to take up a certain profession, to join a group or a party, or to live in a particular country or to leave it. The fundamental element is that man is free and constricting his freedom is an exception which requires a just law.

God-given freedom to man is not supposed to be absolute permissiveness nor is it supposed to be a heedless and spontaneous thrust to fulfil desires. It is primarily a responsibility and a realisation. It is one's responsibility towards one's conscience, Creator and fellow humans. For in addition to bearing within him an aspect of the spirit of God, man has inherent within him desires and ambitions that could lead him to misery and hardship in this life and in the Hereafter if he did not subdue them by means of a Divine guidance. While Islam clearly affirms man's status, freedom and enormous abilities, it underlines his weaknesses. For this purpose, God sent Messengers who urged humans to respond to their Lord's call and who warned them against the repercussions of being tempted to rebel against their Creator under the pretext of asserting their independence. A free man, who is truly God's vicegerent, is he who worships God by contemplating the wonders of His creation in the heavens and the earth and in himself, and who exploits the resources made available to him in this universe, enjoys its bounties and meets the needs of his body, soul and society in a balanced manner without excessiveness.

The legislative implications of the Islamic concept of freedom have been addressed by Islamic jurists throughout the history of jurisprudence to the effect of establishing and refining a legal framework for man's freedom, or 'for his duties.'

Ash-Shatibi (d. 1388) elaborated this framework in his book *Al-Muwafaqat*, which sets out the objective of Shari'ah (Islamic law) as being the realisation of what he called *al-masalih* (pl. of *maslahah*, exigence, requirement or interest). These are a set, or sets, of requirements whose fulfillment is the responsibility of those in charge of the affairs of the Ummah. Ash-Shatibi divided *al-masalih* into three main categories. The first category is comprised of *al-masalih ad-daruriyah* (essential requirements), without which life becomes unbearable or even impossible. Food, shelter and security for instance are *daruriyah* (essential) for the maintenance of life.

Next comes the category known as *al-masalih al-hajiyah* (utilities) whose absence may cause privation but does not jeopardise life, these may include requirements such as education, health and social care, etc.

Next to this category in importance is *al-masalih at-tahsiniyah* (ameliorative) whose realisation imparts splendour and beauty to life, such as recreational facilities.

The idea is that Islam as a religion was revealed for the purpose of guaranteeing and preserving these essentials which constitute the general framework of human rights, including the right to choose a faith, the right to life, the right to education, the right to free expression, the right to have a family and the right to own property.

3. Justice

Justice in Arabic is 'adalah from the root 'adala, which means to be balanced, to engage in acts that are framed by an awareness, born of the pursuit of reason over passion. The opposite of 'adalah is *zulm* (injustice) from the root *zalama*, which means to do wrong or evil, to ill-treat or oppress, to harm or commit an outrage or to *daken*. An Islamic political order is supposed to prohibit all forms of injustice. Not only is injustice considered a grave sin, an atrocious crime and a cause for decline and destruction, but is considered to be an aggression against God Himself. After all, Islam's main mission is the administration of justice and the elimination of all forms of oppression. One of the main tasks of the community of believers is to deter injustice and support the wronged.

Elaboration on the freedom of belief

When the term *dar-ul-Islam* is used it connotes one nationality for those residing in it, Muslims and non-Muslims, and for all of whom the fundamental rights are guaranteed by the Quran, the Sunna and Islamic jurisprudence. These are: equality, which is positive and all comprehensive, regardless of race, ethnic origin, colour, social status or creed; freedom, which encompasses freedom of thought and freedom of belief including the right of non-Muslims in a Muslim state to build churches, temples, monasteries, synagogues, etc.; and freedom of movement and the right to establish schools and religious centers.

Today, when the resurgence of Islam is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon, it is imperative for Muslim leaders to face the rather complex problem of the relation between Muslims and non-Muslims within the Islamic states and in the world at large. He warns that this issue is loaded with fallacies and baseless arguments which have projected Islam as a menace that denies people their basic human rights of freedom, justice and the pursuit of happiness.

Two categories of citizenship in the Islamic state; he calls the first category *muwatana 'amma*, unqualified citizenship, and the second *muwatana khassa*, qualified citizenship.

Although a person who resides in an Islamic state has, irrespective of his or her religion or race, what he calls 'absolute rights to a decent living,' he or she has the freedom to choose between embracing or rejecting the objectives and principles underpinning the state.

When a person chooses to embrace Islam, he or she becomes a Muslim citizen not discriminated from the rest of the Muslim members of the society save for distinctions of personal talent or qualifications. When a person chooses not to embrace Islam, then he or she would have - in order to acquire the right to citizenship - to express loyalty to the state and recognise its legitimacy so that he or she does not engage in any activity that may be construed as threatening to its order.

In the latter case, citizenship is qualified, and such qualification is only lifted when the concerned person embraces Islam. While enjoying full freedom in personal matters, that is matters pertaining to faith, food, drink and marriage, a non-Muslim citizen may still be denied a right enjoyed by a Muslim citizen, that is the right to occupy senior positions in the state - such as the Presidency - that may be considered of significant bearing on the identity of the state.

Scholars and thinkers, both classical and modern, continue to disagree, except with regard to the position of head of state, on which senior positions, or which functions, are denied to non-Muslim citizens in an Islamic state.

Most modern thinkers are of the opinion that *dhimmis* have the right to participate in elections at all levels and may be nominated for any position apart from that of the head of state, and may therefore be members of nationally or locally elected councils.

A modern Sudanese *ijtihad* which grants Christian-majority provinces in Sudan the right to opt for a legal system other than Shari'ah in order to organise their affairs.

Nowhere in the past or the present 'do we know of a state whose constitution is void of certain restrictions the purpose of which is to safeguard the state, or to protect the freedom of citizens or the right of the majority to impart on public life a colour of their own choice.

Riddah

Any discussion of the freedom of faith in Islam must raise the question of *riddah* (apostasy).

The classical definition of *riddah* is 'the voluntary and conscious reversion to *kufr* (disbelief) after having embraced Islam by denying any of its fundamentals in matters of 'aqidah (faith), Shari'ah (law) or *sha'irah* (rite), such as the denial of Deity or Prophethood, or the licensing of prohibitions or the negation of obligations.'

There are two Muslim schools of jurisprudence on the matter. The first school, to which most classical jurists belonged, considers *riddah* a religious offence punishable by death. The second considers *riddah* a political offence that has nothing to do with 'the



America's dealings with the Afgan prisoners has sparked fierce debates over double-standards

Islamic guarantee of a person's right to freedom of faith.' So, *riddah* in this case is not apostasy but sedition, an act of mutiny or treason, that is punishable within the framework of the authority's responsibility for preserving the community and maintaining law and order.

Elaboration on Economic and Social Rights

While the right of an individual to own property is guaranteed in Islam, this is not considered a natural right, as in international conventions or declarations, because in the end every thing belongs to God. Therefore, all that pertains to ownership, such as the methods of acquiring and disposing of property, should take place in accordance with the rules of Shari'a.

Not only is an individual's right to ownership guaranteed, but it has an important role to play. Power is distributed among the members of society by virtue of their shared ownership of the resources. This impacts on political freedom and *shura*, which he discusses later in the book, a social import. So, in the Islamic model the aim is to make ownership accessible to almost every member of the community.

Islam provides broad guidelines to guarantee the equitable distribution of wealth. These include the prohibition of usury, monopoly, extravagance, etc. and the imposition of *Zakat*. However, the challenge facing the Muslims in modern times is to envisage how such principles can be translated into modern Islamic economics.

Social rights are taken to mean the needs of an individual in his livelihood of social and health-care. The most important social rights stipulated by modern constitutions in the West are the right to work, the right for medical-care, and the right to social security. Some contemporary Islamic thinkers have sought to root these rights in the teachings of Islam. Some have even claimed that whereas such rights have not been of interest to Western constitutions and human rights declarations until 'recently,' and only as a reaction to pressure from 'socialist theories' and trade unions and to banish the ghost of the Marxist revolution, they are well-established in the Islamic conception. Examples are usually quoted from the era of the Prophet and the Rightly Guided Caliphs.

Gujarat After the Massacres

Harsh Mander, *The Milli Gazette*

Numbed with disgust and horror, I return from Gujarat ten days after the terror and massacre that convulsed the state. My heart is sickened, my soul wearied, my shoulders aching with the burdens of guilt and shame.

As you walk through the camps of riot survivors in Ahmadabad, in which an estimated 53,000 women, men, and children are huddled in 29 temporary settlements, displays of overt grief are unusual. People clutch small bundles of relief materials, all that they now own in the world, with dry and glassy eyes. Some talk in low voices, others busy themselves with the tasks of everyday living in these most basic of shelters, looking for food and milk for children, tending the wounds of the injured.

But once you sit anywhere in these camps, people begin to speak and their words are like masses of pus released by slitting large festering wounds.

The horrors that they speak of are so macabre, that my pen falters in writing. The pitiless brutality against women and small children by organised bands of armed young men is more savage than anything witnessed in the riots that have shamed this nation from time to time during the past century.

I force myself to write a small fraction of all that I heard and saw, because it is important that we all know. Or maybe also because I need to share my own burdens.

What can you say about a woman eight months pregnant who begged to be spared? Her assailants instead slit open her stomach, pulled out her foetus and slaughtered it before her eyes. What can you say about a family of nineteen being killed by flooding their house with water and then electrocuting them with high-tension electricity? What can you say? A small boy of six in Juhapara camp described how his mother and six brothers and sisters were battered to death before his eyes. He survived only because he fell unconscious, and was taken for dead.

A family escaping from Naroda-Patiya, one of the worst-hit settlements in Ahmadabad, spoke of losing a young woman and her three month old son, because a police constable directed her to 'safety' and she found herself instead surrounded by a mob which doused her with kerosene and set her and her baby on fire.

I have never known a riot, which has used the sexual subjugation of women so widely as an instrument of violence in

the recent mass barbarity in Gujarat.

There are reports every where of gang-rape, of young girls and women, often in the presence of members of their families, followed by their murder by burning alive, or by bludgeoning with a hammer and in one case with a screw driver.

Women in the Aman Chowk shelter told appalling stories about how armed men disrobed themselves in front of a group of terrified women to cover them down further.

In Ahmadabad, most people I met - social workers, journalists, survivors agree that what Gujarat witnessed was not a riot, but a terrorist attack followed by a systematic, planned massacre, a pogrom. Everyone spoke of the pillage and plunder, being organised like a military operation against an external armed enemy. An initial truck would arrive broadcasting inflammatory slogans, soon followed by more trucks, which disgorged young men, mostly in khaki shorts and saffron sashes.

They were armed with sophisticated explosive materials, country weapons, daggers and trishuls. They also carried water bottles, to sustain them in their exertions. The leaders were seen communicating on mobile telephones from the riot venues, receiving instructions from and reporting back to a co-ordinating centre. Some were seen with documents and computer sheets listing Muslim families and their properties. They had detailed precise knowledge about buildings and businesses held by members of the minority community, such as who were partners say in a restaurant business, or which Muslim homes had Hindu spouses were married who should be spared in the violence. This was not a spontaneous upsurge of mass anger. It was a carefully planned pogrom.

The trucks carried quantities of gas cylinders. Rich Muslim homes and business establishments were first systematically looted, stripped down of all their valuables, then cooking gas was released from cylinders into the buildings for several minutes. A trained member of the group then lit the flame, which efficiently engulfed the building. In some cases, acetylene gas, which is used for welding steel, was employed to explode large concrete buildings. Mosques and dargahs were razed, and were replaced by statues of Hanuman and saffron flags. Some dargahs in Ahmadabad city crossings have

overnight been demolished and their sites covered with road building material, and bulldozed so efficiently that these spots are indistinguishable from the rest of the road. Traffic now plies over these former dargahs, as though they never existed.

The unconscionable failures and active connivance of the state police and administrative machinery is also now widely acknowledged. The police are known to have misguided people straight into the hands of rioting mobs. They provided protective shields to crowds bent on pillage, arson, rape and murder, and were deaf to the pleas of the desperate Muslim victims, many of them women and children. There have been many reports of police firing directly mostly at the minority community, which was the target of most of the mob violence. The large majority of arrests are also from the same community, which was the main victim of the pogrom.

As one who has served in the Indian Administrative Service for over two decades, I feel great shame at the abdication of duty of my peers in the civil and police administration. The law did not require any of them to await orders from their political supervisors before they organised the decisive use of force to prevent the brutal escalation of violence, and to protect vulnerable women and children from the organised, murderous mobs. The law instead required them to act independently, fearlessly, impartially, decisively, with courage and compassion. If even one official had so acted in Ahmadabad, she or he could have deployed the police forces and called in the army to halt the violence and protect the people in a matter of hours. No riot can continue beyond a few hours without the active connivance of the local police and magistracy. The blood of hundreds of innocents is on the hands of the police and civil authorities of Gujarat, and by sharing in a conspiracy of silence, on the entire higher bureaucracy of the country.

I have heard senior officials blame also the communalism of the police constabulary for their connivance in the violence. This too is a thin and disgraceful alibi. The same forces have been known to act with impartiality and courage when led by officers of professionalism and integrity. The failure is clearly of the leadership of the police and civil services, not of the



The suffering has been unbearable for many.

subordinate men and women in khaki who are trained to obey their orders.

Where also, amidst this savagery, injustice, and human suffering is the 'civil society', the Gandhians, the development workers, the NGOs, the fabled spontaneous Gujarathi philanthropy which was so much in evidence in the earthquake in Kutch and Ahmadabad? The newspapers reported that at the peak of the pogrom, the gates of Sabarmati Ashram were closed to protect its properties; it should instead have been the city's major sanctuary. Which Gandhian leaders, or NGO managers, staked their lives to halt the death-dealing throngs? It is one more shame that we as citizens of this country must carry on our already burdened backs that the camps for the Muslim riot victims in Ahmadabad are being run almost exclusively by Muslim organisations. It is as though the monumental pain, loss, betrayal and injustice suffered by the Muslim people are the concern only of other Muslim people, and the rest of us have no share in the responsibility to assuage, to heal and rebuild. The state, which bears the primary responsibility to extend both protection and relief to its vulnerable citizens, was nowhere in evidence in any of the camps, to manage, organise the security, or even to provide the resources that are required to feed the tens of thousands of defenseless women, men and children huddled in these camps for safety.

The only passing moments of pride and hope that I experienced in Gujarat, were when I saw men like Mujid Ahmed and women like Roshan Bahen who served in these camps with tireless, dogged humanism amidst the ruins around them.

In the Aman Chowk camp, women blessed the young band of volunteers who worked from four in the morning until after midnight to ensure that none of their children went without food or milk, or that their wounds remained untended. Their leader Mujid Ahmed is a graduate, his small chemical dyes factory has been burnt down, but he has

had no time to worry about his own loss. Each day he has to find 1600 kilograms of food grain to feed some 5000 people who have taken shelter in the camp. The challenge is even greater for Roshan Bahen, almost 60, who wipes her eyes each time she hears the stories of horror by the residents in Juapara camp. But she too has no time for the luxuries of grief or anger. She barely sleeps, as her volunteers, mainly working class Muslim women and men from the humble tenements around the camp, provide temporary toilets, food and solace to the hundreds who have gathered in the grounds of a primary school to escape the ferocity of merciless mobs.

As I walked through the camps, I wondered what Gandhiji would have done in these dark hours. I recall the story of the Calcutta riots, when Gandhi was fasting for peace. A Hindu man came to him, to speak of his young boy who had been killed by Muslim mobs, and of the depth of his anger and longing for revenge. And Gandhi is said to have replied: If you really wish to overcome your pain, find a young boy, just as young as your son, a Muslim boy whose parents have been killed by Hindu mobs. Bring up that boy like you would your own son, but bring him up with the Muslim faith to which he was born. Only then will you find that you can heal your pain, your anger, and your longing for retribution. There are no voices like Gandhi's that we hear today. Only discourses on Newtonian physics, to justify vengeance on innocents. We need to find these voices within our own hearts; we need to believe enough in justice, love, and tolerance.

There is much that the murdering mobs in Gujarat have robbed from me. One of them is a song I often sang with pride and conviction. The words of the song are: Sare jahan se achha, Hindustan hamara (our India is better than the whole world) It is a song I will never be able to sing again.

Harsh Mander is a serving IAS officer, who is working on deputation with a development organisation

Muslim Association

Historical Roots and Background

In the 6th century, when the world swung between life and death and there was none it could turn to for help, a man was born who would give humanity a fresh lease of life. The leadership of the Prophet Muhammed (peace and blessings be upon him) saw the placing of human welfare under the laws of Divine Revelation and the restoration of justice and peace in the world began its epic journey. Never had the world seen so balanced and just a system, never had it witnessed such ethical behaviour and such a harmonic blend of spiritual and material prosperity.

Why is it then that we do not see this wonderful system in place in the world now? Where are the traders that don't tip the scales in their own favour, where are the just rulers and the moral citizens?

The heart of the 19th century and the onslaught of colonialism and imperialism had begun to take its toll. People had strayed so far from the message of Islam, drowning in a sea of desires and material gains. No longer was Islam the ideal in the mind of the Muslim, rather, it was shunned to the side of the road, to make way for what the world was calling 'progress'. The leadership of the Muslims was crumbling, the masses disillusioned and disunited.

And just as all seemed lost, the phoenix began to rise from the ashes. People who would call people back to the true teachings of Islam: liberation of the mind and soul; strengthening of body and character; a spirit of sacrifice and brotherhood. Individuals and groups were calling to a religion which far surpassed Western ideas of progress, to a comprehensive system of living which is dynamic and pragmatic. A way of life which is constructive and practical, which rejects notions of selfish individualism and encourages people to live as one, unified under the banner of 'there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah'.

Of these individuals who came to revive the message of Islam were Uthman dan Fodio of Western Africa; who brought under the justice of Islam, much of Nigeria and other surrounding countries. For peoples warring against each other, unsettled by lack of strong leadership, Islam was to be the solution to many of their problems.

The secularisation of Egypt was at its height in the 19th century. Religion was being increasingly confined to the mosques and Islamic university. The political arena was becoming devoid of any Islamic influence and all attention was directed towards the material prosperity of the country. Many figures such as Muhammad Abduh started calling back towards the message of Islam. However none can compare to the pioneering work of Imam ash-Shaheed Hasan al Banna.

The ultimate collapse of the Khilafah in 1924 left the Muslim Ummah with no figurehead or leadership, left to blow in the wind like autumn leaves, aimless and undirected. For this process of unification, of reviving the blessed way of life, he founded the 'Ikhwan al Muslimoon' or

'Muslim Brotherhood' whose teachings to this day, inspire people the world over.

His vision was clear and directed, focusing on the priorities of the Ummah and the spread of Islam as a comprehensive and balanced system, making it the blood that runs in the veins of the people, a spirit that runs into society and enlivens it with Qur'an. It was groups such as this that attempted to tackle much wider problems such as the occupation of Palestine. Little could be, or can be said of Arab leaders. However these movements were made up of the masses, united by a single message.

After him came characters such as Sayyid Qutb and Zainab al Ghazali, Shaikh Yusuf al Qaradawi and Shaikh Rashed al-Ghanouchi, standing at the forefront of Islamic teaching and revival.

In the Indian subcontinent, with the imposition of the British Raj coupled with the general stagnation of Islam within the masses, figures such as Shah Waliullah of the 18th century, Shah Abdul Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad Bareli stressed a return to the authentic texts of Islam.

In the 20th century, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, a famous politician and poet, began changing the mood of the Muslim subcontinent, redirecting its efforts towards Islam. His works inspired many to carry forward the burning flame of Islam.

In the same period arose another revolutionary scholar who would later set in motion the largest Muslim reformation party in the Indian subcontinent: Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi and the Jamaat-e-Islami.

His efforts were at the peak of Islamic intellectualism, calling for the widespread implementation of Islam as a way of life; no longer to be sidelined as merely a 'religion'. Until today, the Jamaat-e-Islami continues to work for the establishment of a society governed by Allah's laws. Throughout Mawdudi's life, much like al-Banna and other revivalists, he was thrown into prison and rejected by many, and yet his firm resoluteness never failed to impress all.

Islam came in large numbers to the West in the 1950s and 1960s. Many had planned to return home, but it was never destined for them. Muslims had found for themselves a new home. Living as a minority brings new problems, and to counter the negative effects of this, figures such as Ustadh Khurram Murad in the UK and others set about reviving the universal way of Islam. Inspiring and motivating the youth and bringing back Islam as a way of life that benefits all, were his and his inspired followers' aims.

The legacy continuing, the flame still burning strong; struggle and revival of Islam will remain as long as there are people there to carry its torch. One question remains: will you be among those who pick up the banner, who struggle for truth, real freedom and justice?

The Organisation

The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) was established in 1997, as an institution that attempts to fill in the gap in terms of Islamic dawah work in Britain where the call for a comprehensive Islam that encompasses all aspects of life is lacking. MAB tries to implement this through wisdom and good preaching.

Listed below are some of the aims and objectives of MAB:

1. To spread the teachings and culture of Islam, instil the Islamic principles in the hearts of Muslim community and enhance the good morals within the British society
2. To assist the Muslim community in maintaining its integrity and foster in

them good Islamic conduct like worship of Allah, education and social relation especially ties of kinship.

3. Education and character building for the MAB members according to its syllabus.

4. Make Muslims aware of their duties towards the society, within which they are living, and towards their duty of being witnesses on mankind.

5. To promote an active role for the Muslim community in helping to solve the different problems of this society (like crime, drugs, unemployment, families' disintegration, etc.).

6. To assist in the endeavours being exerted towards protecting human rights in general and Muslims in

particular.

7. To establish a relationship of cooperation and coordination with the other institutions and organizations in any activity which does not contradict with the aims and objectives of MAB.

8. To broaden the scope of dialogue between the different cultures and faiths in order to serve society and humanity.

9. To improve the relationship between the Muslim community and the British institutions on the one hand, and the Muslim world on the other so that their social, economic and political relationships shall be revived on sound basis.

10. To support just causes and take advantage for this of technology, constructive education, and the good morals of society.

MAB Branches Around the UK

MAB currently has 12 branches around the UK, shown in the map opposite. If you are interested in learning more about MAB, or getting involved in our activities, you are encouraged to contact your local MAB branch. Contact details are as follows:

London

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Sheffield

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of Britain

MAB Activities and Events

The Muslim Association of Britain organises a whole host of events to cater for the Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Public activities include conferences, large camps, seminars, exhibitions, as well as regular open circles, night prayers, talks, as well as demonstrations and pickets.

For its members, MAB organises all the training they need in both Islamic and personal development spheres. Regular intensive training camps, and weekly meetings, along side national gatherings facilitate membership needs.

Other family activities, including barbeques and days out have proven popular, providing a halal alternative for families wishing to spend time having fun.



**Look out for
the MAB
Easter Camp**

Call 07961 413 659

Coming Soon:
**MAB
Winter Camp
2002**
Invited Speaker:
Imam Anwar Al-Awlaqi

You have before you a unique opportunity. The history of the Muslim Ummah is connected directly to Allah. It has not been left to chart its own random course. At all times and in all areas our Creator has raised ordinary men and women and transformed them into extraordinary personalities to lead the Ummah out of its pitiful state into honour and strength. Once again, when it appeared that the flame of Islam would be extinguished for good, the process of revival is underway. Already thousands have joined this struggle in the lands under oppression and tyranny. You have now a choice to become part of this struggle. The train has stopped at your station and soon it will depart. You can choose to get on board or watch it move on. If you decide to join the train, the ride will be tough and demanding, but more exhilarating and rewarding than anything else in this life.

For details call 07961 312 751
Register interest at mabcamp@mail.com

The Campaign So Far

The issue of Palestine has been one which has enjoyed significant media coverage and political debate around the world. This coverage has obviously varied according to the orientation of the respective circles, but has nonetheless brought the debate on Palestine and the Middle East to the fore of everyone's attention, which in itself is an achievement should Muslims utilize this opportunity. The fact that an extremely significant portion of the British public became affected by the scenes which they witnessed through TV cameras, put the ball in the Muslims' court. MAB felt that it was time to act in order to achieve several aims:

1. To heighten awareness amongst the British public regarding the issue of Palestine and the Zionist agenda in general.
2. To invest in the already rife debate on Islam, Muslims and related issues, in a manner which would benefit the view promoted by Muslims.
3. To assist as much as possible the people of Palestine through promoting their cause and highlighting their noble struggle against occupation
4. To bring together Muslim organisations and associations for a common cause and to establish a

platform from which these establishments can move forward to promoting Muslim issues inside the UK as well as internationally.

5. To prove to political circles that Muslims can be mobilized into becoming an influential block in any future elections or the such. MAB felt that it had a role to play in showing that Muslims can have political weight representative of their size, estimated at 2.5 million.

6. Creating an alliance between Muslim and non-Muslim organizations over issues of common interest, in order to highlight these issues as humanitarian, rather than of sole concern of Muslims. Such an alliance would also go far in portraying the general public that such issues are worthy of their support and consideration.

April 13th

MAB, supported by several Muslim and non-Muslim organizations, called for a rally in the aftermath of the Jenin atrocity. This demonstration, became a turning point in the history of the Muslim community in the UK, as more than 125,000, mostly Muslims, converged on Central London and took part in a peaceful march, which even the Metropolitan Police commended and

praised for its orderly and well-organised procession.

Witnessing this turn in events, and despite poor and even biased media coverage, MAB became the focus of media sources and political circles.

May 18th

Palestine Solidarity Campaign, whom had been a major supporter of the April March had previously called for a demonstration to commemorate the 54th anniversary of the Palestinian 'Nakba'. Following the resounding success of its function a month earlier, PSC approached MAB requesting that it co-organises this rally. Around 50,000 demonstrators attended the march and once again, it was seen as a major success in terms of organization, speeches delivered, peaceful and order procession, as well as in terms of the participation of a significantly larger proportion of non-Muslims.

September 28th

Obviously, this segment of the campaign was given intense attention from all corners of society. This attention and interest was raised further following the decision of Stop The War Coalition to join hands with MAB on this day. The date marks the second anniversary of the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

The Muslim Council of Britain Working for a vibrant community in a stable Britain

The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) is an open and inclusive body that represents the interests of all Muslims in Britain and is pledged to work for the common good of society as a whole. It was founded in November 1997 after extensive, nation-wide consultation.

The MCB is a body that is made up of major national, regional and local organisations and institutions - from the south of England to the north of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. It includes mosques, education and charitable bodies, cultural and professional bodies, relief agencies and women and youth groups. It encompasses the diverse range of linguistic and geographical cultures that make up the mosaic of the British Muslim community. It also thrives on the special skills, talents and resources of individuals throughout the country.

The MCB is a body that has been built on consultation, co-operation and co-ordination among Muslim institutions and concerned Muslims throughout Britain over a long period of time. In the few years since its inception, it has achieved much at many levels of society and government for the benefit of the Muslim community at a critical time in its development. It has done so

through the grace of God and the goodwill, the enthusiasm and the voluntary work of many.

The MCB seeks to meet the growing needs and expectations of the Muslim community. These are in such areas as: policy research and strategic planning, the needs of youth and families, identifying major social problems and campaigning, upgrading facilities in the community, encouraging participation in local and national affairs, the media, and outreach to the wider society. The MCB needs enormous resources and support if it is to meet these growing needs and expectations of the community.

The MCB has a Constitution and a structure that makes for full participation and accountability. It functions through the work of several committees. There is always scope for participating in on-going work or for embarking on fresh initiatives. The MCB sees itself very much as a forward-looking enterprise.

(For a list of affiliates, committees, contacts and other MCB information, visit the MCB website - <http://www.mcb.org.uk> - or write to The Muslim Council of Britain, P O Box 52, Wembley, Middlesex, HA9 0XW.)

The Quest for Sanity: Reflections on September 11 and the Aftermath is the first book of its kind from a Muslim perspective and should have an enduring appeal, beyond September 11. It is located in the present but also tries to focus on the future.

Through moving personal accounts and reflections, the book evokes the range of human emotions and responses to the atrocities of September 11, and the further acts of baseness being carried out in the aftermath. It also reaffirms, through the statements of Muslim scholars world-wide, Islam's total condemnation of terrorism whether its perpetrators are individuals, groups, or governments.

The book exposes how September 11 has since been used as cover for the US-led 'war on terror' and global mayhem with little respect for human life, national sovereignty and the rule of law; It documents and analyses the rise of Islamophobia in Britain and European countries with harrowing accounts of human rights and civil rights violations in the United States, Britain and elsewhere.

The Quest for Sanity presents Islamic ideals and values in a clear and forthright manner and debunks many myths and misrepresentations about the Qur'an and the Prophet of Mercy. It argues that the authentic teachings of Islam, with its firm points of reference, has an indispensable message for our world in these perilous times.

*The
Quest
for
Sanity*

REFLECTIONS ON SEPTEMBER 11
AND THE AFTERMATH

MCB

The Quest for Sanity - Reflections on September 11 and the Aftermath, The Muslim Council of Britain, 288 pages, London, 2002. RRP £12.75.

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Mosques, organisations, institutions, or individuals can order a box containing 30 copies of *The Quest for Sanity* for the discounted price of £250.00 per box. They may distribute these freely or resell copies at the retail price of £12.75.

MCB, P O Box 52, Wembley Middlesex, HA9 0XW

What Sanctions Have Done

According to the UN

Iraq has experienced a shift from relative affluence to massive poverty. In marked contrast to the prevailing situation prior to the events of 1990-91, the infant mortality rates in Iraq today are among the highest in the world, low infant birth weight affects at least



The sanctions and effects of depleted uranium have been devastating for Iraqi children.

23% of all births, chronic malnutrition affects every fourth child under five years of age, only 41% of the population have regular access to clean water, 83% of all schools need substantial repairs. The ICRC states that the Iraqi health-care system is today in a decrepit state. UNDP calculates that it would take 7 billion US dollars to rehabilitate the power sector country-wide to its 1990 capacity." -- UN Report on the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq, submitted to the Security Council, March 1999

"The humanitarian situation in Iraq will continue to be a dire one in the absence of a sustained revival of the Iraqi economy, which in turn cannot be achieved solely through remedial humanitarian efforts." -- UN Report on the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq, submitted to the Security Council, March 1999

"The increase in mortality reported in public hospitals for children under five years of age (an excess of some 40,000 deaths yearly compared with 1989) is mainly due to diarrhea, pneumonia and malnutrition. In those over five years of age, the increase (an excess of some 50,000 deaths yearly compared with 1989) is associated with heart disease, hypertension, diabetes, cancer, liver or kidney diseases." Approximately 250 people die every day in Iraq due to the effect of the sanctions. -- UNICEF, April 1998

"The Oil-for-Food plan has not yet resulted in adequate protection of Iraq's children from malnutrition/disease. Those children spared from death continue to remain deprived of essential rights addressed in the Convention of Rights of the Child." -- UNICEF, April 1998

"32 percent of children under five, some 960,000 children are chronically malnourished - a rise of 72 percent since 1991. Almost one quarter (23%) are underweight - twice as high as the levels found in neighboring Jordan or Turkey." -- UNICEF, November 1997.

"There is no sign of any improvement since Security Council Resolution 986/1111 ["Oil for Food"] came into force." -- UNICEF, November 1997.

"One out of every 4 Iraqi infants is malnourished. ? Chronic malnutrition among children under five has reached 27.5%. After a child reaches two or three years of age, chronic malnutrition is difficult to reverse and damage on the

child's development is likely to be permanent." -- UNICEF and World Food Programme (WFP), May 1997

"Iraq's health system is close to collapse because medicines and other life-saving supplies scheduled for importation under the 'oil-for-food' deal have not arrived. ? Government drug warehouses and pharmacies have few stocks of medicines and medical supplies. The consequences of this situation are causing a near-breakdown of the health care system, which is reeling under the pressure of being deprived of medicine, other basic supplies and spare parts." World Health Organizations (WHO), February 1997.

"4,500 children under the age of 5 are dying each month from hunger and disease. ? The situation is disastrous for children. Many are living on the very margin of survival." -- UNICEF, October 1996.

"Since the onset of sanctions, there has been a six-fold increase in the mortality rate for children under five and the majority of the country's population has been on a semi-starvation diet." -- WHO, March 1996.

"Famine threatens four million people in sanctions-hit Iraq - one fifth of the population - following a poor grain harvest...The human situation is deteriorating. Living conditions are precarious and are at pre-famine level for at least four million people. ? The deterioration in nutritional status of children is reflected in the significant increase of child mortality, which has risen nearly fivefold since 1990." -- UN FAO, September 1995.

"Alarming food shortages are causing irreparable damage to an entire generation of Iraqi children". -- UN FAO and WFP, September 1995.

"Sanctions are inhibiting the importation of spare parts, chemicals, reagents, and the means of transportation required to provide water and sanitation services to the civilian population of Iraq. ? What has become increasingly clear is that no significant movement towards food security can be achieved so long as the embargo remains in place. All vital contributors to food availability - agricultural production, importation of foodstuffs, economic stability and income generation, are dependent on Iraq's ability to purchase and import those items vital to the survival of the civilian population." -- UNICEF, 1995

What If Anything, Does Iraq Have to Hide?

By Scott Ritter, 30th July 2002, Newsday

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), has announced that he plans to hold hearings on Iraq starting tomorrow.

Given Sen. Biden's open embrace of regime removal in Baghdad, there is a real risk that any such hearings may devolve into a political cover for the passing of a congressional resolution authorizing the Bush administration to wage war on Iraq. Such hearings would represent a travesty for the American people.

Sen. Biden would do well to focus his attention on the case for war against Iraq. Discussion should ensue on both Iraq's potential and, more importantly, known weapons of mass destruction capability.

On Sept. 3, 1998, I provided detailed testimony before a joint hearing of the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees concerning the circumstances of my resignation as a chief inspector of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). The testimony also dealt with Iraq's obligation to be disarmed of its proscribed weapons of mass destruction capability in accordance with relevant Security Council resolutions. In the nearly four years that have passed, much has been made of this presentation, especially by those who seek to use my words to reinforce the current case for war against Iraq.

My testimony was an accurate, balanced assessment in full keeping with the facts available. As of September, 1998, Iraq had not been fully disarmed. UNSCOM was pursuing important investigatory leads concerning (among others) Iraq's VX nerve-agent program, disposition of biological bombs and warheads, and ongoing procurement activity in the field of ballistic missiles with potential application for use in systems with a range greater than the permitted 150 kilometers.

Iraqi obstruction prevented UNSCOM from fully discharging its mandated tasks. We could account for 90 percent to 95 percent of Iraq's proscribed weaponry, versus the 100 percent required by the Security Council. Based upon an assessment of intelligence information available to UNSCOM, once inspection activity had ceased in Iraq, the government of Saddam Hussein could be in a position to resume aspects of his mass weapons programs within a period of six months. While most of this would be related to organizational realignment of dispersed capability, some small-scale weapons production capacity could potentially be reconstituted.

The potential for Iraq to restart its programs, however, did not, and does not today, mean that such reconstitution would be inevitable. The danger in the collapse of the weapons-inspection



Does Iraq still possess weapons of mass destruction? Proof is shortcoming.

program lay in the elimination of a major obstacle to any such decision being made by Baghdad, as well as the means to detect any related actions. As such, I spent a great deal of my testimony speaking of the need to maintain a robust regime of inspections that objectively implemented the mandate of the Security Council.

While much attention has been given lately to my discussion of the potential threat posed by Iraq, little has been made of what I then considered to be the main crux of the issue: the collapse of the UNSCOM inspection regime, and the absolute need to get UN weapons inspectors back to work in Iraq. The current war-like posturing of the United States towards Iraq, centered on unsubstantiated speculation about the grave and imminent risk posed by Iraq's current alleged weapons of mass destruction capabilities, makes the issue of inspections as relevant today as they were in 1998.

In 1998, I told the Senate that UNSCOM had a job to do and we expected to be able to carry it out in accordance within the framework of relevant Security Council resolutions. I emphasized the danger of entering into inspection activity that lacked any compelling arms control reason, noting that in doing so we would be heading down a slippery slope of confrontation that was not backed by our mandate. I pointed out the importance of the United States keeping commitments made to the Security Council. This meant not only holding Iraq accountable for its actions, but also preserving the integrity of the overall inspection operation so that any potential issue of confrontation would be about Iraq's non-compliance, versus issues not expressly covered by the mandate of the Council. I reiterated again and again the harm done to the inspection process by the continued interference by the United States.

Unfortunately my warnings were not heeded. In December, 1998, continued manipulation of the

UNSCOM inspection process by the United States led to a fabricated crisis that had nothing to do with legitimate disarmament. This crisis led to the United States ordering UNSCOM inspectors out of Iraq two days before the start of Operation Desert Fox, a 72-hour bombing campaign executed by the United States and Great Britain that lacked Security Council authority. Worse, the majority of the targets bombed were derived from the unique access the UNSCOM inspectors had enjoyed in Iraq, and had more to do with the security of Saddam Hussein than weapons of mass destruction. Largely because of this, Iraq has to date refused to allow inspectors back to work. The ensuing uncertainty has created an atmosphere that teeters on the brink of war.

Through his proposed hearings, Sen. Biden has an historic opportunity to serve the greater good of the United States. If a substantiated case can be made that Iraq possesses actual weapons of mass destruction, then the debate is over - the justification for war is clear. But, to date the Bush administration has been unable - or unwilling - to back up its rhetoric concerning the Iraqi threat with any substantive facts.

For Sen. Biden's Iraq hearings to be anything more than a political sham used to invoke a modern-day Gulf of Tonkin resolution-equivalent for Iraq, his committee will need to ask hard questions - and demand hard facts - concerning the real nature of the weapons threat posed by Iraq. Void of that, it is impossible to speak of Iraq as a grave and imminent risk to American national security worthy of war. Therefore, it is imperative that the Senate discuss means other than war for dealing with this situation - including the need to resume UN-led weapons inspections in Iraq.

Scott Ritter, a former UN weapons inspector, is author of "Endgame: Solving the Iraq Problem, Once and For All."

“Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, mostly children, have died as a consequence of an American and British riven embargo on Iraq that resembles a medieval siege.”

**Continued from
back page**

caution.” The second is that Blair has a “dossier of detailed evidence” that “proves” that Saddam Hussein has “a nuclear capability” and is “investigating a way to launch unsophisticated nuclear bombs” and is also building chemical and biological weapons.

The fiction of Blair as a steady hand on his Texas buddy is to be read in Blair’s unrelenting bellicose statements, and his attempts, against the wishes of his senior military advisers, to send thousands of British troops into the quagmire of Afghanistan, where his “cautionary influence” on Bush saw as many as 5,000 civilians bombed to death while the Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders got away.

While remaining silent on Israel, Blair is alone in Europe in his promotion of an attack on Iraq, a nation of 22 million people with whom the British have no quarrel. Mysteriously, the “dossier of proof” of the dangers posed by the Iraqi regime has now been “shelved.” This is because no such proof exists and because, suddenly, more than 130 Labour Members of Parliament are in revolt, including Cabinet and former Cabinet members. It must be dawning on many of them that so much of this government’s “spin” during the “war on terrorism” has been a farrago of lies and half-truths provided by an American intelligence apparatus seeking to cover its failure to provide warning of the attacks of September 11.

Lie Number One is the justification for an attack on Iraq – the threat of its “weapons of mass destruction.” Few countries have had 93 per cent of their major weapons capability destroyed. This was reported by Rolf Ekeus, the chairman of the United Nations body authorised to inspect and destroy Iraq’s arsenal following the Gulf War in 1991. UN inspectors certified that 817 out of the 819 Iraqi long-range missiles were destroyed. In 1999, a special panel of the Security Council recorded that Iraq’s main biological weapons facilities (supplied originally by the US and Britain) “have been destroyed and rendered harmless.”

As for Saddam Hussein’s “nuclear threat”, the International Atomic Energy Agency reported that Iraq’s nuclear weapons programme had been eliminated “efficiently and effectively”. The IAEA inspectors still travel to Iraq and in January reported full Iraqi compliance. Blair and Bush never mention this when they demand that “the weapons inspectors are allowed back”. Nor do they remind us that the UN inspectors were never expelled by the Iraqis, but withdrawn only after it was revealed they had been infiltrated by US intelligence.

Lie Number Two is the connection between Iraq and the perpetrators of September 11. There was the rumour that Mohammed Atta, one of the September 11 hijackers, had met an Iraqi intelligence official in the Czech Republic last year. The Czech police say he was not even in the country last year. On February 5, a New York Times investigation concluded: “The Central Intelligence Agency has no evidence that Iraq has engaged in terrorist operations against the United States in nearly a decade, and the agency is convinced that Saddam Hussein has not provided chemical or biological weapons to al-Qaeda or related terrorist groups.”

Lie Number Three is that Saddam Hussein, not the US and Britain, “is blocking humanitarian supplies from reaching the people of Iraq.” (Foreign Office minister Peter Hain). The opposite is true. The United States, with British compliance, is currently blocking a record \$5 billion worth of humanitarian supplies from the people of Iraq. These are shipments already approved by the UN Office of Iraq, which is authorised by the Security Council. They include life-saving drugs, painkillers, vaccines, cancer diagnostic equipment.

This wanton denial is rarely reported in Britain. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, mostly children, have died as a consequence of an American and British riven embargo on Iraq that resembles a medieval siege. The embargo allows Iraq less than £100 with which to feed and care for one person for a whole year. This a major factor, says the United Nations’ Children’s Fund, in the death of more

than 600,000 infants.

I have seen the appalling state of the children of Iraq. I have sat next to an Iraqi doctor in a modern hospital while she has turned away parents with children suffering from cancers that are part of what they call a “Hiroshima epidemic” – caused, according to several studies, by the depleted uranium that was used by the US and Britain in the Gulf War and is now carried in the dust of the desert. Not only is Iraq denied equipment to clean up its contaminated battlefields, but also cancer drugs and hospital equipment.

I showed a list of barred drugs given to me by Iraqi doctors to Professor Karol Sikora, who as chief of the cancer programme of the World Health Organisation, wrote in the British Medical Journal: “Requested radiotherapy equipment, chemotherapy drugs and analgesics are consistently blocked by United States and British advisers (to the UN Sanctions Committee). There seems to be a rather ludicrous notion that such agents could be converted into chemical and other weapons.” He told me: “Nearly all these drugs are available in every British hospital. It seems crazy they couldn’t have morphine. When I was in Iraq, in one hospital they had a little bottle of aspirin pills to go around 200 patients in pain.” No one doubts that if the murderous Saddam Hussein saw advantage in deliberately denying his people humanitarian supplies, he would do so; but the UN, from the Secretary General himself, has said that, while the regime could do more, it has not withheld supplies.

Denis Halliday, the assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, resigned in protest at the embargo which he described as “genocidal”. Halliday was responsible for the UN’s humanitarian programme in Iraq. His successor, Hans Von Sponeck, also resigned in disgust. Last November, they wrote: “The death of 5-6,000 children a month is mostly due to contaminated water, lack of medicines and malnutrition. The US and UK governments’ delayed clearance of equipment and materials is responsible for this tragedy, not Baghdad.”

Those who speak these facts are abused by Blair ministers as apologists for Saddam Hussein – so embroiled is



Saddam’s nuclear weapons program has been eliminated “efficiently and effectively according the International Atomic Energy Agency.

the government with the Bush administration’s exploitation of America’s own tragedy on September 11. This has prevented public discussion of the crime of an embargo that has hurt only the most vulnerable Iraqis and which is to be compounded by the crime of attacking the stricken nation. Unknown to most of the British public, RAF and American aircraft have been bombing Iraq, week after week, for more than two years. The cost to the British taxpayer is £800 million a year. The Wall Street Journal reported that the US and Britain faced a “dilemma” because “few targets remain”. “We’re down to the last outhouse,” said a Pentagon official.

IN any attack on Iraq, Saddam Hussein’s escape route is virtually assured – just as Osama bin Laden’s was. The US and Britain have no wish to free the Iraqi people from a tyranny the CIA once described as its “greatest triumph”. The last thing they want is a separate Kurdish state and another allied to the Shi’ite majority in neighbouring Iran. They want another Saddam Hussein: one who will do as he is told.

On March 13, the Foreign Office entertained Brigadier-General Najib Salihi, a former commander of Saddam Hussein’s Republican Guard and chief of the dreaded military intelligence who

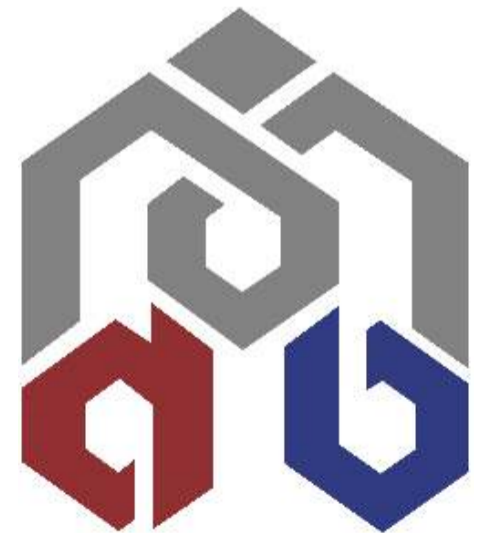
took part in the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Now funded by the CIA, the general “denies any war crimes”. Not that he would ever face arrest in the West. At the Foreign Office, he is known as a “rapidly rising star”. He is their man, and Washington’s man.

The British soldiers who take part in an invasion have every right to know the dirty secrets that will underpin their action, and extend the suffering of a people held hostage to a dictatorship and to international power games over which they have no control. Two weeks ago, the Americans made clear they were prepared to use “low yield” nuclear weapons, a threat echoed here by Defence Secretary Geoffrey Hoon.

When will Europe stand up? If the leaders of the European Union fall silent, too, in the face of such danger, what is Europe for? In this country, there is an honourable rallying cry: Not In Our Name. Bush and Blair must be restrained from killing large numbers of innocents in our name – a view, according to the polls, shared by a majority of the British people. An arms and military equipment embargo must be enforced throughout the region, from Saddam Hussein’s Iraq to Ariel Sharon’s Israel. Above all, the siege of both the Iraqi and Palestinian peoples must end now.

The campaign continues, MAB has planned many more activities. To keep up to date, make sure you check our website often. We always welcome suggestions, so let us know your ideas.

**Check out
www.mabonline.net**



Not in Our Name!

By John Pilger, Daily Mirror, 5th April, 2002

PRESIDENT George W. Bush yesterday called on Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian cities occupied by its forces during the last week.

He excused Israel's violence, but lectured the Palestinians and the rest of the Middle East on the need for restraint and a lasting peace. "The storms of violence cannot go on," said Bush. "Enough is enough."

What he neglected to say was that he needs a lull in the present crisis to lay his own war plans; that while he talks of peace in the Middle East, he is secretly planning a massive attack on Iraq.

This historic display of hypocrisy by Bush will be on show at his ranch in Texas today, with Tony Blair, his collaborator, in admiring attendance.

Yes, enough is enough. It is time Tony Blair came clean with the British people on his part in the coming violence against a nation of innocent people.

AS THE crisis in Israeli-occupied Palestine deepens, Tony Blair will meet George W. Bush today to plan an attack on another country, Iraq.

Their decision may condemn to death more than 10,000 civilians. That is

the "medium case scenario" drawn up by the Pentagon. If the Americans implement their current strategy of "total war" and target Iraq's electricity and water, the consequences will be even more horrific.

There is no mandate in any United Nations resolution for this invasion. It will be as lawless as Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland, which triggered the Second World War. Indeed, it may well trigger a Third World War, drawing in nations of the region and beyond.

As Blair arrives at Bush's Texas ranch the question begs: Why does he condemn Iraq, but is silent on Israel's current bloody and illegal rampage through Palestine? Why has he not demanded that the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon comply with UN Security Council resolutions, to which Britain is a signatory, and withdraw from the Occupied Territories? Why has Blair said nothing as Sharon has sent tanks and gunships and snipers against civilians - a government targeting innocent people, like the deaf old lady shot by an Israeli sniper as she tried to get to hospital? Why has Blair not called at least for military sanctions against

Israel, which has 200 nuclear weapons targeted at Arab capitals?

Blair's culpable silence is imposed by the most dangerous American administration for a generation. The Bush administration is determined to attack Iraq and take over a country that is the world's second largest source of oil. The aim is to get rid of America's and Britain's old friend, Saddam Hussein, whom they no longer control, and to install another compliant thug in Baghdad.

THAT is why Bush now tells Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian cities it recently occupied while continuing to replenish the Israeli war machine. The Americans want a rampant Israel guarding their flank as they attack Iraq and expand their control across the Middle East, whose oil is now more critical than ever to US military and economic dominance.

For almost two months, Downing Street, through the discredited system of unattributable briefings that are secret to the public, have spun two deceptions. The first is that the Prime Minister will play a vital role at today's meeting with Bush on his Texas ranch in "counselling



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Human Relief Foundation

IRAQ EMERGENCY APPEAL



Charity Registration No: 1043676
Charity Registration No: 1043676

Due to the possibility of a military attack on Iraq, Human Relief Foundation has planned an Emergency Programme to be carried out by its Office in Baghdad, Iraq.

Hundreds and Thousands of innocent civilians suffered during the Gulf War in 1991. Over one and half million have died since the UN Sanctions have been imposed.

The population is still suffering from Deformities, Disabilities, Malnutrition, Loss of Family Life, An Increase of Orphans, Widows, Homelessness, Lack of Health/Medical Care, Limited Education Facilities and also from the detrimental effects of the Depleted Uranium used in 1991 which caused many cases of Cancer & Terminal Illnesses.

PLEASE ACT NOW TO SAVE INNOCENT LIVES!!!!

We are Appealing to You for Your Kind, Generous & Much Needed Support. The Emergency Programme will provide: TENTS, EMERGENCY KITS & MEDICAL SUPPLIES, MEDICINES, TINNED/PRE-PACKED FOODS, BLANKETS, etc. . . to be used in case of an attack.

All the above items can still be used and will greatly benefit the people of Iraq even if the attack is not executed.

Please donate generously, Your help is urgently needed!!

Yes! I would like to help the Innocent People of Iraq, please accept my donation of:

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Please make all cheques payable to: **Human Relief Foundation** & send to: P.O. Box 194, Bradford, BD7 1YW.

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 I am a UK tax payer and I wish Human Relief Foundation to reclaim tax on all donations I make hereafter until further notice.

Signed..... Date.....

1. You can cancel this declaration at any time by notifying the charity.
2. Remember to notify us if you no longer pay an amount of income tax or capital gains tax equal to the tax we reclaim on your donations (currently 28p for every £1 you give)
3. If you are unsure whether your donation qualify for Gift Aid contact HRF or ask your local tax office for leaflet IR113.
4. Please notify Human Relief Foundation if you change your name or address.
5. If you have made a donation over the phone you have a period of 30 days to cancel this declaration if you wish to do so.

