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A Bibliography

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Israel-Palestine

60000. -------. "Inhuman and Unacceptable", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 23, 1995, p. 4. While attention was centered on the 5400 Palestinian prisoners who cannot fathom why they have to remain behind bars while the Palestinian National Authority and Israel are talking peace, other Palestinians who appear to be free are hostages to a process of slow torture at Israeli governmental offices, whether renewing identification cards and travel documents, applying for permits for summer visitors or going about the routine business of registering births and deaths. The suffering of the Palestinian applicants at the East Jerusalem branch of the Israeli Ministry of Interior has been one of the most talked about issues for the past two years. You would not treat a mangy dog the way the applicants have been treated at this station. With the onset of summer, the number of cases of people - men, women, children and senior citizens - waiting to enter the building who have lost consciousness, suffered sunstroke, and collapsed from mere exhaustion has skyrocketed. Very few of those who line up in the wee hours of dawn, some as early as midnight and a desperate few the afternoon before, ever get in on the day of their choice. This week, following a visit to this branch on 6/21/1995, Israeli Interior Minister David Liba's reaction no differently from everyone else when he saw for himself the wearied mass of humanity pressed against one another, jostling and wrangling to get in. Horrified - he called the situation "inhuman and unacceptable" - he made the sensible move to close down the East Jerusalem branch of his ministry until arrangements are made for what we hope will be efficient and dignified service. We would like to see how serious he is about solving it. For his is not the first such attempt. Whatever attempts his predecessors, Arieh Der'i and Uzi Baram, made they were half-hearted. A branch opened recently in Beit Hanina was shut down even before it got started and when the employees at the main branch went on strike because they were overwhelmed with work, no solution was found to their dilemma.

Inquiring into the reasons for the growing mass of people outside the office, one realizes that there is more to it than a case of work overload. A new category of people have joined the line. They are Palestinians married to a West Banker who wish to have their children registered. What these people reflect is the effects of the closure of Jerusalem. Needless to say, the ministry is slow reviewing these files if and when the applicants get through. What continues to amaze us is that the Israeli officials are willing to accord themselves very little dignity. Despite what they see in day in day out, they never appear to have said to themselves that this miserable picture ought to shame them. Instead, they recently took measures that give indignity a new name when they added a cage to the entrance of the building to contain the crowd, and gave instructions that parents were to leave their children outside. A picture published in the Arabic daily Al-Quds on 6/19/1995 shows the squarer in which children have to be "deposited." The paper presented it as a present to Liba. It should keep his conscience alive. [↩]

60001. -------. "Renaissance' Report Sparking a Debate; Orthodox Said to Drive Israelis From Religion", in Forward (New York), November 22, 1996, p. 2. A report presented at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations in Seattle, written by Elan Ezrachi, blames the Orthodox for driving Jews from Judaism in Israel, and blames Conservative and Reform for their 'tactical failures' (that is, the 'liberal synagouge'). The study comes as the Knesset is considering a bill to delegitimize non-Orthodox conversion: Netanyahhu spoke on the question but many at the conference concluded that he ducked the issue. The report was financed by the Doron Foundation and Nathan Cummings Foundation. Rabbi Rachel Cowan, the director of Jewish Life Program at the Nathan Cummings Foundation, argues that successful re-Judaization programming in Israel could be used on American Jews. [TXT]

60002. -------. "10-Point Program Supported by People in Different Countries: Signature Campaign Supporting 10-Point Program Developed", in Peoples Korea, September 17, 1994, p. 4. Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine, signed the signature paper on 8/25/94 supporting the "10-Point Program of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country." The signature paper says, "We express support to the Korean people's struggle to achieve the country's reunification by confederation for the "10-Point Program of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country." A signature paper was signed in Italy by Roberto Gabriele, general secretary of the C.C., the Movement for Peace and Socialism, Paolo Pioppi, secretary general of the Italian Committee for the Reunification and Peace of Korea and the director and the senior editor of Radio Chita Aperta of Italy on 8/17/94 on behalf of members of their organizations. Signing the signature paper, they expressed the belief that Korea's reunification would be realized in line with the 10-point program of the great unity of the whole nation under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Jong II and evinced his determination to invigorate the solidary movement for supporting the program in the future. In Portugal, the mayor of Santiao Duca and deputy mayors of the city and the chairman, vice-chairmen and officials of Ajuda district, Lisbon, signed a signature paper. By the end of 8/94 more than 1.1542 million people of the broad segments had signed the paper in the country. The signers expressed full support for the 10-point program and demanded the south Korean authorities immediately remove the concrete wall, a symbol of division and confrontation. MP Adolphe Nahayo, chairman of the Burundi National Olympic Committee, signed a signature paper on 8/24/94 and said that Korea is sure to be reunified as there is His Excellency Kim Jong II, and the 10-point program of he great unity of the whole Korean nation, a program of reunification. In Yugoslavia, a signature paper was signed on 8/4/94 by General Secretary of the New Yugoslav Communist Movement Branko Kitanovic, Chairman of the Servian Writers Union Yovan Stula, reserve Colonel Nikola Kovic and poet Stevo Vasiljevic. The paper expresses support to the 10-point program on achieving the great unity of the whole nation and founding a neutral, nonaligned and confederal state, which indicates a short cut to the reunification of Korea. In Ghana, a signature paper was signed in 7/94 by the governor of Suhum County, central region and members of the County Assembly, the governor and a patriarch of Zashikian County, Volta region, about 30 members of the Acra city branch of the Committee for Defense of the Revolution of Ghana, the secretary general of the Koforidua City Moslem Youth Organization, central region, the chairperson of the Christian Women's Council, officials of the Mobilization Planning Department and the Educational Department of Accra city, and members of the Suhum and Accra branches of the Ghana-DPRK Friendship Association on behalf of their organizations. In Nepal, a signature paper was signed by Kharendra Prasai, secretary general of the Jhapa, Nepal, Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification, Tulsi Ram Dukhwar, chairman of the Revolutionary Youth Union of Nepal, Chandra Bahadur Ulak, chairman of the International Foreign Languages Association of Nepal, Ashaga G. Basukola, chairman of the Phaktapur, Nepal, Society for Korean Studies, Dev Narayan, chairman of the Saptary, Nepal, Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification, Sureya Lai, chairman of the Peace Action Committee of Nepal, and Surendra Aryal, chairman of the Biratnagar, Nepal, Committee of Journalists for Supporting Korea's Reunification. Moreover, a signature campaign supporting the "10-Point Program of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country" took place in different countries including Austria, Ukraine, Yemen, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, Burundi, Lebanon, Nigeria, Egypt and Ethiopia. [↩]

60003. -------. "12th Opinion Poll Reveals Surprising Reactions", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 21, 1994, pp. 8-9. The 12th opinion poll of the Survey and Polls Unit at the Center for Palestine Research and Studies was conducted 9/29-30/1994 and 10/1/1994. The topics covered included economic living conditions in Nablus; the negotiations; the performance of the Palestinian National Authority and the opposition and resistance. Palestinian-Jordanian future
relations; the participation of women in elections, and political affiliation. SPU has been conducting regular public opinion polls to document an important phase in the history of the Palestinian people and to record the reactions of the community with regard to current political events.

According to CPRS, it does not adopt political positions and does not tolerate attempts to influence the conclusions reached or published for political motives. CPRS is committed to providing a scholarly contribution to analysis and objective study, and to publishing the results of all our studies and research.

General background: This poll was conducted over a three-day period: Thursday and Friday, 9/29-30/1994, and Saturday, 10/1/1994. A number of political events preceded the poll, summarized below:

1. There was an increase in discussion on the topic of elections, as the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations regarding elections continued.
2. The economic situation continued to be one of the most important topics of concern to Palestinians. Ahmed Qrei’, PNA Economic Minister, stated that the wheels of the Palestinian economy were beginning to move. Freih Abu Middein, Justice Minister, also announced that more companies are registering themselves as legal enterprises of the ministry.
3. The results of the poll, as will be indicated later, show that the majority of the Palestinians feel that the economic situation is still bad.
4. There is continuing debate concerning the imprisonment of the supporters of the opposition, especially in Gaza. At the same time, dialogue between the PNA and the opposition continued.
5. Negotiations between Jordan and Israel continued during this period, amid an increasing stabilization of their relations.
6. The transformation of authority over education was completed during this period, making the Palestinians the sole authority over the educational system.
7. For the purpose of this poll, public-forum interviews were eliminated and replaced by household interviews. The process of sample selection began with the creation of lists of all locations in the West Bank and Gaza, according to district, population size and distribution, and type of locality (city, town, village, and refugee camp).

A simple random sample of locations to be surveyed was selected from these lists. Fieldworkers and researchers created maps for these localities. The sample units—blocks—to be surveyed were selected randomly. Households were selected based on a systematic sampling framework. To choose the individual to be interviewed within the selected household, fieldworkers had to flip a coin twice to determine the gender and age of the respondent. We received 750 questionnaires from the West Bank and 501 from Gaza, for a total of 1251 interviews. Interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis. A few interviews took place on Wednesday, 9/28/1994.

Data was processed through the use of SPSS, a computer package that is able to detect illogical answers and other inconsistencies. The margin of error for this poll is less than 3% and the confidence level is higher than 95%.

Results: 1. Economic Living Conditions: The poll shows that 50% of the Palestinians polled feel that one year after the signing of the Declaration of Principles, their economic conditions have not changed. As many as 40.8% feel that economic conditions have deteriorated since the signing of the DOP, and only 9.2% feel that conditions have improved.

Improvement in economic conditions however has been felt by residents of Gaza City, where 21.3% indicated such a perspective. In Ramallah-Al-Bireh 15.1% indicated that their economic have improved.

On the other hand, none of the respondents in the Jericho area sample indicated an improvement in the economic situation, and 70% of them said that conditions remained the same.

The residents of the north, middle and south of the Gaza Strip felt a worsening in their economic situation just a year after the signing of the DOP.

2. Palestinian-Israeli Negotiations: The poll shows the majority of Palestinians support the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. Results showed a correlation between district and view of the negotiations. Unlike the rest of the Gaza Strip the residents of Gaza City had the most positive outlook towards the negotiations, where 39% said that their support for the negotiations has increased. In contrast, residents of the middle and south of the Gaza Strip are least supportive of the negotiations. For example, 33.8% of the residents of the south of the Gaza Strip declared their support has declined.

This difference can also be related to refugee status. Refugees are on the whole more critical of negotiations than non-refugees. The residents of the middle and south of Gaza are mostly refugees. In Gaza City, the majority of residents are non-refugees.

The most educated give the negotiations less support, with 48% of those with bachelor's degrees saying their support for the negotiations had declined, or that they remained opposed to the negotiations. However, the list to opinion in this group was quite even, with 46.4% of them viewing the negotiations positively.

In addition, 48.4% of students said their support had declined or that they opposed the negotiations compared with 41.3% who viewed the negotiations positively.

There was a correlation between political affiliation and views on the negotiations. It was interesting to find that among the supporting groups, the supporters of the Palestinian People's party are the most critical. A total of 26.7% of them declared that their support for the negotiations had declined, or that they remained opposed to the negotiations. However, the split in opinion in this group was quite even, with 46.4% of them viewing the negotiations positively.

In contrast, 21.2% said they are dissatisfied. A similar satisfaction rate exists in both the West Bank, 30%, and Gaza Strip, 32.1%. However, dissatisfaction in the Gaza Strip is higher, where 26.5% said that they are dissatisfied. This is compared with 17.6% in the West Bank.

The results obtained from the Gaza Strip portray a significant degree of polarization. Residents of Gaza City are most satisfied with the PNA, while residents of the southern part of Gaza, for example Rafah are most dissatisfied. Positive evaluation of the PNA can be found in the north of the West Bank, like Jenin and Nablus.

In Jericho, however, there was a split where 26% said that they are dissatisfied and 22% said that they are satisfied. It is interesting to notice the differences in the various regions of the Gaza Strip and to compare the situation in Gaza City with that of Jericho, where the people are less satisfied with the PNA. This is possibly due to the fact that most PNA activities are seen and felt in Gaza City and not in Jericho or the rest of the Gaza Strip.

4. Evaluation of the opposition: Palestinians are generally dissatisfied with the performance of the opposition. It is interesting to find that dissatisfaction with the performance of the opposition is also high among the supporters of the opposition groups. For example, 33% of PFLP supporters and 27% of Islamic Jihad supporters are dissatisfied.

5. Armed Operation: Palestinians were asked about their position regarding armed operations by some Palestinian factions against Israeli targets in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. A total of 32.7% of the respondents said that they support the continuation of such operations, while 55.8% said that they don't support such continuation. Only 11.5% said that they have no opinion on the subject.

Support for the continuation of armed operations against Israeli targets is higher in Gaza than in the West Bank. A total of 38.8% of...
Gazans said that they support the operations, compared with 28.6% in the West Bank. West Bankers may not be as supportive because they fear that these operations would bring a halt to the negotiations before the West Bank joins Gaza and Jericho under Palestinian authority.

There are also more refugee camp residents in Gaza than in the West Bank, and there is more support for the operations in refugee camps than elsewhere, although this support is roughly equal to the opposition, where 44.9% of refugee camp residents support the continuation, and 44% oppose it.

There is a correlation between the area of residence and view of armed operations against Israeli targets. Support for the continuation of these operations is higher in the north and south of Gaza. The least support, however, is in Gaza City itself. There is less support for such operations in the north of the West Bank than in the south. The poll results show an inverse relation between age and support for armed operations, where 41.2% of the age group 18-22 declared support for the continuation of these operations. In contrast, 22.4% of those over 50 declared their support for such operations.

Attitude towards armed operations is influenced by political affiliation, as shown in Table 1.

| Women and Elections: Palestinians were asked about their positions regarding the preferred extent of the participation of women in elections. The choices for this question were: participation through voting, candidacy, and a number of seats reserved for women; voting and candidacy only; voting only; and no participation at all. At total of 54% chose the first option, 17.8% the second, and 16.1% the third, while 12.1% said that women should not participate at all in elections. The only significant difference between genders was in the first option, with more women, 58.4%, choosing this option than men, 49.7%.
| The northern area of the West Bank is less supportive of women's participation than the middle and the southern areas.
| In Gaza, however, support for women's participation is higher in the northern area than in the center and southern areas.
| 6. Palestinian-Jordanian Future Relations: The poll results indicate that the majority 60.5%, of Palestinians support an independent Palestinian state as opposed to a complete union with Jordan, 20.9%, or a confederation, 16.3%.
| Support for independence is much higher in Gaza than in the West Bank. Support for a union with Jordan is highest in Nablus, Tulkarm, and Hebron. Traditionally, these cities have shown strong pro-Jordanian tendencies due to close family and commercial ties. Support for a confederation is strongest in Jerusalem (see Table 2).
| 8. and 9. Elections: The poll results indicate that consistent with previous findings, 79% of respondents prefer elections as the means to select their representatives. Only 12.4% preferred appointment by the PLO.
| With regards to participation in the elections, 74.1% indicated their intention to participate. This is a higher percentage than obtained in the previous poll in 8/1994, where 65.1% indicated their intention to participate.
| It is interesting to find that supporters of the opposition are intending to participate as well. [=]


16 16 year old Iyad Mohammad Zayada of Nablus was shot dead by Israeli soldiers.
18 Military bulldozers demolished a home in Jabel al-Mukaber.
23 21 year old Azzam Ayoub al-Sagir of Hebron was shot dead by Israeli soldiers.
25 Bulldozers overturned 500 dunams of cultivated land in Shoyukh.
26 Israeli bulldozers destroyed 35 dunams of cultivated land owned by Nablus residents.
28 Israeli soldiers shot and killed 14 year old Saker Azzam Ass'ad Mohammad of Ramallah during clashes after soldiers raided the village.
29 Hassan Hamed, 30, was killed by an explosion in Shati Camp.
30 A 38 year old women from Rafah Camp miscarried after being beaten by soldiers. 500 dunams of land in Sourif (Hebron) was confiscated. [=]

1. Israeli authorities demolished one home in Burkeen and four in Jiftlik. Military bulldozers demolished five wells in Deir Mar Saba. Soldiers uprooted 200 fruit trees in Hawara.
2 Military authorities sealed a home in Karwat Bani Zeid Ramallah) and partially demolished another in Rafah. Israeli authorities sealed a home in Nablus.
5 Israeli soldiers shot and killed 23 year old Mazen Ahmad Abu Swei from Iras (Bethlehem).
7 Israeli soldiers opened fire on youths throwing stones outside of Jenin Camp. Military bulldozers demolished a home in Jenin. Israeli authorities confiscated 2,000 dunams of cultivated land in Zawaya (Nablus). The tents had been provided by the UNRWA to replace homes demolished by the military.
9 Israeli soldiers demolished five homes in the Jenin area, two in Nablus, one in Jabaliya Refugee Camp (Gaza) and another in Jenin.
10 Israeli soldiers shot and killed 31 year old Ryad Ahmed Ibrahim Mize' ro of Anatta (Jerusalem) when he attempted to attack a military patrol with a knife. Israeli bulldozers demolished two homes in the Ramallah area, two in the Nablus area, and two in Kafr Beni Hassan. Israeli authorities closed the Firas Education Centre and the Arab Institute for Education, both in Bethlehem.
11 Military bulldozers demolished a home in Bethlehem.
13 Soldiers shot randomly and injured four Palestinians in Jenin when youths threw stones at an army jeep. Hani Mustafa Deib, age 22, was shot in the chest by Israeli soldiers and died a short time later in the hospital.
14 12 year old Issa Toma Sawaghleh of Aboud (Ramallah) was run over by a settler and killed.
15 The military demolished the home of an 80 year old resident of Ein K nya (Ramallah), and another home in Jenin.
17 Israeli soldiers shot and killed 17 year old Walid Khaled Zak Zaki al-Souky of Jenin during an armed clash with soldiers. Military authorities demolished a home in Yatta (Hebron).
20 Israeli authorities ordered residents in Beit Fourik (Nablus) to uproot thousands of trees on 18 dunams of land.
23 Military authorities demolished on home in Rafah Camp and forced two other homeowners to demolish their own homes. Israeli authorities uprooted 200 citrus trees in Jiftlik (Nablus).
25 Military authorities sealed a home in Nusseirat Refugee Camp.
27 Israeli soldiers shot and killed 21 year old Iyad Nimer alSabah as he walked past a military camp near Tulkarm. Israeli authorities tore down three tents in Rafah Camp displacing 27 persons. The tents had been provided by the UNRWA to replace homes demolished by the military.
28 The Civil Administration in Tulkarm ordered nine residents awaiting family reunification to be deported.
29 21 year old Nabil Cadura al-Hamed of Silwad (Ramallah) was shot dead by Israeli soldiers. A 24 year old Palestinian was beaten and stabbed by three Israelis in Katamon, near Jerusalem. Israeli soldiers arrested a nine year old boy in Shabura Camp (Rafah) and beat his mother. [=]


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5 17 year old Ossama Salamah al-A'roudy of Shati Camp (Gaza) died after being shot 13 times by Israeli soldiers. Two other youths were severely wounded, sustaining gunshot wounds to the head and neck. The soldiers also shot 68 residents when they surrounded the soldiers in an attempt to allow the youths’ escape.

14 Israeli soldiers shot dead Ahmed Abu Nahleh (43) during a fierce clash with the army in Sheik Radwan (Gaza City). Abu Nahleh was the father of ten children.

15 Ossama Salamah al-A’roudy of Shati Camp, died due to gunshot wounds to the head. 29: Israeli authorities demolished the home of Mohammad Abu Rumayas in Zaatara village (Hebron) as “unlicensed”.

24: In Hebron, Israeli bulldozers uprooted 20 olive trees belonging to Ismail Abu Rajab.

28: Israeli authorities destroyed the homes of Mustafa Kafish and Mustafa Natcheh in the “Issa neighborhood (Hebron) as "unlicensed".


3: Awad Bkheit (33), from Deir Balah, was shot dead while taking a bus home from work inside the "Green Line". 4: ustafa Akawi (35) died after undergoing interrogation and torture in Hebron Prison (see page 24).

5: Jallal Sanallah (12) died when he was shot in the throat by a special unit of civil dressed soldiers who raided the Ein Beit Ilma Refugee Camp (Nablus). Three other people were severely wounded.

8: Bahiya Othman (70) died of a heart attack after the car transporting her to the hospital was shot at and stopped repeatedly by soldiers during a curfew on Irtas village (Bethlehem).

11 17 year old Harod (Arteen) Daniel Kolizian of Ramallah was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during a confrontation with the military. A 15 year old was shot in the genitals by an Israeli soldier. The boy and his father were walking down the street when the soldiers fired without provocation. Two boys in Hebron were burned on the feet and legs by soldiers.

12 A 2 year old girl was shot in the face when soldiers in East Jerusalem began to shoot youths stoning passing military vehicles.

13 Military bulldozers demolished a home in Hebron. The Civil Administration announced plans to deport five women from Ramallah within six days.

14 Rafat Ibrahim at- Oassis, age 16, died of gunshot wounds to the head suffered in the August 5th attack in Shati camp. Transporting her to the hospital was shot at and stopped repeatedly by soldiers in an attempt to allow the youths’ escape. Moatez a-Zugheir (14) who was shot in the right side of his jaw.

15 year old Ra’ed alalad of Tulkarm was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during confrontations near As-Salam School. Two other youths were hit in the back by gunshot and severely wounded. Over twenty Palestinians from Anabta, Nur Shams and Shweikeh (Tulkarm) received notification that they would be deported.

17 year old Harod (Arteen) Daniel Kolizian of Ramallah was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during a confrontation with the military.

21 year old Mohammad Ghazy Yameen of Nablus was shot in the chest by soldiers after refusing to stop when ordered. He died upon arrival at the hospital.

15 year old Ra’ed alalad of Tulkarm was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during confrontations near As-Salam School. Two other youths were hit in the back by gunshot and severely wounded. Over twenty Palestinians from Anabta, Nur Shams and Shweikeh (Tulkarm) received notification that they would be deported.

22: 22 year old brother died in 1989 when he was run over by a jeep during transportation. A 15 year old was shot in the chest by soldiers after refusing to stop when ordered. He died upon arrival at the hospital.

29: Israeli authorities demolished the home of Mohammad Abu Rumayas in Zaatara village (Hebron) as “unlicensed”.

3/2/92: Jaber as-Sarfandi (27) from Salfit (Nablus) as "unlicensed". [=]

3/1/92: Jaber as-Sarfandi (18), Yabna, Rafah (Gaza), was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during a confrontation with the military.

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3/1/92: Jaber as-Sarfandi (18), Yabna, Rafah (Gaza), was shot dead by Israeli soldiers during a confrontation with the military.

4: Husseir Abu Kheir (22) from Khan Yunis (Gaza) was shot and killed during clashes with Israeli soldiers.

5: In Hebron, a settler opened fire on Palestinian youths, injuring ‘Aref Al-Hamouni (17) in the abdomen.

6: In Jabalya refugee camp, the military demolished the family residence of Jihad Muhsein (22), who has been arrested and charged with killing collaborators.

7: Israeli soldiers shot and killed Ahmad Abu Nahleh (43) during a fierce clash with the army in Sheik Radwan (Gaza City). Abu Nahleh was the father of ten children.

8: Bilal Ghaleb Harim (21) from Salit (Nablus) was shot dead by six soldiers who fired at close range during a raid on Salit. Bilal’s 17 year old brother died in 1989 when he was run over by a jeep during military raid.

13: Israeli authorities sealed the homes of Shehadeh Araham (40) and Ibrahim Matur (27) from Sa’ir (Hebron) for “security reasons.”

14: Israeli civilians attacked the home of Riyadh al-Malaki in Ramallah, smashed windows and spray-painted eleven Stars of David on the doors and walls of his home.

16: Soldiers raided the dwelling place of six families living in caves outside Kissan village (Bethlehem), and demanded that they evacuate the area and move to Fasayel village (Jericho). They were threatened that if they did not do so, their sheep would be confiscated and they would be fined for being in a “restricted area”.

18: Israeli soldiers shot dead Musa Dababseh (31) from Nuba (Hebron) after arresting him. His family was informed by the military headquarters in Hebron that he had been “accidentally” shot dead in a wooded area near his village. Israeli authorities demolished the home of Atallah Othman from Yutma (Nablus) as “unlicensed”.

20: Soldiers fired tear gas and concussion grenades at the secondary boys school in Al-Sira a-Shimaliyeh village (Nablus), and then raided the school.
soldiers opened fire inside the home arresting 2 youths, Hasan Shafa'i Prison Camp, firing rubber bullets and tear gas. Several prisoners were mourners of Sa'id Mohammad Mustafa Bariyeh, shot the day before. In Ansar III entered al-Fara' Refugee Camp (Nablus) and raided the home of Rima (Ramallah) a soldier shot Ismail Misha'l Barghouti in the head. Youth escaped. Camp, four youths were injured by live ammunition, including Hamde (Nablus). Also arrested, Iyad Jubran (24) and Buriyeh (24), and one with Israeli forces near Khabab Ibn Aratee Mosque in Hebron. In Rafah fleeing soldiers after being stopped inside al-Fara' Refugee Camp 30: Yakoub Nasser Edin, 19, was shot and killed during clashes. Bethlehem) were closed "until further notice," claiming stones were was shot with live ammunition after a stone-throwing incident. A-Louban. 60011. ------. "60 Days in the Occupied Territories: 2/16/92-4/15/92, Part 3", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 2. 3/27/92: Civilian clothed 24: Soldiers fired live ammunition and tear gas at students. Special unit soldiers, some disguised as Arab women, raided Jenin Refugee Camp, killed in the hospital after being shot by a special undercover unit. Yousef Mohammed Sa'ed, 19, exiting his home while surrendering. Al-Khader Secondary Boys and Girls schools (al-Khader, Bethlehem) were closed "until further notice," claiming stones were thrown. 3/28/92: Sa'id Mohammad Bariyeh (28) was shot dead while fleeing soldiers after being stopped inside al-Fara' Refugee Camp (Nablus). Also arrested, Iyad Jubran (24) and Buriyeh (24), and one youth escaped. 3/29/92: Special unit soldiers, some disguised as Arab women, entered al-Fara' Refugee Camp (Nablus) and raided the home of mourners of Sa'id Mohammad Mustafa Bariyeh, shot the day before. Soldiers opened fire inside the home arresting 2 youths, Hasan Shafa'i (22) and Naser Bariyeh (17). 4/1/92: Majed Abu Zouhru (17), Mohammad al-Hamadia (18), Ashraf Abu Harb (20) and Iyad al-Jazar (23) were shot dead in the main vegetable market of Rafah City (Gaza Strip), by Border Police who opened fire in the crowded market during the pursuit of other youths. At least 50 were injured, 5 critically. Clashes erupted after the imposition of curfew and additional 50 were shot and injured. After a stone-throwing incident, which provoked no military action (Hebron), 12 disguised soldiers opened fire on local youths killing Mohammad al-Ja'afri (14) and injuring Ra'ed al-Ja'afri (14) and Amjad al-Majid al-Taneen (12). Jundiyeh Tabei Abu Hussein (45) was struck dead, while walking with her daughter, by a military vehicle in al-Karara Village (Khan Yunis, Gaza). 4/6/92 Settlements in Bethlehem and Nablus districts were expanded by the confiscation of 38 dunums belonging to Fayez Mahmoud Ahmad (Nablus) and the transport of 85 pre-fabricated houses (Bethlehem). 4/7/92: Authorities demolished the following structures claiming they were "unlicensed": 2 homes in 'Ein ash-Shibili village (Jordan Valley), displacing 26 people and the home of Hafez Salahat (40), al-Bathan (Nablus), displacing 8 people. 4/8/92: Tareq Dukhan (22), Nuseirat Refugee Camp, was shot dead and 3 others arrested near the Egyptian Border. A curfew was placed on the camp 2 days later. [=] 60012. ------. "60 Days in the Occupied Territories: 2/16/92-4/15/92, Part 4", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 2. 4/9/92: Military shot dead Abed al-Qader Yusuf Shabrawi (23), Nur Shams Refugee Camp (Tulkarm), in the forefront, exiting his home while surrendering. 4/12/92: Nimrah Mosque (Hebron City) was closed for one month claiming "illegal materials" were found there. 4/15/92: Zakaria Qablan (23) and Abasan al-Khatri (Khan Yunis, Gaza Strip) were shot dead during a clash with undercover special unit soldiers. Iyad Abed latif Eštayyah (18), Sallam Village (Nablus), was shot dead after a clash with an army patrol. The village was placed under strict curfew. [Compiled by Josie Glausiuz, on the basis of Asel Research & Information.] [=] 60013. ------. "60 Days in the Occupied Territories: October 15 December 15: Part 1", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 2. OCTOBER 16: Rizeq Na'el Beih, 21, from al-Khader Bethlehem) was hospitalized after he lost control of facial muscles following interrogation in Dahlia Prison. 17: Iman Issa Odeh, 21, married to West Bank resident Mohammad Sa'id, was deported to Jordan. Her visitor's permit had expired. 20: Israeli soldiers severely beat and arrested six students during a raid on al-Soumwal High School (Gaza). Jasser Abu Rmeila, 39, died in Jneid Prison of a heart attack. He had been denied medication. 24: Soldiers fired live ammunition and tear gas at students during a raid on 4 Schools in Rafah Camp. 29: Mohammad Zayed al-Rajari, 16, was killed by a special unit which shot him while he was writing graffiti on walls in Hebron. Two youths were injured and hospitalized. Yousef Mohammad Sa'ed, 19, was shot with live ammunition after a stone-throwing incident. A-Louban a-Sharqiyah Girls School (Nablus) was closed when the Israeli forces appropriated the building and converted the school into a military post. 30: Yakoub Nasser Edin, 19, was shot and killed during clashes with Israeli forces near Khabab Ibn Aratee Mosque in Hebron. In Rafah Camp, four youths were injured by live ammunition, including Hamde Hussein Farahat, 14, shot in the head. During a demonstration in Beit Rima (Ramallah) a soldier shot Ismail Misha' Barghouti in the head with a rubber bullet. Prison guards raided Sections 3, 4, and 5 of Ansar III Prison Camp, firing rubber bullets and tear gas. Several prisoners were injured. 31: During clashes in Balata Camp, soldiers shot Nadera passengers shot dead Abdallah ash-Shami (26), Assireh ash-Shamaliyeh (Nablus). 3/10/92: 'Ala Ibrahim al-Moghrabi (30), Rimal (Gaza), was shot dead with 15 live bullets after hitting soldiers with his car at an intersection. 3/11/92: Khaled Fahmawi (18), Jenin Refugee Camp, died in custody after being arrested. 3/13/92: Military issued a 1-month closure order on Ottoman Ben 'Atan Mosque (Hebron), claiming worshippers "instigated" confrontations. [=]
Tuqan, 50, Amar Hindiyeh, 15 was hospitalized after soldiers beat him on the genitals. Ghassan Mohammed Awad, 17, from Awarta (Nablus) was shot dead during clashes with the military. Kamel Ayoub Abu Sneineh, 24, from Hebron, was pushed onto a burning tire by a soldier and severely burned.[=] 60014. ------. "60 Days in the Occupied Territories: October 15 December 15: Part 2", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 2. NOVEMBER 2: Soldiers shot tear gas into Bethlehem Girls School, where pupils were demonstrating. 4: Riyad Mohammad Abu Asseb, 21, was found lying on the ground in Dahriya, in a state of shock, and was hospitalized in a mental institution. He had been thrown from a military vehicle. Riyad was arrested in Hebron on October 17. 5: Hamdi Abdel Hassan, 21, was killed by ten bullets shot by men in civilian dress who were driving through Arrabeh (Jerin). Soldiers beat 15 students during a raid on a Bethlehem Boys School. 7: Soldiers closed Jal'azoun Boys Preparatory School (Ramallah) after students stoned a military petrol. 9: Prison guards raided isolation cells in Ramle Prison, severely beat prisoners, and fired tear as. Five prisoners were overcome with tear gas and two fell unconscious. 11: Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of Ibrahim Mosa Ibrahim Omar, 22, from Dura (Hebron) for "security reasons". Three dunams of land belonging to the Ankawi family from Beit Sira (Ramallah) were confiscated for a military camp. 13: Sakher Nahed Tafesh, 1 1, from Zaitun neighborhood (Gaza) died from an exploding unidentified object. 14: Basem Fathi Sha'tban, 20, was shot dead in Jerin by a special military unit. Soldiers raided Bethlehem Girls High School and shot tear gas canisters and rubber bullets at students. 15: Prison authorities in Hebron Prison fired tear gas into prisoners' cells as they celebrated Palestinian Independence Day. 16: Sami Issa Fotagura, 23, was beaten on his head during interrogation. He received a spinal injection in Ramle Prison Hospital after which he lost sensation in his leg. 17: A special military unit raided Yamun High School (Jerin) and shot Issam 'Arkwai (17) with live ammunition. He was then arrested with thirteen other students. The home of Rateb Madi 'Atiyeb from Kibya (Ramallah) was destroyed. He was charged with driving a vehicle into a bus-stop at Tel-Hashomer, killing two soldiers. 18: Israeli authorities demolished the houses of Ibrahim Da'oud in Kuseein (Nablus) and Fareed Hussein Magi in Burka (Nablus) because they were unlicensed. 19: Radj Aniss al-Bastami, 73, from Jisser Titi (Nablus) died of wounds sustained when a special military unit shot at worshippers leaving a Mosque on November 15. The Injass family's home in Khirbati Bani Hareth (Ramallah) was attacked by settlers, who smashed a window, and threw two burning tires inside. Soldiers arrested two Bir Zeit University students during a raid. 21: 300 dunams of uncultivated land were confiscated from Nahaleen Village. The house of Mohammad Hussein Hamdan, 45, from Dura, (Hebron) was demolished, displacing 13 family members. 24: The home of Riyad Hussein Farhat, in Shujaiyya (Gaza) was sealed on the pretext that he had incited a group of residents to stone military vehicles. 27: The unlicensed home of Salim Ahmed Mo'ti Assakra (50) from Bethlehem, was demolished, displacing twelve persons. 29: Guards raided Section D of Hebron Prison, firing tear gas canisters into the cells. Several prisoners were overcome by as. 30: After 14 days of interrogation in Megiddo Prison, Fouad 'Abd al-Salam from Kufur Ruman (Tulkarm) developed a mental disorder. He had no previous history of mental illness.[=] 60015. ------. "60 days in the Occupied Territories August 15—October 14: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December, 1991. p. 2. AUGUST 16 Khayri Barakat a-Natshe, 12, died of injuries received in an explosion on August 13, in his father's shop. 18 Mahmoud Omar Zakarni, 30, from Kabatyja Jenin), was shot dead with live ammunition as he sat on his balcony. 24 Five "unlicensed" houses were demolished in Dir Balah (Gaza). 28 Khaled Abdel Rahman Ofeh, 41, from Tulkarm refugee camp, was shot dead when soldiers raided his home. Israeli authorities demolished the unlicensed house of Hashem Smeiri, 40, from Karara village (Gaza). In subsequent confrontations soldiers kicked Fatima Smeiri, 35, pregnant, and she miscarried. The first two of eight unlicensed homes were destroyed in Rafah.[=]
25 Ahmad Sadeq Amin, 23 and Hassan Ahmed Itmel, 23, of Qabatiya (Jenin), members of the Black Panthers, were shot dead by soldiers. Qabatiya was placed under curfew. Saber Nazzal, 24, of Faqar, was shot dead by soldiers.

28 Rami Abd Latif Qatifa'an, 12, from Sheikh Radwan (Gaza) died of head injuries inflicted on September 26th, by Israeli soldiers. Fifty dunums planted with olive trees were confiscated for use as sewage pits for Hebron settlements, including Kiryat Arba.

30 Four children were injured by unidentified objects which exploded while walking among olive trees in Tayaseer (Nablus) near a military camp. [=]

60017. ------. "60 days in the Occupied Territories August 15—October 14: Part 3", in Challenge, November-December, 1991. p. 2. OCTOBER

1. Soldiers gathered residents of Arura village in the cemetery and severely beat five people, includin Wajih Ziyab, 32, whose legs were already broken and was on crutches.

2. Israeli authorities sealed the house of Fakhri Bani Fadel, 58, from Akhrab (Nablus), because his sons stabbed four Israelis in Bnei Brak in October 90.

3 Ahmed Al-Himri, 60, from Deir Al-Balah, (Gaza) was beaten by soldiers near the spinal cord. His left hand and leg became paralysed.

4. Israeli authorities sealed the two-room house of Khaled Azrek, in ’Ayda refugee camp (Bethlehem).

5 Khaled Ryan, 27, of Balata camp (Nablus), was shot dead by four members of a special unit disguised as women. The unit shot and injured five more people.

6 Mohammed Bashir Hindi, 10, was shot dead durin clashes in Shati camp (Gaza).

7 Imad Qassem ’Atike, from Burkeen (Jenin), was shot by a member of a special unit. The prison administration at Ansar III placed the camp under curfew, and fired tear gas canisters and rubber bullets, injuring several detainees. The prisoners initiated a hunger strike. Soldiers demolished the house of Mahmoud Ramadan, from Kufur N’imem (Ramallah).

8. Soldiers shot and severely beat Aymen Na’im el-Kawasmi, 19, from Hebron, during confrontations.

9 Da’oud Saleiman Klob, 39, from Shati camp (Gaza), died of head injuries sustained after he was shot by soldiers on October 8. 18-year-old Issa Khalil Sa’lah, from Khader (Bethlehem), was shot in the head by a soldier, as he was writing graffiti on a wall. 44 dunums of land belonin to Tawfik Mohammed Daka, 70, from Araba (Jenin), were confiscated.

12 Israeli authorities closed Toubass Boys Hih School (Jenin) for two weeks, after masked youths demonstrated inside the school rounds.

13 Hassan Omar al-Sana’, 16, from Nablus, died of injuries sustained on October 9th. Omar and other youths were chased by settlers when he fell into a valley, fracturing his skull and breaking his back, ribs and limbs. Israeli authorities sealed Ziyyab Abu Kheizoran’s house in Fara’ (Nablus) displacing 14 people.

Compiled by Josie Glausiusz, based on Aseel Research and Information releases. [=]

60018. ------. "A Brief Guide to the Elections: Special Interest Groups", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 19, 1996. p. 7. Women: 16 seats at the Legislative Council are allocated for women. Women form 54.5% of the total population. Christians: There are two seats allocated for Christians from the Jerusalem Constituency. There are also two Christian seats for Bethlehem and one for Ramallah. Samaritans: More than 170 Samaritans residing in Nablus registered to vote in the elections. They have been allocated one seat in the Legislative Council. There are four candidates competing for this seat. Handicapped: No seats were allocated for the handicapped. One handicapped candidate from the Nablus constituency, Imad Libadeh, calls for this right. [=]

60019. ------. "A Message From Pen" in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 30, 1995. p. 13. The Pen Center For Palestinian Writers wishes to express its solidarity with all of our political prisoners who are currently on a hunger strike. In the absence of their rights and freedom, they are preparing to sacrifice their lives. Theirs is a courageous stance born out of desperation and a catalogue of grave physical and mental abuse, including torture. The Israeli government continues to renege on Article 20 of the Cairo Agreement and its undertaking to release five thousand prisoners within five weeks of its signing. On 8/4/1995, 160 prisoners were released and up to June of 1995 there were 3215 new arrests. The prisoners are men and women who fought long and hard for peace through the end of the Israeli occupation. Their continued incarceration is incompatible with the current peace negotiations and we urge Israel to unconditionally release all Palestinian political prisoners and to return to their basic inalienable rights. Should Israel refuse the sole demand of the prisoners and the Palestinian community who daily stand in support and solidarity with them it invites and condones the death of thousands and delivers a fatal blow to the very heart of any possibility of real peace in this region. We call upon the United Nations and the international community to oblige Israel to adhere to the Cairo Agreement and thus avoid an impending tragedy. Hanan A. Awwad, President Pen Center for Palestinian Writers, Jerusalem [=]
the fanatic attacks against Palestinians. The support visit recently paid by the Likud members of the Knesset to the settlers’ vigil is an overt demonstration of the widespread hatred for Palestinians and the deep contradictions between claims to being a democratic state and the true racist nature of a large segment of Israeli society. Moreover, the unsatisfactory interference of the Israeli army and police to stop the atrocities and dangerous incidents caused by the settlers reveals the Israeli government’s great indifference and lack of goodwill to handle the issue of the settlements. In fact, it stood paralyzed when a Palestinian youth was shot dead by settlers near Ramallah on 8/13/1995. For all the above reasons, we strongly demand the immediate evacuation of the settlers and the removal of their tents from the surroundings of the schools so that students may start their new academic year in an atmosphere of security and tranquility. We urgently warn of the damaging ramifications of the settlers’ continuous provocative presence in the Palestinian neighborhoods of occupied Jerusalem and the West Bank. It creates a real threat, weakening the peace process. The government of Israel and the Municipality of Jerusalem can be assured of the hazards and risks that are created by these settlers even before any blood gets shed. [2]

60021. ------. “Agudat Yisrael Leader Pinchas Horowitz Blames Reform Jewry For Hitler’s Rise”, in Jewish Transcript (Seattle), December 6, 1996, p. A3. Pinchas Horowitz, leader in the Agudat Yisrael party made a controversial statement during a news conference in Tel Aviv on Sunday. Horowitz accused the assimilated Jews of Reform Jewry for the Holocaust. The statement was made at a rally against the High Court of Justice which is seen by Agudat Yisrael as anti-Jewish.

Horowitz argued that Hitler had come to power in Germany because of the high percentage of non-Orthodox Jews in Germany, saying (in an Israeli Radio broadcast that was taped at the studio): “95% of the Jews were Reform and assimilated. That teaches you that when you destroy that which exists, the Shabbat, when you destroy Judaism, when you destroy faith in the Almighty, Hitler arises”.

On Monday, Horowitz denied having made the remarks of the previous day, and noted in clarification: “The Reform are the ones who do everything to destroy religion”.

In response, Reform movement spokesman Anat Galili noted that Agudat Yisrael’s “manipulation of the Holocaust is sickening and not even worth relating to”. Galili noted that a complaint had been filed with the police on the grounds of incitement, and that a libel lawsuit may also be filed. [TXT]

60022. ------. “Angry Israeli Civilian Kills Pregnant Palestinian Woman”, in Seattle Times, April 12, 1994, p. A14. An Israeli whose car was damned by Palestinian protesters attacked an unarmed, pregnant Palestinian woman on the West Bank and killed her with machinegun fire, in the village of Jib. The shooting took place as 20000 Palestinians in Ramallah were under 24-hour curfew as Israeli soldiers searched for a dissident. The national film news agency justifies the murder of the pregnant woman by stating that stones had been thrown at Jewish property. No charges were filed against the Jewish gunman. [TXT]

60023. ------. “Another Netanyahu Nanny Slings More Dirt”, in Seattle Times, July 5, 1996, p. A12. Another of the Netanyahu servants reports being brutalized and starved by now First Lady Sarah Netanyahu. Netanyahu demanded 20 hour work days, on one occasion shouting at the servant for 20 minutes for eating one tomato. Servants were forced to wash their hands before touching the ritually ‘clean’ Netanyahu children: Sarah Netanyahu responded that only ‘dirty people’ say things like that.

60024. ------. “Arab Child Day Commemorated”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 4, 1994, p. 15. Speaking at a celebration Sunday, 10/30/1994, marking Arab Child Day, the director of education and culture in Nablus Zahran Hassunah said interest in the education of young Palestinians has risen recently. He said that there are now 63 kindergartens in Nablus attended by 6000 children. [2]

60025. ------. “Arms Proliferation in Nablus”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 14, 1994, p. 15 National and religious figures and officials in Nablus called for a stop of the spread of arms and guns among the residents and the use of weapons in disputes and during weddings.

They warned the Palestinian people against using these weapons in weddings or celebrations and to avoid using them in disputes.

Haj Mu’az Nablusi, chairman of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce, said the phenomenon is dangerous, and stated alms must be confined to responsible parties whose job is to protect the people and the country.

Nablusi pointed out that the most hazardous cases involve the shooting of weapons during weddings and celebrations. He also clarified that the use of weapons in disputes is a red line that should not be crossed. He added, “The use of weapons will not solve problems but add to them.”

Sheikh Jamal Mansour said that all those who care about the people and the country should shun the use of weapons.

He pointed out that there are many people who want to dash the hopes of the Palestinian people, to disturb national unity, and to destroy the social network. He affirmed that there is carelessness on the part of the Israeli authorities regarding this issue since they allow weapons to be used during weddings. [2]
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
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www.ReferenceCorp/net/downloads

60027. ------. “Arts and Culture: A Word on Behalf of Women” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 30, 1995, p. 13. Palestinian writer Liana Bader has written three novels; “A Compass for the Sun Worshipers,” “The Eye of a Woman” and “The Stars of Jericho.” She also has published a number of short stories. Sharif Waked, “A Balcony on Daytime” and “Golden Hell.” Her novels have been translated into English, French, Dutch and Spanish. She left Jericho in 1967, studied at the University of Jordan and continued her education in Beirut, where she volunteered to work with women in the refugee camps during the time the war was in Lebanon. She lived in Tunis after 1981 and worked for the Palestinian Education Ministry. Bader is married to Yasser Abed Rabbo, the Palestinian Minister of Culture and Education. Question: What does writing mean to you? Answer: Writing is a way of expressing one's self. Through writing, I have a dialogue with the difficult history of the Arab World. I remember Andalusia and the big disturbances that surround us during these times of the New World Order. Writing is also a way to consider the question of being a woman. It is also an affirmation of my Palestinian identity. Question: What made you write? Answer: I grew up in a house which respected science, literature and education. This allowed me to read intensively. When I was in secondary school, I published a story in the Jihad newspaper called “A Gypsy in the Depths” and this story caught the attention of Mahmoud Shqer and Khalil Sawahi, the editors of the literary page in the paper, on which I published “The story entitled “The Doors” in another newspaper. Sawahi commented on this story by saying that if the writer continues to write, she will become one of the most important Arab women writers. Question: Whenever you write, you focus on women. Is this true? Answer: I always try to present the viewpoint of women. In my latest novel, “The Stars of Jericho,” I presented the history of the city through the viewpoints of its inhabitants, who vary in many ways, but I wanted the woman to have her viewpoint as well. Women hold a lot of knowledge about existence. This often makes them sarcastic. The women always give us their frank opinion. Question: “The Stars of Jericho” is about the experience of 1967. Why did you write it? Answer: The first two novels were about the civil war in Lebanon and the war of 1982. I wanted to write about the Palestinian experience in Lebanon, but by that time the Gulf War had broken out and I went through a dry period. I looked at my roots, and began to write about events that took the Palestinians from 1967 through the Gulf Crisis. In perspective, I could see a thread of linking the two periods. Question: It is an unusual way of presenting a story. Answer: When I started writing “The Stars of Jericho,” I thought a lot about the time frame of the story—whether it would be a simple time frame going forward and how could I do it now that I have been out of the country for such a long time and its inhabitants have been dispersed all over the world due to the wars. The problem I had was the time frame, and therefore, I went back to reading old Arabic literature, and found out that the writers of the time used to go in circles, i.e., the story would be told and then told again and, in a circular fashion. I looked at this Arabic heritage, and found out that the time factor was not as important as the incident or the characters. I also consider that the loss of the simple and normal Palestinian history has created an uncertainty about time. Today this is being compensated for by documentation and the writing of history books. [1]

60028. ------. “Arts and Culture: Documenting the Voice of Palestinian Women”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, August 18, 1995, p. 13. When a young person is exposed to political and social upheaval, the memory of these events remains. The harsh occupation, the daytime bombing of a military base, a cold-blooded matricide—traumatic events which can only be aid to rest if a way is found to exteriorize them, or present them to the external world. This is what Norma Murkus has done. Born in Bethlehem, Murkus learned to infuse her present work with her past. Images of the June of 1967 War made her contemplate the uncertain future of the Palestinian people, and particularly their culture and the status of women within it. Deeply influenced by the murder of a mother by her son—for the reason that the mother had sought a divorce—Murkus took up the struggle for women’s rights. Society had failed to condemn the murderer. Murkus recognized that social oppression weakens the will of the people to fight against political oppression. At the age of twenty-five, after ten years of activism within the Palestinian resistance movement, she went to the south of France to study journalism. In 1979, she got work with the Egyptian press, and expressed her views on Israel and the Camp David Accord. She then continued her studies at the Luffer school of Journalism in Paris, before going on to work for Arabic and international papers. On her return to the West Bank, she covered the events following Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Her excellent work earned her a scholarship to Stanford University from Reuters Agency. The major turning point in her career came with her introduction to the world of film. She met film producer Yves Toizot in Paris and helped with the production of his film on the life of Yasser Arafat. Since then, her love for cinema and film production has increased. “I decided to produce a film on the role of Palestinian women, and though I had difficulties securing funding, my persistence bore fruit after three years,” Murkus said. The success of the film was largely due to its political content, the photographing of prominent Palestinian women, and financial help from French television, the French National Center for Cinema, and the European Community. “Films on the Middle East are rarely produced by Arabs, but are usually done by foreigners who just visit the country. Even though I lived in France for seventeen years, I never thought of producing a film about France.”

The film portrays the social and political role of Palestinian women from the years 1972-1991. It focuses on two girls: One was permitted by her parents to travel abroad to continue her education—and later falls in love—and the other is forbidden to travel and suffers from parental restrictions. Yet the two women have very different characters. One is socially oppressed, but has freedom of political expression—though, since she is a woman, her views are not taken seriously—while the other, though dressed in the conventional Islamic style, rebels against the imposition of an arranged marriage. “This is a flaw in our society,” said Murkus. “Once a woman reaches her thirties, the chances of her getting married are rare, especially if she’s uneducated.” According to Murkus, both internal and external factors have negatively affected Palestinian society. Although Israeli attempts to destroy Palestinian society have largely failed, they have certainly affected the social structure. And internally, close inter-marriage in village communities has led to a high percentage of mental disability. Murkus comments that “education and awareness are the answers to these issues.” The film was well received. Le Monde described it as “The best documentary film presented in the year 1994 on Channel three.” But, while western papers wrote positive reviews, the Palestinian and Arab press was silent. “The film presented another angle of the Palestinian people. Beyond the cliches of occupation, terrorism, refugee camps, we discovered within our society a different struggle—the struggle for women’s rights.” (Al-Quds) [2]
metals, tools and wood, he needs to develop more control over his approach to the materials. Kan'aan’s experiments in the use of this style are still that—experiment. Yet he promises to distinguish himself on the contemporary Palestinian art scene. Daoud Al-Hayek (Nazareth) works with large spaces where a violent struggle between colors and shapes takes place. His thematic reference to motifs reflects the idea of the artist reacting painfully to the Palestinian situation. He makes use of geometric spaces, exploding with strong colors over large surfaces, interlinked sometimes at close range, other times at a distance. The colors help him relieve himself of his strong emotions and to channel them. He underscores the spaces with black lines and creates sharp corners that remind us of the hilly areas around Al-Hayek’s native Nazareth. The overall effect is often reminiscent of the Palestinian kuffiyeh. The new work of Abed Abedi (Haifa) reflects a change in his style with the use of new materials, such as hay. In the past, his main themes were social and political, and were rendered in an expressionist style. Presently, he uses cool colors—blue, white and yellow. He surprises us with the recurring motif of a black rectangle. It draws the eye and gives the impression of a door or a window. Asad Azi (Sha’afi Amr) leaves large spaces of his paintings empty, while crowding selected corners with ornament, as well simple designs for which he has used eye-catching colors. Although Azi lives in an Israeli environment, Tel Aviv, the sentiments displayed in his paintings are clearly rooted in his Arab heritage. The work of Khalil Rayyan (Damoun) should have been better displayed by the center, since it is well worth seeing. Rayyan’s work is distinguished by his subject matter—women—and the material which he uses to give expression to his theme—bronze. His form is simple, but at times he has exaggerated it to bring about harmony of mass and empty space. He has drawn on some of the experiences of British sculptor, Henry Moore. Rayyan is considered one of the few sculptors who has proven himself on the Palestinian scene. Walid Ghashash (Acre) has distinguished himself for his use of the abstract and the geometric. Inside circular, wooden shapes, he has added geometric spaces, some filled by strong colors and a graduated use of color in others. He has succeeded in establishing harmony between the circle, the rectangle and the square. Jasser Abu Rabia’ (Al-Goref) is an artist influenced by his Bedouin tradition. This is true whether he works in metal or stone. He has succeeded in using simple, raw materials in a modern form, allowing himself to be inspired by the natural colors of the desert stones and aluminum, which he has used to offset a black background. He can be considered a post modernist and is a complete antithesis to the rest of the artists in the exhibition. His work is simple, but at times he has exaggerated it to bring about harmony of mass and empty space. He has drawn on some of the experiences of British sculptor, Henry Moore. Rayyan is considered one of the few sculptors who has proven himself on the Palestinian scene. Walid Ghashash (Acre) has distinguished himself for his use of the abstract and the geometric. Inside circular, wooden shapes, he has added geometric spaces, some filled by strong colors and a graduated use of color in others. He has succeeded in establishing harmony between the circle, the rectangle and the square. Jasser Abu Rabia’ (Al-Goref) is an artist influenced by his Bedouin tradition. This is true whether he works in metal or stone. He has succeeded in using simple, raw materials in a modern form, allowing himself to be inspired by the natural colors of the desert stones and aluminum, which he has used to offset a black background. He can be considered a post modernist and is a complete antithesis to the rest of the artists in the exhibition. His work is simple, but at times he has exaggerated it to bring about harmony of mass and empty space. He has drawn on some of the experiences of British sculptor, Henry Moore. Rayyan is considered one of the few sculptors who has proven himself on the Palestinian scene. Walid Ghashash (Acre) has distinguished himself for his use of the abstract and the geometric. Inside circular, wooden shapes, he has added geometric spaces, some filled by strong colors and a graduated use of color in others. He has succeeded in establishing harmony between the circle, the rectangle and the square. Jasser Abu Rabia’ (Al-Goref) is an artist influenced by his Bedouin tradition. 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climax when settlers attacked the Qurtuba school on Wednesday, injuring twenty-five schoolgirls. It took another twist when the Israeli Army threw canisters of tear gas into a kindergarten, clearing the path for settlers to continue their attacks. This attack confirmed what the people of Hebron have been saying since the massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque on 2/25/1994. They have maintained that the perpetrator Baruch Goldstein was not a man who acted in a deranged way in a moment of lunacy, but one of a cohort of settlers whose intention it has been to drive fear into the people of Hebron, and drive them out of the city. The settlers are much mistaken if they think that they can achieve their aim. The people of Hebron will endure. Nonetheless, yesterday’s attack hardly belies the fears of the local population. It was proof that they were right and that Goldstein’s disciples are on the loose. The settlers should have been taken out of the center of Hebron immediately following the massacre, if not for political, then most definitely for moral reasons. The fact they were not raises questions concerning the intentions of the Israeli government. In perspective, it is unlikely that the four hundred settlers of Hebron would continue to act so brazenly and persist in their provocations without the assurance that the Rabin government backs them in their demand to stay—official statements notwithstanding. They have every reason to feel encouraged as they follow the delaying tactics exercised by the Israeli government. They know that Rabin is on their side, and they have proof of it. Why else would the Israeli soldiers arrest the citizens of Hebron instead of the settlers attacking the school? Rabin has ordered protection for them, and his purpose is to ensure a place for the settlers in the heart of Hebron—or else why would he be offering the Palestinians alternative plans that he is sure will be rejected?

The Palestinian National Authority position on Hebron has been clear throughout: the settlers must be evacuated, and Hebron treated in the same way as all the other cities where the redeployment plan applies. Hebron has become a powder keg. This deplorable situation is likely to bring about a breakdown in the peace process. Spokesman Marwan Kanafani has explained that President Yasser Arafat has begun seriously to question the value of continuing talks with the Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres if he cannot assure himself a solution to Hebron, and to the other pivotal issue, the release of the prisoners. No wonder the Palestinian National Authority declared that it had no reason to celebrate the second anniversary of the Oslo Accords. The date coincided with the attack on the school in Qurtuba. Not an occasion for celebrations. [=]
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60041. ------. "Briefs: Runaway Russian Boy Was Hidden by Father [11 year old Boris Talinsky to prevent having to return to Tashkent with his mother. The father was arrested."] in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, November 26, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

60042. ------. "Briefs: Soldiers to Ride Buses for Free [according to a cabinet decision, but does not include reservists. The move is to reduce the risk from hitchhiking. Women soldiers have been able to ride for free."] in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 29, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

60043. ------. "Business and Economics: In Brief--Grants for Small Projects," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 10. Faisal Hussein, Palestinian National Authority Minister without Portfolio, signed 7/20/1995 eight agreements with the European Union, supporting small projects with $650,000 for two years. He remarked that the small projects are programs that would cost between twenty thousand to seventy thousand dollars. Among the beneficiaries of the aid are: the Muslim Women's Society in Shuafat; summer camp programs throughout the West Bank, a rubbish collection program in Abboud village near Ramallah; and a project to install a solar electric system at the Charitable Society of Saif in Hebron. [=]

60044. ------. "Business and Economics: In Brief; UNRWA Supports Women's Projects in Gaza UNRWA"," in Biladi: The Jerusalem Times; October 20, 1995, p. 10. UNRWA Development and Planning Department announced 10/12 that it has allocated a special budget to finance new projects for women in the Gaza Strip. An official at UNRWA told reporters that there will be continuous training courses to develop the roles of women in administration, marketing and other fields. [=]

60045. ------. "Business and Economics: United Nations Development Program Inaugurates Programs for Human Development", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, August 18, 1995, p. 11. With the announcement that the sixth United Nations Development Program Global Human Development Report 1995 is to be released on 8/17/1995 in Oslo, the United Nations Development Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People in Jerusalem initiated a process to generate a Palestinian Human Development Profile, which is to be finalized by June of 1996. For the first time, this process has been planned so as to involve all relevant governmental, civil society, and United Nations' organizations in a professional dialogue on the importance and the implications of the sustainable human development concept to Palestinian society. Sustainable human development is a concept directed at providing people with more chances and choices to meet the needs of current generations without endangering future generations. Although choices can be infinitely complex and change over time, people need essentially: to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge; to have access to resources for a decent standard of living. There are other things people value highly, such as political, economic and social freedom, opportunities for creativity and productivity and self-respect. Basically, sustainable human development includes four major elements: productivity, equity, sustainability and empowerment.

The objective of the Palestinian Human Development Profile is to reflect the status of human development in the Palestinian Territories at this point in time. The Profile will allow the Palestinian Territories to be included in the global human development reports, and hopes to spark public discourse on the concept of sustainable human development. More importantly, it will provide a continuing analysis of the situation, highlighting the achievements, issues, and gaps which the Palestinian National Authority could use to determine the proper areas for policy intervention, when formulating development plans. The timeliness of this endeavor stems from the fact that whatever "development" is occurring in the Palestinian Territories, in the aftermath of the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, is, to a large extent, a reaction to emergency situations and unsustainable. Furthermore, people are not seen as the source of development. How can the situation be reversed, to make people both the means and ends of development? How can viability and sustainability be ensured for the sake of future generations? What long-term challenges confront Palestinians in an emerging independent society? Can Palestinian people's choices and capabilities be enlarged? The United Nations Development Program global human development reports utilize development indices which rank different countries on how far they have achieved human development. By using disaggregated data on human development, at the national and sub-national levels, they help identify and monitor the gaps among regions, between sexes, rich and poor, urban and rural areas, young and old, among ethnic groups. Here are some relevant illustrations, drawn from the world and Arab states, in particular: The 1995 United Nations Development Program global Human Development Report, introduced two new measures of human development which highlight the status of women and gender disparities around the world. It reveals that 1.3 billion people live in poverty today, of whom 70% are women. Two-thirds of the world's illiterates are women. 73 million people lived in poverty in the Arab states (excluding Palestine), in 1990, and more than ten million people were underfed. Where are the Palestinian Territories in these figures? What is the nature of Palestinian poverty, and what measures should be taken to alleviate it?

The 1995 United Nations Development Program global Human Development Report estimates that women's contribution to the global economy, which has not been approximated before, is eleven trillion dollars. Globally, women's participation in the labor force was about 39.5% in 1990, with little difference between the developing and industrial countries. In the Arab states, only 17% of Arab women participate in the formal labor force. The 1996 Palestinian Human Development Profile hopes to assess the status of Palestinian women's unpaid and underpaid work, and their real contribution to the productivity of the Palestinian workforce. As in previous human development reports, the 1995 United Nations Development Program global Human Development Report addressed indicators concerning the improvement of human capabilities; specifically, access to health, education, and economic resources. While more than three-fourths of the world's people live in developing countries, they enjoy only 16% of the world's income. In developing countries, even tough average life expectancy has increased by more than a third over the last thirty years. About seventeen million people still die every year from infectious and parasitic diseases. In twelve of the nineteen Arab states assessed in the Report, life expectancy has reached sixty-five years. However, less than three-fifths of the rural population have access to safe water, and only half have access to basic sanitation facilities. Data about access to education in the Arab states shows that, although the adult literacy rate nearly doubled during the past two decades, and school enrollment increased nearly sixfold between 1980 and 1991, about eight million people are still illiterate, nine million children are outside the primary school system, and fifteen million are outside the secondary school system.

Being a part of the Arab World, and on the verge of becoming a member of the larger world, the Palestinian Territories face a tremendous challenge to improve the human capabilities of their people, and enlarge their choices in order to ensure the continuity of future generations. As a step in that direction, the 1996 Palestinian Human Development Profile will attempt to address a number of basic human development indicators, including: expectancy of long and healthy life at birth; access to knowledge; access to necessary economic resources; gender-related issues; environmental issues; quality of life issues, encompassing individual and societal security under occupation, economic, political and cultural freedoms, and regional and national social and cultural integration. The ultimate goal and challenge for the Palestinian Human Development Profile is to provide a comprehensive framework on human development issues, and to make it available to the various policy decision makers, with the aim of progressively enhancing the quality of life of the populace. [=]

60046. ------. "Business: Briefs BTS Gets Rights for Chinese Anti-Cancer Drugs [BTG, with headquarters in Israel, received exclusive marketing rights in many countries for 3 anti-cancer drugs made in PRC, including a drug similar to Taxol; Taxol by Bristol-Myers Squibb
is used to treat ovarian, breast and perhaps lung cancer.", in Jerusalem Post International Edition, August 6, 1994. p. 20. [TXT]

60047. ------. "Candidate Forums Planned This Month", in Jewish Transcript (Seattle), October 4, 1994. p. 20. Candidates for Superintendent of Public Instruction and from 37th, 41st and 45th Legislative districts will appear at the Temple De Hirsch Sinai, and the candidates will focus on Jewish concerns. The event is sponsored by Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, Coalition for a Jewish Voice, National Council of Jewish Women and the Temple.

A coalition of Jewish women’s organizations are sponsoring a candidate forum at Herzl-Ner Tamid Conservative Congregation on Mercer Island. The forum will include state legislative candidates, and KIRO-TV news director Ilene Engel who will moderate a panel discussion of candidates for governor, attorney general and US House of Representatives.

Finally, 1st District Congressional candidate Jeff Coppesmith and Sen. Patty Murray will appear at the Bnai Brith Business Network on 10/19/1996. [TXT]

60048. ------. "Catholics Defend Prisoners’ Rights", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 14, 1994. p. 5. The sound of the call of our brothers, the Palestinian prisoners in jails, reaches the ears of the Lord, who sets prisoners free and heals the afflicted. A group of these dear prisoners, prominent among them the women and the young, have sent us letters describing their tragic conditions of life. We in the Assembly of Catholic Ordinaries of the Holy Land feel therefore, that our task is to raise our voice in defense of the rights of the Palestinian prisoner, whose cause seems to have become merchandise for sale, or even forgotten, unsaleable goods in the peace process or else a hostage and means of political pressure.

We are very happy about the peace process. But we suffer to see that, in spite of this process such inhumane methods are still used against these prisoners who have fought for the dignity of their people and nation.

Therefore, on basis of our faith in the Lord Jesus, who is the Prince of Peace, on the basis of our deep feeling of human dignity, and on the basis of our consciousness at favorable conditions are needed to pursue the peace process, we consider that the liberation of all prisoners is at the heart of the peace process and at the heart of the Palestinian cause. It must head all efforts for peace and all agendas for peace.

So, we address our appeal to the Palestinian and Israeli authorities, and to the two states who are patrons of the peace process, the United States and Russia, to the friendly European states represented by consuls here in the Holy City and to the world community at large, to make the liberation of the prisoners top priority.

We also address a word of love to our brothers and prisoners. We say with St. Paul that if one member suffers, all members suffer with him. We do suffer with you. Your cause is our cause. You also served the Palestinian cause and brought it before the tribunal of world opinion. Today, we bring your cause to the same tribunal.

Our hope is that our brothers the prisoners will not need to use the weapon of the hunger strike. The dignity of the Palestinian people is the dignity of these prisoners. For them, we raise our prayer and our voice. For their dignity, safety and liberation, we send forth this call. The day of liberation is near. With the Holy Bible we tell them with trust: Raise your heads, for the day of your liberation is near. [For the Catholic Ordinaries’ Assembly of the Holy Land, Archbishop Lufti Laham, Jerusalem.] [=]


The director general of the ministry’s mental health department Abdul Aziz Thabet said that the new clinic will serve traumatized children transferred from other clinics or schools.

Headed that the children’s mental disorders are primarily caused by the effects of the Israeli occupation.

Thabet said that it is very important to establish such clinics and the ministry will open more throughout the Gaza Strip. He emphasized the importance of increasing the cooperation between the institutions which already work in this field and the clinic in order to facilitate an exchange of experience and knowledge.

The newly opened clinic was founded through the efforts of the WHO. A team of 8 doctors and social experts will work at the clinic. [=]


During this period, 1202 Palestinian residents of the occupied territories have been killed by Israeli security forces. Of these:

-1169 were shooting deaths, including plastic and “rubber” bullets;
-33 non-shooting deaths (beatings, burns and other);
-257 children were killed: 68 were 12 years old or younger, 189 aged 13 to 16.

An additional 100 Palestinians were killed by Israeli civilians and 27 by “collaborators.”

53 members of the Israeli security forces and 69 Israeli civilians, including three infants and two tourists were killed in the occupied territories by Palestinians.

Since the beginning of self-rule one member of the Israeli security forces was killed by a Palestinian policeman.

According to The Associated Press, 827 Palestinians suspected of collaborating with the Israeli authorities have been killed in the occupied territories, whereas according to the Israeli military, the figure is 986. This number does not include 43 Palestinians killed in detention facilities by Palestinians.

100 Israeli civilians, five tourists and 22 members of the Israeli security forces were killed inside the “green line” by Palestinian residents of the occupied territories.

22 Palestinians from the territories have been killed inside the “green line” by Israeli civilians, while 26 were killed by Israeli security forces. [=]

60051. ------. "Crime Rates Soar as Oppression Deepens", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), December 30, 1994. p. 6. Sociologists confirm that the rate of crime is on the rise in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip despite the self-rule agreement with Israel and the implementation of the first part of the Oslo Accord.

Those specialists underscore the economic, social and psychological pressures which the Palestinians have to bear.

Maher Abu Zanat, a lecturer at An-Najah University in Nablus, says all behavior has a motive.

Every crime is a manifestation of behavior, he says, adding that the motive for burglary can be traced to the state of social relations and the closure of the occupied territories by Israel.

He says that psychological factors follow from the pressure Palestinian people are exposed to daily, accompanied by a loss of hope due to the failure of the PLO-Israel agreement to bring about an improvement in the standard of living.

Abu Zanat notes that presently there are too few work opportunities for the large number of Palestinians.

In the past, young Palestinians had clearly defined places to expend their energy, says Bernard Sabella, a sociologist at Bethlehem University. In today’s society, he continued, the avenues available to young people are insufficient to absorb their energy.

Sabella says that the rise in crime in the occupied territories, especially in Jerusalem, is due to the state of the economy as well as the absence of official bodies to regulate their lives.

Personal factors also play a role, he adds, referring to drug
addicts and dealers.

The Palestinian academic says that Israel's policy of a security cordon is adding to the growing rate of crime. According to Sabella, half of the labor force has depended on work inside Israel, but the policy of excluding large numbers of young Arabs from entering Israel means they have no hope to find work. Over 70% of Palestinians were born after 1967. [6]

60052. ------. "Cuban Fixer Meets Bill: The $12 Billion Florida Scam", in Counterpunch, February 16, 1997, p. 3. The Homestead AFB that was flattened by Hurricane Andrew in 1993 had already been targeted for re-development as a gigantic regional airport. The $12 billion development project, the largest project ever planned for the region, amidst Biscayne National Park, Everglades National Park, and Florida Keys National Marine Sanctuary arouses great fears among environmentalists for the air traffic and toxic stormwater and seapage that the project would generate. Significantly, the gigantic project was never put to bid, but was instead handed off to an unknown company, the Homestead Air Base Developments Inc. (HABDI). While other firms offered cash payments as high as $64 million to develop the site, HABDI got the site in a free, exclusive 70-year lease, Dade County manager Joaquin Avino, immediately after securing the deal for HABDI, resigned and joined The Miami Herald notes that the Association was involved in the largest corruption case ever made in Miami, with several officers of the Association being videotaped offer cash bribes to Dade County commissioners in 1989. Herrera's management of HABDI has brought into it a "vicious, violent, mean-spirited, destructive, hateful and demagogic style". While Herrera's rise from impoverished refugee from Cuba to multi-millionaire remains obscure, his new connections are clear enough: one director in the Latin Builders Association, Miguel DeGrandy, is also chief lobbyist for HABDI and a partner in the Miami/DC law firm Greenberg Traunig: the managing director of Greenberg Trauwig is Marvin Rosen, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee's finance committee from 1994 through the 1996 election.

[Zionist activist] Rosen started in national politics in the 1980 election as coordinator of Sen. Edward Kennedy's effort to win the nomination; in 1984 he was the leading fundraiser for Walter Mondale; in 1988 Rosen was finance chairman of the Dukakis campaign; and in 1992 he was personally recruited by Clinton as a fundraiser. To capitalize on his new national ties, he opened a DC branch office in 1993, and hired Ron Brown's son Michael Brown to be director of legislative affairs (and the two sides across the Taiwan Straits shifted their relationship from confrontation to communication by giving warm response to the first high-level, non-government talks between Wang Daohan and Koo Chen-fu, the respective chairmen of Chinese mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and the Taiwan-based Straits Exchange Foundation. The meeting held in April marks a step toward the reunification of the country.

2. The first non-LDP regime since 1955 was established in Japan. On 8/6/93 Moritomo Hosokawa, a virtual unknown in national politics a year and a half ago when he formed the Japan New Party, was elected Japan's new prime minister, bringing to power a coalition government to replace the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Miyazawa's cabinet resigned on 8/5/93 to make way for the new government. Hosokawa and his coalition have promised to revamp the electoral system and enact stricter political funding laws to discourage corruption.

3. Chinese women track and swimming athletes made miraculous achievements. During the Fourth World Athletics Championships held in August in Stuttgart, Germany, Chinese runners Liu Dong, Qu Yunxia and Wang Junxia won gold medals in the women's 1500- meter, 3,000- and 10,000-meter events respectively. Their re-election. (Alan Farago of the Sierra Club Miami chapter observes: "Bill Clinton doesn't have any ethics. He just follows the money. But now he must really be surprised to find himself trapped in the sewers of south Florida politics.") However, Clinton and Gore have tried to pose publicly as staunch defenders of the environment, even as pandering to large polluters. Gore's scheme to moderate the environmental predation of Cuban American sugar barons at the southern end of Lake Okeechobee trumpeted with immense press acclaim, has collapsed with little press attention. In one recent quiet effort, Gore's aide Katie McGinty, now head of the Council on Environmental Quality, met with Herrera and illegally allowed his HABDI development project to proceed without environmental impact studies, which is entirely illegal, this is in line with present administration policy, which is to tell the bureaucrats in advance of the desired decision, whatever their subsequent investigations might disclose". So, HABDI, without competitive bids, with no disclosure and no environmental impact statements, has been allowed to proceed with the a vast project with potentially disastrous environmental implications.

Miami Sierra Club and other greens have demanded criminal investigations of HABDI, and there are several unanswered questions: (1) there are rumors that HABDI money comes from drug money-laundering and from South American airline companies, through Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban-American Foundation; (2) HABDI may have bribed Dade County officials: one lobbyist for HABDI, Howard Gary, was arrested as part of another southern Florida real estate development kickback scandal; and (3) did Rosen use his position as finance chairman for DNC to influence the transfer of Homestead AFB to HABDI?

Unfortunately, the person to whom they are directing their call for investigations to is Janet Reno, who "turned the blindest of eyes to political corruption and the rise of the Cuban-American mafia" as Dade County district attorney. [7]
achievements ended a long period in which Chinese athletes had yet to capture a gold medal in this particular world-class track and field competition. Wang and her team mates also broke world records in the national games in September. Later in early December, Chinese female swimmers won 10 golds and set nine records in Spain at the Inaugural World Short-Course Swimming Championships.

4. A new government was established in Cambodia. Cambodia was finally walking out of the shadows of almost two decades of war after the National Assembly approved the cabinet list of the royal government and its political program on October 29. War-weary Cambodians have been longing for peace and national unity and stability. With the efforts of the Cambodian people and the international community, the country adopted a new constitution which restored Cambodian's constitutional monarchy.

5. The Palestinian State and Israel signed a peace accord. After 14 painstaking secret talks between Israel and Palestine, both sides signed in Washington on 9/13/93 an agreement on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho. Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization recognized each other, a historic step toward the realization of Middle East peace.

6. Yeltsin and his rivals resorted to arms in Moscow. The fight during the past two years between the Russian government and the legislature finally resulted in severe bloodshed in early October. Proparliamentary demonstrators attacked the city hall and television headquarters. Russian President Boris Yeltsin declared a state of emergency in Moscow and ordered military forces to restore order after the lawmakers refused the last chance to surrender their arms and leave the parliament building. After a battle lasting 10 hours, Alexander Rutskoi, Russian acting president appointed by the Parliament, and Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov were arrested. A total of 142 people were killed during the two-day assault.

7. US army got stuck in Somalia. For a year since the US led UN peacekeeping forces were stationed in Somalia, US forces suffered heavy casualties. Facing great domestic and international pressure, US President Bill Clinton had to adjust his policy towards Somalia in October and decide to withdraw his army and seek a political solution to the problem.

8. A session of the Communist Party of China (CPC) constructed a frame for a market economy. The 14th Central Committee of the CPC convened its third plenary session from 11/11-14/93, to specify an overall plan and a program of action for establishing a socialist market economic system in the 1990s. The meeting upheld Deng Xiaoping's theory of reforms and was determined to make the market a fundamental factor in the disposition of resources under state macro-control.

9. The first high-level Sino-US summit meeting in four years was held in Seattle. While Sino-US relations are at a critical juncture, plagued by various problems since the summer of 1989, the Fifth Ministerial Conference on Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation held in Seattle on November 19-20 provided the opportunity for top leaders of the two countries to exchange views face to face. The top talks proved to be fruitful with understandings achieved and better mutual ties promised.

10. The Sino-British talks on Hong Kong failed. After 17 rounds of talks over Hong Kong’s political future in 1993, China and Britain failed to reach an agreement because of Britain’s insincerity throughout the discussions. The British side unilaterally brought the negotiations to a halt when it tabled part of Governor Chris Patten’s political reform bill to the Hong Kong Legislative Council on 12/15/93. [=]
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Welfare was surprised to hear from Kol Ha'ir about what is going on in the market. She decided on the spot to conduct a sting operation. Yesterday at 6 o'clock in the morning, Kol Ha'ir accompanied 12 investigators from the ministry’s Division of Investigations and Enforcement, who, with the aid of two policemen, conducted a raid on the market.

The operation was called “Operation Yehuda.” Thirty-seven children between the ages of 8 and 13 were caught, along with four employers. The employers admitted that they paid the children only a few shekels for a day’s work. The legal division of the ministry intends to press charges against the employers.

Before the raid was conducted, several of the officers were positioned for half an hour at three positions which were indicated in the Kol Ha’ir report. The second stage involved the positioning of two teams who were responsible for closing off the main exits.

From the interrogation of the children, it seems that they lied to Kol Ha’ir concerning their wages. Two of the children who were caught were forced to unload a truck received from their employer, who was detained for interrogation, one shekel each. Another employer confessed that he had given to one boy only three shekels. Other children said that they get between three and five shekels for unloading a truck.

All of the children were taken to the corner of Agrippas, where it was explained to them in Arabic that it was illegal for them to work at their age. The officers had not been gone for five minutes when the children went back to work as usual. [=]

60056. ------. "Editorial: The 'Piece' Plan for Bosnia", in Crescent International, December 16-31, 1995, p. 1. Peace has become a dirty word, especially when it relates to the affairs of Muslims. It is used (abused?) to numb our critical faculties so that we are unable to discern the details of what has been proposed. Palestine and Bosnia immediately spring to mind. The similarities between what has been dished out to the peoples of Palestine and Bosnia are so striking as to lead one to believe that perhaps its authors simply changed names on the maps and presented them as a solution to the parties concerned. Both in Palestine and in Bosnia, the victims were told to accept the hopelessness of their situation and sue for peace. To call the Dayton agreement a peace plan is to legitimize the systematic destruction of Bosnia, the rape of tens of thousands of Muslim women, the genocide of three hundred and fifty thousand people and the deliberate obliteration of the rich history and heritage of Muslims from the heart of Europe. The Serbian campaign in Bosnia has been of the same order as the nazi rampage through Europe, only fifty years later. The Dayton agreement has actually rewarded 'ethnic cleansing' - that demonic notion which only the warped minds of the Serbs could conceive. Srebrenica and Zepa, two of the United Nation's so-called safe havens in eastern Bosnia, where the Serbs perpetrated genocide as recently as last July, have been handed over to them.

Equally revealing is the investiture of Slobodan Milosevic, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for the scholastic year 1994/1995. The operation was called “Operation Yehuda.” Thirty-seven children between the ages of 8 and 13 were caught, along with four neighbors. Fear was compounded by hatred. The ultimate indignity inflicted on the Muslims was to dishonor their women. Who would like to return to a life of shame and humiliation? The war criminals - Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and Slobodan Milosevic - are free. Milosevic has even been declared an international statesman and rewarded, within twenty four hours of signing the Dayton agreement, with the lifting of the United Nations' sanctions against Serbia. The arms embargo against Bosnia remains in place. One could hear echoes of the slain Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin's pontifications about peace in the words of American president, Bill Clinton. Neither Palestine nor Bosnia offer any surprises. At least in Bosnia, the people put up a valiant struggle. Those in Palestine who are resisting the monstrous injustices are being dehumanized and delegitimized. This process will now be repeated in Bosnia as well. Both ultimately reflect the pathetic state of the regimes in the Muslim world and their complete failure in the face of aggression against vital parts of the Ummah. [=]

60057. ------. "Education Expert Fears Drug Epidemic", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995, p. 15. There are 36000 drug addicts in the West Bank, 7000 of them between the ages of 17 and 35, according to Rasmiyah Abdul Khader of the school of education at An-Najah University. Speaking at a symposium at the university, she warned the drug phenomenon could spread to Palestinian educational institutions. Abdul Khader said the phenomenon is a response to unemployment, free time, and family and other social pressures. She said the Palestinian National Authority should make plans to deal with unemployment, and institute clubs where young people could spend their leisure time. [=]

60058. ------. "Education: Schoolbag; Summer Camp in Khan Yunis" in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 30, 1995, p. 12. The Palestinian Women's Union in Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip inaugurated a summer camp for children called Tal Sultan. The summer camp includes one hundred and fifty students divided into seven groups. This is the first summer camp held by the union. [=]

60059. ------. "Education: Statistics Study for the Scholastic Year 1994/1995," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 1, 1995, p. 12. The Palestinian Statistics Center along with the Palestinian National Authority Education Ministry issued a study regarding education in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for the scholastic year 1994/1995. The study included the most important indicators in the education field and a list of all schools, students and teachers for that year. According to the statistics, the total number of students for this year was 654697, 337866 of who were males. The students are enrolled in 1910 schools, 492 of which are for girls while 910 are mixed schools. There are 21054 teachers, 10068 of whom are women. The study is supposed to be statistical presentation of education and truancy rates from schools. It also included a number of seminars and exercises which helped activate
discussion between participants. Participants Mohammed I’layan confirmed that there should be a radical change in society’s view towards women and men. “Supporting women is not just fulfillment of humanitarian needs. What is required from all of us is to change the concepts which are related to women,” he said. Isalh Jadd, a lecturer at Birzeit University said that teachers are central communicators and formers of values inside the society. She added, “There are future workshops planned as part of a detailed program for teachers and school students, for the purpose of developing certain ideas and values. This is necessary because of our frameworks of reference for prevailing values does not match cultural, physical and intellectual development trends.”

60061. ------. “Election Update”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 29, 1995. p. 1. The registration period for candidates has been extended to 1/4/1996. A total of 38 candidates are now standing for the Jerusalem sets. Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) was appointed 12/21/1995 to head the Palestinian Elections Commission. Two candidates are in the running for the Presidency: Yasser Arafat and Samiha Khalil. Islamic leader Imad Falouj is running as an independent candidate for the northern Gaza Strip. Only 15 women candidates have registered to date. Faisal Hussein, Minister without Portfolio, announced on 12/25/1995 that he was no longer a candidate. The formation of a National Coalition party has been announced by Haidar Abdul Shafi. The number of members in the Legislative Council has been increased from 83 to 88. The Legislative Council will initially be based in Gaza. The Palestinian Green Party has been formed, headed by Ahmad Abu Ghosh.

60062. ------. “Electoral Victory For Fatah's New Generation Boosts Hardliners”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), November 11, 1994. p. 3. The Fatah movement held a conference 11/3/1994 to elect members of the Leadership Movement Committee and the Movement Council of Fatah in the Ramallah area. The conference took place under the slogan, “Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Palestine. No to any custody of the city other than Palestinian, End of occupation and release of all prisoners.” Treasurer of the Higher Movement Committee of Fatah in the West Bank, Manwan Barghouti, announced the results of the elections of the 15 members of the Leadership Movement Committee in Ramallah.

The winners held a meeting and elected Tawfiq Barghouti as treasurer of the Leadership Movement Committee in Ramallah. Barghouti said that the elections were a high achievement for the movement. He said this is an inauguration of democracy in the Palestinian land and in the internal decisionmaking system of Fatah. He argued that elections are the only way to reinforce the unity of the movement. Barghouti claimed that the elections will pave the way for general elections. Abdul Fatah Hamayel, newly elected member of the Leadership Movement Committee, declared that elections are desired by the people in general and the Fatah movement in particular. “We hope to achieve this request on the way to regaining our independence,” he said.

Hamayel said the elections will be the model for other elections in the future.

Rabina Thiab, newly elected member of the committee and head of the Fatah women’s committees, said the elections were free and fair.

According to Fatah sources, the political change wrought at the ballot box was caused by the extent of new participation. They added that the election of these new faces is a victory for hard-liners who insist on fundamental issues in the negotiations with Israel.

The next elections of the Fatah movement will take place in Tulkarm at the end of this year. Afterwards a general conference will convene including all the elected people in the regional committees and the council of the movement. The conference will elect the Higher Movement of Fatah in the occupied territories as a precursor to holding elections for the self-rule Council. 53 candidates competed for the seats on the Leadership Committee while 116 competed for representation on the Movement Council. [=]

60063. ------. “End of a Detention Center”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 29, 1995. p. 3. South of Hebron - Palestinian women danced outside the Thahiriyeh Detention Center as after the Israeli Army withdrew, on Tuesday, 12/26/1995. Palestinian sources said 300 policemen entered the town in accordance with redeployment procedures reached in the Taba Accords signed in Washington on 9/28/1995. The policemen wore their weapons and arrived in military vehicles led by the head of the Liaison Committees, Brigadier-General Ziyad Al-Atrash. Thahiriyeh was one of five villages in which the Palestine Police took up their duties. The other four were Dura, Yatta, Bani Naim, Thahiriyeh and Nuba. Part of the Palestine Police is now housed in the former Thahiriyeh Detention. The building, which had served the Jordanian Army before 6/1967, was converted into a detention center in 12/1967 as part of Israel’s attempt to contain and suppress the Intifada. Prisoners were held in abysmal conditions before they were sent on to Ansar II in the Negev Desert. [=]


60065. ------. “Feature: Conference in Beijing--New Horizons for Women,” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 1, 1995, p. 7. The Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People of the United Nations' Development is joining thousands of women and men from all areas of the world to participate in the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women, which will take place in Beijing, China, 9/4-15/1995. The aims of this Conference are to evaluate the changes which have occurred in women’s lives since the Nairobi conference in 1985, and to take the necessary actions to ensure that women’s issues maintain a high priority status on the world's agenda.

During the past twenty years, the women's movement has picked up speed, not only on the local and regional levels but also on the international level. Following the First World Conference on women, which was held in Mexico in 1975, gender equality has experienced a noticeable advance in the labor market, as well as in the laws and regulations adopted, or to be adopted, by various governments to ensure women's rights. Various advocacy efforts at different levels and the increase in the general awareness of women’s issues have had a marked influence on providing women with access to better medical care, intellectual resources and to social equity. However, we still must ask the questions, to what extent has the status of women improved in light of the social and economic problems that face the world today? How committed are the various governments to eliminating all forms of discrimination against women? The Fourth World Conference on Women will attempt to answer these and other questions. The primary goal of the Conference is to adopt a platform of action which will address the critical areas of concern identified as obstacles to the advancement of women. The platform will include actions to eradicate poverty; to eliminate inequality in education and economic participation; to further protect and preserve the environment; to end inequality in sharing of power and decision-making; to improve the image of women in the mass media; to promote the rights of women; and to eliminate violence against women. The realization of these goals will depend on the commitment to and monitoring of the decisions made and actions taken by governments, NGOs, the private sector and individuals. The second goal of the conference is to determine the priority in actions to be taken by the global community, including the United Nations, to raise the status
of women.

The third main goal of the Conference is to mobilize women and men at the policy-making and the grassroots levels to achieve the above-mentioned goals. Until now, three international United Nations' conferences on women have been held. The first conference took place during the International Women's Year, 1975, in Mexico City, Mexico. The conference adopted a Plan of Action which resulted in the United Nations' General Assembly's proclamation of the first International Year for Women. Following the conference, in 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which now has the signatures of approximately one hundred and thirty-nine countries. An independent committee of experts was established to monitor the implementation of the Convention's articles, as well as to discuss the reports submitted to the committee by various governments. In turn, the committee is responsible for making recommendations to the governments, and for actions for the advancement of women. The second conference took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1980. The main objective was to adopt a Program of Action to remedy women's problems in the second half of the Decade for Women, with emphasis on education, employment, and health. The third conference took place in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985, with the objective of evaluating and revising the achievements of the United Nations' Decade for Women. The conference's participants adopted, by consensus, the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the year 2000. The comprehensive strategies called for work plans at the regional, national, and international levels to empower women and allow their access to basic human rights. In 1990, an evaluation by the commission of the Status of Women, an intergovernmental body consisting of forty-five member states responsible for formulating global policies and recommendations for the advancement of women, showed that the international community had become more sensitized to, and aware of, women's issues. However, the evaluation also showed that there had been a relapse in the application of the Nairobi forward-looking strategies. Therefore, it has become one of the Fourth World Conference on Women's goals to encourage women's advancement at a faster pace, in addition to examining previously undisclosed issues, such as violence against women.

The United Nations' Development Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People has participated in and supported the various preparatory national meetings for the Conference. In particular, United Nations' Development Program/Program of Assistance to the Palestinian people has sponsored preparatory workshops in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to introduce the Conference and NGO forum participants to the United Nations' system and conferences, working with media in addition to lobbying skills and strategy formulation aimed at influencing the Platform of Action. The United Nations' Development Program/Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People has been able to mobilize extra funds and in coordination with other donors, particularly the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo and the United Nations' Population Fund, have sponsored the participation of eight women from the official Palestinian delegation, as well as fourteen women from the Palestinian NGO delegation. United Nations' Development Program/Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People, through its well-established Gender in Development Program, is committed to play a full role in advocating the advancement of Palestinian women by following up on women's issues and supporting projects which meet women's economic, education, legal, social and health needs. In addition, the Gender in Development Program at United Nations' Development Program/Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People will support the recommendations of the conference in Beijing, and therefore, help implement the international Platform of Action. [ = ]

60066. ------. "First Woman Candidate", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995, p. 7. Nabita Abu Ramila was the first Palestinian woman to announce her decision to run in the legislative elections. Abu Ramila is mother of 9 children and works for women's rights. She declared that she will run as an independent candidate even though she is a Fatah supporter. Fatah, however, have denied that she was, at any time, one of their local activists. Abu Ramila lives in Beit Umar, near Hebron. The village is considered highly conservative and known for its chauvinistic attitude towards women in general. Regarding her agenda, she said, "I will work to achieve women's goals, including freedom and liberty." Her husband, Ahmed, said, "I will support and encourage her to run for the elections, although I doubt if her job would enable her to be a full-time mother at the same time." [ = ]

60067. ------. "Focus: Crime and Criminals in the 'Promised Land'", in Crescent International, November 1-15, 1996, p. 4. How sick is the Israeli society? The simple answer is: very sick. People who enjoy beating up young children and shooting at unarmed civilians are bound to develop a criminal mentality. The Israeli society is also very vicious. It is fair game to beat up, insult, injure and kill Palestinians without fear of retribution. Israeli courts have never sentenced a Zionist Jew to more than three months in jail for killing Palestinians. Soldiers often get suspended sentences. This mentality has penetrated all strata of society. Domestic violence has escalated among Israeli Jews. Crime rates have gone up dramatically. According to a study by the Israeli Institute for the Protection Of Victims Of Rape & Crime, there was fourteen hundred cases of rape and violence last year. Furthermore, 46% of the victims of sex violence were Jewish teenagers, of which 36% were family members. Rape among friends and neighbors accounted for 26%. One should not be surprised by such developments in a country that claims to be based on religion but is overwhelmingly secular. Religion is used merely as a cover of convenience. It is interesting to note that the religious argument is used most often by Zionist settlers or Orthodox Jews who insist on adhering to Jewish injunctions, like observing the Sabbath on Saturday or that God "promised" them the land of Palestine! Yet these Jews are not above violating their own rules in the most blatant manner such as sexual misconduct. In the settlement of Kiryat Gat in Occupied Palestine, a gang of fifteen to nineteen-year-old Jewish youths raped and battered a fifteen-year-old Jewish girl. Such behavior, however, is neither uncommon nor confined to Jewish youths. On 10/7/1996, a prominent Hasidic rabbi from New York was charged with fondling a fifteen-year-old Australian girl last year while she was sleeping near him on a flight from Australia to Los Angeles. United States' federal prosecutors filed one count of sexual contact with a minor against Israel Grunwald, age forty-four, who allegedly touched the girl's breasts in May of 1995. He was sentenced on 10/15/1996.

Grunwald is a rabbi in the Hasidic Pupa sect in Brooklyn, New York. His assistant, Yehudah Friedlander, who had graduated from rabbinical school but was not ordained, was sentenced in January to twenty-two months in prison and one year supervised release for placing his hand under the girl's pants and touching her genitalia without her consent. The incident was witnessed by another passenger who confronted the crying girl when she ran to the washroom. The passenger then contacted the flight crew who alerted authorities in Los Angeles. The rabbis were arrested as they walked off the flight at Los Angeles International Airport, amid protests from the Jewish community. At the time, the administrator of the Council of Jewish Organizations in Brooklyn said the men, as members of the Pupa sect, would "not even talk or sit next to a female," much less touch her. This is the same kind of argument used by Israeli officials about the brutalities inflicted on hapless Palestinians. When the Zionists are accused of torture, Israeli officials reply matter-of-factly that their military manuals prohibit torture. That may be so but it has not prevented the Zionists from perpetrating horrible crimes against innocent people. On 7/21/1996, for instance, a retired Shin Bet officer convicted of clubbing to death two Palestinian boys who had been arrested near Tel Aviv after they commandeered a bus in April of 1984. The two were later bludgeoned to death. At the time, the Israeli government flatly denied any wrongdoing even though the two boys had been photographed alive as they were led away by Shin Bet agents. While crimes against the Palestinians become a matter of routine, it also affects the rest of the Israeli society, including Jews. Israeli gangsters and criminal elements are now the most notorious and vicious in the world. The American Federal Bureau of Investigation is actively pursuing these Jewish mafiosos after discovering that many
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Russian Jews have superseded the Italian mafia.

In August, three leading drug lords were arrested in Toronto. All were Russian Jews. On 9/8/1996, the Israeli government announced the arrest of thirty-five Russian Jews for using Israeli banking facilities to launder drug money. Jeffrey Robinson, a British author and 02-638385, 02-667726, 02-663162/3, Association for the Support and 02-638385, 02-667726, 02-663162/3.

In August, three leading drug lords were arrested in Toronto. All were Russian Jews. On 9/8/1996, the Israeli government announced the arrest of thirty-five Russian Jews for using Israeli banking facilities to launder drug money. Jeffrey Robinson, a British author and considered an authority on the Russian-Jewish drug lords, said on British Broadcasting Corporation world service that the number of such gangsters was perhaps more than three hundred and fifty or higher. Robinson is the author of the best-seller, "The Laundromat," a book that deals with the drug trade. The drug trail has taken some interesting routes. In Brooklyn, New York, a rabbi was arrested two years ago for facilitating the laundering of drug money through his synagogue account for years until his discovery. What better way to make it kosher! The drug lords even promised him a cut for Israel—every Jew's, and indeed, many gentiles', favorite place to send donations to these days. While some people may be under the impression that most of the money to Israel comes from the United States, Canada is not very far behind either. Zionist settlers boast that on a per capita basis, Canadian Jews send far more than American or other Jews in the world. Much of this money is sent in violation of Canadian Income Tax laws. The Canadian government revoked the charitable license of the Toronto Zionist Council last April after a Revenue Canada audit found it was funnelling funds to Zionist settlers in Occupied Palestine, in contravention of Canadian laws. A number of other Jewish organizations involved in transferring money to Zionist settlers are also under investigation. One group in particular, the Press Foundation, while maintaining a low profile, collected five million dollars last year, according to the "Toronto Star" which ran a long piece on Canadian Jewish organizations on 10/12/1996. The most rabidly racist Zionists hail from North America who insist that they are the "chosen people" and that Palestine was "promised" to them by God, whether they were born in Brooklyn (New York) or North York (Toronto). Yigal Amir, the assassin of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin had a "fatwa" issued by a rabbi in North York to kill Rabbi [–]

60068. ------. "Forum Explores the Lives of Women in Exile," in Week in Germany, March 8, 1996, p. 6. The differing fates of the women driven into exile by the Nazis will be the focus of the fourth Else Lasker-Schuler Forum scheduled for 3/14-17/1996 in Wuppertal (North Rhine-Westphalia). "Exile research was largely a matter of researching on men," explained Hajo Jahn, director of the Lasker-Schuler Society, in announcing the subject of this year's forum. "Exile literature appeared to have been a strictly male literature." But the example of Lasker-Schuler (1869-1945) herself, an acclaimed German Jewish poet who fled Germany in 1933, shows how inaccurate those preconceptions are. Under the title "Women in the Land of the Hebrews," the forum will give special attention to the women who, like Lasker-Schuler, eventually settled in what was then known as Palestine after leaving Germany. Literary scholars will be joined by survivors of the Nazi era from Germany, the US and Israel in the forum's proceedings. As in the three previous forums, there will also be sessions devoted to Lasker-Schuler's work as a poet and artist. [–]

60069. ------. "GUIDE TO THE ISRAELI LEFT: Part 1", in Challenge, May-June, 1991, p. 37. Ad Kan (Up To Here). Tel Aviv University lecturers group founded in early 1988. Organizes teach-ins symposia and demonstrations against the occupation and related policies. Maintains contact with Palestinian academics and lawyers in the territories. Prof Moshe Shaked Tel Aviv University, Dept. of Sociology, tel.03-739639 (h). Alternative Information Center. Publications News From Within a monthly bulletin on the situation in the Occupied Territories as well as The Other Front a weekly bulletin of analytical commentary and translations from the Hebrew press. Police raided office after it allegedly allowed facilities to be used to print a pamphlet aimed at a terrorist readership. Director Michel (Mikado) Warschawski served a six-month prison term for allegedly closing his eyes to the origin of the pamphlet. P.O. Box 24278 Jerusalem tel. 02-241159. Association for Civil Rights in Israel. Advocacy for civil rights in Israel and the Occupied Territories. P.O. Box 8273 Jerusalem 91082 tel.

through the New Israel Fund (U. S. and Canada) or the Jerusalem Foundation (Greta Britain). Interns for Peace. Program to train Israeli and American Jews and Arabs for community work in Jewish and Arab villages. Participants spend two years in the villages organizing encounter groups between Arab and Jewish schoolchildren or doing similar work. 35 Geula Street, Tel Aviv. tel. 03 657995. [–]

60071. ------. "GUIDE TO THE ISRAELI LEFT: Part 3", in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 37. Isha L ’ isha (Haifa Women’s Center). Sponsors Palestinian-Jewish women’s dialogue groups cultural exchanges and symposia. Extensive support program for women and other feminist activities. 88 Arlooor Street, Haifa tel. 04-664949. Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information. A future-based public policy and development think tank to research problems of coexistence between Israel and the future State of Palestine. Reports published in English Hebrew and Arabic. P.O. Box 51358 Jerusalem, tel. 02-285210, fax 02- 289094. Friends of IPCRI, P.O. Box 1120 Long Beach NY 11561 USA. fax 516- 431-1909. Kav La’Oved (Workers’ Hotline). Defends labor and other rights of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories who work in Israel. Bimonthly newsletter in Hebrew and English describes recent work and current issues 78 Allenby Street, Tel Aviv, tel. 03-663754. Account357770/38BankLeumi, Branch 811 Ahad Ha’am Street, Tel Aviv. League of Jaffa Arabs (al-Rabita). Lobbies for rights of Jaffa’s Arab community. In 1989 held its seventh annual International Volunteer Work Camp in which Israeli Jews and Arabs and Europeans worked to build roads clean streets improve kindergarten facilities and parks etc. 73 Yeletf Street, P.O. Box 41097 Jaffa 68171. tel. 03-812250. Neled (Israeli Women for Coexistence). Dialogue group of Jewish and Arab women in the Tel Aviv area. Solidarity actions with Palestinian women in the Occupied Territories. 6 Tor Hazahav Street, Herzlia. Bracha Yanov, tel. 052-552485. This partial list is based on a full list prepared by the Alternative Information Center and available from the center for $5/NIS 10. The second half of this list will appear in the next issue of Challenge.[–]


In a statement issued 5/29/93, the organization reported that 26 Palestinians were shot dead in the Strip by soldiers and special Israeli military units in the first four weeks of last month. At least 400 others were shot and injured.

The number of casualties makes it clear that there are new open-fire regulations for the soldiers which “free the soldiers to use lethal force without any type of justification, and this has led to the killing of six children under the age of 15, as well as one woman who was inside here house at the time she was shot.”

According to the statement, the soldiers involved in all these killings were not in situations which jeopardized their lives.

Faris Kurdi, 18 months, was used as an example in the statement. The child was killed by an Israeli soldier at a distance of 70 meters while in his father’s arms. The father was standing inside a shop in Jabaliya refugee camp. The statement inquired as to “what kind of danger this child posed to justify that he be shot.”

It was also noted that 35 children have been killed by the Israeli army in the Gaza Strip since the beginning of the year and 221 others since the beginning of the Intifada.

“Human rights violations practiced by the Israelis are collective punishments and are aimed at subjugating the Palestinian people,” said the statement. It noted that the killings, as well as the closure of the territories, have had devastating effects on all aspects of life in the Strip.

Despite exaggerated Israeli figures, only 7000 Palestinian workers from the Gaza Strip have been allowed to return to their jobs inside the “green line.” At least 40000 Gazans were working inside the "green line" before the closure, said the lawyers.

Moreover, the collective loss of workers’ income amounts to $1.56 million daily as a result of the closure—$70 million over the last two months.

The industrial sector, said the statement, has suffered losses of more than $50 million, while the agricultural sector has lost nearly $150 million. As for unemployment in the Strip, it has exceeded 80%.

The lawyers held the Israeli authorities responsible for the effect of the closure on the current health situation and the suffering endured by many who are prevented from reaching hospitals in Jerusalem. [=]

60073. ------. “Gaza Kindergartens Unlicensed and Overcrowded”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 19, 1996. p. 12. Palestinian kindergartens in the Gaza Strip are suffering from a lack of entertainment facilities for children and a shortage of high-quality services. The supervisors of these kindergartens say that despite the importance of these services to the children in the schools, they lack qualified teachers, adequate funds and space. Um Ahmad, 37, who administers a kindergarten in the Sabra neighborhood in Gaza, said that the center has only four rooms separated by one small corridor. She added that the kindergarten is roofed with asbestos which makes it very cold in winter and very hot in summer. “In addition to these problems, the classes are overcrowded because there is not enough space outside for children to play,” she said. Um Ahmad said that she started working at the kindergarten five years ago, after the death of her husband. The kindergarten is her only source of income. She refused to discuss her academic qualifications, saying, “Teaching kids comes from practice.”

According to another supervisor in the Sheikh Radwan neighborhood in Gaza, the kindergartens help children prepare to enter schools. She explained that children learn how to behave in kindergartens. However, she said that most of the kindergartens in the Gaza Strip do not offer good services to the children who attend. Mahmoud Saleh, principal of the Imam Kindergarten in Khan Yunis, admitted that the situation in his kindergarten is deteriorating. He said that he needed to find financial support before it was too late. Another supervisor of a kindergarten, Ziad Subhi, said that the lack of financial support of kindergartens prevents the development of education in the Palestinian society. Subhi added that the formulation of a unified plan would enormously help the kindergartens to improve and develop. Figures available from the PNA Ministry of Social Affairs show that out of 350 operating kindergartens in the Gaza Strip, only 120 have official operating permits. According to the figures, most of the unlicensed kindergartens are privately owned while the others belong to the municipality, women’s associations or political parties. In addition, the majority of the supervisors of the kindergartens do not have high academic qualifications, while those who do carry certificates lack experience. The Ministry of Social Affairs is responsible for the supervision of kindergartens. Samia Shaath and Iman Udwan, two officials at the Ministry, are responsible for supervising more than 120 kindergartens. Shaath said the Ministry needs a larger team of supervisors to be able to fully perform their supervision. She added that she and Udwan were unable to do it alone. [=]

60074. ------. “Gaza Police Restrict Political Freedom”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 14, 1994. p. 3. The Palestinian police in the Gaza Strip have announced two directives were issued by the Palestine police which, according to Al-Haq, the Ramallah-based human rights organization, “violate the rights to freedom of assembly,association and peaceful political expression.”

The first directive, issued 9/9/1994, and addressed to the Rashad Shawa Cultural Center, the, YMCA, Al-Azhar University and the Jalaa Cinema in Gaza City, banned them from staging political meetings unless prior permission is obtained from Ghaizi Jabali, chief of the Gaza police.

This was quickly followed by a second directive which prohibits all bus companies in the Strip from "transporting political
groups for any purpose without advance written permission" from the Palestinian police.

According to Al-Haq, on the same day, Palestinian police sealed off the YMCA, the venue for the Third National Conference of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The event was canceled since the participants were prevented from entering the building.

The Arabic daily Al Quds reports that political demonstrations have also been prohibited.

In a statement released 10/6/1994, Al-Haq calls these directives "a grave violation of the rights to freedom of assembly and association guaranteed by Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Articles 21 and 22 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights."

It goes on to add that such measures are not compatible with democratic values and political pluralism. While the first directive states that it is made in accordance with the law, it breaches international human rights standards. The second directive has no stated legal basis and even goes beyond the Israeli army's Military Order No. 62, applicable to the Gaza Strip, and No. 101, applicable to the West Bank, which restrict freedom of assembly and association.

A spokesman from Al-Haq explained that the directives are not orders based on any law, which so far does not exist, but administrative orders, similar to those issued under so-called states of emergency.

Muna Rishmawi, chairwoman of the Palestinian Lawyers Committee, also questioned the legality of such directives during the Jerusalem-based research center Panorama's second Palestinian conference on Democracy in Gaza, 10/23-26/1994. She pointed out such restrictions might have serious implications for the forthcoming Palestinian elections.

"For the Palestinian National Authority to provide an organizational structure (for political meetings) is one thing, but to require a permit cannot lead to free elections," she said.

Al-Haq has asked for the immediate withdrawal of the two directives in order to adhere to the 1988 Palestinian Declaration of Independence and Article 14 of the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area, which states the Palestinian authorities are required to exercise their powers and responsibilities "with due regard to internationally accepted norms and principles of human rights and the rule of law."

60075. ------. "German Politicians Pay Last Respects to Yitzhak Rabin", in The Week in Germany, November 10, 1995, p. 1. Germany's political leaders set aside their differences early this week to give unanimous voice to their shock at the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on 11/4/1995. In a telegram to Israeli President Ezer Weizman, President Roman Herzog, speaking for many Germans, praised Rabin for his courageous commitment to peace. Herzog was on hand for Rabin's funeral in Jerusalem on 11/6/1995. Joining the president were Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU), Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel (FDP), Bundestag President Rita Sussmuth (CDU), Prime Minister Johannes Rau of North Rhine-Westphalia (SPD) and SPD head Rudolf Scharping. Back in Germany, German citizens placed flowers and candles outside the Israeli embassy in Bonn. Taking a break from the usual parliamentary give-and-take, Chancellor Kohl praised Rabin before the Bundestag on 11/8/1995 and expressed his condolences again to Rabin's family. Rabin, the chancellor said, ranks as one of the great figures of the century and Germans owe him a particular debt of gratitude for his efforts on behalf of German-Israeli friendship. Kohl added that he hopes the tragedy of Rabin's murder will not disrupt the Middle East peace process and that Germany will do what it can to contribute to that process. While visiting the Middle East earlier this year, the chancellor announced that Germany will participate in a US $400 million water project in the region and will provide an extra DM 10 million in development aid to the Palestinian administration in Jericho and Gaza. [≡]

60076. ------. "Guide to Israeli Organizations for Peace, Coexistence and Human Rights", in Challenge, July-August 1991, p. 41. [This partial list is based on a full list prepared by the Alternative Information Center and available from the center for $5/NIS 10. The first half of this list appeared in the last issue of Challenge.]

Palestinians & Israelis for Nonviolence: Branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, includes Israelis, Palestinians and foreign residents. Worked for the reunification of Palestinian families with Israelis for Family Reunification and the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. P.O. Box 8343, Jerusalem 91083. Jeremy Milgrom, tel. 02-710892, Jerusalem; Amos Gvitz, tel. 02-5232621, Kibbutz Shlaim; Kamil Shehadeh, House of Grace, 10 Palyamon Street, Haifa. Partnership (Shutafut): Activities have included participating in efforts to take food to children in Gaza Strip refugee camps, running a club for Arab and Jewish children in Haifa, and other coexistence activities. Coordinates a broad coalition of peace groups in the Haifa area. P.O. Box 9577, Haifa, tel. 04-660281.

Peace Now: Organizes rallies and "peace days" in the West Bank, demonstrations against the founding of new settlements, solidarity visits to villages in the Occupied Territories. 177 Ben Yehuda Street, Tel Aviv 63472, tel. 03-5460227, fax 03-5464239; Jerusalem tel. 02-690134. Account 783-177887, Bank Hapoalim, Zion Square Branch, Jerusalem.

Public Committee Against Torture in Israel: Founded in 1/90 by a group of lawyers, psychiatrists and professionals to fight the use of torture as a means of interrogation. Uncovers and publicizes facts so as to mobilize public opinion for the abolition of torture. P.O. Box 8388, Jerusalem 91083, tel. 02-630073. Rabinic Human Rights Watch: Israeli rabbis from Orthodox, Conservative and Reform streams who oppose abuses of Palestinian human rights, make condolence visits to victims of settler violence, counter inaccurate information with eyewitness testimony. P.O. Box 32225, Jerusalem. Jeremy Milgrom, tel. 02-710892.

Red Line - Jews and Arabs Against the Occupation: Western Galilee-based group which began with a four-day march from the northwest corner of Israel to Jerusalem. Solidarity visits to West Bank villages bringing food, clothing and medical aid, and public appearances at kitutzim, villages and schools. Currently building a playground in an Arab-Jewish neighborhood of Acre. Supports negotiations with the PLO and a two-state solution. Works in conjunction with the Council of Heads of Arab Local Councils. P.O. Box 207, Nahariya. Account 36730, Barclay's Discount Bank, Main Branch, Acre.

Reshet (Women's Network for the Advancement of Peace): Grew out of Brussels meetings of Israeli and Palestinian women in 1989. Brings a broad spectrum of Israeli women, including many from the mainstream, into contact with leaders and rank-and-file of Palestinian women's committees. Makes visits to women's committee projects in the Occupied Territories and invites Palestinian women to speak to women's groups in Israel. P.O. Box 9668, Jerusalem 91090. Rene Anne Gutter, tel. 02-410002, Jerusalem; in the Tel Aviv area tel. 03-227663.

Runners for Peace: Israeli-Palestinian running club sponsored by Runners World magazine. Successfully appeals an army ban on their running in Bethlehem wearing T-shirts reading, "Peace between Palestine and Israel, each free and secure," in the colors of both flags. Members also run within the Jerusalem city limits, and joined Palestinian and Israeli runners from Nazareth and Wadi Ara in a recent demonstration against the expropriation of land from these areas. 19 Kafir Etzion Street, Jerusalem. Hillel Bardin, tel. 02-732936.

Shati (Support Project for Voluntary Organizations): Provides technical assistance and training in fund-raising and other organizational skills to volunteer groups. Recently facilitated a study day on "How to Put Across the Message of Peace" for the Forum for Political Education, 33 Rambam Street, Jerusalem, tel. 02-634706.

Women & Peace Coalition: Arab, Jewish and mixed Israeli women's organizations working with "independents" to end the occupation and other forms of oppression. Sponsors annual women's peaceconferences. Organized a march of over 500 Israeli and...
Palestinian women in both parts of Jerusalem during the “1990: Time for Peace” events of 12/89, and a weekend conference in Kfar Yasif on “Fear as a Barrier to Peace” in 6/90. P.O. Box 61128, Jerusalem 91060. Haya Shalom, tel. 02-255984.

Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners: Assists Palestinian women prisoners in Israeli jails by providing information to prisoners’ families, delivering clothes and other necessities to prisoners, making visits after release, providing better sanitary conditions. Jerusalem branch publishes monthly reports in Hebrew and English. Tel Aviv branch publishes newsletter in Hebrew, English and Spanish; the two branches function separately. Jerusalem: P.O. Box 8537, Jerusalem 91083. Account 707317, Barclays Discount Bank, Branch 63, Jerusalem. Tikva Parnass, tel. 02-241159. Tel Aviv: P.O. Box 31811, Tel Aviv 61361. Yael Oren, tel. 03-294510.

Women in Black: Organizes one-hour women’s vigils every Friday afternoon at over 30 locations throughout Israel and several in Europe and North America, demanding an end to the occupation. Began soon after the outbreak of the Intifada. In Jerusalem, the vigil is held at France Square, near the Kings Hotel and in Tel Aviv near the northern train station, both from 1:00-2:00 p.m. P.O. Box 61128, Jerusalem 91060, tel. 02-255984. Ditza Bitterman, 209 Dizengoff Street, Tel Aviv, tel. 03-410452.

Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit): Movement of conscientious objectors to army service in the Occupied Territories. Some 600 reservists have signed movement’s petition declaring their refusal to “take part in suppressing the uprising and insurrection in the territories.” Holds periodic forums open to the public, solidarity demonstrations with imprisoned objectors, and other activities. P.O. Box 6953, Jerusalem 91068. Ishal Menuchen, tel. 02-637201. [∗]


The seven hour meeting was entitled “Human Rights Intervention and Protection: A Workshop of Israeli and Palestinian Human Rights Organizations on Roles, Responsibilities and Cooperation in the Current Period.” It focused on practical issues of administrative and legal intervention on behalf of Palestinian individuals and groups following the Cairo Agreement and early empowerment.

The workshop dealt with the changes and difficulties human rights advocates have been experiencing in assisting clients, both in the autonomous areas and in he West Bank, during the past he agenda included land-related issues; prisoners and detainees; health care; freedom of movement; residency; rights; workers rights and compensation for injury; and property loss.

The discussions provided the human rights community an unprecedented opportunity to clarify new procedures and the responsibilities of the Palestinian and Israeli authorities on various issues. It also enabled participants to share information on strategies and results of their interventions under new circumstances.

Several proposals for follow-up and cooperation in the future were considered, with a view toward insuring protection of human rights, and providing appropriate and effective services.

The meeting, the first of its kind since the signing of the Declaration of Principles in 9/1993, through some 50 human rights officials, representing 15 organizations including the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, B’Tselem, Workers Hotline, the Public Committee against Torture in Israel, Physicians for Human Rights, Defense for Children International (Israeli and Palestinian sections), the Alternative Information Center, Al-Haq, Bir Zeit Human Rights Office, Mandela Institute, Land and Water Establishment, the Society of St. Yves, and the Gaza Center for Rights and Law.

Through an intensive coordinated effort of ACRI, HaMoked, MK Naomi Chazan, and the Palestinian National Authority officials, six Gazans received permits to attend the meeting. A representative of Solidarity International was refused a permit to attend by the Israeli authorities for security reasons. [∗]

60078. -------. “Health and Economics: Coping with a Climate of Violence,” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 22, 1995, p. 12. The Gaza Community Mental Health Program organized its Second International Conference on “Palestinians in Transition: Rehabilitation and Community Development,” on 9/13-15/1995 at the Rashad Shaqer Center for Rehabilitation and Research, Gaza. The main themes of the conference included violence, ideology, national mental health planning, women’s issues, children and the psychological impact of war. Rachma Marton, chair of the Association for Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, spoke during the plenary session on mental health. She gave several examples of how severely mentally ill Palestinian prisoners are wrongly diagnosed by Israeli physicians as having no mental illness. She added that if the prisoners do not behave normally due to their illness, they are placed in solitary confinement where their mental health deteriorates further. Maton pointed out that the physicians themselves are victims of a “system which swallows physicians.” The director of the Middle East Justice Network, USA, Nancy Murray, gave a lecture entitled, “In Whose Interests: United States’ Policy and Democracy in Palestine.” During her current visit to the Palestinian areas, she was struck by the deepening of the Israeli government’s apartheid practices. She defined apartheid as the systematic separating of groups to perpetuate the dominance of one group. Murray addressed the question of how Palestinians in this period of transition can work toward a future without apartheid. If the Palestinians mobilize to tell the world they will not accept an apartheid solution, it will spur anti-apartheid movements all over the world, particularly in the United States. This approach would be successful because the anti-apartheid movement which fought apartheid in South Africa was very strong, and so the groundwork for a movement against Israeli apartheid has already been laid. Eyad Sarraj, head of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program, tackled the issue of the settlers’ violence in Hebron. He said that about fifty Palestinian girls were injured by settlers who attacked their school in Hebron on 9/14/1995. Seventeen toddlers, one to eighteen months old, were hospitalized after Israeli soldiers unleashed tear gas outside their daycare center, he added.

A number of workshops were organized later to discuss ideology and racism, the psychological effects of historical events on the individual and on society, racism in the Zionist mind, and medical strategies for the care of victims of torture. Inge Genefke, medical director of the Rehabilitation and Research center for Torture Victims, in Denmark, argued that torture is the most effective weapon against democracy. She also said that torture is an instrument of power and is used by many governments throughout the world to maintain their power base and exercise control over their citizens. “This violates the United Nations’ Convention which issued a declaration against torture in 1987.” She added that despite the long-term effects on torture, it is possible eventually to rehabilitate the victims of torture. Sorem Bojholm, a psychiatrist at the Rehabilitation and Research Center for Torture Victims, focused on monitoring the health and rehabilitating the survivors of torture. He propounded the theory of their being a link between the method of torture used and the subsequent symptoms manifested by the survivors. Rona Fields, from the Association in Community Psychology, USA, described the torture suffered by Palestinian prisoners during the Intifada and stressed the need for helping the prisoners to adjust to life outside prison. [∗]

60079. -------. “Health: First Pancreas Transplant in Nablus”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 2, 1996, p. 12. The first transplant operation of its kind was conducted by a Palestinian physician, Yusef Masri, at the Women Union Hospital in Nablus 1/21/1996. The doctor operated on Fathi Wishahi, age thirty-four, from Jerin, who was suffering from diabetes. According to Masri, one-third of the patient’s pancreas was taken out while the rest was transplanted in his intestine. He said the patient is recuperating and will soon be discharged from the hospital. The surgical doctor hailed this advance for local medicine, saying, “We first had to ensure the patient did not suffer from diabetes.
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After that, the five-hour operation went smoothly and successfully." [=]

60080. -------. "Health: Thalii–Development is the Basis of Our Existence", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 2, 1996, p. 12. Maqassed Hospital in East Jerusalem is continuing in its efforts to improve its medical care and services. The hospital recently opened a new hereditary disease department. It is the first of its kind in the hospitals of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Amr Thalji, the head of the Maqassed Hospital said, "The addition of this important department to the hospital was done in accordance with the general policy of the hospital. The hospital strives to enhance its own sections in order to fill the gap in the medical care and services that are available in Palestine. We have been planning to open this department for years. We sent Doctor Bassam Abu Libdeh abroad to continue his studies in the specialty of hereditary diseases. He has now returned and is implementing his training." Thalji pointed out that Palestinian society is in great need of this kind of health service. "There is a comprehensive plan to improve all the sections in the hospital but its realization depends on our financial capabilities," he said. Abu Libdeh said that the new department will greatly aid the efforts to eradicate the problem of hereditary diseases. He added that the department will be staffed by specialists and will aim at spreading awareness of the worryingly high incidence of hereditary diseases among the Palestinian population. He explained that the cultural acceptance of intra-family marriages is the main reason behind the increase of such diseases in the society. He continued, "The services offered here are of two kinds. Firstly, in our clinics, we provide intensive care for patients suffering from such hereditary diseases as mental retardation and abnormality. Secondly, we offer post-treatment care for these patients and counseling programs for pregnant women who are carrying retarded babies. We give them medical advice and educate them in the dangers of marrying relatives, taking certain medicine or being exposed to x-rays during pregnancy. We also counsel young couples who are contemplating marriage and who are related to one another about any possible negative effects on their children." Abu Libdeh added that, in order to avoid hereditary diseases, the department laboratories examine the chromosomes, blood and CVS of the patients. "If we detect the disease, we sit with the parents and explain the danger and ways to avoid it in the future. We also explain to them the possible problems the patient will face in the future so that they can prepare themselves." Asked if there are treatments for the hereditary diseases, Abu Libdeh said, "There are a lot of hereditary diseases. Some become fatal in a short period. Others can be treated but not totally eradicated." Abu Libdeh said that, now the hereditary disease department of the Maqassed Hospital is open, people no longer have to go to Israeli hospitals for treatment where treatment is very expensive. He explained that the cost of treatment at the Maqassed Hospital is one-sixth of the cost at the Israeli hospitals. He added that this will allow more Palestinians to have access to important treatment. [=]

60081. -------. "ID Procedures Changed", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), November 11, 1994, p. 2. The lawyer who specializes in family reunification at the Alternative Information Center, Ahmed Ruweidi, along with field researcher Fuad Abu Raya met 11/8/1994 with the head of the pediatric sector of the Makassed Hospital, Anwar Dudin. Ruweidi explained details of the new procedures in the ministry of interior regarding birth registration in the hospitals of Jerusalem.

He said that babies of Jerusalemite mothers and West Bank fathers will be registered with their mothers as Jerusalemites. Although a meeting took place between the hospital officials and the head of the interior office, there were no clear and direct instructions regarding the registration of new born babies in Palestinian hospitals.

The ministry refused to deal with the hospital and claimed that there was no such law. Abu Raya pointed out that the hospital started giving identity numbers to babies of Jerusalemite parents from 6/1994 automatically. As those fees are paid by the National Insurance directly to the hospital, the parents were not charged. The hospital also pays the money for the baby through a special clerk who gives them directly to the Jerusalem-born mother.

Shukri Alayan said there are special problems related to the registration of babies born among the population of the West Bank. The hospital provides the Ministry of Interior with three copies of the registration. The ministry then sends the copies to the civil administrator responsible for the area in which the child was born.

While this is the procedure Alayan says the Ministry of Interior does not send on the registration papers. This ends up costing the citizens $100 in fines because parents are obliged to announce the birth of a child within 10 days. [=]

60082. -------. "IFOR Recommends Japan Settle Sexual Slavery Issue (4): Some Legal Issues: Possibility for Retrospective Legislation", in Peoples Korea, June 4, 1994, p. 7. [Continued from the 4/9/1994 issue] The Japanese legislature may face the legal issues under Articles 31 and 39 of the Japanese Constitution, which guarantees the due process of law and prohibition of a retrospective panel legislation. Therefore, we need to examine whether any retrospective legislation is possible for the said purpose, namely punishment of the past crimes. Article 15 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Japan has been a Party since 1979, prohibits a retrospective penal law, in general, by stating, "No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offense, under national or international law." It should be noted, however, that the said provision allows conviction on account of any act or omission which constituted a criminal offense under "international law." Furthermore, Article 15 (2) stipulates "Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations." As a result, it is allowed for the State Parties to legislate retrospective domestic laws in order to punish perpetrators who committed a criminal offense according to the general principles of law under international law (see M. Novak, "UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights CCPR Commentary," NP Engel, p. 281). One may find such examples in many countries including Israel, Australia, the UK, Canada, and Denmark. [=]

60083. -------. "In Brief: Occupied Palestine", in Crescent International, May 1-15, 1994, p. 2. Fatma Khalayfeh, a 21-year-old Palestine mother of one, who was pregnant with her second child, was shot and killed in her home when a zionist settler, Natan Engelsman, started to fire wildly in Al-Jub refugee camp on 4/12/1994. The camp is five kilometers from Jerusalem. [=]

60084. -------. "In Briefs: Have Deal Will Travel," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 6, 1995, p. 2. President Yasser Arafat flew to Saudi Arabia 10/2/1995, where he met Crown Prince Abdallah Ibn Abdel Aziz to discuss the peace process, the issue of job opportunities for Palestinians in Saudi Arabia, and his gratitude for the prince’s pledge of $100 million for the self-rule areas. Arafat arrived in Yemen 10/3/1995, where he again discussed the peace process with President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The next afternoon, 10/4/1995, Arafat reached Cairo where, in addition to discussing the peace process, he discussed the urgent issues of the plight of the Palestinians expelled from Libya and Israel's refusal to set free women prisoners. He also congratulated Mubarak on the anniversary of the October War of 1973. [=]

60085. -------. "In Memoriam, Dr. Lilian Moed", in Challenge, March-April, 1991. p. 10. A leader, a teacher, an educator and a woman of vision, she dedicated her life to reforming the world and to the values of equality, women’s rights, peace and nonviolence. We mourn her loss. Women and Peace; Women in Black; WILPF. [=]

60086. -------. "In a Policy Shift, United Jewish Appeal Federation of New York (UJA) Ready To Accept 'Directed Giving'," in Forward (New
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York, November 22, 1996, p. 2. The United Jewish Appeal Federation of New York has decided to end its policy against directed giving, and will allow donations to be directed to programs such as overseas rescue and Jewish continuity, or programs to assist the emigration of Soviet Jews and sending children to Jews-only summer camps. The new policy could have implications for charities that maintain direct money overseas, such as the United Jewish Appeal and United Israel Appeal. Directed giving may also be allowed by the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles. Some, such as Rita Kaplan, founder of the Rita J. & Stanley H. Kaplan Foundation, see directed giving as allowing more to be spent on “Jewish continuity”, rather than the traditional 70%-US and 30%-Israel split. [TXT]

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60087. ------. “Infected Prostitute [Israeli prostitute seeking entry to drug treatment program tested positive, but failed to return; has sex with six men per day; she will sue the Ministry of health with not seeking her out; 154 AIDS deaths, 73 alive with AIDS, 1010 with HIV],” in AIDS Newsletter, March 1993. p. 9. [TXT]

60088. ------. “Intifada Update: 7/18/93”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 1. The military authorities handed over the body of Fathi Abu Khader, 40, to his family. He was laid to rest in a massive funeral. The man died in hospital as a result of wounds sustained earlier in the week.

In Jabalya refugee camp in the Strip, a 10-year-old youth was shot and injured by soldiers as they retaliated at stonethrowers.

In Khan Yunis, another Palestinian was also shot and injured. A Molotov was tossed at a military vehicle in Shate’ refugee camp, Gaza Strip, but failed to explode, according to military sources. [=]

60089. ------. “Intifada Update: 7/20/93”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 1. Izzat Matar, 10, of Jabalya refugee camp, died in the hospital. The boy was shot and injured in the head the previous day.

In Khan Yunis, a hand grenade was tossed at a police station, but no injuries were reported.

A Molotov was tossed at a military encampment in Hebron. No casualties were reported. [-]

60090. ------. “Intifada Update: 7/21/93”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 1. A Palestinian youth died when he was run over by an Israeli police car in Abasan, in the Strip. Suleiman Anafat, 16, was riding his bicycle at the time.

Another Palestinian died of a heart attack as he was chased by the military in the village of Sawahreh a-Sharqiyah on the outskirts of Jerusalem. The man was identified as Aziz Zuheikah, 21. The village observed a day of mourning in memory of the youth. Zuheikah was also mourned in a leaflet distributed by Fatah.

Molotovs were tossed at military vehicles in Khan Yunis, but no injuries were reported.

In Bureij refugee camp, Gaza Strip, soldiers arrested a youth hunting for membership in Fatah. He was previously sentenced to 20 years imprisonment and then released in the prisoner exchange of 1985.

Curfew was imposed on Salif, village in the Nablus district, following protests and clashes with the army. [=]

60091. ------. “Intifada Update: 7/22/93”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 1 & 15. In Gaza City, three people were shot and injured. Three other masked youths were arrested.

In Jerusalem, youths attacked a military car in the area of Ras al-Amoud. Soldiers arrived and searched for youths.

The main street in Abu Dis was blocked by youths. Israel sources reported that at least 605 people from the West Bank were arrested in Jerusalem for not having permits.

In Hebron, the military used tear gas to disburse stonethrowers.

A youth tossed a Molotov at a military vehicle in Jerusalem. The youth was arrested later, according to the army.

Another Molotov was also tossed at a military car in the Rafah Strip. [=]

60092. ------. “Intifada Update: 7/23/93”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 15. Six Palestinians from Shate’ camp - four of them children - were shot and injured. Sources in Shifa Hospital said one of the injured was a 4-year-old girl who was shot with live ammunition in the stomach. She remains in stable condition.

Curfew was imposed on Shabboura camp in Rafah from 3 a.m. to 9 a.m. on allegations that the army was hunting for Intifada activists.

Many homes were entered forcefully and searched thoroughly, while dozens of residents were arrested for interrogation.

A Molotov was lobbed at an army post in Hebron. Soldiers shot their guns in the air, and the army didn’t disclose the amount of damage.

Demonstrations took place in the streets of al-Bireh and Ramallah. Tires were lit and youths attacked soldiers with empty bottles. Soldiers retaliated with percussion bombs and tear gas. [=]


Two soldiers were injured when a hand grenade was tossed at them in Rafah. A fire bomb was also tossed in the city at a military patrol. Massive acts of protest were also reported in the city of Gaza.

Curfew was lifted off Bureij camp. 6/8/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead Raed Yahya Khousa, 21, in the Sheikh Radwan quarter of Gaza City.

Nine Palestinians were shot and injured in Shate’ and Jabalya refugee camps.

Two fire bombs were tossed at an Israeli military patrol in the city of Hebron. The area was cordoned off and searched.

The military reported that a wanted youth was arrested in the town of Beit Sahour, near Bethlehem.

Military authorities sealed a mosque in the village of Burqin, bringing the number of sealed mosques over the past two days to three.

Another mosque was also off for two months in the village of Ubeidiyyeh, in the Bethlehem region.

A mosque in the village of Deir Dibwan, near Ramallah, was also sealed by the authorities.

Several houses were raided in the village of Kufr Ra’i, near Nablus.

6/9/93: A general strike was observed throughout the occupied territories to mark the beginning of the 67th months of the Intifada.

Israeli soldiers shot dead 12-year-old Amin Ammarm, from Bureij refugee camp in the Strip. The body of the martyr was laid to rest under strict military restrictions.

14 others were also shot in the clashes with the military in the camp and 11 others were arrested. The clashes occurred after the curfew was lifted off the camp, which has a population of about 22000.

In Aida refugee camp, in Bethlehem, 3 Palestinians were shot and injured by the military.

In Khan Yunis, an Israeli force arrested 2 Palestinians who stoned the military.

An Israeli truck driver was injured in the back when stabbed by a Palestinian girl at Erez checkpoint.

In Jabalya camp, a fire bottle was tossed at a military patrol.

Clashes were also reported in Gaza City.

In Hebron, a fire bomb was tossed at a military patrol.

6/10/93: In the Strip, at least four Palestinians were shot and injured by the military.

A hand grenade was tossed at a military path in Rafah refugee camp. The bomb exploded, but caused no damages nor casualties, according to the army. [=]

Two other youths were injured in Shate’ camp after demonstrations there.

In Khan Yunis and Rafah, five Palestinians were shot and injured during clashes with the army.

Two Molotovs were lobbed at an Israeli jeep in the center of Ramallah, allegedly causing no damage. Soldiers opened fire at the direction they though the cocktails came from, but no injuries were reported.

The army announced it had arrested two youths in the Gaza Strip who belonged to the Red Eagles, a strike force belonging to the PFLP. Riad Issa, of Rafah, and Khaled Issa, of Shate’ camp, were arrested along with three other Palestinians who “provided assistance” to them. [=]

60095. ------. "Intifada Update: Confrontations Similar to Early Intifada: Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993. p. 1, 2. The week was marked with massive confrontations between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip. The confrontations were as fierce as those which erupted at the beginning of the Intifada more than five years ago.

Israei soldiers shot dead five Palestinians, among whom was a three-year-old girl. Large numbers of civilians also suffered injuries this week. The number of Palestinians killed during the Intifada is now put at 1198.

Curfews were imposed in several areas, while military presence was escalated throughout the occupied territories, especially in Jerusalem.

The following are incidents reported during the week:

3/13/93: Clashes were reported in several areas in the occupied territories leaving a number of Palestinians injured. In Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip, curfew was imposed and search campaigns were conducted for Palestinians suspected of killing an Israeli settler the previous day.

In Jabalya refugee camp in the strip, at least one Palestinian was shot and injured in clashes with the Israeli army.

An Israeli car was set ablaze in Jerusalem.

Stones were hurled at police headquarters in Bethlehem.

In Tulkarm, a homemade bomb exploded. No damages or injuries were reported.

Curfew was imposed on Hebron following an incident in which shots were fired at an Israeli army patrol.

3/14/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead 3-year-old Huda Siaje in Hebron. The girl was in her father’s car when soldiers fired at the car, killing her. The army said her father failed to stop for an identification check.

Several Molotovs were tossed at an Israeli bus near Ibrahim mosque in Hebron; no damages were reported.

Two Molotovs were also tossed at an Israeli bus in al-Bireh, Ramallah area.

More Molotovs were tossed at Israeli patrols in the Gaza Strip. In Jabalya refugee camp, at least four Palestinians were injured when soldiers shot stone throwers.

In Beit Hanoun in the Strip, three youths were shot and injured when soldier tried to quell demonstrators and stone throwers.

The city of Khan Yunis remained under curfew for the second day in a row. A 13-day curfew was lifted off Block C in Rafah.

Two youths were arrested in Jerusalem for allegedly stoning Israeli patrols.

In the Strip, a youth suspected of stabbing an Israeli was arrested. [=]

60096. ------. "Intifada Update: Confrontations Similar to Early Intifada: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993. p. 1, 2. 3/15/93: Israel Radio reported that an Israeli army patrol was fired on by individuals in an Arab car in Gaza City; no injuries were reported.

In Jabalya, the authorities sealed the house of a youth suspected of stabbing an Israeli settler.

In Khan Yunis, another house was also sealed because the owner allegedly took part in killing a settler earlier in the month.

Curfew remained in force in the city of Khan Yunis for the third day in a row.

Curfew was reimposed on Block C in the Rafah refugee camp only hours after it was lifted after a duration of 13 days. Camp dwellers attacked military patrols and settlers with stones.

Three Molotovs were tossed at a military camp in Rafah camp. In Jerusalem, an Israeli bus was set ablaze at the Central Bus Station near Damascus Gate in East Jerusalem.

Stones were also hurled at Israeli cars north of Jerusalem.

3/16/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians and injured scores of others in a fierce confrontation in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

In Khan Yunis refugee camp, Said Salmi, 17, and Faiz Basiouk, 19, were shot dead. At least 50 others were shot and injured in various incidents as fierce confrontations broke out in the camp. The incidents occurred shortly after a two-day curfew was lifted off the camp and the town of Khan Yunis.

A bomb was also tossed at a military patrol in the city, but caused no casualties according to military sources. The area was cordoned off and searched.

Confrontations were also reported in various neighborhoods throughout the Strip. In Jabalya camp, youthes stoned military patrols. In Rafah, clashes left at least 10 Palestinians shot and injured by the army.

In other areas in the Strip, more than 15 Palestinians were also shot and injured, and seven Molotovs were tossed at military targets. In Bureij refugee camp, one soldier was injured when a hand grenade was tossed at him.

In the West Bank, a youth was shot and injured in Hebron. Another Palestinian was also shot and injured in the village of Yatta, Hebron district, when an Israeli guard of a fuel tanker shot at stone throwers.

In Jerusalem, two Palestinians were arrested while allegedly smashing windshields of Israeli cars parked in the Damascus Gate area. [=]

60097. ------. "Intifada Update: Confrontations Similar to Early Intifada: Part 3", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993. p. 1, 2. 3/17/93: A strike day was observed throughout the occupied territories. The strike was called for by Hamas to protest the expulsion of 413 Palestinians three months ago.

Scores of Palestinians were shot and injured in fierce clashes between Palestinian civilians and Israeli soldiers.

In Gaza City and the refugee camps of Khan Yunis, Bureij and Nuseirat, at least 50 persons were shot and injured by soldiers. Military presence was beefed up in the West Bank and Gaza Strip after what the authorities described as a “deterioration in the security situation in the territories.”

In the West Bank, settlers continued their attacks against Palestinian property. In al-Lubban village on the Nablus-Ramallah road, settlers set a gasoline station ablaze.

Settlers also established barricades on the Ramallah road to prevent Palestinian workers from crossing the “green line.” A Palestinian was shot and injured by soldiers in the village for allegedly refusing to stop for an identification check.

In Jenin, three youths were also shot and injured by soldiers.

3/18/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians in Gaza and injured more than 70 others in incidents described by some Palestinian sources as a massacre committed by the army.

In Khan Yunis, soldiers shot dead 19-year-old Raed Muhammad Shana. At least 40 others were shot and injured in incidents in the city and camp of Khan Yunis.

Israel Radio reported that scores of Palestinians stoned...
soldiers and military observation posts. According to Palestinian sources, the army and Palestinian civilians clashed over the control of the roofs of two buildings in the area. Soldiers withdrew from the roof of one of the buildings following confrontations that left 69 Palestinians injured. Palestinians took control of the building following the army’s withdrawal. The army returned with reinforcements during the day and attacked the Palestinians and took control of the building again. In Rafah, Israel Radio reported that Yusef Ibrahim Gharib, 47, was shot dead. Palestinian sources said the man was shot by soldiers who were firing at stone throwers. In the West Bank, scores of students demonstrated and stoned the army in Nuru Shams refugee camp near Nablus. [–] 60098. ------. “Intifada Update: Confrontations Similar to Early Intifada: Part 4”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993, p. 1, 2, 3, 1993: The army announced it had found disguises and “a variety of weapons” in a car in the Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City. Believing that the car was used by Intifada activists that were still nearby, the army broke into a home in the neighborhood, but no arrests were made. Unidentified persons shot a car at a Hebron plate in the Jericho region. Settlers are presumed responsible. Despite the army’s heightened state of emergency in East Jerusalem, about 300,000 Muslims from inside and outside the “green line” were able to reach al-Aqsa Mosque for Friday prayers. Settlers punctured the tires of dozens of Palestinian-owned cars with knives at the Ram junction on the Ramallah-Jerusalem road overnight. [–] 60099. ------. “Intifada Update: Intifada Enters 65th Month: Part 1”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 12, 1993, p. 1, 10. Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians—a shepherd and a 13-year-old girl—in the occupied West Bank. Numerous other citizens were injured throughout the occupied territories. The number of Palestinians killed by Israeli forces during Intifada is now put at 1216. Military siege continued on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, precluding Palestinians from crossing into Israel proper and occupied East Jerusalem. The measure has created severe hardships for the population prevented more than 100,000 Palestinians from going to their jobs inside the “green line.” The army staged several search campaigns for young activists in the Gaza Strip. Many activists were reportedly arrested. Following are incidents reported through the week: 4/9/93: The military siege remained in force on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Confrontations between Palestinian civilians and the Israeli military were reported in the village of Tarqumya in the Hebron district. Two Palestinians were arrested in the incidents, and two soldiers were injured by stones. A Molotov was tossed at a military patrol near the Ibrahim Mosque in Hebron. In Ramallah, one Palestinian was shot and injured by soldiers. An Israeli car was set ablaze in Jerusalem. 4/4/93: At least 27 Palestinians were shot and injured by the military in clashes in various regions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Clashes were reported in Rafah, Deir al-Balah, Bureij, Awarta, Bani Suheilah and Tarqumya. In Maghazi refugee camp, Gaza Strip, a large search campaign was conducted for “wanted” youths. Curfew was imposed on the camp in the early hours but lifted following the search. Settlers choppeddowen at least 40 olive trees in Kufir Deik, Nablus region. Scores of trees were also uprooted in the village of Deir Estiya, Nablus region. 4/5/93: Israeli soldiers shot and injured seven Palestinians in various confrontations. Meanwhile, the military siege continued. Military presence was beefed up throughout the territories. In al-Bireh, Ramallah region, Hashimiya Secondary School for Boys was ordered shut for two weeks following acts of protest by the students. [–] 60100. ------. “Intifada Update: Intifada Enters 65th Month: Part 2”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 12, 1993, pp. 1, 10. 4/6/93: A general strike called for by Islamic Jihad was observed throughout most of the occupied territories. Israeli soldiers shot dead one Palestinian and injured several others in confrontations. In Qabatyia, Jenin district, soldiers shot at Bilal Suleimana, 24, for allegedly refusing to stop for an identification check. He was killed instantly. The young man was a shepherd and was attending to his sheep at the time. Military sources reported that a “wanted” youth was arrested in Barta’a in the Jenin district. Israeli sources also reported that the army conducted search campaigns in Deir al-Balah camp in the Gaza Strip, the third such campaign to find “wanted” youths in five days. The camp was put under military siege during the search. Similar searches were also reported in Shati’ and Maghazi refugee camps, also in the Strip. In Nablus, a soldier was attacked by a Palestinian youth with a knife. The soldier, who was slightly injured, shot at the youth and seriously injured him. 4/7/93: One Palestinian was shot and injured by soldiers in the village of Kufir Ain, Ramallah district. The incident occurred when soldiers opened fire at stone throwers. An Israeli passenger was shot and injured near the settlement of Kiryat Arba, Hebron district. In the village of Barta’a, Jenin district, an 18-year-old youth was shot and injured by soldiers. In Jenin, a Molotov was tossed at a military jeep, setting it ablaze. Two “wanted” youths were reportedly arrested in Khan Yunis. Four others who allegedly helped them hide were also arrested. 4/8/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead Ra’ida Qarrah, 13, in the village of Bani Suheilah, east of Khan Yunis. The girl was shot in the head. No further details were available. In Gaza City, soldiers attacked demonstrators who stoned military patrols. In the city and camp of Khan Yunis, the military conducted a large search campaign. Curfew was imposed on both the city and camp during the search. Several people were arrested. 4/9/93: The occupied territories witnessed a general strike as the Intifada entered its 65th month. Two Palestinians were injured by soldiers in Burqin during confrontation in the Jenin-area village. The Palestinian were identified as Majed Shalamish, 19 and Hasan Iqz, 65. The home of Sharif Abu Dhile, of Jiftlek in the Jordan Valley, was sealed. Abu Dhile was accused of having killed a settler in January 1991. A homemade bomb was lobbed at a military car as it passed by a mosque in al-Khadr, near Bethlehem. [–] 60101. ------. “Intifada Update: Intifada Enters 66th Month”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 17, 1993, pp. 1-2. The Israeli military shot dead four Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories during the week. The army announced that it had killed six Palestinian activists as they tried to cross into Egypt early in the week. The number of Palestinians killed by Israelis during the current Palestinian uprising in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is now put at 1251. Scores of Palestinian civilians were also shot and injured by soldiers in various acts of protests. Attacks against the Israeli military witnessed a noticeable escalation. At least 10 soldiers were injured in various incidents. The following are incidents reported during the week: 5/8/1993:
In the village of Deir Dibwan in the Ramallah area, soldiers shot and killed Nazem Jawad Sarmeh, 16, after their patrol was stoned by youths in the village.

In the Gaza Strip, at least nine Palestinians were shot and injured by Israeli soldiers. A Palestinian source reported that five "wanted" Palestinians were able to escape from Gaza to Egypt.

5/9/1993: The occupied territories witnessed a general strike as the Intifada entered its 66th month.

In the Rimal neighborhood of Gaza City, two children were shot and injured when soldiers chased a number of stone throwers. Ten other Palestinians were also reported injured by soldiers in the Strip.

In the town of Kufr R`ai, in the Jenin district of the West Bank, one youth was shot and injured after youths stoned soldiers.

In the village of al-Khadr in the Bethlehem region, one person was shot and injured when soldiers attacked stone throwers. 5/10/1993: In the town of Beit Ummar, near Hebron, soldiers shot and injured one youth when their patrol was stoned.

5/10/1993: In the town of Beit Ummar, near Hebron, soldiers shot and injured one youth when their patrol was stoned.

5/10/1993: In the city of Rafah, the Strip, two youths were shot and injured when soldiers attacked stone throwers.

5/11/1993: Six Palestinians were shot and injured in Rafah City, Gaza City and Shate' refugee camp.

Two other bottles were tossed at a military patrol in the West Bank village of Bal'a.

Large numbers of Israeli forces raided the city of Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip in the search for wanted Palestinians. The forces destroyed a number of houses which the army suspects of having once harbored Palestinian activists.

In Nablus a soldier was shot and injured.

5/10/1993: In the town of Beit Ummar, near Hebron, soldiers shot and injured one youth when their patrol was stoned.

In Jerusalem, an Israeli car was set ablaze. Five Israeli cars were set ablaze in the Thouri neighborhood of Jerusalem.

Stones were hurled at soldiers in the city of Gaza. Tear gas was used against protesting youths there. In the village of Beit Ur al-Tahta, a fire bottle was tossed at a military patrol.

Two other bottles were also tossed at a military patrol in the town of Aboud, southwest of Nablus.

5/11/1993: Six Palestinians were shot and injured in Rafah City when an Israeli patrol retaliated after being shot at by youths. One Israeli soldier was also injured in the incident. The area of the incident was cordoned off for searches.

Two other Palestinians were shot and injured in the city of Gaza.

In the city of Khan Yunis in the Strip, a fire bottle was tossed at an Israeli patrol. No casualties were reported.

Curfew was imposed on Deir al-Balah refugee camp.

In Bureij camp, soldiers attacked school children with tear gas after they conducted acts of protest.

5/12/1993: Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians and injured several others in various areas of the occupied territories.

In Deir al-Balah in the Strip, soldiers shot dead Fouad Temraz, 10. Several others were also shot and injured in the incidents.

In the Shaboura quarter of Rafah camp, soldiers shot dead Muhammad Salem Abu Talimah, 13.

At least 25 people were shot and injured in the Strip during the day.

Fierce clashes between Palestinian protesters and Israeli soldiers were witnessed in the Strip, after news broke out that the army had killed six Palestinians from the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam units in Gaza.

The six had been trying to cross into Egypt one week before.

A general commercial strike was observed in the Strip in protest.

In the city of Nablus, two Israeli soldiers were stabbed and injured by unknown youths. The guns of the two soldiers were also taken by the attackers. Curfew was imposed on the city following the incident and searches were conducted.

5/13/1993: Soldiers shot dead Ra'fat Aqel, 20, of Nuseirat refugee camp in the Strip, and injured 10 others in confrontations with Palestinian protesters.

In Rafah refugee camp, also in the Strip, seven Israeli soldiers were injured when a hand grenade was tossed at their encampment on a rooftop in the camp. Curfew was imposed on the camp following the incident.

One hour following the incident, an Israeli patrol was shot at in the Shaboura quarter of Rafah. An attacker was injured when soldiers shot back, but he was able to escape.

Curfew was imposed on the area.

Curfew remained in force in Jabalya refugee camp and Beit Lahiya for the second day in a row. Curfew was, however, lifted off Rafah camp.

A commercial strike was observed for the second day in the Strip to protest the killing of six Hamas activists.

In Am'tari refugee camp in the West Bank one person was shot and injured in clashes with the army.

Curfew remained in force in the city of Nablus for the second day.

5/14/1993: A bomb was placed in a military post in Yatta, near Hebron. The army said it defused the bomb before any damages occurred.

A Molotov was tossed at an army vehicle near the al-Akhdar Mosque in Hebron; no damages were reported.

In the Thouri neighborhood of Jerusalem, two Molotovs were lobbed at an Israeli car. One of the cocktails hit an Arab residence, but it did not ignite. The other hit the car and exploded, causing physical damage.

Two 12-year old boys were injured when soldiers opened fire at demonstrators in Bureij camp, in the Strip.

Two other Palestinians were injured during demonstrations in Gaza City and Shate' refugee camp.

The curfew on Jabalya and its camp entered its third day while the curfew on Rafah and its camp entered its second day. The army said these curfews were necessary for the search for Palestinian activists.

A 17 year old from Ainabous, near Nablus, was shot and moderately injured when soldiers opened fire at stone throwers in the village.

In Sa'ir, near Hebron, soldiers shot a 16-year old boy in the foot, alleging he had been throwing stones at them. [=]
West Bank and Gaza Strip is now put at 1241.
Clashes continued in various regions between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian civilians. Below is a summary of the week’s incidents:

4/30/93: A settler alleged he was fired at in the settlement of Gilo, south of Jerusalem, by an unknown assailant. The settler was slightly injured. The assailant was said to have fled towards the town of Beit Jala, near Bethlehem. Curfew was imposed on the town while search campaigns were conducted.

In the village of Abu Dis, Molotov cocktails were tossed at an Israeli patrol; no casualties were reported.

In the village of Mughayer in the Ramallah region, a “Wanted” Palestinian was arrested.

In the Strip, three alleged members of the pro-PFLP Red Eagle group were arrested.

In Beit Hanoun, in the Strip; three other Palestinians were arrested. Guns were found in their possession.

5/1/93: In Jenin, a fire bomb was tossed at an Israeli encampment. The surrounding area was searched by the military.

Clashes were reported in the villages of Zababdeh and az-Zawiyia, in the Jenin district. In the village of Kufr Deik, two youths were arrested.

In the Bethlehem region, curfew remained in force in the village of Irmas.

Curfew was also imposed on a quarter in the city of Hebron.

IN Qalandia refugee camp, near Ramallah, owners of two houses were notified by themilitarythat their houses will be sealed.

In the village of Kharbatha, also near Ramallah, the villagers were forced to paint over the slogans on the walls.

In Beit Hanoun in the Strip, curfew entered its second day. Six houses were demolished by the military. Eight people were also arrested in the town on charges of resisting occupation.

In Gaza City, a hand grenade was tossed at a military patrol. Soldiers shot back and the Palestinian was able to escape, according to local sources.

5/2/93: In Nablus, an Israeli patrol was stoned, and soldiers retaliated with live ammunition. One Palestinian was slightly injured.

In the village of Silat al-Harthiyeh in the Jenin district, an Israeli truck was stoned and its driver slightly injured.

A fire bomb was tossed at an Israeli car near the village of Hizma, just north of Jerusalem.

On the Hebron-Bethlehem road, an Israeli driver was stoned and slightly injured.

In Rafah, two Palestinians were shot and injured by soldiers.

According to Israeli sources, at least two of the killed were wanted for membership in an underground Fatah organization. The military alleged the incident occurred when the passengers did not heed soldiers’ orders to stop for identification. At least 14 other Palestinians were shot and injured in the Strip. Curfew was imposed on at least one neighborhood.

5/4/93: 4 more Palestinians were shot dead by the military in the occupied territories, as the Gaza Strip witnessed a strike in protest of the killing of 4 Palestinians the day before.

In Maghazi refugee camp in the Strip, soldiers shot Yusef Abu Muhaisen, 25, and his brother Jum’ah, 30.

According to press reports, a group of armed Israelis travelling in a civilian car with Gaza plates stopped near the two brothers—who were in an olive orchard—and shot them. The army claimed that Yusef was wanted by the military.

In Shate’ refugee camp, Ahmad Subuh, 20, was shot dead when soldiers shot at protesters. At least 6 Palestinians were shot and injured in the clashes.

In the West Bank, Anwar Baqah, 19, died in a hospital as a result of wounds sustained one week before.

Massive clashes in Khan Yunis left at least 25 people injured.

Near Beit Hanoun in the Strip, an Israeli guard was slightly injured when he was attacked with a knife. The area of the incident was cordoned of and searched.

In Jabalya, a fire bottle was tossed at a military patrol. At least four Palestinians were shot and injured in ensuing clashes.

In the village of Awarta, Nablus, one Palestinian was shot and injured by soldiers.

5/5/93: A commercial strike was observed in the Gaza Strip in protest of the martyrdom of 8 Palestinians within two days.

Two Palestinians were shot and injured in the Tufah neighborhood of Gaza City.

In Jabalya refugee camp, scores of camp residents came out to stone the military. At least two youths were injured when soldiers shot at protesters.

In Khan Yunis, three Palestinians were shot and injured as they stoned the military.

Searches for armed activists continued by the military in the Gaza Strip cities of Khan Yunis and Abasan. Curfew was imposed to facilitate searches in one neighborhood of Rafah.

Strike was observed in Jenin and Qalqilya in protest of the high Palestinian death toll and in solidarity with the conditions of Palestinians in the Strip.

A day of mourning was observed in Nablus after the death of a city resident. Shops and businesses closed their doors.

Clashes were reported in Hebron and neighboring Halhoul.


The body of the martyr was taken by the camp residents and buried immediately in a massive funeral.

Most of the occupied territories witnessed a general strike called for by Islamic Jihad to mark the beginning of the 66th month of the Intifada. It was the third day of strike in the Strip.

In the West Bank, activists shot at an Israeli van in the town of Halhoul, near Hebron. A third Israeli vehicle in Assira village, in the Nablus district, was shot at. A third Israeli vehicle, a military car, was shot at near the town of Qabatyia, Jenin.

In Jerusalem, a Molotov was tossed at a military patrol. An Israeli car was also set ablaze in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of Jerusalem.

The village of Bettir, in the Bethlehem region, was raided by soldiers during a search of stone throwers. The army alleged that the Israeli train that passes by the village was stoned.

In Hebron, two military patrols were stoned.

Several people were shot and injured in the Strips refugee camps.

5/7/93: 7 Palestinians were injured during confrontations with the army in Nuseirat, Shate’ and Bureij camps, all in the Strip.

The army sealed a street in Qalqilya, alleging that too much stone throwing was occurring there.

A coffee shop in Qabatyia, near Jenin, was also closed. The army said activists were using the site to shoot at the military government headquarters nearby.

In the Thoun neighborhood of Jerusalem, an Israeli rent-a-car was burnt down. Israeli police arrested two Palestinians for interrogation. [+]


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Women in the Middle East and North Africa

Israel-Palestine


Israeli soldiers shot dead five Palestinians during the week. A fifth died as a result of wounds sustained last week. A 92-year-old man also died in the hospital after being run over by a military vehicle last week.

The number of Palestinians killed during the Intifada is now put at 1282.

Several areas in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank were raided by the military. A number of "wanted" persons were arrested.

The following are incidents reported during the week:

7/10/93: In Jenin, a man was shot and injured. The army said he was a Fatah activist.

Two Molotovs were tossed at a military patrol in Bethlehem. The area was cordoned off and searched.

Settlers raided the village of Khirbet a-Deir in the Hebron district.

In Jabalya refugee camp, in the Strip, three "wanted" Palestinians were arrested by Israeli special army units.

7/11/93: Ashraf Samamreh, 16, died in an Israeli hospital as a result of wounds sustained the previous week when soldiers shot 1 protesters in Dhahriya, Hebron district.

Israel Radio reported that three Palestinians tried to kidnap an Israeli in Ateel village in the Tulkarm district.

In Deir al-Balah refugee camp, in the Strip, a "wanted" youth was arrested, allegedly for membership in the PFLP.

7/12/93: Soldiers killed Issam Salah and Muhammad Mughrabi in Balata refugee camp, near Nablus. Two others were shot and injured.

In Yamoun village, near Jenin, one youth was shot and injured. In Rahaf, in the Gaza Strip, a hand grenade was tossed at a military patrol. No damages were reported, and the area was cordoned off and searched.

A Molotov was tossed at a military patrol in Gaza City.

Clashes were also reported in the Shaja‘yya quarter of the city.

7/13/93: Soldiers shot and injured one Palestinian in Rafah in retaliation for throwing stones. Searches also continued to search for "wanted" persons.

Another Palestinian was shot and injured in Shate‘ refugee camp.

In Gaza City, soldiers used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse protesters. A "wanted" activist was arrested in the city. He was reportedly carrying a pistol. [=]


7/14/93: Israeli soldiers shot dead Ibrahim Samara Iweisi, 23, in al-Bireh. According to Israel TV, soldiers shot at a private car when the driver refused to stop for an identification check. Iweisi got married one week before.

Another youth—Iweisi’s cousin, who had come from Jordan to attend the wedding—was seriously injured.

Following the incident, violent protests broke out in the streets of al-Bireh and Ramallah, and army gunfire could be heard late into the evening.

In the Shaja‘yya quarter of Gaza City, a "wanted" Palestinian was arrested.

Four other persons were also arrested in Bani Suheilah in the Strip, for allegedly helping "wanted" activists to hide from the Israeli authorities.

Fierce clashes were reported in several refugee camps throughout the Strip. No information was available on the number of casualties.

7/15/93: Ahmad Abu Ilayan, 92, died in the hospital as a result of wounds sustained at the beginning of the week, when he was run over by an Israeli military vehicle.

Soldiers were raiding the marketplace in the village of Bani Suheilah when the incident took place.

Two Molotovs were tossed at an Israeli car in al-Bireh. No casualties were reported.

In the Shaja‘yya quarter, one Palestinian was shot and injured by soldiers when they tried to disperse a demonstration. Another Palestinian was also shot and injured in Shate‘ refugee camp.

In Khan Yunis, a "wanted" Palestinian was arrested. The man was found in the possession of a pistol, according to the military.

In the Ramallah district, a day of mourning was observed in memory of Ibrahim Iweisi, who was killed the previous day.

7/16/93: Soldiers shot and killed 39-year-old Fathi Abu Khdeir, of Rafah camp. The father of 6 had been shot during anti-occupation demonstrations in the Strip a few days before.

7 Gazans—four of them children—were shot by soldiers. After three Molotovs were thrown at a settler’s car in Issawiyya, near Jerusalem, the army raided the village. One Palestinian was injured by soldiers. [=]


APRIL 19: Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians and injured several others in various clashes.

According to Israeli sources, soldiers shot at two masked youths, killing one of them, in the village of Yamoun in the Jenin district.

In Khan Yunis refugee camp, soldiers shot Majdi Abu Musa, 27. The man was "wanted" by the Israeli authorities and accused of membership in the Red Eagles unit of the PFLP.

Two bombs were found by soldiers ready to explode near the Jewish settlement of Nitsarim.

Scores of demonstrators stoned Israeli cars and burned tires in the streets of Jebel Mukabber, Jerusalem area. Six youths were arrested.

In Ramallah, confrontations between protesters and the army took place in several streets in the town. One youth was shot and injured. A Molotov was tossed at a military patrol but no casualties were reported.

In the village of Beit Awa, in the Hebron district, was raided by the army and thoroughly searched.

A homemade bomb exploded near a passing Israeli car, which suffered damages, in the Hebron-area village of Sammu.

Molotovs were tossed at Israeli patrols in the village of Beita.

APRIL 20: Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians, demolished 15 houses and injured several other people in clashes.

According to the army, Zakariya Shourbaji, 33, shot at a military patrol. The soldiers retaliated by killing him. An Israeli officer was shot and injured in the clash. Shourbaji was said to be a member of Hamas.

In the village of Yamoun, soldiers shot dead Majed Musleh in a clash with protesters.

Israeli forces rocketed and demolished 15 Arab houses in the Tuffah quarter of Gaza City during a search campaign. The houses were inhabited by 39 families consisting of at least 200 people. In Bani Suheila, two "wanted" youths were arrested.

Mosques were raided in the village of Shuyukh, in the Hebron district. The Israeli authorities alleged that provocative materials were found in one of the mosques.

In the village of Qarawat Bani Zeid, Nablus area, a house was sealed. The owner of the house was arrested on alleged security charges.

Another house was sealed off in the village of Azzoun, Qalqilya region, for similar reasons.[=]
Strip and injured more than 60 others during widespread anti-occupation demonstrations there. Muhammad Abu Shawish, 13, of Nuseirat refugee camp, was killed when soldiers shot him in the eye with live ammunition. Massive demonstrations had broken out in the camp after the army opened a new observation post on top of one of the buildings of the camp. Wael Sa'd, 15, of the Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City, was killed when soldiers shot him in the head.

The residents of Gaza City held a general strike in mourning of the killing of Zakaria Shourbaji the day before and in protest of the use of rockets to destroy their homes. Palestinians reported that eight people were injured during demonstrations in Khan Yunis refugee camp. Widespread arrest campaigns continued in Jabalya and Shate' refugee camps, and in Khan Yunis and Rafah cities, where curfew was clamped to facilitate the searches.

In Hebron, an Israeli truck driver opened fire at three Palestinians, slightly injuring Mufid Atrash, 28, of Dura. The Army said the truck driver had been "provoked" by the Palestinians, and was justifed in shooting at them. A 17 year old from Dheishe refugee camp was injured in demonstrations in Bethlehem.

Three Molotovs were lobbed at an Israeli car near Tulkarm. Two Molotovs were lobbed at an army jeep near Beit Horon settlement, in the Ramallah area. No damages were incurred, and soldiers opened fire in the direction they thought the Molotovs came from. No injuries were reported. Curfew was imposed on Beit Sahour, near Bethlehem, after the sound of gunfire was heard. The curfew was lifted a few hours after imposition, and it wasn't known who fired the shots.

APRIL 22: Israeli forces raided the house of Bir Zeit Mayor Mansour Shahin and arrested two "wanted" youths. According to local reports, Israeli special forces units dressed as women shot and tossed hand grenades at the house, forcing the residents and the two youths to come out.

In Issawiyyeh, on the outskirts of Jerusalem, six children under the age of 16 were arrested. The members of the group are charged with throwing stones and Molotovs at Israeli cars, and painting nationalistic slogans on walls. In Khan Yunis, 12 people were shot and injured by the military. Curfew remained in force in Shate' and Jabalya refugee camps for the second day in a row. Clashes in Shate' camp left 14 people injured.[=]


APRIL 23: Anwar Abu Kloub, 22, was killed by soldiers in Gaza City. About 60 Palestinians were injured in the demonstrations that were taking place in the city. In the Shaboura Quarter of Rafah, violent demonstrations took place between youths and soldiers. Eight youths sustained bullet wounds and were taken to Nasser Hospital for treatment.

The army initiated a massive search campaign in Beita, near Nablus. No arrests were reported, although the army announced that "inciteful materials," such as Palestinian flags, were found in one of the village's mosques. The home of Abdul Rahman Kmeil, in Qabatya, Jenin, was sealed. The army alleges that Kmeil tried to kill a collaborator in the village two years ago. The army announced it had arrested a Fatah cell operating in the northern villages of Ramallah. Allegedly heading the cell was Ayed Hussein, 31, who was arrested in Bir Zeit the day before. According to the army, the cell is responsible for shooting at a settler recently and planning to assassinate Israeli Police Inspector-General Yaakov Terner.[=]

60111. ------. "Intifada Update: Youth Dies in Chase", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 1. A 10-year-old Palestinian youth died after being shot by the Israeli army earlier in the week. Another youth was killed when run over by a military vehicle. A third youth died of a heart attack as he was being chased by the military. The number of Palestinians killed in Intifada activities is now put at 1285.

The following are incidents reported during the week. [=] 60112. ------. "Intifada's Children: Picking Up The Pieces" Gaza's Children Have Left Emotionally Disturbed By Years of Hostilities", in Manchester Guardian Weekly, October 31, 1993. p. 15. Palestinian women with assistance of French-run Enfants Refuges du Monde have been working in Khan Younis, Gaza Strip, to counter the effects of the occupation on young children, at the Sunrise Hope Center (Al-Shuruq Wal Amal). The brutality of the generation of the Israeli occupation has scarred the souls of Palestinian children, who cannot draw pictures free of explosions or beatings by Jews soldiers. These brutalities are a simple constant in the lives of the children. Some children come to the center unable to contain their anger, portraying in their drawing the omnipresent image of Jewish soldiers kicked a Palestinian child. Some children are almost catatonic after nighttime Israeli manhunts that resulted in their relatives, who disappear after prolonged torture and beatings in front of the children, or of the death of their relatives accused of being collaborators. More than 300 children have been guided to normal social conduct from their previous trauma. The center, run by women of a variety of political affiliations, was recently confronted by PFLP and communist commandos who tried to close the center: after a confrontation, the commandos paid for damages to the center. Now, the women of the center hope to open a center for troubled Palestinian teenagers. [TXT]

60113. ------. "Israel Frees Palestinians [660 Palestinian political prisoners released by Israel, including many children imprisoned on suspicion of having thrown a stone; there were protests outside the major Gaza prison camp demanding a release of all political prisoners; a general strike on the West Bank also demanded a full release]", in Manchester Guardian Weekly, October 31, 1993. p. 3.

60114. ------. "Israel Names 'A' Woman To Be Spy Agency's Second in Command ['A; will share duties with 'D' at MOSSAD]', in Seattle Times, March 5, 1995. p. A13. [TXT]

60121. -------. "Israeli Soldiers Shot and Killed a Baby and a Palestinian Boy [in suppressing demonstrations in Gaza Strip; Palestinian gunmen are alleged to have killed two Israelis and two Palestinians in drive by shootings]", in Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1993. p. A1. [TXT]

60122. -------. "Israeli Supreme Court Grants 'Spousal Rights' to Gay Man [El Al Israel Airline forced to provide spousal benefits to Jewish gay partner of a flight attendant; Rabbi Moshe Maya of Shas warned this ruling would encourage young people to be gay]", in Seattle Times, December 1, 1994. p. A14. [TXT]

60123. -------. "Israeli Troops Fire on Palestinians Protest [Jewish soldiers attacked Palestinian protesters with tear gas and rubber bullets near Rachel's Tomb, an Israeli controlled shrine on the edge of Bethlehem; five Palestinians were hospitalized, including an elderly woman who was overcome by tear gas when Jewish troops threw tear gas canisters in her home; the protest follows the beating death of a handicapped Palestinian in a Jerusalem hospital]", in Seattle Times, May 30, 1997. p. A13. [TXT]

60124. -------. "Israelis Aim Gas As Rioters, Strike Bethlehem Schoolyard Instead", in Arizona Republic, August 27, 1997. p. A11. Scores of Palestinian schoolgirls were subjected to a chemical weapons attack intended for Palestinian dissidents but Israeli soldiers in Bethlehem, West Bank. A dozen third- and fourth-graders were treated by Palestinian emergency medical services. Israeli soldiers indifferent to gassing and provide no assistance to the non-Jewish children they gassed with chemical weapons. [TXT]

60125. -------. "Israelis Up In Arms Over Proposal To Ease Gun Rules", in Forward (New York), November 22, 1996. p. 5. Another "American export" has found its way into Israel: gun control. The issue now before the Supreme Court is the liberalization of access to guns for Jews. Interior Minister Suisa will lower the age of gun ownership from 21 to 20, will allow all veterans to own guns, and lower the rank of security personnel who automatically receive guns. The Ministry reports 300,000 Israelis are licensed to carry guns, but hundreds of thousands of additional Jews could own guns under the new law. The new law will not affect Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip and West Bank who have a special 'frontline' right to carry guns. Some women's groups fear an increase in gun ownership will result in more domestic violence. The position of the government is that "guns don't kill, people".

60126. -------. "Jerusalem Now", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, March 24, 1995. p. 4. While all eyes are on Pres. Yasser Arafat meeting American VP Al Gore in Jericho, we see an increasing urgency in Jerusalem. The Israeli Interior Ministry is trying to empty East Jerusalem of its remaining Palestinian citizens with new administrative measures and the tough application of equally racist older ones. The new policy aims to confiscate the identity of cards from all Palestinian Jerusalemites who do not reside within the Israeli-defined municipal border of the city, particularly from women married to West Bankers. These regulations, of course, have no bearing on Jewish residents of Jerusalem, and certainly not on Israelis living in settlements in the West Bank. Meanwhile, 2200 new housing units are nearly ready on confiscated Palestinian land in Shuafat, a Palestinian neighborhood in East Jerusalem, designed to house ultra-orthodox Jews. Other settlements are expanding rapidly in the so-called greater Jerusalem area, and residents have been holding more and more protests against a spate of land confiscation. As if to pour salt on the wound, ninety-three US senators signed a non-binding referendum asking Congress to move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, further alienating the Palestinian public from the peace process, and revealing the fallacy of America's role as a neutral party in the region. Further, no US voice was raised to condemn the Israeli digging under the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, carried out without permission from the
Islamic Waqf, the custodian of Haram Al-Sharif sanctuary. VP Al Gore, who heads the Builders for Peace group aimed at assisting development here, will meet Pres. Arafat in Jericho to lend his help in untangling the endangered peace process and to give developmental support. Particularly in light of the dangerous situation in Jerusalem, the credibility of the US administration is at stake. The Palestinian public cannot help but feel the US bias toward Israel, displayed last week when the US reneged on its promise to Jordan to forgive its $270 million debt. [=]

60127. ------. "Jerusalem's 27th Year of Occupation: Hadashot: 'Jewish Trainees Secretly Using Arab Babies to Practice Circumcisions', in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), June 14, 1993. p. 3. Under heavy criticism, the Israeli Ministry of Health decided last week to form a committee to investigate reports that Jewish trainees in circumcision practice on Arab babies without the knowledge of the families.

A report published in the Hebrew daily Hadashot 6/6/93 revealed that for years, Jewish trainees have been practicing on Arab babies before being officially licensed. According to the report, circumcisions in such cases are done in the absence of the babies' families and performed in secret rooms. The practice has always been kept secret.

Jewish babies born out of wedlock are also subjected to similar practices, it was disclosed.

In Israel, when official circumcisers cannot perform the operation they must suggest someone else to perform the task. The babies' parents usually accept the suggestion, now knowing that this was a means to enable trainees to get some practice, said the report.

There are approximately 90000 Jewish and Muslim males born in Israel every year, noted the report. Each circumcision costs $110.

The Hadashot report found that Jewish religious institutions and even Jews from abroad knew about the practices and trained on Arab babies.

The news created great indignation among the Palestinians living inside Israel. Knesset member Tawfik Ziyad, from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, sent a message to the Israeli Minister of Health demanding an immediate investigation into the matter. He also insisted that all those involved be brought to justice.

The deputy Israeli health minister, Nawaf Masalha, was quoted in an interview with Al-Ittihad Arabic daily as saying it is entirely possible that such a practice is occurring, since the circumcisers working in these hospitals are not under the jurisdiction of the Health Ministry; rather, the Ministry of Religion.

He added that an investigation committee will be formed and will consist of two doctors, a Jew and an Arab. A Muslim will also be appointed to the Committee of Circumcisers at the Ministry of Religion. To date, there has never been an Arab member on the committee, even though both Muslims and Jews practice circumcision. [=]

60128. ------. "Jewish Settlers Excited and Happy At Massacre of Palestinians", in Headline News-CNN, February 28, 1994. The range of opinion among Jewish settlers in the West bank on the slaughter of 200 Palestinians at prayer in Hebron ranged from admiration to enthusiasm: Statements quoted by CNN included: "It doesn't bother me. They are terrorists"; 'the massacre is a good beginning', 'the massacre was a good thing', "I wish I had the courage to do what he did", and "Goldstein should have killed more." All Jewish settlers rejected being disarmed since they consider all Palestinians to be 'terrorists'. One young Jewish settler, obviously an Americans, dared the massacre of Palestinians at prayer as 'moral and courageous'.

Prof. Ehud Sprinzak of Hebrew University noted that the Israeli government had long encouraged the radicalism of the Jewish settlers and was not concerned by their attacks on Palestinians.

All the Jewish extremists interviewed appeared to be Americans, that is, dual-nationals. CNN interviewed no Palestinians for the report. [=]

60129. ------. "Jewish Women Defy Rules of Prayer, Angering Men", in Seattle Times, November 12, 1996, p. A3. Some 60 Jewish women prayed at the Wailing Wall to the jeers and threats of ultra-Orthodox men; a folding chair was hurled by the male guardians of the Wailing Wall at the women. Women are supposed to be servile and obsequious at the Wailing Wall so as not to disturb theimportant prayers of men. Jewish MK Anat Maor stated: "Just as men hated Goldstein and an interpretation of religion, so should women have the right to wear skullcaps. This is another effort to return us to the Middle Ages." There were no injuries in the confrontation. [TXT]

60130. ------. "Jews Pleased With Massacre At Cana", in Prime News (CNN), April 18, 1996. Beginning with the Israeli CNN reporter arguing that 'Jewish History' uniquely empowers Israelis in the massacre of their enemies [in this instance Lebanese], CNN interviewed Jews in Tel Aviv, all of whom were enthusiastic at the killings, and each differentiated between the death of Jews (which is bad) and the death of non-Jews (which is good):

Two young men noted: "We have to kill them there because otherwise they would kill us here".

A young Jewish women in very high heels: "We should not feel guilty because they are doing this same thing to us [Jews]."

A young Jewish man: "This is war. There is no problem."

The report concluded with video coverage of Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps, refugee columns and villages. No Jew has died in the bloody, US-backed war. [TXT]

60131. ------. "Jobless Rate Drops to 7.5%", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 17, 1994. p. 16. Unemployment fell to 7.5%, that for women to 8.2%. The 9 month average is 7.8% compared to 10.4% a year ago. The increase in new jobs was 0.6% at 11700. The workweek grew to 37.1 hours from last years' 36.7.

60132. ------. "Know the Enemy, A San Francisco Spy Story, Part 1", in Revolutionary Worker (Chicago), January 16, 1994. p. 4. Last Jan. the San Francisco Police Department and the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith (ADL) were caught red-handed-illegally spying on some 12000 individuals and nearly 1000 groups. Now, an outrageous deal has been struck between the ADL and the government. The deal-announced in 11/1993-is a naked attempt to whitewash the spies, keep them in operation, they must suggest someone else to perform the task. The died in the bloody, US-backed war.

The San Francisco District Attorney and the ADL, there would be no more investigation of the spy scandal and no prosecution of ADL or its paid agent/Roy Bullock. The ADL did not have to admit that it had done anything wrong or even apologize. The ADL only had to "agree" not to receive confidential information from state or local employees in California-which is illegal anyway. Instead of a fine, the ADL is donating $75000 to "anti hate-crime funds"-which the ADL is using to boost their credibility of the US administration is at stake. The Palestinian public cannot help but feel the US bias toward Israel, displayed last week when the US reneged on its promise to Jordan to forgive its $270 million debt. [=]

60133. ------. "Know the Enemy, A San Francisco Spy Story, Part 2: Background to the Scandal", in Revolutionary Worker (Chicago), January 16, 1994. p. 4. The San Francisco Bay Area has long been a center of broad and diverse resistance against imperialism. This has made the Bay Area a prime target of the political police. The Civil Disturbance Guidelines passed by the City in 1990 supposedly limited police spying and operations against political activists. The City was forced to do this because of widespread public disgust and criticism of the San Francisco Police Department following exposures about police...
spying during the Democratic Convention, the police sweeps of the Castro gay district, and the videotaped police beating a United Farm Workers founder Dolores Huerta. But in 1993 it was revealed that Tom Gerard, a member of the San Francisco Police Department Intelligence Division, and the ADL's Roy Bullock were helping run a massive, secret spy ring. They completely ignore the 1990 regulations. Since the mid-1980's they had spied on, infiltrated, and kept files on hundreds of groups. Bullock also worked alongside agents of the CIA. Some of these people had been homeless, black, anti-apartheid and Arab organizations were heavily targeted. The Revolutionary Communist Party was a high-priority target of this spy operation. The only known investigation against political groups undertaken by the San Francisco Police Department while its spying guidelines have been in place targeted the RCP—and that investigation relied in part on information supplied by Bullock and the ADL. This political-police spy network extended nationwide and was linked with the highest levels of government. Gerard worked for the CIA and had trained death squads in Central America during the 1980's. The ADL shared its files with at least 20 law enforcement agencies—including the FBI, the CIA and police departments across the country, as well as the governments of Israel and South Africa.

60134. "Know the Enemy, A San Francisco Spy Story, Part 3: Preserving the Imperialist Spy Network", in Revolutionary Worker (Chicago), January 16, 1994. p. 4. The San Francisco spy scandal deeply stung the rulers. It opened a window into their dirty world of spying against political groups and sparked broad anger and protest. The ADL deal is designed to slam the window shut and help end the crisis before more is revealed. It aims to protect the spy apparatus of the US imperialists and the ADL's part in it. After some past political-police scandals, the powers implemented formal limits on the spying of government opponents. This happened nationally and in cities like Seattle, Detroit, and Chicago in the '60s and '70s and in the '80s in San Francisco. There is no talk in the official circles of such measures in relation to the current San Francisco spy scandal. But there is plenty of outright coverup. First, the ADL was not forced to release its spy files—-as it could have been if the case went to court—and the City is refusing to make them public. Instead, the DA agreed to return the hundreds of file folders seized from ADL offices, as well as most of Bullock's files. The contents of those files could reveal the targets, extent and depth of the ADL's spying, including its focus on revolutionary organizations like the RCP. And they could also expose the involvement of other government agencies in the spy network. All this might spark even broader protest and spark higher levels of government into the scandal. (An example is San Francisco mayor Frank Jordan, who was Police Chief while the Gerard/Bullock network was in high gear. It recently came out that Jordan has been illegally keeping police intelligence files.) This is why various government agencies involved are trying to bury the scandal. They are using their tired old "rogue operation" story—claiming that only Gerard and Bullock were involved. Bullock was a paid FBI informant, and in the early 1980's the FBI instructed its field offices to deal directly with the ADL. But the FBI recently said it will not investigate FBI's link to the spy ring, the San Francisco Police Commission report which came out last summer was a whitewash of the San Francisco Police Department, even though the Police Department was at the center of scandal. And now the City has announced it plans no further investigation.

60135. "Know the Enemy, A San Francisco Spy Story, Part 4: City's prosecution Never Serious", in Revolutionary Worker (Chicago), January 16, 1994. p. 4. The City offered a number of lame excuses for not prosecuting the ADL. But it is clear that the powers never had any intention of putting the ADL on trial. According to the San Francisco Examiner, the ADL and the City were secretly trying to settle the case for months. The only sticking point was how much the ADL would pay. In 1993 a judge ruled that the ADL was a "journalistic" organization because it publishes some of its materials. This meant that the ADL's files and sources were "protected" and could not be seen by the people it spied on or be used in a court case against it. This ruling made prosecuting the ADL much more difficult. It was a blatantly political move—much of the ADL's information was gathered illegally and intended for secret distribution to law enforcement agencies, not for publication. The DA's office also said that prosecuting the ADL would be costly and time consuming, but since when did this stop the government when they really want to go after someone. Check out the millions spent persecuting the LA4+. Or the money San Francisco has spent arresting the LA4+. The DA's office said that they are too busy and they want to use the "Matrix program" to "clean-up" city streets, the kid-glove treatment given the ADL has outraged many. One Arab-American activist said, "You can bet that if it was an American Arab organization that behaved this way, it would have been tried, prosecuted and hung."
trying to hatch a deal that prevents Gerald from even going on trial. People need to fight to stop this outrage from happening and to expose all of Gerard's bloody connections. Gerard is arguing that he needs his own FBI files to defend himself. So far the FBI has refused to hand them over. This could give Gerard an opening to argue that his case should be thrown out.) And the San Francisco Police Commission's plans to roll back limitations on police spying must be condemned and opposed. This scandal has revealed a government raising by lies, deceit, and spying-backed up by brute force. But this is not a government that feels confident and all-powerful. The broadness of the organizations targeted for spying shows how the rulers are afraid that there are many potential allies of the oppressed people in this society. And the focus on the RCP points to the government's fears of the people on the bottom rising up, joining with a determined revolutionary leadership and winning support from the middle classes. [=]

60138. --------. "Letter to the Editor: Judith Green", in Challenge, January-February 1993. p. 39. The article by Simona Shirimon in the last issue of Challenge ("Inhabiting the Borderlands," vol. III, no. 6, pp. 32-3) claims to "explore the social and political meanings assigned to being a Jewish man or woman in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." Yet it doesn't make a very convincing case for what we are being "assigned" but rather expresses a contempt for Israeli society, male and female, which one may assume is based on her own political stand concerning the conflict.

One doubts that the values of loyalty to family and "homeland" which Sharoni finds so offensive when encountered in the "sociopolitical context" which is Israeli society would disgust her so much in the Palestinian context. Would she not empathize with and admire the sort of Palestinian woman and mother lovingly described in the same issue by Maya Rosenfeld ("Mothers in Solidarity," pp. 7-9) as mothers, wives, sisters and grandmothers of Palestinian "soldiers"? Why then is this sympathy automatically withheld from their Israeli counterparts who are instead accused of the crime of fulfilling "their natural national duties"?

The Palestinian women interviewed, and Maya's article is representative of many such descriptions in Challenge, aren't quizzed about their political attitudes, nor are they asked intrusive questions about why their sons are in prison (some for a life sentence which, even in the draconian Israeli military court, is not lightly given). In other words we are asked, and I accept the request without asking political details, to look them squarely in face as human beings, as women, and respond from the heart. Israeli women of wildly differing political attitudes also make many personal sacrifices for their nation but they are condemned by Ms. Sharoni as being tools of Israeli state doctrine.

Not only does Ms. Sharoni's political attitude generate this double standard, but she also completely fails to make her case that the Israeli "state doctrine of national security" has any effect at all on the actual behavior of Jewish women. The evidence given here for an intense national ideology consists of a few out-dated quotes from Geula Cohen and Ben-Gurion and a study of soldier's letters from 1948 which evince a passionate attachment to the "homeland" which one would expect under the circumstances (the feminine epithets attached to the earth and the motherland are widespread in Indo-European and Semitic imagery, not peculiarly Hebrew).

Admittedly, there is a demographic war on, but the Palestinian women, because of the custom in rural society to value large families, are winning it hands down. The birth-rate among Jewish Israeli women is only slightly higher than in other modern industrialized nations (and this includes the quite high birth-rate of the religious community which has no relation, either practically or ideologically, to Israeli's military strength), whereas the birth-rate in the West Bank and Gaza is among the highest in the world. If Sharoni considers remarks made by Ben Gurion in the 50s to have any current significance, either they have lost their punch or Israeli women act pretty much like modern, educated women anywhere else in the world and plan their families, as do the more urbanized Palestinian women in Israel and the Territories. I think very few of us, or them, see our bodies as "national battlefields." The only real encouragement to a higher Jewish birth-rate (not mentioned in the article) are the maternity benefits given to women in Israeli free pre-natal and well-baby clinics, paid maternity leave, etc. - which are the envy of feminists in the United States who fought for these privileges and lost. I suppose one could see these benefits as part of the "demographic war"; most feminists would see them as accomplishments.

I hope Ms. Sharoni isn't offended if a Jewish woman anywhere in the world decides to have a baby to honor the memory of a relative- or of any anonymous Jew- who was killed in the concentration camps. Both Palestinian and Israeli women have children in the hope of bringing them up in peace, not in order to kill or be killed.

Although I am sure I am in Ms. Sharoni's political orbit, I am very wary of this kind of thought which is neither gender studies nor political-social analysis but using truisms from one realm to make disparaging remarks in another.

Judith Green; Challenge Editorial Board Member.[=]

60139. --------. "Letters to the Editor: Release a colleague", in BiladiJerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 5. Dear editor, The Women's Studies Program at Birzeit University strongly protests the arbitrary administrative detention of our colleague Mr. Imad Faisal Sabi'. On 12/20/1995, only a week before the Israeli army was due to redeploy from the town of Ramallah, Israeli soldiers detained Imad on the streets of Ramallah. He was then taken to his home, which was ransacked and his personal papers seized. Imad was later served with a six-month administrative detention order and is currently imprisoned in Megiddo Prison in Israel. Imad, age 34, is married with a baby daughter. We have worked closely with Imad Sabi' since our Women's Studies Program was established; he has been active as a translator of our publications and a participant in our seminars and workshops. His sincere commitment to social justice and gender equality, as well as his academic skills, have made him a particularly valuable colleague. Imad, who received a B.A. in Economics (with distinction) from Birzeit University, contributed his efforts to the Women's Studies Program while also working as the Executive Director of Programs at Bisan Research Center, a Palestinian NGO concerned with issues of community and social development. He has also worked with another Palestinian community NGO, the Tamer Institute of Community Education. We are strongly convinced that Imad has been detained solely because of his political convictions and legitimate lokitical activities as a part of the Palestinian left opposition. For Israel to use illegal administrative punishments to curtail the expression of Palestinian political opinion is a blow violation of human rights and a blow to Palestinian democracy. Arbitrary administrative detention -- imprisonment without charge or trial-- is illegal under international law. Its cynical use by Israel on the eve of the redeployment of the Israeli army from Palestinian cities should be of great concern to all those concerned with human rights, peace and justice in the region. Please join us in demanding the immediate release of Imad Sabi' and all other administrative detainees. [=]


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60151. -------. "Luc Dhore Visits Havana", in Granma International (Havana), July 21, 1993. p. 5. Luc Dhore, VP of Association of Western Europe Parliament Members Against Apartheid and member of the Flemish Social Christian Party visits as part of an education delegation of the Union of European Christian Democrats; he was accompanied by his wife, Julie Standaert, president of the Council for the Emanicipation of Women in Belgium. [TXT]

60152. -------. "Medical Kit: Course in Surgical Nursing", in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, December 29, 1995. p. 12. A Norwegian aid committee is sponsoring a one-year full-time post basic surgical nursing program implemented by the College of Medical Professions of Al-Quds University. Program will start 1/1996 in which 10 participants from governmental and non-governmental sectors will be enrolled. The program aims at developing operating room services and qualifying a group of operating room nurses. This is the second time the College of Medical Professions is offering the NORWAC sponsored program and expects to continue offering the program on a yearly basis. The graduates of last year’s program have formed an operating room nursing committee working under the umbrella of the Palestine Nurses Council. [=-]

60153. -------. "Medical Kit: French Surgeons to Treat Children “, in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996. p. 12. A French team of surgeons and doctors have begun treating Palestinian children with heart diseases at the Maqassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. The operations are taking place between Jan. 4 and Jan. 11, 1996. The French team arrived in Jerusalem as part of an effort to undertake operations on children with heart malformation. Two members of the team are cardiologists, two are anesthesiologists and one nurse. The operations will be done with the approval and financial support of the French Government and the French Consulate-General in Jerusalem. [=-]

60154. -------. "Medical Kit: Health Program in the Gaza Strip", in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995. p. 12. The Women’s Health Department at the PNA Ministry of Health is preparing a comprehensive plan to develop women’s health care, in particular maternal. Dina Abu Shaaban, director of the department, says that the plan calls for workshops to train health care workers and women in regards to prenatal and general health care. Abu Shaaban said the mortality rate for mothers during delivery is 40-60 per 100000 deliveries. She explained this by saying that women’s health is often overlooked during pre- and post-natal care. The PNA ministry has formed three teams of field researchers to gather more data on women’s health care in the Gaza Strip. Another team has been sent out to spread health awareness among young men. The Women’s Health Department will hold a workshop in cooperation with the Peace Initiative for the Population Institution to be held at the Rashad Shawa Cultural Center on 12/3/1995. [=-]

60155. -------. "Medical Kit: Herbalist Cures Infertility", in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, August 25, 1995. p. 12. A Palestinian herbalist from Nazareth recently cured a religious Jew of infertility, but according to the Israeli media, this did not cure the patient of his troubles. A problem erupted when the wife, now pregnant, discovered that her husband had been treated with a cure extracted from the horn of a rhinoceros, and demanded to have an abortion. A rabbi assured her that the treatment violated no code of the Jewish religion and urged her to have the child. In Nazareth, herbalist Ahmad Yihya, who studied at the Natural Sciences & AcupunctureCollege in Tel Aviv, said treatment of infertility through natural cures is approved by the Israeli Ministry of Health. [=-]

60156. -------. "Medical Kit: Relocation of the National Hospital", in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, November 10, 1995. p. 12. Palestinian residents of Nablus have called for the relocation of the National Hospital to Juseid. Nablus residents expressed their desire to relocate the National Hospital to the premises of the former prison. The current hospital is very small and the building is dilapidated. Residents added that it would be beneficial for patients to be outside the city center, away from the noise and pollution. According to PNA officials at the Ministry of Health, the National Hospital only has the capacity for 104 patients, but it is staffed by 35 doctors and 76 nurses. The space at Juseid would be able to accommodate many more of the 500000 residents of the northern West Bank. [=-]

60157. -------. "Medical Kit: Treatment Way Up", in Biliadi: Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), June 16, 1995. p. 12. The Health Work Committee issued a report in Gaza which stated that 18060 patients attended the committee's clinics during the last 2 months. It added that 6060 of those were treated for free because of the deteriorating economic situation in Gaza. Among other activities the committee completed a 1 week training course on medical issues, took courses in nursing and organized a lecture on health and cleanliness for children. The report added that 1020 children attended the 5 clinics of the committee while 640 pregnant women attended the maternity clinic during the same period. [=-]

60158. -------. "Mediterranean Women Prepare for Beijing", in Biliadi-Jerusalem Times, December 16, 1994. p. 13. Women gathered in late November from all over the Mediterranean to attend the Second International Mediterranean Women’s Conference held under the auspices of the Valencia Women’s Institute, UNESCO and the Spanish government. Its purpose was to coordinate the plans and preparations of the agenda for the Women’s World Conference to be held in Beijing in August 1995. The conference was opened by Lord Ossorio, president of the Women’s Institute, who gave a special welcome to the Palestinian delegates for being able to attend, despite the difficulties faced by Palestinians in the occupied territories. Silvia Barakas, general
secretary of the women's Institute, added her own congratulations to the Palestinian people and President Yasser Arafat for being awarded the Spanish Prize for Peace. Pilar Bidraza, consultant to the Spanish Ministry of Culture, stressed the importance of the role of women in the world in general, and Mediterranean women in particular. She called for united action to achieve equal rights and opportunities. Bidraza added that the Mediterranean is a center for culture, and as such, should highlight the utilizing role played by the women. It is essential to include men in any such program she said. Representing Palestine was Hanan Awwad, president of the Palestinian section of the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom. Awwad thanked the participants for their solidarity with the Palestinian people and stressed the need to increase such meetings, in a multicultural effort to achieve greater understanding and cooperation between nations. Awwad underlined the importance of cultural dignity and its influence upon women. She stressed that the women's issue is a matter for Palestinian society in general. It is part of the united challenge to the occupation, she said, and the national struggle to establish a free and democratic homeland. In presenting her paper titled "Is Peace Possible?", Awwad addressed the Oslo Agreement and the Palestinian National Authority.

She highlighted the continued abuse of Palestinian human rights, and the long delays that impede the implementation of agreements. She re-affirmed that peace cannot be achieved without justice, and a comprehensive peace will not be realized without the complete withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied territories, including Jerusalem to the pre-1967 borders. The Valencia Forum concluded that the world is suffering from a multi-dimensional crisis—economic, social, political and cultural—which contributes to the weakening of women's condition, and the increasing inequality between the North and the South. More and more, Mediterranean women are demanding recognition of the role they play in the evolution of societies toward more human attitudes of peace, justice and tolerance. The forum recommended emphasis on cultural action as a means of fostering understanding between the Mediterranean countries. This perspective should not forget the importance of promoting economic development. Moreover, it should satisfy social and political demands for peace, participation, democratization and equal opportunities for development, both personal and professional. While wars and violence plague certain areas of the Mediterranean basin, the forum saw it absolutely necessary that the international community assume the responsibility of creating conditions of a negotiated peace amongst all belligerent parties. Any peace achieved must respect and protect human rights of all nations involved and each specific culture. To this end, the cultural tradition of women should be used in favor of justice, tolerance and respect. As a result of the conference, the Valencia Forum will establish a permanent commission, drawn from its membership, to implement certain feasible actions, including an information network and a Mediterranean women's newsletter. A charter of cooperation with universities and research centers to facilitate the exchange of students. The commission will support the publication of scientific and literary works by women, and run in-depth studies of different cultures. It will also provide training in communication and responsibility techniques in order to reinforce women's capacity for organization and creating social movements. [=]

60159. -------. "Middle East Events in the US: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), June 14, 1993, p. 7. 6/24/93: Workshops—Teaching about the Arab world and Islam is the theme of a teacher workshop sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council in Washington, D.C., and conducted by Arab World and Islamic Resources and School Services (AWAIR) of Berkeley, California. The June workshop will be held at Ohio State University, Youngstown, Ohio. Future workshops will be held at Texas Wesleyan University, Central Missouri State University and the University of Kentucky.

630/93: Program—Women, Children and Family Relations in the Middle East is the focus of the 14th annual 1993 Summer Institute held at New York University, New York City. The program will focus on the changing roles of women and the problems of children and family relations in the Near East; understanding the Islamic population in high schools in the US; and the patterns of growth in Islam in America. The status of the Middle East peace talks will also be discussed. [=]

60160. -------. "Mormon Church Agrees To Halt Its Posthumous Baptisms of Jews", in Arizona Daily Star, April 30, 1995, p. B4. The Mormon Church has agreed that it will stop posthumously baptizing victims of the Holocaust, as well as almost all other Jews. The contract was signed by the Church and five major Jewish groups. The Church had agreed to end the practice in 3/1991 after pressure from the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, but there have been continuing posthumous baptisms. No other group has ever been categorically excluded from posthumous baptisms, reports the church's Family History Department. The Jewish groups included the US Holocaust Memorial Council [a federal agency], Living Memorial to the Holocaust-Museum of Jewish Heritage, Simon Weisenthal Center, and Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem. [TXT]

60161. -------. "Mt. Scopus Hadassah Meeting [Inbal Blitsin, an israeli doing research at the UW School of Social Work, will discuss her kabrotz experiences]", in Jewish Transcript (Seattle), October 4, 1996. p. 26. [TXT]

60162. -------. "NGOs Draft Development Plans", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 14, 1994. p. 13. The Palestinian NGOs have played an important and distinguished role in past years, both on the political and grassroots levels, as well as on the level of the qualitative service provision the various fields, such...as health, agriculture, education, early childhood development, training and human rights.

This role has been of primary importance in enabling the Palestinian people to remain steadfast, and to resist the Israeli occupation, at a time when the occupation restricted any real sustainable development efforts with the intention of controlling Palestinian natural resources and keeping the Palestinian economy dependent on the Israeli economy.

The Cairo-Oslo agreement has not drastically altered the objectives the Palestinian development strategies, given that the newly-formed Palestinian authority has only gained limited control over the Gaza Strip and Jericho without sovereignty over land and water resources. At the same time, this authority is still restricted making capacity. Israeli military forces have not withdrawn from the autonomous areas, but rather, re-deployed their forces around the Gaza Strip and Jericho. With the persistence of settlement activities, Arab East Jerusalem is becoming more and more isolated from the rest of the West Bank.

The persistence of this political situation hinders the integration of the Palestinian society with the international community, thus preventing Palestinian from adopting the documents of the ICPD implementing the program action.

As we Palestinian NGOs approach the final days of the ICPD, we want to stress the following:

1. We reiterate our commitment and support of the document and recommendations of the ICPD, especially those coinciding with our objectives and goals as stated in the National Report on Reproductive and Women's Health, Gender Equity and Equality, and Sustainable Development.

We are now in the process of drafting a comprehensive, detailed program on population and development on two levels. First, we intend to mobilize and raise awareness of the Palestinian community on the ICPD document and program of action to guarantee wider participation in the drafting of Palestinian population policies. Second, we want to influence public policymakers to adopt the ICPD document and program of action in future policies.

We stress that the population policies should take into consideration that the right of Palestinian families to make an informed, responsible choice on the number of children is a basic human right. This policy should be incorporated in other development activities that should guarantee an increase in average per capita income. In this
context, we reiterate the importance of the NGOs’ role in policymaking, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

3. We emphasize the importance of integrating women in all development processes. We stress that women must be empowered, given equal access to resources, decision-making, education and health services. We must influence the Palestinian authorities to adopt laws and regulations that guarantee gender equality, and pressure them to adopt all of the international conventions on women, particularly the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

4. We reaffirm the importance of sexual and reproductive health education, which should be an integral part of the formal educational system at all levels. In this respect, a special women’s reproductive health program, including family planning, must be available and accessible to all women at reasonable prices.

5. As Palestinian NGOs, we state that it is difficult to formulate a homogenous Palestinian, population policy with any future possibility of sustained development along as settlement activities persist in the occupied territories. Settlements must be dismantled, as they phase a serious obstacle to any comprehensive development strategy. The Israeli settlers already control the majority of water, land and natural resources.

For example, in the Gaza Strip, 5000 settlers control 40% of the land and its resources, while 900000 Palestinian use the remaining 60%. This homogenous situation will only escalate if tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees are allowed to return; it would be virtually impossible to absorb all the refugees.

We take this opportunity to stress that the ICPD was a rare occasion for us all to meet and formulate a common vision, through which we can increase participation and take collective responsibility for this world in which we all share and live. [=]

60163. ---------, "Needs of Elderly Considered", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 25, 1994, p. 15. The Atta Society ended its second workshop on 11/18/1994 during which the situation of the elderly in the occupied territories was discussed. More than 30 nurses, field workers and experts from the Orthodox Charitable Society in Izariya, the Islamic Rahmah Society in Jebel Mukabber and Dar Al-Alam in Abu Dis, near Jerusalem, attended. Nurse Mary Hanania talked about the kinds of medical equipment used to aid the elderly and explained how they operate to guarantee safety and comfort. Another nurse addressed the psychological problems the aged face in homes for the elderly. She explained how they can be avoided. [=]

60164. ---------, "New York City: Gay Synagogue Barred From Salute To Israel Parade sponsor American Zionist Youth Federation excludes Congregation Beth Simchat Torah; Rabbi Joseph Sternstein notes all other marching groups would withdraw if the homosexuals were allowed to march!", in New York Times, May 8, 1993, p. A16. [TXT]

60165. ---------, "News In Brief: The Middle East", Crescent International, August 1-15, 1996, p. 2. In an exchange of prisoners and residents were taken aback when their identity cards were withdrawn. It is not clear why. Meanwhile, Israeli Arab women are no longer required to obtain permits to go to Gaza. [=]

60166. ---------, "News in Brief: Ayyash's Mother and Brother Continue to be Detained," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 13, 1995, p. 2. After days in solitary confinement, Ayshah Ayyash, mother of Yahya Ayyash, who is wanted by the Israeli authorities, was transferred to a cell with other women. An Israeli court ordered her moved after an appeal by her attorney Anwar Abu Lafi. It is reported that Mrs. Ayyash was deprived of sleep for several days in an attempt to extract information from her on the whereabouts of her son. Attorney Lea Tzemel, along with the Popular Committee to Fight Torture, presented an appeal to the Israeli High Court to put a stop to the detention and torture of Mrs. Ayyash and her other son, both of whom are being held at the Russian Compound in Jerusalem. Human rights organizations in the West Bank have called on Amnesty International to take the Ayyash family's case. [=]

60167. ---------, "News in Brief: Erez Junction Rejects Jerusalem Identities," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 1, 1995, p. 2. Israeli military authorities at the Erez Junction have been turning back holders of Jerusalem identity cards. It is not clear why. Meanwhile, Israeli Arab women are no longer required to obtain permits to go to Gaza. [=]

60168. ---------, "News in Brief: Fiance Arrested in Jerusalem Murder", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 17, 1995, p. 2. The body of Inas Salah of Ras El-Amoud was discovered some days ago in Imwas village. According to the autopsy report, conducted by Abu Kibir Forensic Institute, the young woman had been stabbed to death, and her body burned. Her fiance, Usama Izzak Abu Diab of Silwan was picked up by Preventive Security and confessed to the crime. Mediators have been brought in to deal with the two families according to Tribal Law. Both families were urged not to shed more blood. [=]

60169. ---------, "News in Brief: Journalist Attacked by Settler Dog", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 29, 1995, p. 2. The Journalists Association in Jerusalem has issued a statement in Hebron condemning settler attacks on journalists. The incident which prompted the statement occurred in Hebron on 9/26. Settler Michael Ben Shitreet unleashed his dog on journalist Kawthar Salaam while she was interviewing a Hebronite in the street. An hour later, the attack was repeated on Salaam. She was seen running into a shop with the dog snapping at her heels, closely followed by the cursing settler. The settler was arrested. Hebron's Mayor, Mustafa Natsheh, on hearing of the incident, lodged a complaint with the Israeli Civil Administration. [=]

60170. ---------, "News in Brief: Martyr at Ramallah Checkpoint", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), June 16, 1995, p. 2. Israeli troops shot dead Yehya Shehadeh, 21, of Deir Ammar village 6/12/1995 at a checkpoint near Beit Sira village along the "green line." Shehadeh's brother, who was a passenger in the car, reported that she had lost control of the car, but skidded to a stop a few meters past the checkpoint. However, soldiers continued to fire incessantly at the driver. [=]

60171. ---------, "News in Brief: New Identification Restrictions", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 24, 1995, p. 2. The Israeli Ministry of Interior has instituted new procedures for East Jerusalem residents. Arab residents applying to renew their identity cards will first have to prove that they have paid the municipal taxes, amona. Many women who carry the Jerusalem identity card but are married to West Bank residents were taken back when their identity cards were withdrawn without explanation. [=]

60172. ---------, "News in Brief: Occupied Palestine: Two Palestinian Children Kidnapped and Tortured by Zionist Settler", in Crescent International, July 16-31, 1996, p. 2. Two Palestinian children, aged 10 and 12, were kidnapped by a Zionist settler from the Guivat Oz settlement near Jenin on 7/10/1996 and badly tortured. Muhammad, 10, and Muhammad Karakhjee, 12, were chained, beaten with iron rods, their bodies burnt with cigarettes, stripped naked and then dosed with paint before being dumped in a field. A Palestinian farmer passing by picked them up and rushed them to the hospital. [=]

60173. ---------, "News in Brief: Orthodox Weigh In on Assisting Suicide", in Forward (New York), November 22, 1996, p. 3. Four Orthodox Jewish groups (Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Rabbinical Council of America, Agudath Israel of America)
have argued in briefs to the Supreme Court that terminally ill people do not have a right to doctor assisted suicide.

60174. ------. "News in Brief: Pakistan", in Crescent International, December 16-31, 1995, p. 2. The zionist occupation forces attacked and injured twenty Palestinian youths, many of them children, in Nablus on 11/18. This vicious attack was carried out when the Palestinians protested against zionist brutalities. [–]

60175. ------. "News in Brief: The West", in Crescent International, May 15, 1996, p. 2. Thousands of Muslims and other people participated in a rally in New York on 4/19/1996 condemning zionist terrorism in Lebanon. The rally was held outside the United Nations' plaza and addressed by Imam Muhammad al-Asi, a similar rally attended by at least five hundred people was also held in Toronto on 4/16/1996 outside Queen's Park, the Ontario provincial legislature building. There is widespread revulsion felt by people in North America at zionist brutalities despite desperate attempts by the United States' government to try to cover them up.

Britain's chief rabbi, Doctor Jonathan H. Sacks, in an open letter dated 3/6/1996, addressed to the community, called for revising the "Six Million" figure of Jews killed during the second world war. He said that it was important to find out how many people, presumed dead, were still alive. He said it was far more important to unite families that to live with a figure arrived at quite arbitrarily.

The Paris club on 4/29/1996 agreed to reschedule Russia's $40 billion United States' debt. The principal repayments can be delayed by six years while debt repayments have been extended for a period of twenty-five years. Without rescheduling, Russia would have had to pay $8 billion, this a sum it simply did not have. It had been unable to meet its debt obligations last year. William Colby, the former Central Intelligence Agency's chief, was reported missing and presumed drowned, when his capsized canoe was found near his holiday home in Charles County's Canoe Sound, in Maryland on 4/28/1996. He was the Central Intelligence Agency's chief from 1973-1976. Crime rate on United States' college campuses continues to escalate. The murder rate went up by 26% between 1993-1994; drug abuse was up by 22% and sexual assault by 12.2%. The survey was conducted by the "Chronicle of Higher Education", a weekly paper dealing with campus issues. [–]

60176. ------. "News in Brief: Trouble in Hebron", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 22, 1996. p. 2. Tensions mounted in Hebron after an ax-wielding Palestinian man attacked an Israeli settler on 12/19/1995. The man apparently attacked a woman, who was lightly injured, then fled. Palestinian residents said that following the event, Israeli soldiers began checking identity cards and arrested some 20 Arabs. Following the incident, a group of settlers marched through the streets of the Old City of Hebron calling for the expulsion of the Arab residents. According to residents, the settlers attacked several vegetable vendors in the suq. In another, earlier incident on 12/14/1995, Mohammed Idriis Sarsour was shot and killed after stabbing two settlers near the Ibrahimi Mosque. The 23-year-old man was shot by border police and left bleeding in the street. The settler brother, the 22-year-old man was shot and wounded, attack Sarsour according to some witnesses, who then defended himself. Later that day, settlers celebrated at the spot of the killing and the Israeli army arrested Sarsour's brothers. Hebron Deputy Mayor Izhak Natshieh blamed the Israeli authorities for the recent flare-ups in Hebron. "The Army could have arrested Sarsour; there was no reason to kill him," he said. The situation in Hebron was described as "teetering on the edge of disaster" as a result of these incidents. [–]

60177. -------. "Ninth Feminist Conference", in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. The Ninth Feminist Conference of Israel will be held in Givat Haviva on 5/20-22/1993. Like last year, this year's conference is being planned jointly by Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli (Mizrachi and Ashkenazi) women. All events will reflect a balance of these groups, to create the conditions for real unity among feminist women in Israel, regardless of religion, nationality, ethnic origin, sexual preference, or economic status. For registration, call 04-664949; 03-561-7121; or 02-439966. [–]

60178. -------. "Omissions Haunts Airline Map Makers", in Seattle Times, June 23, 1996. p. K9. Lufthansa has been accused by the Simon Wiesenthal Center of supporting 'rejectionist elements who wanted to undermine the Middle East peace process' by not including the word 'Israel' on a tiny airline map. A Lufthansa spokeswoman Karin Weber stated: "On our map we have included the cities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem but not the name Israel because of graphic constraints". Lufthansa has promised to correct the anti-semitic omission. [TEX]

60179. -------. "On the Circuit: Children's Rights", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995. p. 14. First lady Suha Arafat was in Paris this week to speak at an international symposium organized by UNESCO to discuss children's rights. Speaking in French, Mrs. Arafat told her audience that 50000 Palestinian children have been exposed to arrest procedures over the years. She said a great number of them are still in Israeli jails, and called for the release of all prisoners, women and children especially. The audience included the wives of many world leaders involved in organizations dealing with children. Mrs. Arafat told them the PNA has invested great effort to remove the negative, psychological impact the occupation has had on the children. [–]


60181. -------. "One World/One People: International Women's Choir Can You Help?", in Challenge, July-August 1993. p. 14. Shirley Mae Staten, an African-American musician and community worker, is organizing and raising funds for an international woman's choir (IWC) consisting of over 40 women from more than 20 countries to tour five continents in autumn of next year, including a 3-5 day stopover for concerts and workshops in Israel. Her message is the connection between music and peace and the strength and power of women to bring people together. One Jewish Israeli woman and one Arab Israeli woman will participate in the choir. The choir will perform in Jaffa-Tel Aviv, East and West Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Haifa.

Money is needed for the choir's tour. Contributions for the Israeli stopover should be sent to WILPF*, Account No. 210486/06, Bank Leumi, Branch 804, 87 Ben-Yehuda Street, Tel Aviv, Israel (note for IWC).

Any ideas or suggestions for the choir itinerary or the visit in Israel will be gratefully received by: Elana Wesley, 3 Alber Kiosso Street, Jaffa-Tel Aviv, 68134. Israel [Tel./Fax (972)-(3)-8118051 or: Aliya Strauss, 24130 Mahrozet Street, Jaffa-Tel Aviv, Israel [Tel. (972)-(3)-689983].

For more general information about plans and needs, Shirley Mae Staten can also be contacted at: 200 W. 34th Ave., Suite number 210 Anchorsge, AK 99503 USA. [Tel. (907)292-1307, Fax (907)258-5443]

Your help and support for this unique project would be greatly appreciated.

[The Women's International League For Peace and Freedom, a non-profit organization; all contributions will be acknowledged and are tax-deductible][–]


The north Korean stand is in line with international law. As the Vienna Convention stipulates any treaty imposed on one country through threats or acts of coercion is illegal, the 1905 protectorate and 1910
annexation treaties were signed at gunpoint. The aggressive war is a crime under international law. The Cairo declaration of 1/1/43, noting that the three great powers were fighting to “punish the aggression of Japan,” stated that they, “mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course of time roa shall become free and independent.”

To support their argument regarding the 1905 and 1907 treaties, the north Koreans revealed that the first treaty bore no endorsement, or signature or royal signature of the Emperor Ko Jong as he opposed it and that the royal signature affixed on the second treaty was false.

The north Koreans claimed that the two treaties were illegal and dead letters in view of three legal codes, the then Korean law, the old Japanese Constitution and international law: (1) Article 9 of the 1899 Korean Code stipulates that the Emperor had the authority to conclude and ratify a treaty (Article 9 of the 1899 Korean Code) and Article 18 of the 11/21/1894 imperial decree on the format of official documents states that “the royal seal shall be stumped on a document ratifying a treaty after the Emperor affixes his signature to it. (2) Article 4 of the old Imperial Constitution of Japan states that the Emperor “shall conclude all treaties,” but the 1905 treaty bore no signature of the Japanese Emperor.

(3) Public international law stipulates that a treaty can be implemented when it has been approved by the kings of its signatories and that a treaty not endorsed by the state will become a mere piece of scrap paper soon. What emerged from the 8 rounds of talks is the blatan Japanese behavior which puts Japan in striking contrast with Germany, which expressed official apologies for the Nazi crimes and took serious steps to atone for the wrongs done.

Throughout the bilateral talks, unlike the Germans, the Japanese rationalized their past crimes against peace and humanity, scoffing international law, the Cairo Declaration and the verdict of the Tokyo military tribunal, in other words, the Japanese view that the Japanese colonialist are not guilty of any wrongdoing in their war of aggression against Korea and other parts of Asia. [ ]

60183. ------. “PK Commentary: Reconsideration of Pyong-Tokyo Talks (2): Part 2”, in the People’s Korea, May 29, 1993. p. 8. The Japanese response to the north Korean demands is two-pronged: One is the idiosyncratic attempt to justify the 41 years of ruthless colonial rule and the all-familiar offer to settle the property claims. The other is a series of foot-dragging tactics designed to divert attention from the fundamental questions at issue and sidetrack the talks.

In short, the Japanese stand is “We have done nothing wrong in Korea and left something constructive.” The Japanese position can be summed up: The 1905 and 1910 treaties were valid; No illegal seizure of assets or recruiting of manpower took place in Korea; There is no evidence that the Japanese Government was involved in the drafting of some 200000 Korean women for forced prostitution for Japanese troops; There is no need for the Japanese Government to compensate the Korean comfort women; Only the question of property claim remains yet to be settled.

Most scandalous about the Japanese behavior is the persistent attempt to stall the talks. In the first place, the Japanese first asked the north Koreans to define its territorial jurisdiction, the issue which they would never raise in reestablishing diplomatic relations with the new defunct Soviet Union or China.

Secondly, the Japanese repeatedly raised the issue of the Japanese high school dropout-turned B-girl who was allegedly abducted to north Korea to teach Japanese to the woman agent who allegedly planted an explosive in a KAL jetliner to explode it in midair over Burma. No wreckage of the KAL plane has been recovered from the Burmese waters. Japanese police have failed to produce any physical proof of her abduction to north Korea. Few Japanese aircraft experts accept the version of the explosion given by the south Korean and Japanese authorities. Serious doubt is cast on the motive to recruit and poorly-educated low-class woman as a Japanese-language teacher.

Thirdly, the Japanese have insisted that diplomatic relations with Pyongyang is conditional on matters which have nothing to do with the agreed-on agenda: UN membership, the question relating the DPRK’s sovereignty, progress in north-south relations—purely domestic affairs of the Korean people—and acceptance of international inspections of nuclear facilities, the issue to be discussed between north Korea and the International Atomic Energy Agency. [ ]

60184. ------. “PK Commentary: Reconsideration of Pyong-Tokyo Talks (2): Part 3”, in the People’s Korea, May 29, 1993. p. 8. The DPRK joined the UN as a separate state in September 1991 simultaneously with south Korea as Seoul applied for separate membership. North and south Korea signed two landmark agreements, one designed to commit them to non-aggression against each other and bring the two parts of Korea together, and the other to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula.

Strange indeed, Tokyo never raised the issue of IAEA inspections when it reestablished state relations with China. Nor have they demanded international access to nuclear facilities in India, Pakistan, Israel and South Africa. As regards Beijing, Tokyo never urged better ties between Mainland China and Taiwan as a precondition for diplomatic relations. Japan kept silent when Washington threatened to leave the IAEA when the world body insisted on inspecting suspicious nuclear facilities in Israel.

Regarding the nuclear issue, the north Koreans signed a safeguards accord with the IAEA, and allowed in IAEA inspectors on six occasions. The north Korean charge is that the Japanese are trying to create red herring to divert attention from their refusal to come to terms with the past and their deliberate negligence of the comfort woman issue, scuttle the Pyongyang-Tokyo negotiations, and prepare the world public for their own nuclear weapons program.

Japan is building the world’s largest nuclear waste-processing plat at Rokkasho Village in the northern Aomori Prefecture under the long-range program to develop Japanese nuclear weapons. It is a matter of common knowledge that Japan is implementing plants to store some 100 tons of weapons-grade plutonium, sufficient to make several thousand Hiroshima-type A-bombs.

Japan has already succeeded in launching multi-stage rockets which can easily be converted to nuclear-tipped inter-continental ballistic missiles. Japan is a virtual nuclear power ready to take on a greater role, eager to achieve what it failed during the last world war.

At UN meeting north Korea expressed its objection to Japan becoming another permanent members of the Security Council and has taken issue with the Russian proposal to remove the enemy state clause from the UN Charter. Pyongyang has done a great deal to make the world community wary of Japan’s dangerous nuclear weapons program. [ ]

60185. ------. “PK Commentary: Reconsideration of Pyong-Tokyo Talks (2): Part 4”, in the People’s Korea, May 29, 1993. p. 8. With the 8 rounds of talks held, the DPRK and Japan are still far away from the avowed goal of leaving the unfortunate past behind them. However, the north Korea-Japan talks have created a worldwide interest in the issue of military prosecution by causing a chain reaction of vociferous outcries for full accounts of the issue and compensation in Asian capitals and at world bodies.

The comfort woman issue has become a hot item at international forums meetings in Vienna and at UN meetings in Geneva as the UN Human Rights Commission has launched an official investigation of the issue. At long last Tokyo finds itself standing at the dock of a world court, accused of crimes against humanity.

Should the Japanese continue to resist coming to terms with the past aggression against Asia and repugnant atrocities perpetrated, Japan would become a pariah state. “As its power grows, coming to terms with the past is becoming more necessary in order to come to terms with the future,” BBC Tokyo correspondent Gordon Brewar wrote in the 4/26/92 issue of The Financial Times, the influential daily in London. The resentment and distrust growing in most of the occupied Asian countries is too strong for Tokyo to erase the shame by doling out the Japanese yen. [ ]

60186. ------. “Palestine and People: On the Circuit”, in Biliad-
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www.ReferenceCorp/net/downloads

Jerusalem Times, November 17, 1995, p. 14. Tourist Police: Some 330 recruits, fifteen of them women, graduated 11/9/1995 from the Police Academy in Jericho. They were part of a special two-month training course for tourist police. The director of President Yasser Arafat's Jericho bureau Sami Musallam was the guest of honor at their graduation. During the final part of the ceremony, the graduates lined up to compose the word "Jerusalem." Moviemaker: Chilean moviemaker Michelle Ernesto is in Beit Sahour this week to visit the town where his father was born and his relatives still live. Ernesto, who takes pride in his Palestinian origins, is working on a film he has entitled, "The Four Stations of a Traveler". It tells the story of a Palestinian emigre who leads an alienated existence throughout the world. Before coming to Beit Sahour, Ernesto was in Damascus where he participated in the ninth Damascus Film Festival as the head of the panel of judges. [=]

60187. -------. "Palestine and People: On the Circuit," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 14. Children's rights: An-Najjah lecturer Rima Kilani was guest lecturer at a Palestinian-Norwegian meeting 7/23/1995 at the Friendship Society in Nabiis. She spoke about the rights of children in Palestine and enjoyed the packed audience of children that listened to her. Discrimination within the family were among the problems she felt were most prominent. Friendship society director Muhammad Sawalha said he is keen on organizing meetings between children and specialists on a regular basis. [=]

60188. -------. "Palestine and People: On the Circuit," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 14. Special Award: A delegation of twenty men and women representing United States based Birhe-Falastin Foundation visited the In'ash Usra Society 7/26/1995 to award director Samiha Khalil a special shield in appreciation of her efforts over the years to promote Palestinian culture. [=]

60189. -------. "Palestine and People: On the Circuit: Charity Bazaar", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 24, 1995, p. 14. The Melia Art & Training Center in Jerusalem wrapped its two-day annual charity bazaar at the Y.M.C.A. Saturday 11/17/1995. It included displays of Palestinian traditional costumes, and wool embroidery. The center is a branch of the Arab Orthodox Society. Through the center, the society trains women in various income-generating skills ranging from child care to fashion design. This year, the society invited international designer Toshiko Mizumo to introduce some new ideas. [=]

60190. -------. "Palestine and People: On the Circuit; Quranic Studies", in Biladi: The Jerusalem Times; October 20, 1995, p. 14. The Directorate of the Islamic Waqt in Jericho inaugurated special courses this week, all of which aim at providing young people with a thorough introduction to the Holy Quran. Jericho's Director of Waqt, Sheikh Ismail Al-Jamal said seventy youngsters have joined the courses which are taking place at seven different locations in the city. The youngsters, both male and female, are being taught how to recite the Quran in the right way. Al-Jamal also said the Waqt has plans for a theological seminary in Jericho and plans courses to instruct teachers how to teach the Quran. [=]

60191. -------. "Palestine and People: Palestinian-Israeli Women Demonstrate Against Siege", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), May 6, 1994, p. 15 A joint Palestinian-Israeli women group demonstrated at the Dahiya Al-Barid checkpoint last It week to protest the Israeli restrictions imposed on the Palestinian people.

The group carried signs with slogans against the closure of Jerusalem, house demolition and collective punishment. The demonstrators tried to pass the checkpoint but were confronted by border guards, who prevented from crossing.

Hanan Ashrawi, former spokesperson for the Palestinian peace delegation, said, "Peace is a responsibility for all of us. Peace must not become removed from reality. Furthermore, it is not just a signature. Real peace is showing goodwill on the behalf of both parties."

The head of the Union of Women Committees for Social Work, Salwa Hadib, discussed the women's activities and said, "We work for peace, and we believe that UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338 should be implemented in the occupied territories."

Amal Khresheh, director of the Federation of Working Women Communities in the West Bank and Gaza, said that the federation has relations with Israeli women's associations and that they agree on living in peace side by side in two independent states--Israeli and Palestinian. [=]

60192. -------. "Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees Inaugurates Integrated Development", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, May 9, 1997, p. 10. The Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees, on 5/6/1997, inaugurated the first Integrated Development Program in the Palestinian village of Falamiah in the Qalqilya district, northern East Bank. According to a Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees' press release, the most important achievements of this program are reclamation of 1500 dunums of land for agricultural purposes, the building of sixteen kilometers of agricultural roads, the construction of a 1000 cubic meter and a two hundred cubic meter water reservoirs with pumping stations, changing the old inefficient irrigation system, establishing an experimental station with a greenhouse for organic agriculture and another greenhouse for conventional agriculture, and introducing cultivation of various medical herbs, such as za'tar (thyme), sage and chamomile, and new fruits such as apples, plums, askadinia and avocado. The program financed by the French government, also included the establishment of a Women's Association to provide training for women in the tailoring, drying and gardening of medical herbs. Falamiah has a population of 351 people according to 1992 figures with 2464 dunums of land. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the population. [=]

60193. -------. "Palestinian Female Candidate: Women Must Have a Role in Building Palestine", in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), January 13, 1996, p. 14. Nabiis Abu Rmeila is the first woman Palestinian candidate to run for the 1/22/1996 elections for the Palestinian Council in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Abu Rmeila was interviewed by phone from her home village of Beit Ummar, near Hebron. Abu Rmeila said, "The public enthusiasm as evidenced by [the people] going to the registration offices is great. I call upon the Palestinians women to preserve and exercise their right to [participate in the] elections."

Abu Rmeila said she was led to run because of "my faith in my people, and in the militant role of Palestinian women who were behind my decision to run. I [was] also encouraged by the strong support of my own family and relatives, who expressed their pride over my participation in the elections. I would also like to underline the right of the Palestinian women to participate in the various structures and activities of the PNA [Palestinians National Authority], and through them to represent our Palestinians people on Arab and world scales".

Abu Rmeila outlined her election program as follows: "Campaigning for women's right to espouse their proper place; to take part in the decisionmaking; to achieve social justice and equality with men; to assist peasants to keep hold of their lands; to defend human beings and land; to care for the workforce and fight against unemployment by creating new jobs and building factories along with establishing training centers; to care for the martyrs' children, and the right of the displaced and refugees to contribute in the building of the independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital.

Abu Rmeila was asked to assess her role as a woman candidate in the conservative Hebron society. She responded, 'My candidacy demonstrates the role being played by women in the Hebron region, and that these women are able to give, to lead by example, and deal with hardships. My participation in the elections is also an announcement to the society as a whole that Palestinian women are brave, self-confident and determined to contribute to the building of our state'.

On Abu Rmeila's chances in the election, she said, "I hope I
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Palestinians forced many of them to emigrate. Yet there is a phoenix-like persistence in the Palestinians. They have also the quality of steadfastness and pursue their ambitions in the political, economic and commercial spheres. Their weaponry is education. The Ramallah Youth Union in Westland, Michigan is one such ex-patriate society. Surrounding the club, there are sports fields, parking lots, and land for future building projects. The club has a special significance for the people of Ramallah who live in the United States. It provides them with their homeland, and the opportunity to keep in touch. Mahir A'jouni, the head of the union, explains, "The union means so much to the sons of Ramallah. It's a center for gossip from home. We have meetings, we socialize, we have parties and lectures in the center. We also publish a magazine, This is Ramallah, full of news and activities taking place back in Ramallah. Another important function is that it informs Palestinians in Palestine about the Ramallah Convention that is held yearly in the United States. The convention gives the opportunity for Palestinians to exchange their points of view and cooperate on various projects. In the office of the union, I work with the editorial staff of the magazine. It is published in both Arabic and English. Working for the magazine is voluntary," Alqoumi continued, "There are 17 clubs scattered throughout the United States. These clubs play a vital role in preserving traditions and customs. We're always aiming to maintain our heritage. For example, our youth section has a debke group, alongside sporting activities and educational lectures. You won't be surprised to hear that many marriages have resulted from these meetings."

Samir Farhat, former head of the Ramallah Union, elaborated, "The concern of Palestinians to protect their identity, traditions and customs in United States is very strong. We preserve the details of Palestinian marriage customs even more rigorously than at home." Nabih Hanna, who has lived in the United States for 40 years, still speaks Arabic in the peasant dialect. He explained that the traditional funeral ceremony has not changed either. Leila Hanna graduated from college in America, writing her thesis on the Ramallah people's integration into American Society. After working for a time in Jerusalem she married and now works for a civil rights organization. "I'm glad that I'm Palestinian," she says. "The blood of Palestine runs through our veins. My father is a former mayor of Ramallah who contributed much to the Palestinian cause --and we shall continue doing this here." Hanna has been elected the presidents of Ramallah's Union in Detroit, the first woman to occupy such a position. One of the aims of the union is to offer scholarships to support Palestinian students to carry on their educations. This year some 150 scholarships were awarded. Another accomplishment is the Palestinian Ramallah phone book, renewed every five years. It is a vital tool for Palestinians to contact friends of colleagues from Ramallah in the United States. Another publication has been a book on traditional Palestinian Cuisine. From his office in Michigan, Karim Alqoumi, a prominent Palestinian attorney, keeps track of various cases dealing with his job. Aside from his work, he keeps up with the latest news from his homeland, Palestine, in which he served for many years. He has contributed to the establishment of many Palestinian committees dealing with the Palestinian cause. In an interview with Al Quds newspaper, "Alqoumi said: "I finished my secondary education at Al Ahlia college in Ramallah. In 1948, I emigrated to the United States. I remember very well that the plane that I traveled in was the last plane to depart from Lydda Airport before the start of the war. I continued my studies in Wien University (The University of Vienna) graduating with a Ph.D in Saw. I was the first Palestinian lawyer to graduate and practice law in the 1950's. My love for Palestine was the main reason behind my success. My interest in the Palestinian question began when I was in the secondary school in Ramallah. I believe that every Palestinian, from the age of five, attains a type of political awareness. We are the most politicized society in the world."

A'jouni returns to his memories saying, "When I entered Wien University, we established the Arab Student Council, and Arab Unity for the Defense of the Palestinian People. From this stemmed the idea of forming the Ramallah Union. Since then, the union has had spawned affiliated branches all over the United States. In 1952, the first magazine
was published. This Ramallah. The idea of publishing such a magazine arose when six students from Ramallah, who studied in Wien University called for the establishment of an Arab magazine. I had the honor of writing the first article, opening the editorial on the behalf of the founders. In 1976, I had the further honor of representing the Ramallah Union in the Palestinian Congress in the United States. This congress represented all the Palestinian factions. Furthermore, I represented the Jordanian Community Union in the United States from 1970 to 1974. I resigned from the Palestinian local control. The status of Jerusalem remains a point of dispute, with Netanyahu insisting on a Jews-only city, and the Pope seeking guarantees for all faiths in Jerusalem. The POpe noted that Sara Netanyahu, the wife of the PM, was a 'Polish girl': confirming this, Netanyahu added that she had been a Polish Jewish girl "in Jerusalem... for six generations". [TXT]

60208. ------. "Pope John Paul II and PM Benjamin Netanyahu Meet, Looking to Jerusalem Trip", in New York Times, February 4, 1997. p. A5. Pope John Paul II and Netanyahu met in the Vatican to discuss a future meeting in Jerusalem. The Pope as pope has never visited Israel (although he visited in 1963); Arafat has offered a visit in 2000 to the Pope. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a sensitive topic. We are trying to allow the opportunity for the new Palestinian generation to adopt the advantages and ignore the disadvantages of Western society. I could say that we have successfully managed to overcome the cultural differences. Over 90% of Palestinians have done so." [AjJouni has been helping various institutions in the West Bank as well. He collects money during the year and at the times of conventions to assist Birzeit University. He and his wife, Suhila, visited Birzeit University for the first time in 1976. After finding out the needs of the university, 'AjJouni managed to collect financial aid from Palestinian Americans. Last year, he estimated the funding would reach $170000. 'AjJouni, speaking on education said, "Education for Palestinians is a vital tool for building the new Palestinian state. This is why we established the Friends of Bir Zeit University. I'm proud to be the head of this institute." In addition to the Birzeit fund, 'Ajlouni and 14 others from various Arab regions managed to top up the support fund for the students on Wien University. Out of the 14 donors, four are from Ramallah. Each one contributed $14000, making a total scholarship fund of $217000. Asked about the American view toward Palestinians, 'Ajlouni said, "After the peace process, the view has changed. Americans know we are striving for our rights. Today, we're not afraid to say that we are Palestinians--because the image of the Palestinian is no more that of a terrorist." [=]
bulldozers were knocking down houses m which women and children were living", responded by saying: "they are all terrorists", is statement accurately summarises Israel's strategy and the assumptions that underlie it, over many years. It is interesting to note that General—as he then was—Sharon justified the massacre in the Lebanon as the way to maintain ‘quiet on the West Bank'. How wrong he has proved to be! According to Amnesty International (June 1989): “On 2/9/1987 demonstrations erupted against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, marking the beginning of the period of unrest soon to become known as the intifada. Since 9 December almost every day Palestinians, including children, have staged demonstrations in which stones, petrol bombs and other missiles have often been thrown at Israeli soldiers and settlers. The Israeli authorities have responded with force, which has often been excessive and indiscriminate, using such means as live ammunition, rubber and plastic bullets, teargas and gravel cannons. More than 360 Palestinians were reported to have been killed by early 4/1989 in shooting incidents alone. Thousands have been injured, many of them requiring hospital treatment. A number of Israeli soldiers and civilians too, as well as several Palestinians suspected of collaborating with the Israeli authorities, have been killed in violent attacks by Palestinians. As well as demonstrations and riots, mass strikes and tax boycotts have been organised by Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and popular committees have been set up to coordinate such activities and create alternative structures to the Israeli Civil Administration. They have organised, among other things, food distribution, medical relief, and educational programs. Some Palestinian employees of the Israeli Civil Administration, particularly police officials, have resigned from their posts. In their attempt to suppress such activities, the Israeli authorities resorted to various measures. A number of Palestinian newspapers and institutions were closed down and the popular committees proscribed. Currency restrictions were introduced to control money going to families and institutions in the Occupied Territories. New identity cards were issued in the Gaza Strip to monitor the population more closely. More than 60 Palestinians were served with deportation orders and 48 were actually deported. Villages, towns and refugee camps have been put under prolonged curfew, sometimes for a month or more, during which time electricity, water and telephones have been disconnected. Trees have been uprooted and crops ruined. Dozens of Palestinian homes have been demolished or sealed up as punishment. During the first few months of the uprising hundreds of teenagers and young men were arrested, summarily tried on criminal charges—often without legal representation—and sentenced to several months’ imprisonment for throwing stones and setting up roadblocks. In March 1988, however, the Israeli authorities decided to make more use of administrative detention. More than 5000 Palestinians have been in administrative detention since the beginning of the Palestinian intifada. Most of them for six months; some repeatedly. At least 1,100 are reported to be on detention at present, the vast majority in harsh conditions in the Ketzioth detention centre in Israel. Administrative detention in Israel and the Occupied Territories can and has been used to detain prisoners of conscience, held for the non-violent exercise of their right to freedom of expression and association. The International Committee of the Red Cross, one of the few organisations still able to travel relatively freely in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, has accused the Israelis of deliberately stirring up tensions which culminated in Thursday’s killing of at least four Palestinians in the West Bank village of Nahhalin. "For five or six days before the killings, Israeli border guards had been systematically provoking the villagers by making religious and personal insults", an ICRC spokesman, Mr Carlos Bauverd, said. During the pre-dawn Israeli raid on Nahhalin, part of which was witnessed by the ICRC, Israeli soldiers opened fire “without discrimination and without restraint” he said. Apart from the Nahhalin killings, the ICRC condemned Israel for an “increasingly frequent use of firearms and acts of physical violence against defenseless civilians”. Mr Bauverd said that among recent violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention had been systematic violence against medical teams and ambulance drivers who were employed by the Red Cross and by the UN Works and Relief Agency for Palestinian Refugees. “These people have been pulled from their vehicles and beaten by Israeli soldiers. When drivers have tried to dismantle roadblocks to get to wounded people they have been arrested”…. Singled out for particular criticism was Israel’s policy of deporting Palestinian activists to Lebanon, something which is outlawed under Article 49, collective punishments and the destruction of houses, and excessive violence against demonstrators. (Guardian 4/15/1989) . . . The Border Police, which answers to the Ministry of Police rather than Defence, is a 5500-strong regular force, although many of its lower ranks arrive after being rejected even as cooks or drivers by the army. Many hold extreme right-wing political views. The force has a tendency to be so brutal as to simply terrify Palestinians into submission, although—and this makes Nahhalin unusual—that toughness is not necessarily a problem of being trigger-happy. They are widely accused of sexual abuse and there have been some allegations of rape. Many people from Nahhalin said on Thursday that tension had been mounting after Border Police began to make obscene remarks or gestures at local women. (Guardian 15th April 1989.) Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank yesterday wounded three Arabs when they shot up a village near Ramallah after Israeli vehicles had been attacked by stone-throwers. A few hours earlier, settlers fired at Arab houses in the West Bank City of Hebron after petrol bombs were thrown at an Israeli car. It was not known whether anyone was hurt in this shooting. Highlighting their anger, a group of settlers also appealed to the right-wing minister, Mr Ariel Sharon, to allow them a free hand for revenge against the stone-throwers. "Arik, do something. You can break the intifada like you broke Gaza", a settler said, referring to the former general’s successful campaign in the occupied Gaza Strip in the early “You’re right. I know what should be done but I’m a voice in the wilderness in the Cabinet and nothing will happen unless you press (Prime Minister) Shamir to let me handle things", the minister said. "What should be done is to put all the Arabs on a skewer and roast them", a passing motorist shouted. “Throw the Arabs out”, shouted a young woman. (Guardian 5/27/1989) . . . “The West Bank is different from the Gaza strip in three or four ways. The West Bank is five times the area; the Gaza strip can easily be sealed off. Over 60% of the residents of the Gaza strip live in refugee camps, against 10% on the West Bank. And there are the settlers.” Some 70,000 Jewish settlers, many of them highly critical of what they see as General Motza’s soft approach, live among 650,000 Palestinians on the West Bank, against only 2000 among the 650,000 inhabitants of the Gaza strip. (Independent 6/1989) Ariel Sharon . . . Likud Hawk . . . told reporters in the Golan Heights wrested from Syria in the 1967 war and held onto in the 1973 war, that “we are a war. It’s a different kind of war. But it’s a war. In order to be able to overcome all our problems . . . the most important thing is to restore law and order, to bring to an end terror and violence, called here intifada and to eliminate the heads of the terrorist organisations and first of all of Arafat.” Mr Sharon, now Trade and Industry Minister, has made such threats before, and Israel is not above assassination. As defence minister, Mr Sharon launched Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in 1982, with the declared aim of clearing Palestinian Refugees. “These people have been pulled from their vehicles and beaten by Israeli soldiers. When drivers have tried to dismantle roadblocks to get to wounded people they have been arrested”…. Singled out for particular criticism was Israel’s policy of deporting Palestinian activists to Lebanon, something which is outlawed under Article 49, collective punishments and the destruction of houses, and excessive violence against demonstrators. (Guardian 4/15/1989) . . . The Border Police, which answers to the Ministry of Police rather than Defence, is a 5500-strong regular force, although many of its lower ranks arrive after being rejected even as cooks or drivers by the army. Many hold extreme right-wing political views. 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twice as many victims. However, the UNRWA in Gaza said 400 Arabs were injured by gunfire, beatings or teargas inhalation on Saturday. Arab hospitals in Gaza said troops shot and wounded eight people in continuing protests yesterday. The violence occurred during the Muslim holiday of El-Fitr, which is marked by parades and visits to the graves of relatives. Gen. Lapid said residents of Nuseirat refugee camp provoked the most serious violence... helicopter dropped teargas canisters, and troop reinforcements were called in. In the clash, two people were shot dead and at least 42 people, including two Israeli soldiers were wounded. (Guardian 5/8/1989)

...Mr. Shamir said in Tel Aviv that no effort would be spared to catch the murderers of Steven Rosenfeld, a 48-year-old American immigrant, found stabbed to death... near an Arab village adjoining the West Bank settlement of Ariel. He was the 21st Israeli to be killed during the intifada. About 520 Palestinians have been killed... "Israel's security forces will uphold this violence with an iron fist." Mr. Shamir said... Ariel, with a population of 6,000, attracted controversy recently when it ordered Palestinians employed there to wear tags saying "foreign worker". (Guardian 6/25/1989)

In chilling proof that the Israeli Army has learned nothing in the 17 months since the intifada began, three Palestinians were killed and more than 140 injured in the Gaza Strip over the weekend, while one soldier suffered a broken jaw... A second depressing aspect of the latest events is the fact that Israeli soldiers are still using live fire against mourners with stones and slingshots—a seven-month-old girl was among those hit by bullets. Most depressing of all is that 466 Palestinians died, in spite of the renunciation of violence by the PLO and its recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure borders, a change of administration in Washington and a more moderate line from Mr. Gorbachev. (Moscow, peace in the Middle East is as distant as ever. (The Independent 5/8/1989)

The Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, said yesterday that proposals for Palestinian elections in the occupied territories were more public relations than substance, reinforcing Arab accusations that the initiative was aimed at ending the intifada without conceding real political power to the Palestinians. He told a parliamentary committee that those elected would not form a parliament: "The elections have more importance from a public relations point of view than in a practical sense." (Guardian 6/27/1989)

As well as joining the kidnappers in the Lebanon the Israelis have been extending their territory there too. The Independent reported on the 25th April: While world attention has been focused on the crisis afflicting Beirut and central Lebanon, Israel has been quietly extending its hold on areas in the south within its self-declared security zone. At the weekend, 300 farmers were evicted from their land just over the border from Israel. About 40 square miles of Lebanese territory were effectively annexed by the Israeli forces, according to Lebanese sources. It was the second instance this year of Lebanese citizens being expelled from their property in the south. In January, dozens of people were evicted from the Israeli-occupied town of Chebaa, on the eastern slopes of Mount Hermon, the snow-covered mountain ridge which forms the southern-eastern frontier between Israeli-occupied south Lebanon and Syria. It is at Chebaa that the 300 farmers have now arrived, together with what flocks and other possessions they were able to take with them. Having received no compensation for their lost land, they are now penniless and homeless. Eight Palestinians, described by Israel as leaders of the uprising in the occupied territories, were deported to Lebanon yesterday, as the army went on alert to guard Jewish settlers planning mass new cards bore magnetic strips, like credit cards. The information...
after trying to protect his son from arrest. They were convicted of the lesser charge of brutality. The judges advocate agreed with the accused that the victim died not from the beating at his house but from wounds suffered later when he was held at an army outpost. They concluded that the culprits would never be found among the 20 or so other soldiers who participated in the beating. This was the first trial of soldiers accused of beating to death a Palestinian in their charge since the beginning of the uprising. During the trial earlier this year, a soldier after soldier testified about systematic brutality in an atmosphere of fear and racial loathing... Dedi Zucker, Knesset member for the Left-Wing Citizens’ Rights Movement, called the verdict the most important since the beginning of the Intifada. He said it was the first time a court had questioned the army’s policy. Prosecutions and disciplinary actions have been rare; the army protects its own. Two weeks ago, an Israeli colonel escaped with dismissal for ordering soldiers to break the arms and legs of Palestinians already arrested. Since the uprising began in 12/1987, two soldiers have been convicted of manslaughter. Nearly 500 Palestinians have been shot dead or beaten to death in this period. (The Independent 5/26/1988).[=]

60210. -------. “Powerful Women”, in Jewish Press (New York), June 14, 1996. p. 32. Two Israeli women were included in the World Business list of the most powerful women in international business: bank Leumi CEO Galia Maor, and Dubek managing director Ruth Hirsh. [TXT]


60212. -------. “Prisoners Launch Hunger Strike”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 21, 1994. p. 2. An open hunger strike was launched by all the prisoners, women and men at Tel Mond Prison near Tel Aviv 10/17/1994. The inmates have also refused to accept family visits until they are released.

The Mandela Institute in Ramallah which works with political prisoners announced that the prisoners released a statement confirming their strike which says, “No retreat, no surrender until our demands are met.” A Nazareth-based organization, The Prisoners’ Friends Society, sent Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a telegram demanding the release of two prisoners, Iman Abu Hayat 16, and Najla Fathi. 15. The imprisonment of both young women contravenes international conventions, the message read. The society also called for the release of Nidal Barghout whose health condition is deteriorating rapidly.

Prior to the strike, prisoners in Jneid Prison in Nablus denied reports that Palestinians held in Israeli jails will go on an open hunger strike starting 10/15/1994. This information was given to attorney Ahmed Khatib of A-Dameer, a Jerusalem-based human rights organization, who met with inmates 10/13/1994. The prisoners, however, told the attorney that they have no choice but to strike if Israel fails to release the women prisoners, as well as the ill and elderly.

According to Khatib, the prisoners in Megiddo Prison are suffering from a number of skin diseases. Any requests for clean sheets and clothing have been refused by the prison authorities. [=]

60213. -------. “Protection Needed”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 31, 1993. p. 4. Two statements should set the alarm bells off around the world regarding the grave situation of human rights under Israeli occupation.

The statements were made by the head of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Cornelio Sommaruga, upon his visit to the country last week, and by the London-based Amnesty International on the situation in the Gaza Strip. While Amnesty International expressed its deep concern for the unjustified killing of civilian Palestinians—among them a number of children—by Israelis, Sommaruga demanded that the Israeli authorities apply the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention specifically drafted for the protection of civilian populations under occupation. He also affirmed the applicability of this convention to the occupied Palestinian territories.

During the trial earlier this year, the Palestinians express their appreciation for the aforementioned statements, they regret the fact that the international response to the recent escalation of Israeli practices has been very negligible.

We believe is high time that the international community take some action to put an end to Israeli transgressions and stands firm in its support of the Palestinian demand for international protection. It has already been 26 years since the Israeli occupation of 1967, and the pleas for protection have fallen on deaf ears.

International action against Israeli policies and violations of human rights have not been strong enough or sufficient enough to force a real change. This is attributed mainly to the unlimited support of US administrations to Israel, their “strategic ally.” Officially US support, which grants the Israeli practices almost full political and military cover, certainly has not given enough consideration to the cause of peace in this region, nor to the interests of the American people.

The statements made by the two organizations, which have a worldwide reputation as watchdogs for human rights, should be taken quite seriously by the United Nations and all those concerned for peace in the region. These statements, in fact, underline the Palestinian demands that Israel should stop its violations of human rights before peace negotiations can continue.

At a time when the Palestinians and other Arab parties are indulging in the peace process and taking the necessary steps to make the achievement of a political settlement possible, the Israelis are escalating their practices to strangle the Palestinian population. International protection for the Palestinians under Israeli occupation is in demand now more than at any other time. It is the duty of all those concerned with peace, human rights, and freedom to raise their voices for that cause. Now is the time for action. [=]

60214. -------. “Quranic Dowry”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 25, 1994. p. 15. There is a growing interest in Islamic customs, traditions and cultures among Palestinians of 1948. In a unique episode, a young Palestinian woman from the village of Qalansuwah inside the “green line” agreed to marry a young man from the Tulkarm refugee camp on condition that he learn by heart a surah from the Quran. The young woman asked her suitor Naser Hawji to learn Surat An-Nurhus his dowry. The marriage contract also states that in case of divorce, Hawji will have to learn all the other Quranic surahs by heart. [=]

60215. -------. “Rabin Responsible for Worst Year in Gaza Human Rights Conditions: A Report by the Gaza Center for Rights and Law: Closure”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 8-9. The indefinite closure of the Gaza Strip takes the strangulation of the Gaza economy by the State of Israel to yet another degree of severity, reducing the number of Gaza laborers employed in Israel to 15000, 50% of the preclosure level and possibly 20% of its pre-Intifada level. This has led to a dramatic fall in purchasing power within Gaza, affecting not only those deprived of their livelihood through the reduction of work permits, but the very level of the economy, whether producer, retailer or consumer.

According to calculations based on data provided by UNRWA, the Statistical Yearbook of Israel 1991 and local researchers, the average household income (four members) has dropped to monthly NIS130 ($48), despite the recent Municipality Relief Program. This monthly income represents a decrease of 13% from the pre-closure level and a drop of up to 66% (calculating 70000 Gaza workers in Israel) from the days before the Intifada.

In addition, religious and social obligations cannot be followed...
in a satisfactory manner, with a days-long procedure to apply for - and slight chances of receiving - a travel permit. After denying legal security and numerous economic, social and political freedoms, the Israeli government has now effectively punished some 800,000 people with collective imprisonment on an area of about 360 square kilometers. [=]

60216. ------. "Rabin Responsible for Worst Year in Gaza Human Rights Conditions: A Report by the Gaza Center for Rights and Law: Killings and Injuries During 6/93, Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 8. Four Palestinians were killed by the Israeli forces in the Gaza Strip during 5/93, taking the total killed during the first six months of 1993 to 84. The Israeli army continues to locate snipers armed with live ammunition on rooftop observation points in highly populated and sensitive areas in the middle of refugee camps within the Strip. Shootings by those snipers appear random, often occurring at times when there are no violent disturbances or clashes taking place, or causing injury to persons who are some distance from such disturbances.

During 6/93, one 13-year-old boy, Amin Muhammad Ammar, was shot dead by a sniper as he crossed a road in Bureij refugee camp. It is difficult to reconcile the use of lethal force by these snipers with international law provisions concerning the use of force.

In particular, the Code of Conduct of Law Enforcement Provisions stipulates that the use of force must be proportional to the "legitimate objectiveto be achieved," and should be exceptional. Furthermore, locating snipers in the heart of densely populated areas is unnecessarily provocative and it itself contributes to increasing tension... .

Over 800 Palestinians were injured by the Israeli army during the month of 6/93, many very seriously. Once again, a large number of those injured (347) were 16 years of age or under. The number of assaults and/or beatings of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers was even higher during 6/93 than in previous months. Many Palestinians suffered quite serious injuries as a result of assaults by the occupying forces.

On 6/26/93, two very young children suffered serious injuries when an Israeli foot patrol opened fire with live ammunition while pursuing a young man through the streets of Block B of Shaboura refugee camp, in Rafah. Omar Hijazi, 32 months, were playing in front of their houses when one of the foot soldiers opened fire indiscriminately.

Omar received bullet wounds is his left thigh and left arm. Mahmoud received a number of bullet wounds in the abdomen, chest, pelvis and back. They were both taken to the UNRWA clinic in Rafah and from there transferred to Nasser Hospital in Khan Yunis. Both are in critical condition. [=]

60217. ------. "Rabin Responsible for Worst Year in Gaza Human Rights Conditions: A Report by the Gaza Center for Rights and Law: Killings and Injuries During 6/93, Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 8. Kamel Dawa, 4, from Jabalya refugee camp, was severely injured when Israeli soldiers fired live ammunition and rubber bullets into the crowded market area on the morning of 6/19/93. Dawa, who was with his father at the time, was shot from a distance of only 12 meters. He received bullet wounds in the right side of his abdomen.

The Gaza Center for Rights and Law continues to receive an alarming number of reports of Palestinians being beaten, often severely, by security forces. At about noon 6/16/93, Nour ad-Deen Abu Hatab, 18, of Khan Yunis refugee camp, was near Bilal Mosque. A soldier from an Israeli army patrol called over to him. Abu Hatab was not asked any questions or placed under arrest, but was immediately beaten savagely about the head with a gun by the soldier. He suffered a compression factor and internal bleeding and underwent two operations for fracture of the skull.

At about 10:30 a.m. 6/11/93, Iz ad-Din Yassin, 15, from Nuseirat refugee camp, went to visit his uncle, who lives in Bureij refugee camp. On the way, he was apprehended by foot soldiers who held him and tied his hands behind his back with electric cable. He was restrained in this way for almost 90 minutes before being beaten for a few minutes. He was then released and allowed to go on his way.

This 15-year-old boy is mentally retarded, and this is apparently well-known to the army forces in the camp.

Journalists who attempt to report on the deteriorating human rights situation in the Gaza Strip are facing increasing harassment from the security forces. In particular Palestinian journalists, whether working for the local or international media, are at risk of injury if they attempt to cover events in the refugee camps.

On 6/21/93, Palestinian reporter Majdi Arabeed, 28, was shot in the leg while witnessing sporadic clashes between residents of Shate' refugee camp and Israeli soldiers. The shooting took place near the taxi station in the center of the camp. At about 4:30 p.m. one of the officers of the patrol told Arabeed that he would be shot if he did not leave the area. Majdi refused to leave and continued to witness the demonstrations. About 90 minutes later, he was shot in the leg from a distance of some 70 meters. He was taken to Shifa Hospital, where he was treated for shrapnel wounds. [=]


60219. ------. "Rally marks Fatah Day", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996. p. 3. President Yasser Arafat has stressed that an independent state depends on an elected presidency, on an open legal system, and on a free legislative council. Arafat was speaking at a rally organized by Fatah marking 31 years since the movement began. The rally took place at the Falujah School at the Jabaliya Refugee Camp near Gaza Jan. 2. In his speech, Artaf stressed election related issues. "In the beginning, the wish was for an administrative council composed of 24 members, but thanks to your will, you have transformed it into a legislative council for the Palestinian people so it will become a part of the Palestine National Council," Arafat said. "We are passing through perilous times. We may or may not become. This phase begins with the elections," Arafat told the gathering. He called upon Palestinian women to cast their voice alongside those of the men in the upcoming elections.

Arafat appealed the people of Jabaliya, birthplace of the Intifada, and stressed that the Intifada thwarted a conspiracy to obliterate the Palestinian people, and put them on the map again. "They also said Gaza and Jericho First and Last. Now the cities of the West Bank are being liberated one following the other, and soon it will be the turn of Jerusalem," Arafat said. Celebrations marking Fatah Day continue throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. At the Aroub Refugee Camp in the Hebron area, citizens celebrated by lighting 31 torches on the peaks of the surrounding hills Monday, Jan. 1. [=]

60220. ------. "Raphael Patai, 85, a Scholar of Jewish and Arab Cultures; Treating Scripture As a Window Into an Ancient People's Rollicking Psychology", in New York Times, July 25, 1996. p. B8. A dedicated Zionist, Raphael Patai built his career trying to make the stories of the Jewish people the basis for a generation of Middle East scholars. His dedication to Zionism led him to receive his doctorate at the Hebrew University in 1936. His most popular books were the pop psychology of the 'The Jewish Mind' and the racist pop 'The Arab Mind', (this last mildly controversial pop-Feminist 'Hebrew Goddess' (this last work generally ignored by serious scholars). He died at the home of his daughter, Dr. Jennifer Schneider, in Tucson, Arizona. He is also survived by daughter Daphne Patai in Amherst, Massachusetts, companion Simone Boy of Forest Hills, and brother Prof. Saul Patai of Jerusalem. [TXT]

naturalized American citizen, is an aristocrat who travels in the best circles of society and highest reaches of political power in North America and Europe. Singer, a Hasidic Jew from Brooklyn who spoke only Yiddish until he was 12, toils tirelessly and faceless in the trenches of international Zionism. But the two men have worked together on behalf of world Jewry for more than a decade. Bronfman is president of the World Jewish Congress, and Singer is the group’s secretary general.

Last month, the two delivered a joint public address on the future of Higher Education. The report also stated the number of pupils in those schools as 654697. The breakdown follows: The Gaza Strip: 351 schools - 71 government, 159 UNRWA, 21 private. 134 of those are all male, 105 all female, 112 mixed. 6556 male and female teachers teach at those schools. The West Bank (including Jerusalem): 1559 schools - 913 government, 100 UNRWA, 546 private. 374 all male, 387 all female, 896 mixed. 14498 teachers in 12947 classes. There are 436 kindergartens, 13 in the Gaza Strip with 1061 children, and 423 in the West Bank with 35768 children. There are 1468 Vocational high schools with various areas of specialization - agricultural, industrial, nursing: 77 in the Gaza Strip, of which 35 are male and 42 female; 1391 in the West Bank, 1198 male, 193 female. The report noted that in the cities of Tulkarem, Qalqiliya, Jenin and Jerusalem, there were no female students to be found in vocational schools, including nursing. [-]

60223. -------. "Schoolbag: School Year End Census", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 29, 1995. p. 12. There are 1900 schools in Palestine, including government and UNRWA schools, according to a report issued 12/25/1995 by the Palestine Census Bureau affiliated with the Ministry of Higher Education. The report also stated the number of pupils in those schools as 654697. The breakdown follows: The Gaza Strip: 351 schools - 71 government, 159 UNRWA, 21 private. 134 of those are all male, 105 all female, 112 mixed. 6556 male and female teachers teach at those schools. The West Bank (including Jerusalem): 1559 schools - 913 government, 100 UNRWA, 546 private. 374 all male, 387 all female, 896 mixed. 14498 teachers in 12947 classes. There are 436 kindergartens, 13 in the Gaza Strip with 1061 children, and 423 in the West Bank with 35768 children. There are 1468 Vocational high schools with various areas of specialization - agricultural, industrial, nursing: 77 in the Gaza Strip, of which 35 are male and 42 female; 1391 in the West Bank, 1198 male, 193 female. The report noted that in the cities of Tulkarem, Qalqiliya, Jenin and Jerusalem, there were no female students to be found in vocational schools, including nursing. [-]
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are suffering in jails. These prisoners ask for nothing but to back to their
wives, husbands, children and families.”

Shaath heard appeals from three of the 32 female prisoners
being held in Tel Mond. Eighteen of the women are supporters of Fatah
at the peace process, and Shaath said that they must be freed before they
and their families in the West Bank and Gaza turn against the process.

“We all have to work together to guarantee their freedom. The
problem is not with food or clothing, it is with their freedom. This is what
they need,” the minister added.

When he was also calling for the release of prisoners who
oppose the peace process, Shaath said, “These Palestinians were
imprisoned because they fought against the occupation, therefore if they
are released they will be committed to peace.”

Shahal was supposed to accompany Shaath, but according to
Israel Radio he had to attend an important session in the Knesset.

Earlier in the week, Shaath expressed his concern for the
prisoners. “We must work nonstop to release the prisoners. In order to
do that we have to improve their situation and solve their problems.”

He continued, “I realized that the prisoners’ issue must be
negotiated separately from any other subject such as redeployment and
elections.”

Shaath reported that President Yasser Arafat had agreed to
launch a new campaign to secure the release of all Palestinian prisoners
from Israeli jails.

“There is no reason for the Israelis to delay releasing
Palestinian prisoners,” said Shaath.

He confirmed that the Palestinians are continuously pressuring
the Israelis to put essential issues on the agenda of negotiations, but the
prisoners’ issue should take on a new dimension and be dealt with separately.

Shaath said, “For his visit to the jails was Israeli
Foreign Minister Shimon Peres’ statement that all those who signed the
oath have been released.

Shaath believes there are prisoners who signed the oath who
have yet to be released.

“Shaath also wanted to show that prisoners represent all factions and
not only Islamic movements,” he said.

Shaath also indicated that the withdrawal of the Israeli army
will pave the way for legislative elections which will take place in 7/1995.

“The delay in releasing prisoners is due to the Israeli posturing of withdrawal from Palestinian population centers. It was
decided that there would be a general amnesty as soon as withdrawal of the
Israeli military takes place.”

The minister remarked that Arafat has taken on the cause of
sick and old prisoners and is working to get them released immediately.

He added that Rabin promised to release them but to date has
only released eight female prisoners.

The bus attack that occurred in Tel Aviv caused Rabin to
change his mind about releasing more prisoners, Shaath said.

“I don’t want to promise anything now, but I hope our efforts will
have positive and practical results,” he added.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian prisoners and detainees at Ansar III

The strike results from an increase in collective and individual
punishment.

The prisoners called for immediate closure of the detention
center.

A memorandum released by the prisoners added that the
health situation in the detention camp is deteriorating and the food is
inadequate.

The detainees called for more space inside their tents, fresh
water, and heating. They also called for permitting their lawyers and
families to visit them and appealed for the cessation of the policy of
separating prisoners of the West Bank and Gaza.

The detainees called on the Palestinian National Authority to
intervene for their immediate release. [-]

60228. -------. “Shot Going Home”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times

Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 21, 1994. p. 2. A young man in his twenties was shot dead by Israeli soldiers after
returning home from working in his family’s field in Halhoul near
Hebron.

Israel Radio reported that Imad Adaraba, 23, was on his way
home with four other youths, when he aroused the suspicion of some
Israeli soldiers in the area.

Relatives said that Adaraba did not attack the patrol.

Military authorities are investigating the incident, said Israel
Radio.

His body was moved to Abu Kbir Forensic Institute near Tel
Aviv for autopsy. [=]

60229. -------. “Six Shot Dead: Intifada Update, Part 1”, in Al-Fajr
Israeli military shot dead six Palestinians this week and injured more
than 100 others. Four of the six people killed were from the Gaza Strip.

The number of Palestinians killed during the Intifada is now put at 1232.

The military siege imposed on the occupied West Bank and
Gaza Strip entered its second month. Only a limited number of
Palestinian workers were given permits to allow them to go to work in
Israel proper and occupied East Jerusalem.

Following are incidents reported during the week:

APRIL 24: Curfew was imposed on the Tuffah Quarter of Gaza
City following confrontations between Palestinian civilians and Israeli
soldiers.

APRIL 24: A total strike was observed throughout the occupied
territories called for by the UNLU.

Israelis soldiers shot and injured several Palestinians in the
West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In Shate’ and Bureij refugee camps in the Strip scores of
Palestinians stoned military patrols. Several were injured and
hospitalized.

In the city of Khan Yunis, two Palestinians were shot and
injured when soldiers retaliated at stone throwers.

In Rafeh, one Palestinian was also shot and injured when
soldiers disbursed protesters. Searches continued in the cities of Rafah
and Khan Yunis.

Curfew remained in force in the Tuffah quarter in Gaza City.

In Bureen village, Nablus region, a youth was shot and injured
when soldiers shot at a passing car.

In the village of Beit Ulla, Hebron district, two youths were shot
and injured and four arrested in clashes with the military.

In Ramallah, two “wanted” Palestinians from the Jenin region
were arrested.

An Israeli car was set ablaze in Jerusalem.

APRIL 26: Ahmad Hamdan, 12, was shot dead in Khan Yunis

camp.

In Nuseirat camp, Najah Abu Dallal, 33, also died of wounds
sustained the week before.

At least 11 other Palestinians were shot and injured in the Strip
in clashes in Khan Yunis, Nuseirat and Shate’.

APRIL 27: A general strike was observed in the occupied
territories. The strike was called for by Palestinian organizations
opposing the current political process. The strike came on the day the
ninth round of talks resumed in Washington, DC.

Fierce clashes erupted in the Gaza Strip, leaving at least 75
Palestinians injured by Israeli soldiers. Clashes were reported in
Nuseirat, Bureij, Khan Yunis, Jabalya and Shate’ refugee camps and in
Gaza City.

Another Palestinian was also injured in Nablus in the West
Bank.

Fierce clashes were reported in Jenin, where youths attacked
settlers’ cars with Molotovs. [=]
In Qalqilya, activists shot at a military encampment, the area was cordoned off and searched.

APRIL 28: Israeli forces shot dead four Palestinians and injured scores of others.

In the village of Iritas, Bethlehem region; soldiers shot 25-year-old Mahmoud Shahin in the head, killing him. Two others were also injured in the shooting. The military alleged that the incident occurred when they refused to stop for an identification check.

In Kufur N'meh in the Ramallah district, soldiers shot dead 14-year-old Ibrahim Deik. The army alleged the boy was aiming a handmade gun at soldiers in the village. Palestinians said the youth was participating in a stone-throwing demonstration.

The boy is the son of martyr Khaled Deik, who was killed during a gun battle with soldiers in 1985.

In the Gaza Strip, Khalid Haleel, 20, from Bureij refugee camp, was shot dead and 15 others were injured when soldiers shot live ammunition at Palestinian protesters.

The incident occurred following the establishment of an additional, military encampment in the refugee camp. In Shate’ refugee camp, soldiers shot dead Rami Abu Nakhal, 12, allegedly after the soldiers were hit with stones.

Search campaigns continued in the Rafah area. Two suspects were arrested.

In Hebron, an Israeli settler was injured when his car was stoned.

In Jalazun refugee camp, two Molotovs were tossed at a military patrol.

Another Molotov was also tossed at the military in the old city of Nablus.

APRIL 29: Ramzi Mansour, 18, of Bureij refugee camp, died of wounds sustained April 28 during clashes in his home camp.

In Sa’ar, near Tubkarm, two Molotovs were tossed at an army jeep, burning the jeep but causing no injuries to the soldiers inside. The soldier opened fire in all directions, but no injuries were reported.

Two homes were sealed in Jalazun camp, north of Ramallah. The army said the owners, Fouad and Walid Hodali, were convicted in injuring a soldier in Ramallah in 1990.

Youths pelted a military vehicle in Yamoun, near Jenin. At the time, soldiers said they opened fire, injuring one 18-year-old. Yamoun was put under siege, and soldiers searched everyone who wanted to enter or exit the village.[2]


15: Israeli authorities demolished six homes in Hebron and Jerusalem. More than 41 Palestinian residents were displaced.

16: Samer Naim Suleiman (16) of al-Zawiya was shot dead by Israeli soldiers while walking to his grandfather’s house. When neighbors rushed to his aid, soldiers told them, “We will give him the proper treatment.”

17: Munir Abu al-Aziz Jaradat was ambushed by undercover soldiers and shot dead near Jenin. Witnesses said that his hands were raised and empty.

18: Yusra Mohammed Abu Ajour (25) and her three children, aged six years to one week, were deported to Jordan. Authorities stated that she lacked an updated resident permit, which cost 450 NIS (180 USD) and must be renewed every three months. The home of Ibrahim Abu Amrah was demolished by Israeli authorities, who claimed it had been built without a permit.

21: Two rooms of a house belonging to Rayek Suboh (40) in Azmout (Nablus) were demolished by Israeli authorities, displacing six people. Israeli authorities closed the main mosque in Ya’abad (Jenin), saying they’d found “agitating material” there in an earlier raid.

25: Yusuf Mohammad Abu alSoba’ (23), Ali Mohammad Sawalmah (24), and Mustafa Abd al-Fatah Jawabrah (29) were ambushed and killed in the village of Arrabeh (Jenin) by five Israeli undercover soldiers dressed as Palestinian women. Arrabeh, Kuf Ra’ey and Fahmi villages (Jenin) were placed under curfew; Arrabeh remained under curfew for eight days. 613 dunams of land near Al Khader (Bethlehem) owned by Abdallah Khader al-Sbeih Ibrahim Obeid, and others were confiscated by Israeli authorities for “military use.” The land is near Efrat Settlement.

26: Na’if Abdul Slaaam from Singil (Ramallah) was shot five times by an Israeli from Shiloh settlement after he had attacked another settler. Ra’d Fathi Sa’adeh (15) from Awarta (Nablus) was shot in the abdomen by Israeli settlers, who drove by and fired from their car. Sha’adeh was walking home.

27: Settlers from around Hebron rampaged in the center of town after a Palestinian woman stabbed a settler there. Three Palestinians were injured. Hebron was under curfew for nine days. Israeli authorities uprooted 300 collectively owned olive trees near Mazra’a al Qabaliyia (Ramallah) for future settlement 300 olive trees owned by Hussain Al al-Hajai (55) from Bani Na’im (Hebron) were uprooted by Israeli authorities. No reason was given.[26]


2: Undercover soldiers raided the village of Bartaa’a Al-Shargieh (Jenin), arresting 14 people and destroying property. Later, a helicopter and 24 ground vehicles re-entered the village and arrested 12 more people. A two-day curfew was imposed.

3: Ashraf Abd al-Rahim Yaghmor (18) of Beir Jalla (Bethlehem) was shot in the back and killed by Israeli soldiers.

7: Rami Sadeq Abu Khder (12) of Tamoun (Nablus) was severely burned by a cellophane wrapped bomb that looked “like a piece of halaweh.”

12: Rami Zakaria al-Mazloum (20) of Gaza City was shot dead by Israeli undercover soldiers dressed as mechanics while taking part in a march.

13: Imad Yusuf Shuaqiqat (27) of Jaba (Jenin) was shot and killed by members of the special forces.

14: Israeli soldiers besieged the campus of Al-Najah University in Nablus for 8 days, claiming that 16 armed Palestinians were hiding there. 4, 500 students and faculty were left without food telephone contact. Nablus and environs was declared a “closed military zone,” and visitors were denied entry. The crisis was ended after six Palestinians gave themselves up in order to be deported for three years.

15: Yasser Ahmad Numruti (28) of Khan Yunis Refugee Camp (Gaza) was ambushed by Israeli soldiers while driving in his car, then killed after a foot chase.

21: Mahmoud Khaled Kabha (30) of Ya’bed (Jenin) was shot dead by eight special unit soldiers while walking at night with a Black panther leader in the area.

24: Na’im Abu Amounah (6) of Kan Yunis Refugee Camp (Gaza) was shot by Israeli soldiers, and died later. He was in a car with his father.

27: Nour al-Din al-Akad (16) of Khan Yunis Refugee Camp (Gaza) was shot dead in his home by undercover unit soldiers. He had overheard a conversation that disclosed their identities.

29: Israeli bulldozers razed eight homes, in the West Bank and gaza Strip, displacing more than 38 people, including 94 year-old Abd al-Hakim Wishamy. Authorities confiscated hundreds of dunams of land in Luban al-Gharby (Ramallah).

30: Salah Mahmoud Kara’in (23) of Silwan was shot dead by a bus driver after stabbing two Israeli policemen.[26]
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builddozed by Israeli authorities, on the pretext that it was unlicensed.

4: Mustafa Barakat of Anabta (Tulkarem) was suffocated to death by a bag placed over his head during interrogation in Tulkarem prison. Al-Siyassa Newspaper, owned by Khaled Khalfa, was closed by Israeli authorities, on charges that it had relations with an illegal organization.

5: Three houses in Allar (Tulkarem) were bulldozed. 21 people were displaced.

6: The Silwan home of Hussein Subuh Da'na (55) was ordered demolished by Israeli authorities, claiming that it was unlicensed. Many members of the 44-person family that lived there were displaced.

8: Three Palestinians from Gaza, whom IDF claimed to be members of Ez a-Din al-Kassam cell, were arrested in Ramallah.

9: A youth (17) was shot and wounded in Nablus by soldiers who claimed he was throwing stones. A masksed youth was shot by soldiers in Hebron. Four people were wounded in clashes with the army in Jabaliya and Khan Yunis refugee camps. A youth was shot in Nablus, sustaining moderate injuries, by soldiers who claimed he was throwing molotov cocktails.

10: Three youths were wounded in Jabaliya and Shafi refugee camps during clashes with soldiers.

12: A house was demolished in Jabal Mukabar (Jerusalem) for claims of illegal construction; 18 people were displaced.

13: Abdel Kadir Kamir (24) died from an explosive that he seems to have been holding.

14: Abd alader Qawasme (12) was shot in the head by soldiers in Hebron.

Compiled by Aaron Shakow, based on Aseel Research and Information reports.[=]

15: Yeheksel Mizrabi was stabbed to death near his residence by a Palestinian in a Jewish neighborhood in East Jerusalem. His death sparked anti-Arab riots. Samir Mohammad Salameh (32) from Khan Yunis, Gaza, was found dead in his solitary confinement cell in the Beersheba prison. Prison authorities claim that he committed suicide.

17: Salim Abn al-Latif Jazar (18) from Askar refugee camp Nablus, was killed during clashes with soldiers.

18: Khaled Abu Qamsan (27) from Sabra neighborhood, Gaza was killed by soldiers. Anot1er Palestinian was seriously wounded. Jaa'far Mohammad Salim (17) from Alar, Tularkam, was killed during clashes with the army.

19: 1 5-year-old Mahmoud Abdallah Lehuweiti from the Tularkam refugee camp was killed by soldiers.

23: Medical worker Awad Ali Sirdi (28) was shot dead while transferring wounded Palestinians to the UNRWA clinic in Gaza.

26: year-old Chava Velberg from Kiryat-Arba, near Hebron, was killed in a car accident after the car was stoned by Palestinians. In revenge, settlers damaged Arab property in Hebron.

28: Haidar Mohammad Khreish (25) from Rimal, Gaza, died from gun-shot wounds.[-]

60238. "Sixty Days of Occupation February 15 - April 14, 1993: Part 2", in Challenge, May-June 1993. p. 2. MARCH 1: Nathan Azaria (33) and Gregory Abramov (27) were killed and 9 other Jews were injured in Tel-Aviv by Ziad Salame (19) from Gaza. Gaza was put under temporary closure.

2: Yehoshua Weissbrod (40) was killed after mistakenly driving into the Palestinian neighborhood of Shabra in Gaza. He was shot and then shot to death.

8: Uri Magidish (38) was stabbed to death by two of his workers at a Jewish settlement in the Gaza Strip. Mohammad Ali Abu Shubak (24) from Jabalya refugee camp was killed at his breakfast table by an army undercover unit. 16-year-old Taisir Mohammad Abu Ghalion was shot dead by soldiers in Tularkam.

10: Majed Haja (17) was shot dead in A-Ram by an undercover unit. David Libskind (24), a reserve soldier, was badly injured after being stabbed by two Arabs in Nazareth.

12: Simcha Lev (53), a female settler, was killed with an axe in Khan Yunis while driving Arab workers. The body of missing soldier Yehoshua Friedberg was found near the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway; he was allegedly killed by Palestinians. 1 5-year-old Musa Zakaria Haimuhi was killed in Hebron by soldiers. Nidal Hussein Naser (23) from Beit Hanun, Gaza, was killed while handling explosives.

14: 3-year-old Huda Ishak Sijaj was shot dead by soldiers in her father's car; the car was fired upon by the army when her father drove past an IDF roadblock without stopping.

15: Ofer Cohen (24) and David Bracha (27), Jewish settlers, were killed by an Arab driver while they were walking on the side of the Nablus-Ramallah road.

Naser Ali Abu Asheh (24) from Nur Shams was fatally shot by the army.

16: Sa'ad Salmi (17) and Faiz Bayuk (18) were killed by IDF soldiers in clashes in Khan Yunis. 75 Palestinians were injured.

Yusuf Ibrahim Gharib (45), a school principal from Rafah, Gaza, was shot in the head by soldiers while paying condolences to the family of Mahmoud Abu Mathkur.

18: Raid Mohammad Shana (18) from Khan-Yunis was shot, and 50 Palestinians were injured, four of them critically.

20: Soldier Yosi Shabtai (27) was killed in an ambush laid by Hamas' militant wing, Izz al-Din al-Qassam, at Jabalya refugee camp, Gaza. Another soldier, Gitai Avisar, was killed in an ambush in the West Bank. 7-year-old Maher Naim Majeida and 16-year-old Taleb Fares Hamrani were killed by soldiers during demonstrations in Khan Yunis.

25 Palestinians were injured.

7 houses were demolished by anti-tank missiles in the Dir al-Balah refugee camp.[=]
8: 13-year-old Ra’ida Omar Farah from Bani Suheila, Gaza, was killed by soldiers.
12: A Jewish settler from Jerusalem shot and killed a Palestinian who was running away after trying to steal a car. The settler was arrested.
In sum: 37 Palestinians were killed (10 were children sixteen years-old or younger). 17 Israelis were killed (including 3 soldiers, 3 policeman, and 1 child).
Compiled by Meir Turniansky[=]

18: An Israeli guard at the Gilo settlement, Alexander Tcherinchovsly, was seriously wounded and his partner, Alexander Vilovsky, was lightly wounded by two Palestinian gunman.
19: Rab’a a-Shurafi (47) of Jabalia Refugee Camp, Gaza, died of tear gas inhalation. Twenty other Palestinians, including a 4-year-old and a 12-year-old, were wounded by IDF gunfire in Gaza.
26: IDF soldiers opened fire at 3 youths preparing to throw molotov cocktails. Two were seriously wounded.

27: Jamil Ibrahim Wadi (24) of Khan Yunis Refugee Camp, Gaza, was shot dead after ambushing an IDF post near Gush Katif settlement. A soldier was seriously injured in the attack.
29: A youth from Jayush, Nablus, was seriously wounded by gunfire in clashes with the army. Twelve Palestinian workers from Sawahra village were shot in West Jerusalem by settlers in reprisal attacks.

2: Fifteen people were injured by IDF gunfire in Gaza City and 10 in Shati Refugee Camp, Gaza, in clashes with the IDF. Five children, aged 8-14, were shot in Khan Yunis Refugee Camp when a grenade was thrown at a military vehicle.
3: Four Israeli soldiers were injured when 2 grenades were thrown at military headquarters in Gaza City. A mosque in Gaza City was sealed for 3 months after allegedly inciting material was found inside.

6: The body of Yaron Chen, a soldier from Jerusalem, was killed by IDF gunfire while soldiers were chasing his wanted brother. All Muhammed Sayady (18) from Deheishe Refugee Camp was killed by a bomb while at his workplace.
6: The body of Yaron Chen, a soldier from Jerusalem, was found near Beitunia after he was kidnapped by 3 Palestinians the day before at ARam junction, Jerusalem. Soldiers Tomer David from Manara and Lev Pishakov from Beit Shean were shot dead by Adnan Aziz Mar’i, a member of the Islamic Jihad from Qarawat Bani Hasan, Nablus, who was then killed by a third soldier. The soldiers were stationed at a roadblock in Deir Balut, Tulkarm, set up to search for Chen’s kidnappers.

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16: Fatehi Abu Khader (39) of Rafah Refugee Camp, Gaza, died of gunshot wounds sustained several days earlier from undercover units. Seven others, including 4 children, were wounded during demonstrations in Gaza.
19: A 6-year-old child from Gaza City and a youth from Deir al-Balah were wounded by IDF gunfire.
20: 9-year-old Izzat Matar of Jabalia Refugee Camp, Gaza, died of head wounds sustained on July 17 when soldiers opened fire on him and 2 other children in the camp.
21: Salman Arafat (16) of AbuHusn, Gaza, was killed when he was knocked off his bicycle by an Israeli police car. A’liz Zahaila (21) of Sawahra a-Sharqiyia village, Jerusalem, died of heart failure while soldiers were chasing him.

22: Ten Palestinians, 5 of them children, were injured during clashes with soldiers in the Gaza Strip.
24: Fifteen Palestinians were shot in the Gaza Strip, including 5 children. Among them was a 4-year-old girl who was shot in the stomach while standing in front of her house.
28: Israeli troops demolished 3 houses in Khan Yunis with anti-tank missiles.
30: Four Palestinians were injured by 2 grenades thrown into a furniture store in Bethlehem.[=]

1: Jeannette Kadosh (39) of Jerusalem, Maher Abu Srur of A’ida Refugee Camp, Bethlehem, and Muhammad al-Hindi of Jabalia Refugee Camp, Gaza, were killed by IDF gunfire at a Jerusalem roadblock after the 2 Palestinians had hijacked Kadosh’s car. Earlier, they had attacked an Egged bus in Jerusalem. A third gunman was critically shot by soldiers. Olga Chaijov (42) was killed on the bus and the driver sustained moderate wounds. Five Palestinian workers from Sawahra village were shot in West Jerusalem by settlers in reprisal attacks.
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10: An Israeli truck driver smuggling vegetables from the Gaza Strip into Israel was wounded by IDF gunfire.
13: Salem Fakhri Salem (18) from Jaljalia, Ramallah, was shot and killed during clashes with the IDF. He was denied medical care for one-and-a-half hours.
Eighteen Palestinians were killed including 4 children 16 or under.

Ten Israelis were killed including 3 civilians.
[Compiled by Yiftat Susskind[=]]

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and Paris. United States' president Bill Clinton would not be so concerned if his own mother died, but Zionists are a different matter. They control the United States' political system and worshipping at the altar of the Zionist gods is a ritual that every American politician must perform if he/she wants to be elected. How accurate is it to describe the Israelis as civilians? Each Israeli citizen, man and woman, over the age of fifteen is required to perform military duty. There is no exception to this rule. Thus, every Israeli is a soldier. And, contrary to media reports, there were no children who died in the bombings. The Israelis "children" were all over the age of fifteen. The Zionist-controlled media failed to mention that the two Jerusalem bombings had targeted the main police station in the city. There was only fleeting mention of the fact that the Ashkelon bomb had targeted an army reserve waiting spot, next to a synagogue where Zionist terrorists receive their "blessing" to kill innocent Palestinians. Every Israeli settler carries a gun. They have no compunction shooting and killing Palestinian villagers and town people while the Israeli army watches. Following the 2/25/1994 massacre by Baruch Goldstein in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron in which forty-eight Muslim worshippers were slaughtered while praying, the Palestinians were placed under curfew. The Zionist thugs were free to prowl the streets with guns slung across their shoulders. The Zionists have even built a shrine on the grave of the monster Goldstein where pilgrims from far and wide come to pay homage. Obviously, Palestinian/Muslim life is cheaper than the life of the Israelis or other Palestinian areas. A month after 9/11, when Hanitzotz prisoners were placed under curfew, the Palestinians were dynamited by self-confessed killer of Yitzhak Rabin, have been dynamited. On the other hand, not only the homes of those who were involved in the Jerusalem or Ashkelon bombings were dynamited but also those of their relatives. Under Zionist justice, if you happen to be the relative of a person wanted by the Zionists, then you are guilty. Are Muslims not entitled to the same standard of justice.[=]

60245. -------. "The Case of Rami Muslah, Age 14", in Challenge, January-March, 1991. p. 23. Amnesty International announced November 13 that Rami Fakhrri Abdullah Muslah, 14, had allegedly been tortured while in detention in Gaza Central Prison. Known by Palestinians as "the slaughterhouse, the prison is notorious as the worst torture center in the Occupied Territories. Muslah's treatment is by no means unusual, despite his young age. A schoolboy from al-Bureij refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, Muslah was arrested September 25, 1990, a few days after an Israeli soldier was burned to death in the camp. He was taken to Gaza Central Prison and held there one month without seeing a lawyer or being allowed out of his cell. The lawyer who saw him October 29 said the boy was breathing heavily, had difficulty speaking and coughed frequently, sometimes spitting blood. The next day, a judge extended Muslah's detention for 120 days. According to Amnesty: On 9 November two lawyers visited Rami Muslah and took an affidavit from him. They said that he looked ill, continued to have difficulty speaking and coughed frequently. In the affidavit Rami Muslah alleges that he was interrogated by eight men. They apparently beat him all over his body, including his chest, stomach and genitals. He said one placed a gun to his head and threatened to shoot him if he did not confess, then poured water over his genitals, saying that it was petrol, and threatened to set it alight. Throughout the period of interrogation he was hooded and handcuffed. He was also beaten all over his body in a cell by someone who claimed to be a prisoner as well. Afterwards Rami Muslah said he was taken to a medical orderly who slapped his face. An interrogator then forced him to pick up his hood, which was on the floor, with his mouth, and kicked him as he bent over. The torture apparently continue over the period of a week. Rami Muslah indicated that he had seen a doctor three times, in addition to the medical orderly, but had only received some tablets. Muslah's lawyer has submitted a complaint to the attorney general about the allegations. His case has been adopted by the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel.[=]

60246. -------. "The Israeli Army and the Hebron Massacre: Israeli Violence and Palestinian Resistance Continue", in Revolutionary Worker, April 3, 1994, p. 14-15. Israel has not let up the repression in Hebron or other Palestinian areas. A month after the massacre, Hebron is still under curfew. On 3/23/94, 1500 Israeli soldiers barged into a children's hospital and other buildings in Hebron and used them as a firebase for a 22-hour assault on an apartment building. The army said some members of the Islamic group Hamas were inside. Troops sprayed the building with automatic weapon fire and shot dozens of anti-tank rockets at it. A bulldozer was used to reduce the building to rubble. When the dust cleared, a pregnant woman in the hospital who had been hit by the gunfire lay dead, along with four accused Hamas members. When news of this assault spread, fierce protests erupted across the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Youths in Hebron defied the curfew to fight street clashes with troops. Over 30 Palestinians were reported wounded in a single day. To try to stop the protests, the army had to place Nablus, the largest city in the West Bank, under curfew. Palestinians launched a three-day general strike to mark one month since the mosque massacre in Hebron. [=]
on the grounds that they were “a security risk to the state.” This decision bore the fingerprints of the Shabak, whose legal advisor appeared in front of the committee in camera.

The final argument was supplied by the new Minister of Police on June 20, 1990:

“1. It is impossible to grant [Yacov Ben Efrat’s] request due to the latter’s obstinate insistence to be with the security only.

2. It is still possible to find a suitable place for the prisoner. But he firmly objects to being in any place other than the security wing, and to this the commissioner does not agree for reasons of prison security.”

This claim has no grounds whatsoever. It is no secret that all decisions concerning Hanitzotz prisoners were made by the Shabak, while the prison services’ role was Any other alternative means being in wings where social and moral disintegration prevail under the reign of the drug. The attempt to separate us from prisoners convicted on the same charges is based on racist norms of discrimination between Jews and Arabs that should be rejected by enlightened people. We, political prisoners in Israel and the world, belong to one family. The desire for social justice, progress and peace unites us.

Despite the political separation from other political prisoners, the bonds of solidarity were never cut off. The demand of the Hanitzotz prisoners met a rock of resistance on the authorities’ part. Yet they still feel that by raising the issue and struggling for midst of a hunger strike in June 1989, Yacov Ben Efrat and Assaf Advik explained their motives:

“The security prisoners’ wing is the only place in prison where we can reasonably maintain our way of life. Any other alternative means being in wings where social and moral disintegration prevail under the reign of the drug. The attempt to separate us from prisoners convicted on the same charges is based on racist norms of discrimination between Jews and Arabs that should be rejected by enlightened people. We, political prisoners in Israel and the world, belong to one family. The desire for social justice, progress and peace unites us.”

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60248. ------. “Thousands of Israelis Flock to Hebron to Back Settlers [some 8000 Israelis march to support Jewish settlers; a Palestinian counterdemonstration was cornered and beaten by Israeli troops; Jewish soldiers beat a Palestinian woman who shouted at soldiers beating her husband]; in Oregonian (Portland), November 10, 1996, p. A3. [TXT]

60249. ------. “UFO Contact: The Holy Land”, in Sightings (Fox Television), May 12, 1995. Massive numbers of aliens are landing in Israel to contact Israeli blondes, ‘Sightings’ breathlessly observes. Hanna Shommech, Shoshana Yahud, Ziporet Carmel, and Dorom Rotem, four Israeli women living in the Jewish settlement of Qadima, were visited by a seven-foot tall, bald alien. One was advised telepathically by the alien to: “Go away: I could smash you like a little ball”.

Rachel Gueta notes that three of her sheep (with voice over a photograph in which hundreds of sheep carcasses were heaped) were found drained of blood and ‘with shaved cheeks and with holes drilled in their cheeks’; in addition, about 40 of her chickens had ‘frozen to death’ with fear. Rather out of the blue, Israeli entrepreneur Eli Cohen notes that he saw a UFO in 1991.

Barry Chamish, Israeli ‘Biblical UFOlogist’ observed that UFOs were once seen to be angels by the ancients. By contrast, Zeharia Sichim, Israeli author of the ‘Seventh Seal’ opined that the aliens were our enemies and he, personally, was quite afraid of the threat they represent. The closing comment on this ‘news’ segment noted that cattle mutilations were becoming common in Israel; later in the program it was found (in the context of a news report on swimming Sasquatches (Big Foot) at the edge of the remote Puget Sound) that there are large numbers of Giant Humansoids in Israel. [TXT]

60250. ------. “Upcoming Peace March”, in Challenge, May-June 1992, p. 38. A six-day Walk for a Peaceful Future will take place on 6/5/92-6/10/92, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Six-day War. The statement uniting the participants calls for a just and peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, “based on meeting the aspirations of both the Israeli and the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence, international recognition and security.”

A range of activities in support of the cause of peace, justice and freedom will take place during the walk. These include a vigil in support of Women in Black on 6/5/92 in Jerusalem, and a gathering in solidarity with Yesh Gvul outside Atlit military prison on 6/6/92. The walk will then proceed to Jerusalem, through Israel and the West Bank.

For further information, please contact Walk for a Peaceful Future, PO Box 51721, East Jerusalem (tel: 02-828 980, fax: 02-829 534). [=]

60251. ------. “Updates: Women In Black”, in Challenge, March-April, 1994, p. 40. The Jerusalem group has been on-again, off-again since the signing of the DOP. After the December 13 deadline for the start of withdrawal passed, Women in Black decided to renew their weekly vigil until Israel withdraws its forces from Gaza and Jericho. On February 4, when the number of participants reached on all-time low of eight, a decision was taken to stop standing, which was again altered due to the February 25 massacre, when a group of approximately thirty stood again at Paris Square. [=]

60252. ------. “Violence Against Children”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995, p. 12. The phenomenon of violence against children in our society is not new. Throughout history, violence has been used against children in various forms in various cultures. For a time, children were used as sacrifices to the gods, while female infanticide is still practiced. Corporal punishment is well known in modern society and still prevails in some countries. Mustafa Masri, a Palestinian psychologist from Gaza, said that corporal punishment is an unsuitable practice exercised to put pressure on children or to force them to do something or act in a certain way. He explained that violence has various forms, one of which is corporal punishment: physical abuse like hitting, beating, burning and choking. Verbal violence is another, and has a great psychological impact on children. They suffer just as much, if not more than, from physical abuse. The third form of violence is sexual. According to Masri, violence leads to the disintegration of the family. He confirmed that violence against children obstructs the developmental process and growth. It also affects their concentration negatively and can lead to severe psychological problems like hysteria and lack of self-confidence. Jaser Salah, a psychologist at the Gaza Center for Mental Health, said that in his experience with abused children, the reasons behind the abuse go back to issues like natural disasters and man-made causes like war and family violence. "Violence is a very dangerous phenomenon that should be rejected by all societies, since traumatized children can themselves become unnecessarily violent with others;" he added. He said that children should be allowed to express themselves freely and adults should listen to them attentively. There should be special guiding sessions for abused children where they can be counseled with games and drawing. Fathi Balawi, Deputy Education Minister, rejected the use of corporal or verbal punishment at schools. He said the ministry had issued a decree to all Palestinian schools to...
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ban the use of violence against pupils, to protect them from teachers who have little experience. He stressed the importance of creating a congenial atmosphere in the schools where there would be mutual respect between teachers and pupils. According to the legal advisor at the PNA Justice Ministry, Suleiman Dahdouh, children enjoy a special status within Palestinian law. The law, he explained, bans the use of violence against minors even if they have purposefully committed a misdemeanor. Dahdouh said the law forbids children under 14 from working, and female children under 16 and male children under 18 from getting married. It guarantees free education and health care for all...[=]

60253. "Voices from the Inside", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995. p. 8. [Palestinian prisoners in Jneid Prison in Nablus released a statement on 1/20/1995 explaining the problems they are facing in Israeli prisons]. At a time when the political situation should allow the release of all Palestinian prisoners from Israeli prisons without condition, the prison administration has clamped down on the prisoners and taken or threatened to take away some of the few privileges they have. They have also left many of our demands hanging in the air without solving them, claiming tight budgets, security reasons, or the political situation.... We are renewing our demand for the release of all male and female prisoners without condition, and call for the immediate release of all the female, sick, elderly, youth and long-term prisoners. We are calling on all the human and legal institutions, national and popular committees, and other organizations to support our battle from behind bars by organizing campaigns on the ground to put an end to the deteriorating conditions in the prisons due to the oppressive measures the various prison administrations are enforcing, e.g. Far'a prison where the authorities recently shot tear gas at the prisoners, and carried out other oppressive measures. The following are some of the most important problems constituting the new attacks by the Israeli prison administrations: - An increase in prisoners in solitary confinement without reason, and the continued isolation of scores of prisoners for many years with no reason in Jneid, Beersheba, Ashqelon, Nitzan, Ramle and Kfar Youna prisons, amid making them endure extremely severe conditions; - Increasing oppression in Shatta Prison and refusing to listen to the fair demands of the prisoners which do not conflict with the security of the prison; live ammunition has even been used in Far'a prison; - Impeding necessary health examinations and operations and using routine procedures to hinder examinations; - Increasing oppressive searches in many prisons, especially Jneid, and bringing special forces from outside the prison for this purpose; - Refusing to transfer prisoners with light sentences to prisons closer to their homes; - Bad nutrition, and lack of fruits and vegetables; - Prohibiting the prisoners from the use of the telephones, and denying special visits to their homes due to ill health. We call on the public and all the institutions, powers, and supporters of our demands to rejuvenate the support campaigns and to do their best to put an end to our suffering. We also call for press conferences and popular peace demonstrations in support of our demands, of which the most important is the unconditional release of all the female prisoners without exception. Together until victory, The Palestinian political prisoners in Jneid Central Prison...[=]

60254. "WHO Statistics [Japanese life expectancy is highest at 83 for women and 76.3 for men; after Japan, men live longest in Israel, Sweden, Australia, Greece; women live longest in France, Switzerland, Australia, Canada; lowest infant mortality is in Japan, Finland, Singapore, Sweden, Norway, Canada, Switzerland, and highest in Brazil, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Argentina, Rumania]", in Gramma International (Havana), June 15, 1994. p. 15. [TXT]

60255. "Weekly Review, Part 6", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 3, 1993. p. 12. [DAUGHTER ASKS FOR REPATRIATION OF EXPELLED FATHER: A resident of Halhoul has applied to the military governor of the Hebron area asking that her father, expellee Ahmad Iqeil, be allowed to return. Maha Ahmad Iqeil said her father, expelled in 1971, was allowed in for one month last summer to see his family. The Israeli governor promised to study her request. TAX RAID ON EXPELLEE'S BUSINESS: Israeli tax authorities raided the textile factory of expellee Wael Hindiyeh of Nablus and forced caretaker Bilal al-Urtani to pay 3500 NIS on the account. Hindiyeh, one of the few expellees to have returned from the Marj az-Zuheri expulsion of December 1992, came home after he was wounded by Israeli gunfire. He was then transferred to prison in Israel, where he is still being held. QALQILYA LANDOWNERS FORCE A SHOWDOWN WITH SETTLLER: The Israeli High Court looks today into a case entered by the inheritors of the late Abdullah Abdul Rahman and Hasan Abdul Rahman, both of Qalqilya, against the Israeli Ministry of Defence. According to the plaintiffs, the Ministry of Defence broke the law when it granted a settler, Avi Morris, of the settlement Alfe Manshe, the right to set up a gas station on their land. Israeli authorities had confiscated a part of the land to pave a new road. The plaintiffs asked the High Court to have the settler and his equipment removed, and the land returned to them. OPERATION SMILE TEAM BACK IN JERUSALEM: A medical team from the United States specializing in cosmetic surgery will be performing operations free of charge at the Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem and at the Ahil Hospital in Gaza in June. The tour is part of a program called Operation Smile. Last year at Augusta Victoria, 40 surgeons from the Operation Smile organization operated on 150 Palestinian children who had suffered all degrees of disfiguring at the hands of Israeli soldiers during the Intifada. The surgeons are volunteers, and will be bringing with them all the necessary equipment. Volunteering Palestinian physicians and nurses will take part in the campaign...[=]

60256. "Weekly Review: 17 Palestinians killed in January 1993", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), February 8, 1993. p. 12-13. [1/31/93: Israeli troops shot dead 16 Palestinians in January while one Palestinian was shot dead by an Israeli settler. Five of the 17 were children under the age of 16. 12 of the dead Palestinians were shot in the Gaza Strip and 5 were killed in the West Bank. Most were shot in the head or chest with live ammunition. [An-Nahar]...]

60257. "Weekly Review: 6/17/93: Palestinian Family Returns Home", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly, June 21, 1993. p. 13. [Israeli authorities have allowed a Palestinian family to go back to their house, which had been sealed for the past eight years. The house, located in Bethlehem, belongs to Musa Muhammad Ihmeidan. Occupation forces closed down the house after Musa's son Ahmad was accused of a "security offense." [An-Nahar]...]

60258. "Weekly Review: 6/18/93: 25 AIDS Cases in the West Bank", in Al-Fajr-Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), June 28, 1993. p. 12. Palestinian medical sources announced yesterday that there are 25 AIDS cases registered in the West Bank. Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, head of the Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, said that the cases deal with 16 men and seven women and children. Dr. Barghouthi added that the Israeli government, in charge of medical institutions in the occupied territories, is not doing what it should and that there aren't any campaigns to educate the public about the AIDS virus and how to protect medical workers from contracting it while treating AIDS patients...[=]

60259. "Weekly Review: 7/16/93: Study: 5000 Gaza Infants Die Yearly", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 12. A recent study sponsored by the Norwegian government revealed that of every 1000 infants born in the occupied territories each year, 40 to 50 under the age of 1 die. This means that 4000 to 5000 Palestinian infants in Gaza die...
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includes a handicrafts section and a corner devoted to Islamic women's garb. Videos illustrating the condition of the expellees were screened. Al-Fajr [=]

60263. ------. "Weekly Review: 7/7/93: Border Guard Excused for Killing Boy", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 13. A border guard who killed a 13-year-old Palestinian boy was exonerated by a judge in a Tel Aviv court, who explained that the border guard acted under pressure.

Border guard Boaz Nahmani fired a rubber bullet at the child's head during a stone-throwing incident at Balata refugee camp, near Nablus, in 1990.

Judge Yehoshua Gross reprimanded Nahmani for firing from a distance of 24 meters instead of 40 meters, as prescribed by regulations. He reprimanded him further for firing at the child's head instead of his feet, also in contravention of regulations.

Despite the condemnation, the judge went on to explain that Nahmani had acted under "extenuating circumstances" in an area "known for its violence." So instead of being charged with manslaughter, the 22-year-old guard will be charged with "negligence."

Verdict in the case will be issued 9/21/93. Al-Fajr [=]

60264. ------. "Weekly Review: 7/7/93: Settler Kills Child", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 13. A general strike was observed in Ramallah and al-Bireh yesterday to protest the killing of a child run over by an Israeli settler driving through the main street of al-Bireh 7/6/93. Alia' Abdul Hamid Nisr was six years old. Al-Quds [=]


Organizers included the Federation of Working Women's Committees, the Center for Family Care, the Palestine Center for Guidance, and the Red Cross Society.

A representative of the Federation of Working Women's Committees thanked industrialists in Nablus for their contribution toward the festival.

Among the activities, a play was presented by children from the northern part of Palestine. It dealt with the issue of injustice. An-Nahar/Al-Quds [=]


The march, organized by the Federation of Unions of Palestinian Workers, was bolstered by protesters from women's organizations and Israelis.

They were protesting the Israeli government's decision to impose a collective punishment on the Palestinian people and deprive some 120000 Palestinian workers from earning their daily bread.

The protest march arrived within view of the city of Jerusalem when the authorities broke up the demonstration and arrested some of the leaders, including Federation Secretary General Shaker Sa'd. [An-Nahar] [=]

60267. ------. "Weekly Review: Autopsy Published", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993. p. 12-13. 3/15/93: The autopsy report on 3-year-old Huda Ishaq Siyaj said the child was killed by a bullet that had caused a severe internal and external hemorrhage.

The child was killed 3/14/93 in Hebron when Israeli shot at the car her father was driving, claiming that he failed to stop when ordered. [An-Nahar] [=]

The photographers--boys and girls--shot their pictures with the aim of creating a unique documentary record of various facets of life in the camp seen through their eyes only.

The youthful photographers were prevented, despite efforts by UNRWA, from getting to the inauguration due to the siege on Jerusalem. [Al-Fajr] [=]

60269. "Weekly Review: Film on Intifada Women Gleans Prize in Germany", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 31, 1993, p. 12-13. 5/23/93: A Palestinian film received third place in a documentary film festival organized by the Green Party of Germany. The film, "The Women Next Door," was directed by Buthaina Khoury, a Palestinian filmmaker living in Ramallah. The documentary relates the suffering of the Palestinian woman, her role within society and her rise to the forefront during the Intifada.

The film took a year and half to make and was co-directed by Israeli filmmaker Michaela Avid. In Germany, it played four times to full houses in Munster and Munich. [Al-Quds] [=]

60270. "Weekly Review: Foundling Rescued", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993, p. 12-13. 4/15/93: A resident of Jerusalem came across an abandoned baby in the Sa'dieh Quarter in the Old City. Basima Siam, 35, said she was walking at 6 a.m. in one of the alleys of the neighborhood when she heard cries coming out of a plastic bag in the gutter.

"I looked into the bag, and I found a baby only hours old," she said. "I took him home, washed him and dressed him." She then informed the police and an ambulance from the Bikur holim in West Jerusalem was sent to pick him up. Siam has asked to adopt the baby. [Al-Quds] [=]


The girl was arrested last November, charged with tossing an empty bottle at an Egged bus, and imprisoned in Telmond. Earlier, the judge had refused to accept the girl's testimony because of the methods the interrogators had used. Hasounah was confined in a narrow space between two closets and was beaten by her interrogators in an attempt to force a confession.

The judge has decided to review the case and a verdict should be issued by 5/4/93. [Al-Quds] [=]


The report also said that February 1993 witnesses the worst anti-tank missile attacks on Palestinian homes, with 10 homes completely destroyed and nine others partially damaged.

As for the number of Gazans injured in February, the figures were reported as follows: 316 injured by live bullets, including 134 children under 15, 259 injured by plastic- and rubber-coated bullets; 182 treated for beatings by soldiers; and 196 treated for tear gas inhalation. [An-Nahar] [=]


A district court in Israel decided two weeks ago to let him go free on bail in view of his injuries, which called for urgent attention. His attorney was surprised when the police reminded the youth for further questioning, although his wounds are far from healed.

His family has turned to various human rights organizations in an appeal to save him from prison conditions, which they fear might cause an even greater deterioration in his health. [Al-Quds] [=]


The committee helped some of the families plant the saplings in the martyrs' cemeteries in the area. [Al-Fajr] [=]


The door of the Bara'em Nursery was heavily damaged; the iron bars on the windows removed; the furniture smashed; and toys destroyed.

This is the sixth time the nursery has been attacked in recent months, with the apparent motive being an internal political dispute. [Al-Fajr] [=]


The committee helped some of the families plant the saplings in the martyrs' cemeteries in the area. [Al-Fajr] [=]

60277. "Weekly Review: Settler Fires on Boy", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 17, 1993, p. 13. 5/11/1993: A 15 year old from Khadr village in the Bethlehem area was operated on in Beit Jala Hospital after he was fired on by a settler.

The settler said the boy had thrown a stone at his car while it was passing through Khadr. The boy sustained critical wounds. [AN-NAHAR] [=]


The settlers, who arrived from the neighboring settlement of Kfar Drom, claim that the two schools belong to them as they are on land they say belongs to the state of Israel. [Al-Fajr] [=]


Naser Abu Srur, 24, a student at Bethlehem University, is
accused of participating in the killing of an Israeli intelligence officer, Haim Nahmani. Nahmani was killed four months ago in a Shin Bet safehouse in West Jerusalem.

The court decided to postpone till 5/23/1993 the session involving another defendant, Mahmoud Abu Sru.

The main suspect, according to the Israelis, is Maher Abu Sru, who the army has not yet been able to apprehend. (AL-QUDS) [=]

60280. -------. "West Bank Leaders Stay Away From Cairo Agreement", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), May 6, 1994. p. 2. Most Palestinian notables in the occupied territories who are supporters of the peace process, refrained from joining the signing ceremony in Cairo 5/4/1994, express their reservations about the agreement. The following are excerpts of some of their reactions:

Haidar Abdel Shafi (former head of the Palestinian Peace Delegation) declared that the Cairo Agreement does not give reason for optimism because of what is Israel is doing and applying on the ground contradicts the notion of peace.

Abdel Shafi wondered whether Arafat's momentary hesitation over signing goes back to a contradiction between what is written and what was drawn on the maps.

According to him, the agreement sets up many obstacles in the path of achieving a just peace. It gives Israel more reasons to become intransigent and claim rights to the occupied territories.

He said Israel has expressed its point of view by creating more settlements and by including Jerusalem in the scope of its plans, in addition to the numerous practices aimed against the Palestinian people.

Abdel Shafi added that the new situation demands of the Palestinians to confront a new set of threats. Since the impasse in the Washington talks, the US has proven itself to be aligned with Israel. The Palestinian are truly alone, he declared. This situation demands that they count only on themselves, and self-reliance is what they need to count on in those difficult times. It is the essential factor, he said.

Abdel Shafi pointed out that the one weapon the Palestinians possess in the coming phase is to fulfill their potential in a unified stand that serves the objectives of the Palestinian people.

Sheikh Jamil Hamami said that he was deeply pained by what took place in Cairo. He asked whether the future of the Palestinians has come down to nothing but this result. He added that if it indicates anything, it proves the lack of seriousness in the attempt to bring a solution to the Palestine cause, and an equal lack of seriousness in coming to grips with the destiny of the Palestinians.

According to him, this agreement represents a major obstacle in the path of a just and comprehensive peace and in the path of fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people. He explained that the people feel very sad in the occupied territories in the light of Israeli arrogance, the hostile practices of the settlers, and the blind American support for Israel.

He declared that the agreement is of a provisional nature because it does not fulfill the aspirations of the Muslim Palestinian people who have suffered and borne much. This agreement was born dead, he believed.

Sheikh Hamami said it is necessary for the Palestinian people to stand as one and take a clear-eyed view of the implications of this turning-point. He does not bless this agreement, he said, and find it most urgent that all the Palestinian forces make common cause and confront the negative elements that follow from this agreement.

Hanan Ashrawi (human rights activist and former Palestinian spokeswoman at the Washington talks) declared that the Palestinian people deal with facts, and not with conferences, documents or political positions. They are working towards ending the occupation. She pointed out that while the chairman of the PLO signs the agreement in Cairo, Israel continues to impose the closure on the city of Jerusalem and the settlers persist in provocative acts against the Palestinians.

The Palestinian are not against peace, Ashrawi said. But the process must be established on substantive considerations and on a cumulative process effect that brings about the realization of one's rights, and not a cosmetic operation that allows the occupation to dig in.

Faisal Husseini (West Bank Fatah leader) claimed that it was not necessary to hold to the actual date of the signature, leaving important issues aside and unresolved. It would have been better to have postponed the signature date until an agreement with clear outlines was reached. [=]

60281. -------. "What's New From the Israeli Left?: August 16 - October 15 (A Partial List of Events): Part 2", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 40. Sept 6, A people's peace initiative: Fifteen Holon residents distributed red roses to Palestinian laborers as a gesture of peace and friendship, when the carloads of workers from Gaza and Hebron arrived at their regular pickup area in the industrial district of the Tel Aviv suburb at 6 am.

Sept 16, Red Line visit: Red Line, Jews and Arabs Against the Occupation, paid a visit to Qabata refugee camp near Jenin bringing clothing, medications, and baby food and collecting information on human rights violations.

September 17, Ramya wedding: Members of the Committee of Solidarity with the Residents of Ramya shared in the joyful occasion of a wedding in the threatened village. The bride, from the unrecognized village of Husseiniana, plans to live with the groom's family in Ramya, bringing the number of families in the village to eighteen.

Oct 2, Visiting a released prisoner: A delegation of Women for Women Political Prisoners visited Intisar al-Qaq, who had been released from a three-year imprisonment sentence five days earlier. Intisar gave birth to a daughter, Watan, in prison. She was not granted parole and the child was separated from her during the final year of her sentence.

Sept 29, Yehsh Gvuli solidarity rally.

Sept 30, So' lidarity with Mordechai Vanunu: Members of the Israeli Committee for Mordechai Vanunu demonstrated against the Prime Minister's residence on the sixth anniversary of Vanunu's abduction and imprisonment for divulging the secret of Israel's nuclear capability. They called for an immediate end to his solitary confinement, for his release and for a nuclear, biological, and chemical weapon-free Middle East. [=]

60282. -------. "What's New From the Israeli Left?: 2/92-4/92 (A Partial List of Events): Part 1", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 39. 2/25/92: A delegation of Members of the Israeli Committee for Mordechai Vanunu demonstrated at the Prime Minister's residence on the sixth anniversary of Vanunu's abduction and imprisonment for divulging the secret of Israel's nuclear capability. They called for an immediate end to his solitary confinement, for his release and for a nuclear, biological, and chemical weapon-free Middle East. [=]
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60283. ------. "What's New from the Israeli Left?: 5/92-6/92 (A Partial List of Events), Part 1", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 39-40. 5/17/92: On the eve of the Israeli Festival, the largest international celebration of art and culture in Israel, 50 members of the Women and Peace Coalition and Women in Black demonstrated against the violation of human rights and use of torture during interrogation in Israeli prisons.  5/30/92: Members of Red Line (Arabs and Jews against the Occupation) traveled to Jenin Refugee Camp, bringing donated clothing for camp residents and visiting the family of someone who had been wounded by the mitsa'arvim units (disguised in Arab clothing) and paying a condolence call on a recently bereaved family.  5/30/92: Some 40 members of Yes Gvul visited the site where Jamal Ghanem was shot and killed some two months ago by mitsa'arvim in Shweiqa Village near Tulkarem, while he was playing soccer. A simulation of the shooting, by Palestinians who had been present at the time, showed that it would have been impossible for Ghanem to flee, and that he could have been arrested without being killed. Yesh Gvul contends that Palestinian spectators present at the time of the incident were not questioned at all in the course of the IDF investigations, and that the army was satisfied with the testimony of soldiers alone.  5/30/92: On the eve of Jerusalem Day, the religious Zionist peace movement, Oz veShalom/Netivot Shalom held a forum on the subject of Jerusalem's unification. Panelists included Moshe Amirav (Jerusalem City Councilman - Shinui), Tsvi Mazeh (Chair, Oz veShalom/Netivot Shalom), and Knesset members from Labor and Likud. While the Likud speaker stressed that no part of Jerusalem was negotiable, Amirav presented his vision of a unified Jerusalem with dual sovereignty: unified on the municipal-government level, but with the Israeli flag flying over West Jerusalem, capital of Israel and the Palestinian flag over East Jerusalem, capital of the Palestinian state. He and other speakers stressed the importance of equalizing the level of services to Jerusalem's Arab population.  60284. ------. "What's New from the Israeli Left?: 5/92-6/92 (A Partial List of Events), Part 2", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 40. 5/31/92: After an eleven-hour appeal to the High Court, the police permitted the holding of a demonstration called by the "Covenant of Equality" on Jerusalem Day. Despite the short notice, and despite the many difficulties arising from the closing of some roads to traffic, about 40 people came to the entrance of the village of Silwan to demonstrate their opposition to the national consensus regarding the "unification of Jerusalem." "There is no unification under occupation," "There is no unification - there is Judaization," were some of the slogans of the demonstration. Joining the demonstrators was the head of the "Committee for the Defense of the Lands of Silwan Village," Abu al-Walid Sirhan.  6/1/92: The International Day of the Child was marked by some 1000 children from the four children's centers in the Jenin area operated by Israeli-initiated "Care and Learning." Begun when schools in the West Bank were closed for extended periods, these centers offer basic learning skills and play and group activities in a warm and supportive environment. The slogan of the day was "A meeting of all children for a better life."  6/5/92: Hundreds of people participated in the Women in Black vigil in Jerusalem commemorating 25 years of the occupation. Regular demonstrators were joined by men and women from all over the country, as well as participants from the International Walk for Peace in the Middle East. (The walkers were participating in a 5-day protest walk, which began on 6/6/92 in Atlit, and was scheduled to continue to Jerusalem via Jenin, Nablus and Ramallah.) Later, against the will of the police, demonstrators joined Palestinian women in a march through the Palestinian village of Silwan, protest the continuing takeover of homes in the village by Jewish settlers.  6/6/92: Yesh Gvul, one of its regular demonstrations on the mountain overlooking Atlit prison, was joined by some 200 foreign and local participants in the International Walk for Peace in the Middle East. The names of the 170 Yesh Gvul prisoners who have been sent to prison in past years, rather than having served in the territories, were read out and a number of speeches were made.  6/8/92: The Peace Movement Coordinating Committee of Haifa and the North, along with members of constituent organizations including Women in Black, Re'ut (Arab and Jewish Youth Movement), and Peace Now demonstrated in Haifa's Hadar section. Speakers called for the reactivation of the Israeli peace and protest movement.  60285. ------. "What's New from the Israeli Left?: 5/92-6/92 (A Partial List of Events), Part 3", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 40. 6/7/92: Several hundred people, including Peace Walkers and members of Hadash, demonstrated opposite Megiddo Prison, where many Palestinian political prisoners are being held.  6/7/93: Thirteen Israelis, mostly activists in the peace and protest movement, were arrested along with some 100 international participants in the Walk for a Peaceful Future in the Middle East, when police on foot and horseback blocked their attempt to walk into the territories to continue their walk to Jerusalem. They were held 48 hours and released on their own recognizance.  6/8/92: Peace Now movement marked the 10th anniversary of the Lebanon War with memorial vigils in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.  6/9/92: The New Spirit Movement held a demonstration at the Palace of Peace in Atlit, and was scheduled to continue to Nazareth via Jenin, Nablus and Ramallah. Later, against the will of the police, demonstrators joined Palestinian women in a march through the Palestinian village of Silwan, protest the continuing takeover of homes in the village by Jewish settlers.  6/10/92: Yesh Gvul, one of its regular demonstrations on the mountain overlooking Atlit prison, was joined by some 200 foreign and local participants in the International Walk for Peace in the Middle East. The names of the 170 Yesh Gvul prisoners who have been sent to prison in past years, rather than having served in the territories, were read out and a number of speeches were made.  6/12/92: Members of the Women's Peace Net visited Nablus where they met with recently-returned
Opposition to the expulsions. is offering to put them up in several apartment buildings near Carmiel if peace negotiations, held a meeting in the Hakawati Theater in East villagers are still on their land more than two years after the evacuation of Hanitzotzl A-Sharara (see p.34). A debka (Palestinian folkdancing) troop August 28: Solidarity with Ramya. A meeting in solidarity with the Baqa Center in Majd al-Krum, the Progress Arab Students' Block and Dozens of activists attended.

Galilee, destroyed in 1951. Visitors came from the village of Sha'ab, the Israel to negotiate openly with the Palestine Liberation Organization. The people of Ramya are demanding to stay in their homes and families for many years.

A cardboard replica of one of the 38 children killed by the IDF in 1993 in which no Palestinian children were killed by the IDF.

A variety of peace and justice groups gathered in Jaffa for a work shop on active, nonviolent ways of responding to various injustices.

A vigil opposite the Augusta Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem, standing in a symbolic cage which they erected on the spot. Demonstrators spoke out mainly against the closure’s medical implications, including the fact that it denies the Palestinian population access to the modern hospitals located in Jerusalem, sometimes with fatal results.

Visit of returned expellees. Peace activists from Hanitzotl A-Sharara, Women In Black, the Progress Arab Students' Block, and AJCAD, visited two of the 30 expellees who were returned on April 30 and May 3: Abdel Jawad Saleh, (see p.6) and Musa Shahshir, Nablus, expelled in 1969. The visitors affirmed the right of all Palestinian exiles and refuaees to return and called for escalation of efforts to implement UN decision 1979 to bring home the 413 expellees.

200 people visited the site of two Arab villages in the Galilee, destroyed in 1951. Visitors came from the village of Sha'ab, the Baqa Center in Majd al-Krum, the Progress Arab Students' Block and Hanitzotl A-Sharara (see p.34). A debka (Palestinian folkdancing) troop from the Baqa Center performed.

Representatives of Israeli and Palestinian organizations, including members of the Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations, held a meeting in the Hakawati Theater in East Jerusalem. A joint statement was read out and signed, expressing strong opposition to the expulsions.

Representatives of Israeli and Palestinian organizations, including members of the Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations, held a meeting in the Hakawati Theater in East Jerusalem. A joint statement was read out and signed, expressing strong opposition to the expulsions.

Women in Black and other organizations in their campaign. family's home. At center, Shomali's mother, receiving the visitors.

Protest of information on human rights violations in the Occupied Territories, to taking action in opposition to these violations. B'tselem is also calling for more stringent open-fire regulations, and enlisting other organizations in their campaign.

Women's Committees, from Beit Hanina, Jerusalem, demonstrated Marj a-Zuhur. Skirmishes between supporters of the Communist Party and the Islamic Movement led to police intervention, and the meeting was dispersed.[=]

Yossi Wolfson and Ran Paz.

March 25: AJCAD took 200 children of expellees to the Israeli-Lebanon border-crossing point at Rosh Hanikra, during the Muslim holiday of ‘Id alFitr, which ends Ramadan. They had a short rally with Jewish and Arab speakers, and released helium balloons, on which the children had written their father’s names. A cardboard replica of one of the expellees' tents was attached to ten large balloons.

May Day: 200 people visited the site of two Arab villages in the Galilee, destroyed in 1951. Visitors came from the village of Sha’ab, the Baqa Center in Majd al-Krum, the Progress Arab Students’ Block and Hanitzotzl A-Sharara, Women In Black, the Progress Arab Students’ Block, and AJCAD, visited two of the 30 expellees who were returned on April 30 and May 3: Abdel Jawad Saleh, (see p.6) and Musa Shahshir, Nablus, expelled in 1969. The visitors affirmed the right of all Palestinian exiles and refuaees to return and called for escalation of efforts to implement UN decision 1979 to bring home the 413 expellees.

July 3: Yesh Gvul solidarity with refuseniks. Some 35 activists demonstrated opposite Military Prison 6, where two reservists are currently in prison for refusal to serve in the Occupied Territories.

Yesh Gvul supporters shouted greetings from the hill question "Who is responsible for the killing of the children in the Palestinian territories?" Among the speakers were lawyer Yehoshua Shofman of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, Rabbi Uri Regev from the Center for Jewish Pluralism, and Colonel Moshe Giv’ati who was imprisoned for refusing to serve in the Occupied Territories. Yossi Wolfson and Ran Paz.

This year the central meeting was held in Sha'ar'am, with the participation of the Arab Follow-up Committee and AJCAD, in solidarity with the Palestinian expellees in Marj a-Zuhur. Skirmishes between supporters of the Communist Party and the Islamic Movement led to police intervention, and the meeting was dispersed.[=]

Visiting returned expellees. Peace activists from Hanitzotzl A-Sharara, Women In Black, the Progress Arab Students' Block, and AJCAD, visited two of the 30 expellees who were returned on April 30 and May 3: Abdel Jawad Saleh, (see p.6) and Musa Shahshir, Nablus, expelled in 1969. The visitors affirmed the right of all Palestinian exiles and refuaees to return and called for escalation of efforts to implement UN decision 1979 to bring home the 413 expellees.

May 7: The Nablus-West Jerusalem Dialogue: 15 Israelis attended a reception for the nine residents of Nablus who were among the expellee who returned home this month. They heard each expellee speak about his experience and hopes for the future, including working together towards a peaceful solution to the conflict which separated them from their homes and families for many years.

May 2: On the one-year anniversary of the death of Anton Shomali of Beit Sahur, Edith Eckhart of Grandmothers for Peace, and representatives from the US Methodist Federation for Social Action and the Rapprochement Center for Dialogue in Beit Sahur visited the family's home. At center, Shomali's mother, receiving the visitors.

Compiled by Maxine Kaufmann Nunn from The Other Front (Alternative Information Center, P.O. Box 31417, Jerusalem); The Other Israel (Box 2542, Holon 58125) and personal conversations. All photos by Maxine Kaufman Nunn.[=]

Peace activities from their homes and families for many years.


July 3: Human rights activists protest the closure. Some 50 Israeli activists held a vigil opposite the Augusta Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem, standing in a symbolic cage which they erected on the spot. Demonstrators spoke out mainly against the closure’s medical implications, including the fact that it denies the Palestinian population access to the modern hospitals located in Jerusalem, sometimes with fatal results.

July 10: Nonviolence workshop. About 20 activists from a variety of peace and justice groups gathered in Jaffa for a work shop on active, nonviolent ways of responding to various injustices.

July 13: B’tselem decrse IDF killing of Palestinian children. About a dozen supporters of the campaign stood in West Jerusalem's Zion Square, holding pictures of the 36 children killed by the IDF in 1993. In this campaign, 'ts'lem has departed from its usual operating goal, the provision of information on human rights violations in the Occupied Territories, to taking action in opposition to these violations. B'tselem is also calling for more stringent open-fire regulations, and enlisting other organizations in their campaign.

July 16: Downtown Indigenous Women's Committee, from Beit Hanina, Jerusalem, demonstrated ‘Marj a-Zuhur. Skirmishes between supporters of the Communist Party and the Islamic Movement led to police intervention, and the meeting was dispersed.[=]

March 30: Land Day. Several mass meetings and processions were held in Arab towns and villages in Israel to commemorate the six martyrs who were killed on March 30,1976, during a general strike that was held in protest of mass land confiscations. This year the central meeting was held in Sha'ar'am, with the participation of the Arab Follow-up Committee and AJCAD, in solidarity with the Palestinian expellees in Marj a-Zuhur. Skirmishes between supporters of the Communist Party and the Islamic Movement led to police intervention, and the meeting was dispersed.[=]
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August 29: Israelis and Palestinians march for peace. More than one hundred people, including Palestinian supporters of the peace talks from Nablus, marched peacefully through the streets of the West Jerusalem residential neighborhood of Talpiot, under banners (in Hebrew, Arabic, and English) calling for coexistence between Israel and Palestine, both free and secure. Earlier they were hosted in the homes of Israelis in West Jerusalem and then shared a meal in a West Jerusalem hotel.[6]

60291. ------. "What's New on the Peace Front July 16 - September 8: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 21. September 3: Women In Black Vigil in Jerusalem changed its appearance to express support for the peace initiative. Women added white to their black outfits and wore ribbons saying "Yes to Peace." In a meeting held on September 7 it was decided to add other slogans more clearly calling for a two state solution and to keep standing every Friday so long as Israeli troops remain in the territories.

September 4: The Peace Bloc called its supporters to participate in a demonstration in support of the Gaza and Jericho First plan in Tel Aviv. The demonstration was organized out of the Labor party offices, by the Labor Party, Meretz and Peace Now, featuring as keynote speakers Minister of Housing Benyamin Ben El'azar, former Military Commander of the West Bank; Minister of Communication Shulamit Aloni and writer Amos Oz. Estimates of participation vary between 40,000 and 150,000 thousand.

September 7-8: Nonviolence conference in Jerusalem featuring Palestinian nonviolence activist Dr. Mubarak Awaad, who was allowed into the country for the first time since he was deported in 1988. See next issue of Challenge for more details.

[Compiled by Yohanan Lorwin from The Other Front, The Other Israel, and other sources.[=]]


November 27: Some 50 people from the Peace Bloc, Yesh Gvul, and Women in Black demonstrate across from the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv against the shootings in Gaza and call for the disbanding of the undercover units.

December 4: The Peace Bloc and Palestinians demonstrate against settler violence and for prompt IDF pull-out from the Occupied Territories and the immediate removal of the settlers from Hebron. The demonstrators, who were stopped at a roadblock, marched along the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway, carrying placards calling for the dismantling of the undercover IDF units and the re into crowds and, in a separate incident killed a Palestinian motorist. December 6: The Action Committee for the Jahalin Tribe (ACJT) holds a 1 50-person demonstration protesting the threat to evict 250 families from their present location to facilitate the expansion of Ma'aleh Adumim (see p. 20). Speakers included bedouin rights advocates Nuri alUghi; Shlomo Elbaz of the East For Peace; members of the tribe and neighboring communities; and Palestinian leaders.

December 10: Wo men in Black stand again. After a nearly two-month hiatus, 104 Jerusalem Women in Black renewed their vigil with slogans supporting peace and condemning settler violence. The weekly vigil is scheduled to continue until the promised IDF withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho takes place.[=]

60293. ------. "What's New on the Peace Front: October 2 - November 6: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December 1993. p. 32. October 2: The Israeli Committee for Mordechai Vanunu and for a Middle East free of Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Weapons marked the seventh anniversary of the abduction and imprisonment of Israeli nuclear prisoner Mordechai Vanunu with a protest vigil calling for his release and for a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction. The vigil took place opposite the home of Environment Minister Yossi Sarid in Tel Aviv.

October 4: Rabbis for Human Rights set up a symbolic Succot Shalom (Peace Hut) at the a-Ram checkpoint north of Jerusalem during the Jewish holiday of Succot. They were protesting the continuing closure of the Occupied Territories and reminding the Israeli public that "despite the signing of the Agreement, a significant portion of the residents of the territories continue to be under closure," while at the same time expressing encouragement to the government in its peace efforts.

October 4: Reshet, the Israel Women's Peace Net, held a dialogue meeting between Israeli and Palestinian women, and constructed a Succat Shalom hut on Kibbutz Ramot Menashe.

October 5: JerusalemNablus Dialogue for peace hosted a family picnic on Mt. Gerizim in October 4, a-Ram Nablus, West Bank under the banner "Let us make the peace agreement a blessing for both peoples." Some 300 Israelis and Palestinians socialized and discussed various issues, including the release of political prisoners and responses to the agreement in general.

October 7: Gush Shlom and the Palestinian Liberation Organization's mainstream Fatah party held their first joint demonstration under the slogan "Peace begins with prisoner release" in Nablus. Several thousand demonstrators called upon the Israeli government to immediately release all of the Palestinian political prisoners and close all "security" prison facilities — and jails. A delegation of three ap- October 7, Nablus protesting the prison gate were not permitted to deliver a letter of solidarity to the prisoners despite a High Court decision allowing them to do so.

October 13: Am Mer mis and the organization Care and Learning which she founded in Jenin were chosen as one of this year's four recipients of the Right Livelihood Award, also known as the "Alternative Nobel Prize." Arna was chosen in recognition of her "passionate commitment to the defence and education of the children of Palestine victimized by military occupation." (see page 34)

October 15: Rapid Response Network members paid a solidarity visit to a family whose home in Hizmeh village had recently been demolished, and notified press and others of the incident. They were responding to an appeal from one of their lawyers, to be with the family when they re-erected the tent the police had forced them to take down. Negotiations resulted in the family being allowed to re-erect the tent on neighboring, undisputed property. (see article on p.22 and poem)

October 16: Rejet held a dialogue meeting and a constructed a Succat Shalom hut in Kibbutz Negba with activists from Palestinian women's committees in the Gaza Strip. Reshet also sent messages to the Palestinian delegation in Washington D.C., Palestinian women in the Occupied Territories with whom the group has been working, and women at the PLO head quarters in Tunis expressing joy at the mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO.[=]

60294. ------. "What's New on the Peace Front: October 2 - November 6: Part 2", in Challenge, November-December 1993. p. 33. October 17: Rabbis for Human Rights made solidarity visits to Bedouins protesting outside the Prime Minister's office. Some 40 Negev Bedouins joined the permanent occupant's of the protest tent which has stood opposite the PM's office for 50 days, ever since seven families were forcibly evicted from their homes and their tents dumped at the Ramat Hovav toxic-waste-dump. The 600 Negev Bedouins, most of whom have been relocated since the 50s, are all awaiting a High Court decision on their appeals against eviction.

October 19: Rabbis for Human Rights paid a visit to a Palestinian family whose home in Hizmeh village had been recently demolished.

October 27: Yesh Gul. Adi Laxer, 32, was sentenced to 35 days

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in the Atlit Military Prison for his refusal to do his reserve duty as a prison guard in Megido Prison. This is Laxer's third imprisonment. He has twice served a 26-day sentence for similar offenses. Yesh Gvul is holding a solidarity visit on the hill overlooking the Megido Prison on November 12.

October 29: Remembering Kufr Qassem Massacre. The annual commemoration of the 1956 massacre in which Israeli border police soldiers murdered 49 workers returning home unaware that a curfew had been imposed. The village held a general strike and a procession of thousands marched to the cemetery. Representatives of Hadash, Meretz, Hatnitzot/A-Sharara, and the Students' Progressive Block laid wreaths of flowers.

October 29: Hatnitzot/A-Sharara and Students' Progressive Bloc activists visited Anmeh Rimawi, a Ramallah trade union activists and a mother of three who had been released from Hasharon Prison two days earlier (see p. 12). Rimawi, who was released only 45 days before the end of her sentence, described severe cases of aging women prisoners who were not released. The delegation called for the release all Palestinian political prisoners.

October 30: Ras al-Amud. Gush Shalom, the PLO mainstream Fatah party and the Silwan Residents' Association protested the Jewish neighborhood to be built in the midst of Palestinian Ras al-Amud. Several hundred Israelis and Palestinian Jerusalemites gathered to protect ongoing efforts to preserve the neighborhood. November 6 Baqa Cultural Center in Mad al-Krum (western Galilee) held an Olive Day, a day of olive tree planting on private lands which are in danger of confiscation. The Arab, Jewish, and international participants planted 100 olive trees, enjoyed a meal prepared by students of the Mothers' School, and enjoyed the performances of dancers and singers from Maj al-Krum and Ramallah.

Compiled by Maxine Kaufman Nunn from The Other Front, the Other Israel, and other sources.[=]

60295. -------. "What's What We Said -- Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Says US Aid No Longer Needed", in The Spotlight, February 28, 1994, p. 2. (The Spotlight, 300 Independence Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003) Yossi Beilin, Israel's deputy foreign minister, has told American supporters of Israel that his country no longer needs its annual American $3 billion handout. "You want me to be the beggar and say we need money for poor people, [but] Israel is a rich country, I'm sorry to tell you," he said to the Women's International Zionist Organization. In addition to the federal largess, Israel receives an estimated $500 million yearly in private donations. Even Israel's most ardent partisans are beginning to recognize the US cannot continue its massive financial support. "I hope that with peace, Israel can go to the United States and volunteer to take less, because even if Israel doesn't volunteer, it's going to happen anyway," said David Clayman of the American Jewish Congress. [=]

60296. -------. "White House Targeted Minorities For Funds", in Seattle Times, January 24, 1997. p. A16. Presidential aides drew up plans to collect campaign monies from Asian-Americans, Hispanics, African-Americans and "others," offering them unprecedented access to the White House in return for money. Documents ordered released by former Clinton aide Harold Ickes include plans for fundraising and influence peddling to six key electoral groups upon which the re-election campaign would be based: (1) African-Americans; (2) Asian Pacific Americans; (3) disabled Americans; (4) Jewish-Americans [the pro-Israeli lobby]; (5) Latinos [Hispanics]; and (6) "others". Illegal donations by Asians have promised $1.5 million in refunds by the Democratic National Committee.

Separately, The Justice Department and congressional committees report investigations of foreign contributions. The White House has admitted again that it provided inaccurate or incomplete information in three more instances about its knowledge of illegal fundraising: Mike McCurry terms the latest disinforming statements as "innocent results of internal miscommunication". The problem involves the knowledge that Clinton had of his aides arranging money for Webster Hubbell from Lippo Group after he resigned from the Justice Department in disgrace. In 12/1996 the White House stated that no one had any knowledge of the Hubbell deal; in fact, top aide Bruce Lindsey was aware of the arrangement.

Secondly, separately, statements that meetings between John Huang and Lippo executive James Riady, previously described as mere social encounters, now appear to have involved specific discussions of the trade policy input on Indonesia and China that Lippo was paying for.

Thirdly, separately, the statement made by VP Al Gore during the re-election campaign that he had no knowledge that the gathering at a Buddhist temple was actually a fundraiser now is admitted to be quite wrong. In fact, Gore lied during the re-election campaign, admitting that he had been fully informed, in writing, by his staff that the gathering was actually a fundraiser for which large contributions had been paid in advance.

Fourthly, separately, the Export-Import Bank is defending its support for Clinton appointed director Maria Haley. Haley gave an unusual $16.5 million loan to a big Democratic donor (Pauline Kanchanik) to open a Blockbuster Video franchise in Bangkok, Thailand.

60297. -------. "Who's Who In This Issue", in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. We're sorry that by press time we did not have information to share about Stasa Zajovic (Belgrade, Yugoslavia) and Annemie Butterweck (Cologne, Germany). Tamar Rappaport is a senior lecturer in the Education Department of Hebrew University. She was recently appointed coordinator of the Gender Studies Unit. For several years she has been studying gender in Israel.

Adrienne Rich is a much published Jewish-American poet and essayist, who has been active on behalf of peace in the Middle East, as well as feminist and lesbian rights.

Sarit Hellman is a lecturer in sociology at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and the Hebrew University. She is currently completing her doctorate on the subject of conscientious objection to army service in the Lebanon War.

Jesse Montell, a Jerusalem Women in Black, works in Shatil (technical assistance to social change organizations) and at the Hot Line for the Defense of the Individual for human rights in the occupied territories.

Erela Shadmi is a lecturer in law enforcement and women's studies at Beit Berl College and the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. She is a former lieutenant-colonel in the Israeli Police Force, and now a Woman in Black in Jerusalem. [=]

60298. -------. "Woman in Haifa, Israel [sues a TV weatherman for $1000 for predicting a sunny day; it rained while she wore a lightg dress, and she caught cold]", in Seattle Times, March 23, 1996. p. A2. [TXT]

60299. -------. "Women Demonstrate for Women Political Prisoners", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 40. On 4/28/92, a group of 70 Palestinian and Israeli women gathered outside Hasharon Women's Prison north of Tel Aviv to commemorate the Day of the Prisoner (4/17/92). Participants demanded an improvement of prison conditions as well as the immediate release of three political prisoners who are suffering from illnesses. Some demonstrators carried posters with a picture of Rabha Shtay - a 33-year prisoner from Jerusalem who is sick with cancer of the liver and who was recently sentenced to 8 years and 6 months imprisonment. International organizations have intervened to demand Shtay's release. Other women carried posters with the picture of Hsuniya Abd al-Qader, 41, from Balata Refugee Camp who was taken on a stretcher to prison on 4/9/92. She suffers from acute spinal problems and high blood pressure. She has recently been declared an administrative detainee (held without trial). This is the third time Hsuniya has been placed under an administrative detention. [=]

60300. -------. "Women and Peace Call on Artists to Boycott Israel Festival", in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 26. The following appeal was sent by Women and Peace to artists invited to participate in the
Women in Black Will Not be Intimidated: Part 1

60301. "Women in Black Will Not be Intimidated: Part 1", in Challenge, July, 1990. p. 10. The Women in Black vigil began in Jerusalem immediately after the outbreak of the intifada. A wide range of women, some of whom never participated in political activities before, stood every Friday noon in France Square, holding hand-shaped signs saying No to Occupation, expressing their protest in silence. Soon Women in Black spread to 32 locations throughout the country and have become the most persistent protest against occupation, arousing strong feelings among both supporters and rivals.

The most consistent and almost sole arena for activity of right-wingers from Moledet and Tehiya and Kahane disciples, is to hold counter-demonstrations and harass participants in Women in Black vigils. It seems that Women in Black have become the "raison d'être" of a handful of frustrated and violent fanatics, who appear regularly at the vigils, waving Israeli flags, which serve a dual purpose; they proclaim the super-patriotism of the bearers and also serve as clubs with which to beat the women standing in peaceful and silent vigils.

In contrast to the women, these arch-racists dress in white and try to provoke the black-garbed women with verbal obscenities and sexual jibes. Violence against Women in Black intensified after the murder of 7 Palestinian workers in Rishon LeZion by Ami Popper, probably a Kahane groupie. Previously, there had been attempts by motorists to 'accidentally' run over the women standing on the pavement. But on the Friday after the murder, Women in Black in Jerusalem and Beersheba lodged formal complaints to the police that guns were drawn and pointed at them from passing busses.

In Jerusalem, where both the women's vigil and the rightist counter-demonstration are the largest and most regular, there were formerly only a handful of right-wingers among scores of women. But recently their numbers have grown and they have started taking up the women's place in the square. This has led to what has become known as "the battle for the square".

There has also been a marked increase in the support and encouragement expressed by passersby for the rightists, as well as sexist epithets hurled at the women - the mildest of them are such sick comments as "Black widows", "May you wear black every day of your life" and so on. Drivers even stop their cars to shake the hands of the rightists.

In Haifa, violence against Women in Black reached such a point that they were forced to change the place of their vigil. However in their new location they are still subjected to threats and physical attacks by rightists, but they do not react to complaints from the women, perhaps because they empathize with the aggressors and hope to erase this form of protest from the Israeli scene once and for all.

The interesting phenomenon in this recent development is the women's dodged persistence and unwavering determination. They will not surrender their vigil, which is the only form by which they can express their disgust at the oppression in the Occupied Territories and at the government's refusal to negotiate with the PLO. Rightist overt and covert violence constitutes a real problem for the non-violent and silent vigil of Women in Black. Women may have to find new ways to cope with the mounting violence while continuing to attract tens of new women who may join the vigil after the rise of a right-wing government.[=]

60302. "Women's Peace Conference Demands End to Occupation: Part 1", in Challenge, January-March, 1991. p. 36. Some 600 Israeli, Palestinian and foreign women participated in a weekend for peace in Jerusalem on December 28-29. The conference, entitled "Women Strive For Peace In A Time of Crisis," was organized by the Women and Peace Coalition and the Women's Peace Net in Israel, as well as Palestinian women's organizations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, it drew women from Scandinavia, Italy and the United States. The first day of the conference witnessed a larger than usual turnout for the traditional Friday vigil of Women in Black in Jerusalem. Later the women held an all-night vigil opposite the house of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, handing him an appeal. Appeals were also sent by foreign women to their consulates and to the US embassy. The next day, the women held discussions and workshops at the Jerusalem Cinematheque. The conference was held against the backdrop of the Gulf crisis on the strive, and the nature of the mounting violence while continuing to attract tens of new women who may join the vigil after the rise of a right-wing government.

Among the issues addressed were how to carry on a long-lasting strive for peace, the impact of the Gulf crisis on the peace process and the role of women in reviving one. The Supreme Court of Justice rejected an appeal from the women against the police, which was filed after the latter refused to rant a license for a peace march along the walls of the old city of Jerusalem.

The Cinematheque was also pressured to refuse to rent its premises to the women. The women discussed the reasons for the absence of an active peace movement in Israel and the role of women in reviving one. Among the issues addressed were how to carry on a long-lasting strive for peace, the impact of the Gulf crisis on the strive, and the nature of the mounting violence while continuing to attract tens of new women who may join the vigil after the rise of a right-wing government.
check the deterioration in the political situation and secure the future and welfare of the two peoples. We pledge to continue to act for peace and the above mentioned goals, and call upon all women in Israel to join our struggle. [=] 60303. -------. "Women in Brief: Israel [BTselem starts campaign to reduce the number of Palestinian children being killed by Israeli troops; since 1987, some 232 Palestinians younger that 17 have been killed, with 38 in the last six months]", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), July 31, 1993. p. 14. [TXT]

60304. -------. "Young Palestinian Killed Near Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), October 14, 1994. p. 3. Ghazi Haymouni, 23, from Hebron was shot and killed 10/7/1994 by the Israeli army near the Ibrahimi Mosque.

Israeli soldiers shot Haymouni after he attempted to stab an Israeli border policeman in front of the mosque.

The Israeli forces transferred his body directly to Abu Kbir Center for autopsy and then imposed a curfew on the city, following the outbreak of violent confrontations between Palestinian youths and Israeli soldiers. Soldiers used tear gas and live ammunition to clear the demonstrators. [=]

60305. -------. "Youth Shot Dead At Checkpoint", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), September 23, 1994. p. 3. 1ahed Dali from Biddu village near Jerusalem was shot and killed 9/20/1994, by Israeli soldiers at the Dahiet Al-Barid checkpoint north of Jerusalem.

According to the Israeli military spokesman, Dali, 22, and another Palestinian got out of a car before the checkpoint to cross into Jerusalem in order to avoid having their identity card checked.

When the two reached the other side, they hailed a taxi. The soldiers ordered them to stop. They climbed into the taxi, which pulled out into traffic. The soldiers then fired at the taxi. The car stopped and Dali jumped out and ran. At that point, the soldiers shot him in the back.

The spokesman added that the man who crossed with Dali escaped in the taxi. The army has launched a dragnet operation to apprehend him.

Al-Quds Press Agency said Dali was hit by dumdom bullets. This caused internal hemorrhaging that led to his death before the medical team at Ramallah Hospital could rescue him.

According to eyewitness, the soldiers held the wounded Dali for half an hour, allowing him to bleed excessively before they decided to let an ambulance take him to a hospital.

Another young Palestinian was shot under similar circumstances only a few months ago for the same reason. [=]

60306. -------. "[Ahlam Samhan]", in Challenge, January-February 1993. p. 30. Ahlam did not intend to tell me how her nose was broken. If I hadn't asked, she wouldn't have provided the description of the horrifying experience which severely damaged her face. In 1981, a short time after her release from prison, Ahlam was called in for an interrogation at the military headquarters in Nablus. Her interrogators wanted to know whom she had been meeting and what kinds of 'contacts' she had.

Ahlam was 18 at the time but was already experienced, and she reserved the right to remain silent. The interrogators then turned to beating and torture. They Banged her head and face against the concrete wall again and again. Ahlam felt the bone of her nose being smashed, and yet she remained silent. She recalls that in those moments she struggled to concentrate, to think of her friends and of her commitments as a revolutionary. The same night she was released without any charges being filed. Ahlam went to Makassad Hospital, where she discovered that the nose bone had been completely crushed. In an operation the surgeons tried to reconstruct the shape of her nose, using a piece of plastic to replace the original bone.

Twelve years after this operation, Ahlam still suffers from severe pains whenever the weather changes, and she takes large doses of pain killers daily. She also suffers from recurring infections induced by the presence of the plastic bone'. Ahlam was recently examined by a Hadassah specialist in plastic surgery. He concluded that the bone had been smashed to such an extent that further surgery would be impossible. [=]

60307. -------. "[Lebanon Not Important News] [CNN news coverage through the day subordinated the Israeli attack on Lebanon, initially with the news readers leering at women athletes wearing bikinis for the Atlanta Olympics, and later to the sentencing of the Menendez Brothers]", in CNN Prime News, April 17, 1996.

60308. -------. "[PM Peres Honoring In France]", in World Today (CNN), 5/1, 1996. In an effort to restore good relations with Israel, PM Peres was honored with the renaming of a plaza at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris by the government of France. Israel had been angered by the French perception that it could have a role in peace talks ending the Israeli attacks on Lebanon. [TXT]

60309. -------. Editorial: "Reason for Investigation", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), September 23, 1994. p. 4. Recently, the killing of innocent, young Palestinians by Israeli soldiers at the roadblocks and checkpoints on the outskirts of Jerusalem and in the West Bank has increased.

During the last week alone, two Palestinian citizens were killed under similar circumstances while others were wounded. The Israeli's official excuse in such cases has always been that the victims had tried to pass the checkpoints without stopping, and when they try to "escape", the soldiers were compelled to shoot them.

This pretext is not satisfactory or convincing. The soldiers shot to kill. Their lives were not in danger.

Witnesses say that the Israeli soldiers could have easily apprehended those young men if they had wanted. Rather, they took aim with their lethal weapons and shot them in the back.

It is amazing that no investigations have been conducted into these cases, suggesting that the killing of an unarmed, Palestinian civilian is not an unusual act--not in need of any special attention.

This is a gross and dangerous act. Unfortunately, even the human rights organizations located in the occupied territories are no longer concerned with these killings and have become less enthusiastic about following up on the unceasing atrocities committed against the Palestinian people.

We call on the human rights institutions to be more concerned with these incidents and investigate them so that these dangerous crimes executed against innocent people will end once and for all.

It is important to realize that the increase in killings by Israeli soldiers coincides with the efforts being exerted by the Palestinian National Authority to re-activate the educational, economic and social sectors in society.

Will the Israelis' response to these endeavors be to pull the trigger more often and kill even more innocent people?

The roadblocks set up by the Israeli government were not there to induce the killing of Palestinian citizens. Yet it has not been only during the last week, but since the siege was imposed in 3/1993, that dozens of unarmed and innocent Palestinians have been shot dead at the roadblocks. The question is why?

Even more significant is how can these killings be allowed to continue without investigations being conducted or other means used to put a halt to them.

The peace that we are all searching for at this stage cannot be found through the negotiations alone. And it cannot be found through the continuous talks about economic projects that until now have no concrete foundation. Peace is not built through quiet statements in the media. It will only be actualized when the series of killings stop and where the killing of one Palestinian becomes a serious reason to open an immediate investigation.

Therefore, we call on the Israeli officials and the human rights associations to become truly concerned with an issue vital to both life
and peace. [-]

60310. --------. Editorial: “Shuttle Chicanery: Part 1”, in Challenge, July-August 1993. p. 3. The visit to this area of US Secretary of State Warren Christopher aims to salvage the peace talks, after they began with such fanfare in Madrid and have now reached a stalemate after the eleventh round in Washington. The US has allocated a period of six months to reach a breakthrough that would enable the two sides to sign a common declaration of principles. Are we truly just half a year away from the the successful resolution of this conflict, a conflict that has developed into one of the most complex and intractable of our century?

Development on the ground indicates that we are no closer now to a solution than we were two years ago. Tensions on the Israeli-Lebanese border have been inflamed again. In July the Israeli human rights group B’tselem published a report on the ominous escalation of the killing of Palestinian children by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). Within days of its publication, another child, ten-year-old Azat Matar, was killed in the Gaza Strip. Jerusalem is still cut off from the Occupied Territories, causing unimaginable suffering to the population.

The Palestinian person in the street has lost confidence in both the peace process and US intentions, and the Palestinian delegation is quickly losing credibility. The head of the delegation, Dr. Haidar Abdel Shafi, is far from optimistic about the talks. He is calling on Palestinians instead to shift their efforts into making democratic reforms in the PLO’s decision-making processes and towards inter-Palestinian negotiations for developing a unified policy. [-]

60311. --------. In Time of War: Children Testify, Beirut: 1970. A collection of drawings and paintings by Palestinian children in the refugee camps that express the feelings of the Palestinian people. The editor worked with the children in the camps in a program that aimed at developing their artistic talents and allowed them to express their feelings through paintings and drawings. The book presents the drawings with comments and statements by the Palestinian children. Their comments express their views on war, peace, life in the camps, their view of Palestine their country and the struggle for its liberation. The book is one of the most moving works on the problem of Palestine and the suffering of its people. It presents the feelings and frustrations of the young Palestinian generation in exile and refugee camps.

60312. --------. Interview: “PNA Comptroller Saleh Rafat: Palestinians Will Vote for Committed, Responsible People”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995, p. 5. [Saleh Rafat, the PNA Comptroller, returned recently to his homeland after a long, Israeli-imposed exile. He is one of the leaders of FIDA, the Palestinian Democratic Union and one of the founders of the modern Palestinian National Movement. The interview with Rafat was conducted by Fadel Nasser and Abdul Karim Hasna from the Arabic daily An-Nahar.] Q: What is your position now in the Palestinian National Authority? A: As a politician and a member of the PLO leadership I have a political rather than executive position. I am a member of a political party which has its own program regarding the current peace negotiations. The party has a point of view regarding the implementation of the major economic and social issues in the country. And it has its own position regarding the building of the Palestinian state based on democracy and pluralism. It is fighting for social justice in Palestinian Society, and gives priority to building the infrastructure in education, health, electricity and water. Q: What is your opinion on the Palestinian legislative elections? A: The elections constitute the most positive step achieved through the peace process that started in Madrid. In spite of the existence of so many clauses in the peace accords that cannot be considered just for the Palestinian people, I call on Palestinians to invest in the positive aspects of the Oslo and Cairo Accords. These elections will certainly result in electing a significant and talented portion of Palestinian society to represent the people. The national goals will be achieved through these representatives until all the Palestinian occupied territories are freed, paving the way for the establishment of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. I understand very well the role of the Palestinian legislative council in supporting the executive authority on the issue of institution building. We are committed to building a modern and democratic state where women can play a meaningful role, together with men, in leading the people. It is essential that the council legislate the nature of the political system because it will create the Palestinian constitution in the coming phase. The people then should participate in the elections, and should give their votes to Palestinian national figures who have a clear political vision and commitment to building the state. All Palestinian movements and parties should also participate in the elections to fulfill their obligations and build the country together.

Q: Will you stand as a candidate for these elections? A: I am still examining the possibility of running in the elections through holding contacts with the various political leanings in the Palestinian Democratic Union. Q: What do you have to say to Israel's demand that some clauses of the Palestinian Covenant be rescinded? A: Well, among other things, Israel has not even implemented the Cairo Agreement yet. It has not respected a single deadline in implementing the Oslo and Taba Accords. It violated the accords and is still insisting on keeping Palestinian political prisoners locked up. I would say clearly that this is directly related to Israel’s commitment to withdraw from the Palestinian populated areas, refugee camps, villages, towns and cities occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem. It is also related to the solution of the refugee issue, allowing them to return to their homeland. Israel is still hampering the work of the Refugees Committee. Only after satisfactory solutions to these issues, and the settlements issues, have been found will we begin to consider the possibility of amending the Palestinian Covenant. Q: Will the elected legislative council replace the Palestine National Council? A: According to the Elections Law, the elected legislative council will be an integral part of the Palestine National Council, therefore it will not replace it. The Palestine National Council will remain the representative body of the Palestinian people at home and abroad. The PLO will remain the only legal benchmark for the Palestinian people. Q: How do you see the future of the peace process following the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin? Will it be easier or more difficult to deal with Shimon Peres? A: We are not talking about persons. We signed this agreement with the Israeli government, and as I said, some of the clauses contradict the interests of the Palestinian people. We are dealing with a government, regardless of who’s in charge. We call on the Israeli government to be genuinely committed to building a modern and democratic state where women can play a meaningful role, together with men, in leading the people. It is essential that the council legislate the nature of the political system because it will create the Palestinian constitution in the coming phase. The people then should participate in the elections, and should give their votes to Palestinian national figures who have a clear political vision and commitment to building the state. All Palestinian movements and parties should also participate in the elections to fulfill their obligations and build the country together.

If the government is honest, then let them hurry up and release the prisoners and allow the refugees to return to their homeland in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Refugees Committee has been stalled for months now discussing and trying to reach a solution simply on the technical problem of how a refugee or displaced should be defined. Q: Will the PNA be able to suspend the elections until these demands are met? A: Our position is very clear. We call for the postponement of the elections until after the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Hebron is achieved and the prisoners are released. Discussions regarding the postponement of the elections until next April is still being held while we stress the importance of including major amendments in the electoral system. We are suggesting the inclusion of the quota system list with the lists of all the electoral departments. We suggested that 41 representatives be elected based upon the proportional representation system and 41 be elected for one constituency alone all over the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem. The system as it is now tends to give importance only to local issues. An elected member from Nablus for example is only concerned with issues in Nablus alone. But a member elected by the people from all over the territories would focus his or her efforts on national rather than local issues such as health, education and other main issues. We feel the system must be amended. We presented our suggestions to the Executive Committee.
during the last meeting in Cairo. They were approved in principal but have yet to be implemented. Q: What will be the role of the Palestinian opposition movements and will they assume the leading positions in the PNA? Some Palestinians affiliated to the opposition have returned, others haven't. It's not insignificant that many of those who returned assumed senior positions in the PNA. As for members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, they have assumed high positions, such as heads of departments in many Palestinian ministries. We call for the return of all the rest of our brothers to join in the Palestinian Authority. Israel must stop barring the return of Palestinians to their homeland, whatever their political affiliation. [–]

60313.-------. Interview: "Prisoner Rights Activist Attacked", in News from Within, November 1995. p. 20. [On 10/17/1995 Suha Barghuti, wife of Ahmad Qatamesh, Israel's longest held administrative detainee, was violently attacked by two Israeli soldiers while leaving a demonstration for political prisoners at the Red Cross Center in Ramallah. NFW interviewed Ms. Barghuti following her hospitalization.] Q: What happened on 10/17/1995? A: In the morning I did a radio interview where I asked the Palestinian people to peacefully join the demonstration to call for the release of all prisoners and administrative detainees. Then I left work to attend the demonstration at around 11:45 a.m. It was a peaceful demonstration with no interference from the soldiers; we were just marching with leaflets to the Red Cross Center. I joined the demonstration as a representative of the Palestinian Committee for Administrative Detainees. I left early and was walking towards my car when I spotted two soldiers. I heard a loud noise behind me so I turned around and in less than a second my whole head was totally on fire and my hair in flames. I realized I'd been hit by some sort of bomb or grenade. I didn't lose consciousness and was trying to put out the flames, but as I attempted to rub them out with my hands they just grew. Then another grenade was thrown directly at my head, but missed because I was crouched against a car and low to the ground in an attempt to put out the flames. Q: What sort of injuries did you sustain? A: My right thumb was completely split open from a liquid which leaked from the grenade. All of my hair on the right side was burned off; I suffered first degree burns on my face, and second and third degree burns on my chest that will require further surgery. I have a hole in my right eardrum which may also need surgery. I feel nauseous constantly, and hear a loud ringing noise because my eardrum is damaged. The doctors explained to me that they have never seen injuries from this type of grenade on a person before and that they think the bomb that hit me is usually used in demonstrations as a sound bomb to scare the protesters. Q: Do you believe the soldiers deliberately singled you out and attacked you? A: Yes, I believe I was targeted for the following reasons: I was alone, almost 12 meters from the demonstration; I was not armed, but carrying a handbag on my way back to work; also, a second grenade was thrown directly at me following the first one. The first night I was hospitalized 25 Israeli soldiers came to my home and questioned my mother. Ms. Barghuti was attacked two days after her husband was issued his fifth consecutive detention order. Mr. Qatamesh has been imprisoned for over three years without charge or trial and is clearly being incarcerated for his political beliefs and outspoken opposition to the Oslo Accords. According to the recently signed Oslo II Agreement, over 1200 Palestinian political prisoners, including all women prisoners, were to be released immediately following the signing ceremony in Washington on 9/28/1995. However, Israeli delayed and placed conditions on the prisoner release in an attempt to gain concessions from the PA. By mid-10/1995, 950 male prisoners were freed after they were forced to sign a document illegally imposed upon them by the Israeli government supporting the peace process. The women prisoners remain incarcerated as a result of the Israeli government's arbitrary refusal to release any women accused of having "Jewish blood on their hands." In response, the women collectively and courageously refused to be released until all women are freed. [–]

60314.-------. Interview: "Tribal Affairs Adviser Geith: Factionalism Undermines Traditional Values", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 10, 1995. p. 6. Geith Abu Geith is President Yasser Arafat's advisor on tribal affairs. In the following interview with Al-Quds, he explains the challenges inherent in the post he holds. Q: What is the office of the Tribal Affairs Administration? A: The office is an apparatus of the Palestinian National Authority, the office given advice on the PA, keeping them abreast of events in society, the problems people face, the demands, rights, duties and needs of the people. The operation of the office aims to satisfy the political, economic, humanitarian, and social needs of the Palestinian people. It deals with all tribes inside and outside Palestine. The concept of the tribe reflects the character of our people, its behavior, social norms and inherited traditions. In the administration of tribal affairs we uphold these traditional values and we are very proud of them. We preserve our cultural heritage whether it be in customs or theory. Q: What are your duties as an advisor for the Administration of Tribal Affairs? A: Basically our aim is to support national unity. We created a new department in the presidential office which acts as a mediator of office with the help of a dispute resolution mechanism. Q: What are the main problems you deal with? A: There is no doubt that the occupation has left behind unwelcome societal characteristics which it will be difficult to eradicate. Therefore we are facing lots of cases like assaults on women, and theft of public and private property. In general, the main problems in the Gaza Strip concern disputes over land and house ownership. Other problems are murders, which we try to treat with the Mediation Office of the Red Cross Center. I try to take advantage of the existence of the National Authority. But these problems are less common in the West Bank. Q: Are there any unresolved problems you face? A: No, but there are cases that are not easy to settle. We are doing our best to overcome the difficulties. Q: How do other tribal leaders feel about contacting your through this office? A: Two months ago, I met with a number of people representing 70 tribes - comprising around 30000 Gaza Strip residents - and discussed with them many major issues in a series of 30 meetings. It is important to mention that our people are very happy to deal with us, and to consolidate a positive relationship with us. This in turn forms a stepping-stone to our National Authority presided over by Yasser Arafat. I may add that there are parties who are against our people, who have personal or factional interest. They want to polarize our people. We understand this clearly and will deal with it appropriately. Q: What will be the role of the mukhtars? A: The mukhtars have their own responsibilities while being, at the same time, under the wing of the PNA. The mukhtars' issue in the Gaza Strip is being meticulously studied to obtain good results suitable for serving our people. Q: How do you define the role of women in Palestinian society? A: Women are considered the most honorable human beings on earth. They are mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. Care for women in our society is like the care of a son to his mother, the brother to his sister, and a father to his daughter. We have always striven for women's rights. They are the ones who cared for the orphans, who fought side by side with the men and endured all the consequences of their actions such as getting arrested and imprisoned, injured or killed. During the party organized on the occasion of President Yasser Arafat's birthday, Palestinian women performed a distinct and clear role in horse-racing. Aida Abu Aida, a 12- year-old girl, was the winner of the race. She deserved the cup offered to her from the president. Similarly, a young Palestinian girl scored 96% in the tawjih examinations, and was offered a scholarship from the president to study medicine. Q: How would you address the Palestinian people at home and abroad? A: We are now living in a critical period. We must deal with, and overcome all obstacles, and we must be aware of conspiracies against the unity of our people. We will build our state, and raise the Palestinian flag on the walls of Jerusalem. Peace will be achieved only if our rights as Palestinian people are met. [–]

$80000 playground construction site funded by his foundation."]}, in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, September 17, 1994. p. 24.[TXT]

60317. -------. Photograph: "Segregated Beach at Dead Sea", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 22, 1994. p. 5. The government at a cost of NIS 700000, established a beach with segregated areas for men and women. Tourism Minister Uzi Baram inaugurated the beach.[TXT]

60318. -------. Photograph: ["Gertruda van Lieer, was 1 of 35 Dutch citizens granted honorary Israeli citizenship for saving more than 400 Jewish children during WWII in her center for illegitimate children of German soldiers and Dutch women."]], in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 3, 1994. p. 24.


60320. -------. Table: "JMCC Election Survey", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 19, 1996. p. 3. Methodology: A random sample of 1199 people over the age of 18 were interviewed throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 1/11-12/1996. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 74 sampling points chosen randomly according to population. Locale of respondents: West Bank, East Jerusalem 64.7%. Residence: Town 40%, village 37.5%, refugee camp 22.5%. Social status: Single 29.4%, married 65.2%, divorced 1.2%, widower 3.1%, no opinion 1.2%. Religion: Muslim 93.7%, Christian 6%, other/no opinion 0.6%. Gender: Females 54.5%, male 45.5%. Average age of respondents:33. Do you believe that the presence of the Palestinian Council would bring changes to the better, to the worse, or will it make no difference?: Total: Changes to the better, 68.8%; Changes to the worse, 4.7%; Will make no difference, 17.3%; no opinion, 9.2%. West Bank: Changes to the better, 67.5%; Changes to the worse, 6.1%; Will make no difference, 16.1%; no opinion, 10.3%. Gaza Strip: Changes to the better, 71.2%; Changes to the worse, 2.1%; Will make no difference, 19.6%; no opinion, 7.1%. Men: Changes to the better, 66.2%; Changes to the worse, 5%; Will make no difference, 21.7%; no opinion, 7.1%. Women: Changes to the better, 71%; Changes to the worse, 4.5%; Will make no difference, 13.6%; no opinion, 10.9%. Fateh: Changes to the better, 84.3%; Changes to the worse, 1.5%; Will make no difference, 7.7%; no opinion, 6.5%. Hamas: Changes to the better, 48%; Changes to the worse, 10.8%; Will make no difference, 29.7%; no opinion, 11.5%.

To what extent would you say that you are comfortable with the PNA arrangements and organization of the peace process?: Total: Election arrangements are well organized, 43.6%; Election arrangements are somewhat organized, 36.3%; Election arrangements are badly managed, 7.8%; No opinion, 12.3%. West Bank: Election arrangements are well organized, 41.5%; Election arrangements are somewhat organized, 36.2%; Election arrangements are badly managed, 8%; No opinion, 14.3%. Gaza Strip: Election arrangements are well organized, 47.5%; Election arrangements are somewhat organized, 36.4%; Election arrangements are badly managed, 7.6%; No opinion, 8.5%. Men: Election arrangements are well organized, 44%; Election arrangements are somewhat organized, 39.6%; Election arrangements are badly managed, 9.4%; No opinion, 7%. Women: Election arrangements are well organized, 43.2%; Election arrangements are somewhat organized, 33.5%; Election arrangements are badly managed, 6.6%; No opinion, 17.7%. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust most?: Total: Fateh, 38.9%; Hamas, 12.3%; PFLP, 2.3%; Islamic Jihad, 1.4%; PPP, 1.8%; Fida, 0.9%; DFLP, 0.6%; Other Islamic parties, 1.9%; Don't trust anyone, 17.1%; Others, 1.5%; No opinion, 21.9%. West Bank: Fateh, 36.6%; Hamas, 10.6%; PFLP, 1.4%; Islamic Jihad, 0.5%; PPP, 2.6%; Fida, 1.2%; DFLP, 0.8%; Other Islamic parties, 1.3%; Don't trust anyone, 20.2%; Others, 1.8%; No opinion, 23.8%. Gaza Strip: Fateh, 43%; Hamas, 15.6%; PFLP, 3.8%; Islamic Jihad, 2.8%; PPP, 0.5%; Fida, 0.5%; DF LP, 0.2%; Other Islamic parties, 3.1%; Don't trust anyone, 11.3%; Others, 0.5%; No opinion, 18.9%. Men: Fateh, 41.5%; Hamas, 10.8%; PFLP, 2.2%; Islamic Jihad, 1.7%; PPP, 3.1%; Fida, 0.9%; DF LP, 0.4%. Other Islamic parties, 1.3%; Don't trust anyone, 18.7%; Others, 1.6%; No opinion, 18.2%. Women: Fateh, 36.7%; Hamas, 13.6%; PFLP, 2.3%; Islamic Jihad, 1.2%; PPP, 0.8%; Fida, 0.9%; DF LP, 0.8%; Other Islamic parties, 2.5%; Don't trust anyone, 15.6%; Others, 1.4%; No opinion, 29%. Have you decided whom you are going to vote for in your constituency?: Total: Yes, 64.1%; No, 30.6%; No opinion, 5.3%. West Bank: Yes; 63.1%; No, 30.3%; No opinion, 6.6%. Gaza Strip: Yes; 66%; No, 31.2%; No opinion, 2.8%. Men: Yes; 72.1%; No, 24.6%; No opinion, 3.3%. Women: Yes; 57.1%; No, 36%; No opinion, 6.9%. Fateh: Yes; 77.9%; No, 19.7%; No opinion, 2.4%. Hamas: Yes; 58.1%; No, 37.8%; No opinion, 4.1%. Would you vote for someone who is from outside the party/faction you trust most?: Total: Yes; 59.2%; No, 22.9%; No opinion, 17.9%. West Bank: Yes; 53.1%; No, 24.4%; No opinion, 22.5%. Gaza Strip: Yes; 70.4%; No, 20.1%; No opinion, 9.5%. Men: Yes; 64.4%; No, 21.5%; No opinion, 14.1%. Women: Yes; 54.9%; No, 24.1%; No opinion, 21%. Fateh: Yes; 63.9%; No, 29.6%; No opinion, 6.5%. Hamas: Yes; 62.8%; No, 22.3%; No opinion, 14.9%. [=]
perception that Israel is a natural ally of the United States. To American eyes, Israel, a country founded by Europeans, is the West's cultural bastion in the Arab world. From a distance, Israel looks like a democracy: its citizens vote in free elections. And Israel is perceived as a vital player in the late twentieth century's Great Game between the American and Soviet empires. The Palestinians—their national aspirations, their dispute with Israel over national soil—have rarely entered the U.S.-Israeli equation. The Carter administration, after declaring Jewish settlements in the West Bank illegal, but did nothing about it; and every year the Department of State issues a pro forma condemnation of Israeli human rights practices in the territories occupied since 1967. Sometimes, though, an issue arises to throw the rights of Palestinians into sharp relief and at the same time impact on the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel. In 1986 the State Department intervened after Israeli authorities balked at granting permanent residency status to Muhammad Akhras, a Palestinian-American seeking to remain in his native village. In 1987 State formally protested what it called Israel's "discriminatory treatment" of American tourists in Israel and the Occupied Territories. When American citizens are involved, the American media take notice. The case of Muhammad Akhras won space in major newspapers here, and when Palestinian-American Naval Hamad appeared at an ADC press conference to describe how she and her four children were detained for 12 hours at Ben Gurion International Airport and then put aboard a flight out of the country, NBC Nightly News and ABC World News Tonight covered the story. U.S. News "Quotes of the Week" ran these words of Hamad's: "They said they don't want Palestinians here; we said, 'We're American citizens,' and they said, 'Bull****.' " Israeli immigration authorities defend the "discriminatory treatment" of Palestinian-Americans and Black Americans on two counts. The authorities say they must take steps to ensure that visitors do not overstay their visas: they must see to it that visitors do not, in the words of one Israeli spokesman, "abuse the rules of hospitality." "[U.S. Lodges New Complaint Against Israeli Treatment of Tourists", Washington Post, 7/17/1987]. The authorities also say that some Palestinian-Americans have been inconvenienced by long searches or interrogations, such inconveniences are dictated by security concerns. No one can fault a sovereign nation for guarding against acts of sabotage, but in the case of Israel, security and demography are closely related. Following the close of the first Arab-Israeli War, a war which pushed some 750,000 Palestinian refugees out of the newly created State of Israel, 150,000 Palestinians remained: a distinct Arab minority in a Jewish state. But by the eve of the June 1967 War, fertility had raised the number of Israeli Arabs to more than half a million, and in six days in 1967 Israel placed one million more Palestinians under military rule. "The dowry is so gorgeous, but the bride is so homely," then Prime Minister Levi Eshkol is reported to have said when Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was still new. Twenty years later, Israel's Palestinian bride looks—from a Zionist point of view—homelier than ever. According to Israeli demographers, by the year 2000 the Palestinian population of Mandatory Palestine (Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip) will equal the Jewish population, creating a de facto binational state.

The demographic projections have elicited a variety of responses in Israeli society. In 1987 Israeli Reserve General Rehavam Ze'evi, taking a page from extremist Meir Kahane, went on record with the so-called "transfer solution," suggesting that the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip uproot and resettle in Jordan. Meanwhile, the 1987 annual conference of Zahavi ("Blessed is he," an Israeli association dedicated to fostering large Jewish families, called for Jewish population growth as a shield against the Palestinian demographic time bomb. [Peterz Kidron, "The Demographic Crisis" Middle East International, No. 304, 7/11/1987] And a time bomb it is, threatening to explode the Jewish national principle upon which Israel was founded. That national principle was formalized in 1950, when the Israeli Knesset passed the Law of Return, granting Jews around the world the right to immigrate to Israel. The Law of Return states that a Jew from another country, once arrived in Israel, can choose to immigrate if he "expresses his desire to settle." Thus when an American Jew travels to Israel, overstays his visitor's visa and is in technical violation of Israeli immigration law, the authorities overlook the violation, in keeping with the Law of Return. Indeed, as U.S. officials have pointed out, not only can American Jews become Israeli citizens at the drop of a hat, American Jews can get Israeli government subsidies to live in Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. ["Israel Jails Arab-Born American as Illegal Alien," Los Angeles Times, 7/18/1987] Thus when a Muhammad Akhras, a disabled father of seven, overstays his visa, is then jailed and threatened with deportation, and a Naval Hamad, a bank manager and mother of four, is turned back at Ben Gurion Airport and Israeli immigration authorities say such measures are no different from those taken by other countries. ["Some Arab-American Tourists Charged Harassment by Israel," Washington Post, 7/16/1987] they are not telling the whole story. The measures taken against Akhras, Hamad and others were official responses to the Palestinian demographic threat to the Jewish national principle. From that perspective, Palestinian-American families entering Israel, whatever their stated plans, pose a security threat in the special sense that each is another dash of powder in the demographic time bomb. As one Israeli Foreign Ministry official was quoted as saying: "There are four million Palestinians out there. Just think what would happen if one million of them decided to come home. We cannot allow that. We have a legitimate security concern." [Philadelphia Inquirer, 7/16/1986] The U.S. State Department has limited itself to criticism of the Jewish national principle only when that principle finds expression in Israeli immigration policies which favor some American citizens to the detriment of others. "We've made clear to the Israelis that we are against anything that in our view discriminates on the basis of race, religion or national origin," said a spokesman for the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem. [Ibid] In the summer of 1987 the State Department reported 75 cases since June 1 of that year in which American citizens were harassed at Israeli ports of entry. While the Israelis dismissed the incidents by saying how few they were when compared to the number of uneventful entries into their borders, the Americans were firm. "It's not our practice to raise issues which don't exist," State Department spokesman Charles Redman said. "This is a subject that we've been working on for some time. There have been a number of demarches to the Israeli government over time, and we're going to keep working on it." [Washington Post, 7/17/1987] The American press and nightly news programs were "working on it" included a threat to issue a travel advisory to Palestinian-Americans and Black Americans going to Israel, informing them that they "might experience problems getting in," as one U.S. official explained. [Washington Post, 7/16/1987] As an expression of official displeasure, the threat produced an Israeli pledge to have a senior official from either the Foreign or Tourism Ministries present at Ben Gurion to monitor the screening of American arrivals by Israeli immigration personnel. [Washington Post 7/20/1987]

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ehud Gol promised that any Americans detained in the future would be allowed to make telephone calls and be held under more comfortable conditions than those reported by Americans detained in the past, and that authorities posted at Ben Gurion would maintain closer contact with American officials. [New York Times, 7/20/1987] Israel's promise to adjust its policy sounded like an answer to specific complaints about the treatment of Nawal Hamad in June 1987, and indeed the Nawal Hamad case, which ADC brought to international attention at a press conference held July 16 at the National Office, was the one that made the front pages and the top of the evening news. Hamad, a bank manager from Fairfax City, Va., arrived June 26 at Ben Gurion airport accompanied by eight children—four of her own and four from another family, who were en route to Jordan. After two of Hamad's children passed through immigration, the rest of the party was detained, their passports were taken, and they were told that they would not be allowed to enter the country, according to Hamad's signed affidavit. They were held in a detention area Hamad described as "filthy, overcrowded and cold" and were not allowed telephone calls. Restroom facilities were restricted, according to the affidavit. An American official learned of the incident after one of the children succeeded in passing a note to family members waiting outside. The official, U.S. consular officer Mark Kennon, tried to persuade the Israeli authorities to allow the

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visitors to enter the country. Hamad’s affidavit states that Kennon “was trying to explain [to the Israelis] that they seemed to be a nice enough family, and were not planning on causing any problems.” To no avail: finally, after 12 hours of detention, the visitors were escorted under guard to a departing jet. Kennon’s intervention, unsuccessful though it was, reflected American concerns about previous incidents as well. Kennon told Hamad at the airport that other Americans, including Black Americans, were similarly harassed. In procedure, such leeway for incidents was the rule. In mid-July 1986 the State Department received reports of 75 Americans subjected to “discriminatory treatment” at Israeli ports of entry. Of those 75, 40 were Arab-Americans and 35 were Black Americans, according to the State Department. [Washington Post, 7/17/1987] The Black Americans were said to be suspected of membership in the Black Hebrew sect, a group which claims descent from the Hebrew tribes of the Bible and has sought residence in Israel since the late 1960s. An Israeli court ruled in 1972 that some 1500 Black Hebrews then living in Israel were not Jews and therefore not countenanced by the Law of the Return, [New York Times, 7/13/1987] and in 1984 the Israeli government began expelling some members of the sect. In 1987 some Black Americans were denied entry into Israel, and in two incidents, Israeli immigration authorities demanded bonds of more than $50,000 of Black American groups to ensure that they left the country before their visas expired.

U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering, meeting in Jerusalem with ADC President Abeed Jabara and ADC Legal Services Director Albert Mokhiber on July 13, 1987, said that in the previous six weeks the American Embassy had received two to three reports daily of Americans harassed at Israeli ports of entry, the reports generating more than 50 discussions between Embassy personnel and Israeli authorities. Eight such discussions had taken place at the ministerial level, Pickering said. The Americans reported strip and body cavity searches, damage of personal items during baggage searches, long interrogations and waiting periods, confiscation of passports, posting of excessive cash bonds and in some cases denial of entry. One U.S. diplomat called these measures racist, saying they fit the pattern of abuse shown by Israeli authorities toward Arabs under military occupation. Meanwhile, American Consul Howard Kavaler told ADC that some 50 passports were confiscated—illegally, since American passports are considered U.S. government property. Cash bonds were demanded in about 25 cases, according to Kavaler. In some cases the bonding amounts were up to $3,000 per individual. None of this was new in 1987. Between June 1 and mid-July of the previous year, the U.S. Consulate had received complaints from 96 Palestinian-Americans who said their passports were confiscated by Israeli immigration authorities at Ben Gurion Airport. The Palestinian-Americans were given documents allowing them to reclaim their passports only when they passed through the airport again to exit the country, and in some cases the documents were stamped with visas which did not grant the full three months normally provided by a visitor’s visa. In some cases the Palestinian-Americans were subjected to six- and seven-hour interrogations, or required to post bonds in excess of $2,000. [“Arab-Americans in Israel: New Issue”: New York Times, 7/16/1986] Responding to the complaints, in mid-July 1986 American officials had met with Hanan Bar-On, deputy director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and threatened to issue a travel advisory if the confiscations of passports continued. The seizure of U.S. government property was part of a broader stream of Israeli measures taken against American citizens of Palestinian descent.

These Americans felt justified in arguing that they were being discriminated against because the problems they faced from Israeli immigration authorities were not shared by some of their compatriots—notably American Jews. The problems were acute enough for a group of Palestinian-Americans to direct a letter to the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem in April 1986. The letter carried 150 signatures—and would have carried more, it said, but for the fact that many Palestinian-Americans living in the West Bank were afraid of giving out their names. The 150 signatories stated that they had all had immediate family or relatives living in the West Bank and that, while unable to obtain the hawiyeh (Israeli identity card) granting permanent residency status, they had managed in the past to reside legally in the West Bank by making excursions to neighboring countries, passing back through Israeli ports of entry as a way of renewing their visitor’s visas for the standard three-month period. More recently, however, Israeli immigration authorities had begun granting only one-month and one-week renewals which the Ministry of Interior then refused to extend. The letter went on to say that West Bank residents who had the hawiyeh and travelled abroad also were running into problems. Following the June 1986 incident, the Israeli government had ordered its immigration authorities to regard a visit to neighboring countries as a legal reason for the extension of residency status, and then, called a laissez passer, allowing them to return as legal residents provided they did not stay abroad for longer than a year if they left Israel by Ben Gurion Airport, or three years if they left Israel-occupied territory by the Allenby Bridge over the Jordan. While extensions of the laissez passer were in principle obtainable at Israeli consulates abroad, recently, the letter said, Israeli consulates in the United States had “systematically” refused to grant extensions, so that many Palestinian-Americans who were once legal West Bank residents now found themselves subject to the same official caprice besetting Palestinian-Americans who only had visitor’s visas. U.S. consular officers responded to the letter by complaining to the Israeli Foreign Ministry that it discriminated against Palestinian-Americans. But the Israeli policy showed no perceptible change, so the 150 signatories of the April letter turned up the volume of their protest. Banded together as the Ad Hoc Committee for Palestinian-Americans in the West Bank, they enlisted the help of internationally-known Palestinian jurist Jonathan Kuttab, who took advantage of Vice President George Bush’s official visit to Israel in late July to draft a letter to Bush. The letter was hand delivered by another Palestinian of international repute, Mubarak Awad, founder and director of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Kuttab, noting that American Jews enjoy a “privileged status” in Israel under the Law of Return, outlined the problems faced by Palestinian-Americans and stressed the discriminatory nature of the Israeli policy. “We fully understand Israel’s peculiar security needs and if the measures [taken by Israeli authorities] related to security or ‘terrorist’ activity against Israel or its citizens we would fully accept that,” Kuttab wrote. “However, these measures are aimed against all Palestinian-Americans, including children and older men and women without any pretense for security considerations. In point of fact, not a single non-Jewish American citizen has been involved in any armed or security violation in the West Bank or Gaza Strip in the past.” Later in the summer Kuttab contacted ADC, pointing out that U.S. officials had been known to intervene after American Jews said they were discriminated against in matters of visas, residency and work permits in Saudi Arabia. Kuttab urged ADC to approach the State Department and Congress to get the issue moving. ADC, which had been gathering its own reports from Palestinian-Americans upon their return to the United States and was finding that many had been unaware of their rights as American citizens, concentrated its efforts that summer on what U.S. officials described as a test case for the 7,000 Palestinian-Americans living in the West Bank: the case of Muhammad Akhras. The 150 American citizens who signed the April 1986 letter to the U.S. Consulate said their numbers would have been greater if other Palestinian-Americans living illegally in the West Bank had been willing to make themselves known. Many Palestinian-Americans who had overstayed their visitor’s visas, it was noted, were even afraid of falling under the gaze of Israeli soldiers, who might stop them, demand to see their papers and have them jailed and deported. Not so timorous was Muhammad Akhras, who dared Israeli authorities to jail him and used every means available to him as an American citizen to see that his rights were respected. [\]
West Bank and Gaza is a key element within the overall goal of US assistance to support prospects for peace in the region. In FY 1994, USAID funding levels increased threefold. USAID has accelerated the project design process to ensure that improvements in the lives of Palestinians occur quickly.

USAID SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND MISSION OBJECTIVE (MSOs): The West Bank and Gaza strategy is being updated as a result of increased funding associated with the Declaration of Principles. Strategic objectives and performance indicators will be refined in FY 1994.

1. Broad-Based Economic Growth: Jobs and Infrastructure.
   USAID’s strategy is to improve physical infrastructure and to create private sector jobs because unemployment is at extremely high levels. Private sector capacity to manage, produce and market goods will be strengthened and the climate for local and foreign investment will be enhanced. Support for improved housing and infrastructure through new construction and rehabilitation of existing facilities will generate private sector employment, strengthen policy and planning capacities and support institutional development. By working with Palestinian authorities and nongovernment service providers to improve family health services (which will incorporate family planning efforts), USAID will assist in the transition to an autonomous health care delivery system. The capacity to plan, finance and implement coordinated and sustainable health care services will be strengthened. The West Bank and Gaza program will benefit from regionally funded economic, scientific and technical activities.

   The West Bank and Gaza program has not yet developed a strategy in this area. Plans at this time are to use central resources to assist in efforts to incorporate family planning efforts in the delivery of family health services.

   USAID is assisting the Palestinian people in the transition to self-government by supporting the establishment of democratic administrative and legal systems and strengthening civil society. USAID programs are implemented through local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and private sector groups in these efforts.

   USAID’s strategy focuses on improvements to water, sewage and wastewater treatment systems which will safeguard the environment and reduce illness. Municipal management capabilities will be strengthened to promote the development of environmental services and environmentally sound techniques for future land use planning.

USAID PROGRAM RESULTS: USAID’s strategy is being revised in FY 1994. USAID will not report on performance of the revised strategy until baseline data become available in FY 1995.

1. Broad-Based Economic Growth: Jobs and Infrastructure.
   US private and voluntary organizations (PVOs), working with local counterparts, have assisted local communities with improved water conservation, irrigation, land reclamation, crop diversification and to obtain credit, thereby increasing local incomes. Technical assistance for agricultural and small business entrepreneurs, including graduates of vocational schools, has led to the creation and improved productivity of local small business. USAID health care resources promote primary health care at the community level, including assistance for 4000 mentally and physically challenged or at-risk children in Gaza (implemented by an indigenous PVO), and provide health management and medical training services.

   The strategy has not yet been developed; thus results are not yet available.

   USAID assistance to local nongovernmental organizations helps the Palestinians build a foundation for a participatory, democratic society.

   Financial and technical assistance provided for small-scale water conservation, irrigation, land reclamation, water and waste-water activities have improved the living and working environment for Palestinians by increasing the supply and usage of available water.
teach them the Arabic language, beginning with the alphabet, and Arab Islamic history in English. To keep abreast with standards, the school has 30 computers. The average fee of the school depends on the grade. But for the high school, the fee is $1000 per year. “Although the purpose of the Arab school was to absorb Arab students, we have a few students who have never been to the US. These students come from the European continent. Such a case is Maria Abu Issa, 16 years old. Maria was born in Bucharest, Romania. She lived there for most of her childhood. Two years, she became an orphan. Every day she travels 75 kilometers to come to this American school. It is known that the only American schools available in the West Bank are those in Ramallah’s surroundings and Jerusalem. “I had really learned the English language only when I came to this school. Classes are considered easy. Aside from this, I have self-esteem. As for the school, it has a good education level, and if the student really studies then he will be fit to undertake his university education abroad,” Maria said. Even though Al Urdinia school is considered to be an American school, the name of the school - The JordanianSchool - does not reflect the admission policy. There are Americans, Europeans, and Canadians as well.

Nidal Dies, 17 years old, is a Palestinian Canadian. He is in his senior year. He came from Ontario in 1992. Ever since then he has studied in Al Urdinia school. When he was asked what brought him here, he replied smilingly, “I came here with my mother because she felt that she had to send me to a private school. When I first came here, I was not sure of it. I didn’t know how I would be treated because I’m Christian. I was reluctant, but I was treated nicely and with kindness as if I was a Muslim. On my arrival in this country, I attended the Friends Girls School. But due to the inntadfa, and the difficulty of the English system, the school discontinued the classes of 7th grade and above. Currently, I have a lot of friends here. If you can’t ask for better. It has the Arabic essence in it. The only thing here that would be a disadvantage is the lack of elective courses that they offer. In comparison between the Canadian schools and those here, in Canada, if you’re of Arab origin, you will have a hard time adjusting, unlike here, since there is no stereotype. If I were to study in Canada, I would have to explain, to be yourself, and they do feel free. I’m a councilor in the school because it has many young children and everyone faces problems at home. Many of these kids have either a parent in America, a brother in jail, or they have a hard time coping with the grandparents they are staying with. So the counseling service gives them an opportunity to release their anger. At times we bring in psychologists to speak to the teachers and students to explain how to deal with certain crises or conflicts.” Another American School is Al Jenan School in Beitunia, near Ramallah. The school was built by two Palestinian Americans who returned to Palestine. It was opened only this year and has 300 students from grades 1 through 12. All the students are of American origin except five. Prior to their arrival, some students were studying in the US, Australia, Europe and Latin America. The school has a bus. Fees are $1000 per year, but if there are two brothers or two sisters, then the school discounts 10% for one brother and 20% for the other.

The school follows the Minnesota system. The aim of the school is to prepare students for Arab education close to that followed in the West Bank. It has 7 Arabic lessons for elementary classes per week.

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www.ReferenceCorp/net/downloads
school from Jerusalem every day. “The American school is a good idea, and is considered stronger than that of the Jordanian system. It qualifies you to carry on your studies in the US, and that is what I want.” He added, “What is unique here is the teachers. They are considered as your friends.” To assist the new students, Al Jenan school has four Public Relations Care Centers. Abeer Issam, a Public Relations assistant, explains, “The purpose of the center is to counsel the students who become afraid because it’s their first year in school. There are 24 teachers. The ratio is one to one.” These American and English schools offer the Palestinian Americans an educational system that they feel at home with. They all assist and give counseling to the students in order to adapt culturally, linguistically, and to overcome all the other obstacles confronting the students. Beyond this, these schools offer Islamic teaching in the English language, building within the person the foundation to carry on their lives abroad and at home. [x]

60330. Aboudi, Sami. “Human Rights Group Says Gaza Prisons Improved”, in Reuter Writer Network System, September 20, 1994. The Palestine Authority has improved prison conditions after the death of a prisoner (Farid Jarbou’a) in a Gaza prison in 7/1995. Hanan Ashrawi, head of the Palestinian Independent Committee for Citizens Rights notes that after reports of physical and psychological violence, the prison system has made improvements. Three policemen have been charged in connection with the apparent torture death of Jarbou’a. Assas Younis of the Palestine Human Rights Information Center confirms that conditions have improved, and notes strict orders to prevent mistreatment of prisoners. Yousef El-Haddad of the Solidarity International for Human Rights (SIHR) notes that the Palestinian Authority now uses professional interrogators who have been trained not to use violence. El-Haddad notes that the complaints of violence in prisons have ended. Some 70 Palestinian prisoners are now being held. The Palestinian prisons have established rehabilitation programs for collaborators. [TXT]

60331. Abramovich, Dorit. “Costumes that Kill: Part Two: Part 2”, in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 28. Suna Wawi On October 22, 1989, Suna Wawi, 17, of Bal’a, was walking home from her grandfather’s when she was shot four times: One bullet entered her head; two hit her hand, and one entered her chest. She died immediately. Earlier that day, two cars with West Bank license plates had been seen in the village. The men in the cars wore, galabiyas (traditional Palestinian robes) and were masked.

Suna’s father, Nimer Mahmoud Wawi, immediately filed a complaint with the police, claiming that a mista’arum unit killed his daughter. After a few months, the secret service called Nimer to their office in Tulkarem. Surprisingly, an officer admitted that the shooting of Suna was intentional and was carried out by undercover units. Despite this admission, those responsible were not brought to trial. The father did not pursue the complaint.

Since Suna’s killing, members of the Wawi family have become the target of harassment. For example, Suna’s brother, Ziad Wawi, 22, was declared a “wanted person.” This is apparently a common phenomenon: when a Palestinian is killed in the Territories, a member of his or her family is put on the “wanted person” list. The army explains that the killing of one family member is likely to goad the relatives of the deceased into acts of revenge.

On February 8, 1992, at 2 a.m., thirteen men wearing galabiyas arrived at the Wawi house. They drove up to the house in a Palestinian car. When the father opened the door, he found a pistol pointed at his head. One of the men wore a ribbon around his head with “Hamas” (4) written on it. The mista’arum agents searched every corner of the house for Ziad. When they didn’t find him, one of the men announced, “The moment I find him, I’ll finish him off.” Ziad has not returned home in months.

The method by which families are informed about these deaths is yet another way in which the authorities show their scorn for Palestinians. Suna’s family, for example, learned of her death when it was announced on the radio. This is a very common story. The army makes no effort to inform the families directly. [x]

60332. Abramovich, Dorit. “Costumes that Kill: Part Two: Part 3”, in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 28. Sami Ahmed Hussein Nimri Sami Nimri, 17, was killed in Ramin on December 27, 1991. Around 3:30 p.m., a car with West Bank license plates drove into the village. Witnesses said the men in the car wore galabiyas and some of them were dressed as women. Two bullets were fired at Sami at short range; they hit him in the head and he was killed instantly. At the same moment, the villagers spotted a jeep and a military ambulance behind the Palestinian car, from where the bullets had been fired. One of the villagers shouted, “Careful, Jews!” Additional shots were fired into the crowd. Twenty-eight Palestinians were injured. No complaint was filed. [x]

60333. Abramovich, Dorit. “The Time Is Ripe for Peace: The Israeli Government Isn’t: Interview with Peace Now activist Galia Golan: Part 1”, in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 8. Professor Galia Golan is a lecturer in the Political Science department at the Hebrew University. Concurrently, she is the head of both the department of Soviet Studies, and Women and Gender Studies. She is a central activist in the Peace Now movement and one of the leaders of the Women’s Network for Advancing Peace. She left the Labor Party after its last convention in November and joined Ratz (Citizens’ Rights Movement). Golan was interviewed by Dorit Abramovich in the first week of December. [x]

60334. Abramovich, Dorit. “The Time Is Ripe for Peace: The Israeli Government Isn’t: Interview with Peace Now activist Galia Golan: Part 2”, in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 8. Q. Why did you leave the Labor Party? A: What bothered me was that Labor fails to lead the opposition, because most of the time it is occupied with the internal strife between Peres and Rabin. In my opinion, the Labor Party has not come to terms with the fact that it is an opposition party. In addition, the internal party controversy surrounding their platform was somewhat unrealistic. Laborated as if they were in a position to conduct peace negotiations. They were discussing the issue of whether or not to talk solely with Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, while the Likud was sitting with the P.L.O. in Madrid. To me, the discussions seemed irrelevant and certainly promised no alternative to present government policy.

Q: At the party convention, Labor took a policy decision stating it was ready to compromise on the Golan Heights. Wasn’t this an important decision? A: I left that meeting after four hours of discussion, before they even began to discuss the Golan. The discussion started with subjects such as where Israeli sovereignty would be imposed— matters which were ludicrous and unrealistic. Eventually they found a compromise position, but the result is a platform full of contradictions. One sentence speaks of the national rights of the Palestinian people—a serious achievement—and several sentences later, there is opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state. So what game is being played? All these changes don’t alter anything in the party, with its hawkish majority and leadership. These are compromises which aimed to avoid a split with the doves—something which was apparently in the works.

Q: Surveys show that Israeli public opinion is increasingly inclined to support relinquishing territories and negotiating with the P.L.O. Why is this not expressed in election results? A: It is clear that a large majority of Israelis favors exchanging land for peace. There is a small majority in favor of a territorial compromise even within the Likud secretariat. It is true that public opinion has changed during the last several years. I think that it is a result of the Intifada, the Skuds and the economic situation. The trouble is that people do not vote according to issues. A large portion of the public truly believes in the Likud slogan, that “only the Likud” can bring an agreement which meets Israeli needs. People don’t trust the Labor Party. I think this issue will play a role in the coming elections. Therefore, I want to see a new bloc that will present some kind of
alternative.[=]

60335. Abramovich, Dorit. "The Time Is Ripe for Peace: The Israeli Government Isn't: Interview with Peace Now activist Galia Golan: Part 3", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 8. Q: There is a problem here. A Leftist list is being organized that will be comprised of Ratz, Shinui, and Mapam. Why not also include predominantly Arab parties like the Communist Party or the Progressive List for Peace?

A: This is a matter of Zionist ideology. The same problem exists for Peace Now, which defines itself as a Zionist movement, and for the Women's Network for the Advancement of Peace, but to a lesser extent. There are Israeli Palestinian women in the Network, and Peace Now has undertaken joint activities with Israeli Arabs. But Peace Now does not recruit Arab members. Most Israeli Arabs enter the political arena via non-Zionist parties. As for Peace Now and its constituency, we have always regarded ourselves as an Israeli movement. It is no secret that we are not a movement whose aim is to advocates a Palestinian state; we are not a movement for Palestinian rights. We arose as a movement which seeks a solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict, which wants peace for Israel.

Personally, I think that there will not be peace without the realization of Palestinian self-determination. Israel has not only become increasingly involved in dialogue with Palestinians, but also in everything relating to the infringement of their rights and issues such as land expropriation. But we have done such things as Israelis and as Zionists.

Q: Why, among the Left, was there no forthright discussion of the expropriation of Arab land—or even of the expulsion of a whole village, such as in the case of Ramyah?

A: I do not have an answer to this. I believe in human rights and I don't want to see discrimination against either side. But I must admit that I really didn't pay attention to these issues, and I didn't take into consideration what was happening in the country. What interested me was the issue of immigrants settling in the territories. In Peace Now, we tried to get the immigrants to side with us on this issue.

Q: Do you accept the prediction that most immigrants will support the Likud?

A: We don't know what will happen in the elections. It is projected that there will be a slight lean to the Right. But I think that this immigration could move us towards peace, especially due to the difficulties that have been encountered during their absorption. When there is unemployment at a rate of 11-12%, no housing, and masses of people arriving, it is economically impossible to continue the settlements in the territories. I think that people understand this, and this is why the settlements are simply not popular in the surveys.

On the ideological level, the subject of immigration brings us back to the issue of Zionism. Zionism is based on two elements: land and the ingathering of the exiles. We, on the Left, have reached the conclusion that we must forgo one or the other. I believe that is possible to absorb the immigrants without taking work, land or housing from people who are already there. But because Arik Sharon is the only one planning and building in the territories, this isn't being accomplished—although available land does exist.[=]


A: There are two factors which can influence Shamir. The first is the mood in the country. During the Intifada, people felt that their individual security was in danger, and their feeling of insecurity worsened with the Skud missiles during the Gulf War. The economic situation is also important.

The second factor is external. I pray every day that the US will continue to pressure us, even more pressure that it has done in the past. I am extremely worried that Bush's popularity will decline. For a long time, my biggest worry has been that Bush will just abandon this whole business. I have no doubt that US pressure is the only thing that can keep everyone around the conference table.

Q: How do you assess the United States role in keeping the P.L.O. out of the negotiations?

A: It is clear to everyone that the P.L.O. is present behind the scenes. The Palestinians were correct in saying that they would not go to Washington if they were not given direct contact with Tunis and entrance Permits for delegation members. I hope and believe that this stance will bring about a solution.

Q: Can you describe your picture of the desirable solution?

A: Personally, I am more than willing to give back the territories. I think that it is possible to find solutions to the problem of Jerusalem. I can live without East Jerusalem, on condition that there is peace. I am not disturbed by the idea of a Palestinian State.

Q: What about a state with an army?

A: I find it difficult to believe that we will reach an agreement without demilitarization. I'm also worried. I don't believe that the peace will be based on mutual love, neither from their side, nor from ours. Like the peace with Egypt, there will have to be all kinds of demilitarization and international agreements. The Palestinians also know and accept this. Maybe some day we will be in a position where this is no longer needed.

Q: What is your opinion of the autonomy plan?

A: I don't believe in autonomy, but if the Palestinians can accept the idea-well and good. It would simply be a concession which they were willing to make to the Israeli government. The Palestinians will need to make with self-government or autonomy, if nothing more can be achieved through our present government—but only on condition that this be a temporary arrangement.[=]


A: I hope that we can solve this in the spirit of Nabil Sha'ath, the P.L.O. representative in Cairo. He suggested that we recognize their right, but that the realization of this right would be limited. Palestinians would have the right to return to their state, and we would have the right to return to ours. Realistically, it is clear that it would be impossible to absorb three million Palestinians within the state of Israel, and they would also not be obliged to absorb 200,000 Israelis or more. Basically, the interests of the two peoples are at odds on this issue, but I am not ready to relinquish the State of Israel. I hope a compromise solution can be found. Today, for the first time, it is possible to reach an compromise, and this is the best thing that came out of 1967. There is something to talk about, and the Palestinians are ready to compromise and take the little that is better than nothing.

Q: How would you describe the place of the Israeli woman in relation to the peace process?

A: Most women in Israel are not active at all. Since the beginning of the Intifada, a minority of women have become very active. But for the most part, this activity has not reached the general female public.

When we established the Network, our objective was to reach Palestinian women, but a second aim was to reach Israeli women as well. We organized house meetings for women only, and we saw that, contrary to what we expected, many women are interested in the issues and possess considerable understanding of the situation. These questions concern their lives and families in the same way they concern men. These women have found their voice. It is true that they come from a class with a certain amount of education. I think there is a socio-economic reason to explain why other classes do not identify with such causes. We certainly do not insist that the leadership of these organizations be solely academic or solely Ashkenazi.

Q: Are you optimistic about the outcome of the peace talks?

A: I participated in a conference which took place in Moscow at the same time as the Madrid Conference. A member of the Palestinian delegation described the political situation in Israel thus: "In Israel there are optimists and pessimists. The pessimists are those who are afraid
that nothing will come of Madrid. The optimists are those who hope that nothing will come of it." That is exactly the case. I would be optimistic if we had a different delegation. I think that most of the nation wants things to move. If any regime comes up with a real solution, it will be accepted—even if this solution is a Palestinian state. It is possible to convince anyone of anything.

We do not find ourselves in the situation we have wanted all these years. The Arabs are willing to sit with us. The tragedy is that we do not have a government which will seize the moment.[=]

60338. Abramovitch, Dorit. "A Blatant Disregard for Human Life: Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights Condemn Denial of Medical Treatment Under Curfew: Part 1," in Challenge, March-April, 1991. p. 24. One of the few attempts to combat the effects of the curfew in the Occupied Territories took place February 20, when the Association of Israeli Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights (AIPPHR) delivered half a ton of baby food to needy families in the West Bank city of Nablus. As usual for such endeavors, the doctors encountered numerous problems from Israeli soldiers in the area. At the Tulkarm checkpoint, on the Green Line dividing Israel and the Occupied Territories, soldiers delayed the truck of food for over one hour. The commander informed the doctors that they were forbidden to bring food to residents of the territories, adding that there was no need to do so since Palestinians had plenty to eat. The doctors managed to reach Nablus by taking a circuitous route around the checkpoint, and began distributing the food in the Nablus casbah and in nearby Balata refugee camp. Again soldiers intervened, this time in a hostile manner. A number of foreign journalists accompanying the doctors were detained for several hours, and a visiting British parliamentarian was harassed. Despite these difficulties, the distribution proceeded as planned.

Since the curfew began, AIPPHR has acted to oppose the written and unwritten rules that the Civil Administration has implemented in the Occupied Territories. Chief among the association's concerns is that sick persons have been denied proper medical treatment because they are unable to reach hospitals in East Jerusalem. Those most affected are seriously ill patients, whose condition is such that the health system in the rest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is inadequate. To reach any of the East Jerusalem hospitals, they are required to obtain a special hospitalization permit from the Civil Administration, a time-consuming process which may or may not be successful, depending on the arbitrary decisions of the officials involved.

The Civil Administration has also ordered hospitals in the Occupied Territories to cut back their staff during the curfew. As a result, at most medical centers only 30 percent of employees have been reporting for work, and this in a time of emergency, when the medical situation is very difficult, because the curfew prevents family members from going to work. In January 1991, the number of deaths at al-Maqassed hospital in East Jerusalem doubled. During the month of January, February and March, Hanoun did not receive medical treatment. The cost of the treatment, along with the prohibition on leaving his house, prevented Hanoun from being treated. In March, Hanoun lost his voice. The cancer spread, and he has since suffered from severe pain in the throat. Hanoun was unable to pay for medical treatment. Like most of the inhabitants of the town, his economic situation is very difficult, because the curfew prevents family members from going to work. In January 1991, the number of deaths at al-Maqassed hospital in East Jerusalem doubled. During the month of January, 44 deaths were recorded at the hospital, compared to 22 during December 1990. Turaya Sneineh, age 58, a resident of Hebron, suffered from diabetes. On January 13, 1991 she suffered a stroke and lost consciousness. The telephone in Turaya's house was disconnected because of the curfew, so her sister-in-law was unable to contact Turaya's sons and ask for their help. For three days Turaya remained unconscious. On January 16, 1991, three days after her stroke, Turaya was taken to Maqassed. One day later, she died. The cause of death: a cerebral hemorrhage complicated by diabetes. No one needs to provide medical treatment, the continuing ban on going out to work and the resultant hunger and undernourishment, the failure to distribute gas to residents of the territories, adding that there was no need to do so since Palestinians had plenty to eat. The doctors managed to reach Nablus by taking a circuitous route around the checkpoint, and began distributing the food in the Nablus casbah and in nearby Balata refugee camp. Again soldiers intervened, this time in a hostile manner. A number of foreign journalists accompanying the doctors were detained for several hours, and a visiting British parliamentarian was harassed. Despite these difficulties, the distribution proceeded as planned.

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60339. Abramovitch, Dorit. "A Blatant Disregard for Human Life: Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights Condemn Denial of Medical Treatment Under Curfew: Part 2," in Challenge, March-April, 1991. p. 24. Established in February 1988, AIPPHR has as its main goal the struggle against the Israeli government's actions in the Occupied Territories, especially in the medical sphere. The failure to develop a medical infrastructure in the Occupied Territories and the policies of the Civil Administration, which have placed severe limitations on the rights of sick persons there, make it imperative for the association to act to redress the situation. AIPPHR works on behalf of prisoners denied proper medical treatment, defends medical personnel harassed by the governmental violations of Palestinians' medical rights. Its published reports detail a consistent policy of underdeveloping the health apparatus in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Unlike others in the Israeli left, members of the association have not lost their sense of mission since the Gulf war began. As one put it, "We advocate a struggle against human rights violations in the Occupied Territories. Precisely during wartime, it is most important that we continue this work.

Dorit Abramovitch is director of the Association of Israeli Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights. Translation: Elana Wesley.[=]

60340. Abramovitch, Dorit. "Soldiers as Victims, Infants as Aggressors: Actions for Palestinian Human Rights Explode Israeli Myths: Part 1," in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 28. The son of Mohammad Moussa from the town of Anabta died at the beginning of March. At the time, there was a curfew in the town. A week before the 3-week-old infant died, Mohammad noticed that his son was dehydrated and had been losing weight. He went outside and asked the soldiers for permission to take his son to the town doctor. The soldiers refused. In the first three months of 1991, there were 74 days of curfew in Anabta. For 74 days, Anabta residents were not allowed to leave their homes. For 74 days, they lived on flour, olive oil and thyme. Throughout the visit of the delegation of the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights to Anabta, serious complaints were heard about the behavior of the soldiers during the curfew. The soldiers had clear orders.

Anyone who stepped outside his house, anyone who went out onto his own roof, was considered to be violating the curfew. The punishment for violating the curfew is well known to all. Mohammad Abdel Karim Hanoun, age 70, suffers from lung cancer. Once a month, Hanoun was unable to pay for medical treatment because he cannot move. If any regime comes up with a real solution, it will be considered to be violating the curfew. The punishment for violating the curfew is well known to all. Mohammad Abdel Karim Hanoun, age 70, suffers from lung cancer. Once a month, Hanoun was unable to pay for medical treatment because he is unable to reach hospitals in East Jerusalem. The telephone in Turaya's house was disconnected because of the curfew, so her sister-in-law was unable to contact Turaya's sons and ask for their help. For three days Turaya remained unconscious. On January 16, 1991, three days after her stroke, Turaya was taken to Maqassed. One day later, she died. The cause of death: a cerebral hemorrhage complicated by diabetes. No one needs to provide medical treatment, the continuing ban on going out to work and the resultant hunger and undernourishment, the failure to distribute gas to most of the population—all testify to the Israeli government's complete disregard for the life and health of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The association also filed an appeal with the Supreme Court of Justice demanding immediate suspension of the pertinent Civil Administration regulations, and calling on the army to order soldiers at checkpoints to give preference to any vehicle or ambulance carrying sick or injured persons.[=]
of all responsibility. These words give every soldier absolute freedom of action. The soldier who refused to allow Mohammad Moussa to take his son to the doctor is considered innocent of any wrongdoing. He is thought to be defending the security of Israeli citizens. He is the heroic soldier we learn about in schools and universities. He is the soldier-hero around which the Zionist myth is built. He has no first name, only his national surname, this “Israeli soldier hero.” So it is not by chance that activity for human rights in the Occupied Territories entails the shattering of fundamental myths. To regard the Palestinian as the victim of the Israeli government would conflict with the perception of the Jew/Israeli as the victim. In the Israeli conceptual separation between aggressor and victim, between strong and weak, the Palestinian is regarded as part of the world which threatens Israel and wants to annihilate it. The Palestinian is perceived as constituting both an individual and a collective threat to every Jew. This is the myth upon which Israeli aggression is built and upon which legitimation of the occupation is based. The Israeli who has been brought up to feel threatened has become transformed from hero to oppressor. The struggle against the government authorities that violate Palestinian rights is thus also a struggle to shatter Israeli myths and change Israeli perceptions. Assistance to the Palestinian who lives under Israeli occupation contradicts the perception that the Israeli is the victim, since here the Israeli conqueror is the one who possesses the power to deny life and freedom to the conquered. For those active in fighting for the rights of Palestinians, the soldier has become transformed from hero to oppressor. The struggle against the government authorities that violate Palestinian rights is thus also a struggle to shatter Israeli myths and change Israeli perceptions.

Translation: Elana and David Wesley Dorit Abramovitch is executive director of the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights.[=]

60342. Abramovitch, Dorit. “The Impact of a Rubber Bullet”, in Challenge, September-October, 1991, p. 21. Samar Abu-Sa’ad, nine years old, was shot by soldiers on Wednesday, August 7, 1991 at 1:00 A.M. A resident of the Anata refugee camp, Samar was returning from his uncle’s house, holding a pita stuffed with falafel. Samar’s mother, Aida Ahmed Abu-Sa’ad remembers that four soldiers were patrolling in a jeep. According to her, even though no demonstrations were occurring in the area, one of the four soldiers fired a rubber bullet at Samar from their jeep 20 meters away. The bullet hit Samar in the left side of his throat and continued through his left lung before lodging in his stomach. The rubber bullet, as it is called by the Army, is a round metal projectile covered by a thin rubber coating. Its round structure enables it to penetrate more deeply than other bullets. Samar’s severe injuries were apparently caused both by the force of the blast and by the position of the jeep, at a location higher than the victim. After the shooting, the soldiers sealed the area for 15 minutes, and then drove off, leaving Samar there, bleeding. Samar received first-aid at the camp clinic and was brought to El-Mokassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. The treating physician preferred to leave the bullet in his stomach, as an operation could endanger him further.

We visited him on Sunday, four days after the shooting. Samar was lying in bed, unconscious. According to the doctor, his condition had worsened the day before, as a result of severe bleeding in his left lung. Samar’s face contorted with pain; sweat dripped from his wound. His mother pointed sadly to her son’s right-hand. As a result of a birth defect, Samar’s right hand is without fingers: “They can’t even accuse him of throwing stones,” she said. One of her sons, fifteen years old, works in Machane Yehudah market in West Jerusalem. “It’s lucky that he works there,” said the mother, “at least that way they can’t shoot him.” The IDF responded to a complaint filed by MP Dedi Zucker of B’tselem in the standard manner—“the IDF is investigating the case.” Translation: Yochanan Lorwin [=]


7. Faeq Wared, 74, from Ramallah. Member of the PNC and the PLO Central Committee. Former head of the Palestinian Communist Party. Expelled in 1967.


17. Naim Ashab, 60, from Jerusalem. Member of the Political Office of the People’s Party. Member of the PNC and PLO Central Committee. Expelled in 1973.


Expelled in 1975.


30. Badi’ Yaziji, from Gaza. Expelled in 1972. [=]
Mixing sexes can also incite a sexual lust and tempt both sexes to commit adultery and fornication resulting in the loss of purity and chastity. It has been proven that one of the most obvious results of mixing sexes in Western societies is that they drown in a pool of sexual permissiveness. Western psychologists and social workers recommended mixing sexes to control the sexual instinct. The result was that emotions were set afame. There are also educational considerations that confirm the necessity of feminizing the role of the man by placing him in the position of a female teacher.

-There are some subjects in the curriculum that concern only girls. A female teacher can do a much better job in explaining these things to girls than a male teacher who feels shy and embarrassed. -The nature of the male teacher's role is limited by his being a human being. He is also an educator who plants values in the souls of his students. Women's psychological and emotional nature is similar to men, but a female teacher has always been more capable of understanding the problems of the girl students and will work to solve them. -One of the principles of a good education is that there is a real friendship between teachers and students. This might push teachers to tutor their students privately outside the classrooms. This would be difficult to accomplish if teachers were men and students were girls because the relationship between men and women is restricted by the traditions and values of our society. Therefore, it is more appropriate for female teachers to teach girls and be there friends. As for the humanistic aspect, freedom is an essential part of the life of an individual. Everyone has the right to choose where to be. Muslim women do not feel comfortable in the presence of men; therefore, this situation would be forced on them and then they would no longer be free. This can be seen with female teachers. For example, when a male teacher enters the room while they are talking about issues that only concern women, they are obliged to change the subject. This intrusion of men becomes a source of annoyance to them, and they do not feel comfortable. The humanistic aspect requires taking men's manhood into consideration and his superiority over women. This is what a male teacher who teaches in a girls' school lacks, since his female boss is directing and giving him orders. This does not fit with the principle of male superiority. It is obvious that there are good and strong reasons that make feminizing girls' schools at all levels so important. This is not a religious demand alone but an essential educational, humanistic and moral imperative that will raise the standards of education in our schools. [-]

60345. Abu Hikma, Hakima. “Shin Bet Interrogation: One Woman's Testimony: Part 1”, in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 11. Hakima Abu Hikma, 38, a social worker from al-Bireh, was arrested on September 18, 1990. She spent five months in detention at the Russian Compound in Jerusalem, during which she was held for 20 days in the solitary confinement cell of the Shin Bet. She was tried on March 13, 1991, and released the same day. Following is an account of her experience based on testimony she gave to Women For Women Political Prisoners-Jerusalem after her release. I am a special education teacher at the Swedish Institute (East Jerusalem and Gaza). On September 18, 1990, in the evening, about 18 soldiers arrived at my house and arrested me. At about 1:00 a.m., after I had waited for three hours on the steps of the Civil Administration in Ramallah, I was taken to the Russian Compound. I was examined by a doctor, and, in answer to his question, I told him that I had no health problems. At the time I weighed about 67 kilos. After four hours of investigation concerning my personal details and history, a policeman took me to a solitary cell and said, Welcome to the palace. The cell was filthy, with piles of rotten food scraps, it stank and swarmed with bugs. The stench was so unbearable that I couldn't put anything in my mouth. Drinking water was provided in a used juice bottle which was so dirty, I didn't dare drink from it. The blanket stank. Because of fear of skin diseases, I used it only for leaning against the wall. The entire time I was in the solitary cells, I sat in a squatting position, and now I suffer from pains and swelling in my feet. I was interrogated every day for an average of six to eight hours, sometimes during the day, sometimes at night. The longest interrogation lasted 12 hours. Sometimes they took me out for interrogation three or five times a day. Once they put me in the cellphone. There is one door, and behind it another door which opens into a cell about 75 x 75 cm. in size, very high, smelly and dark. When I leaned on the wall, I realized it was wet, so I sat there in a squatting position (it was impossible to stretch out your legs). I was there for 12 hours, without receiving any food or water. Every time they took me out for interrogation, they put a bag over my head, so I wouldn't see where they were taking me. I was put into the “closet” one more time, and I remained without water for 16 hours straight. During the interrogation, I was moved through all the solitary cells, and they were all filthy, it seemed to be deliberate. Once I called the interrogator and asked him to smell the place, and I requested permission to clean it. He allowed me to clean it, but afterwards I was called to an interrogation and was returned to a different cell, as dirty as the first.[=-]

60346. Abu Hikma, Hakima. “Shin Bet Interrogation: One Woman's Testimony: Part 2”, in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 11. During the first 14 days of the interrogation, I could neither drink nor eat anything. Within 16 days I lost 18 kilos and weighed 49 kilos. On the 14th day of the interrogation, I didn't feel well, I was so weak I couldn't walk, I couldn't hear well, and when I tried to speak, no voice came out. The interrogator sent me to the infirmary of the prison, and when I was examined, it turned out that my blood pressure had dropped to 60/80 and it was difficult to find my pulse. The medic called a doctor from Hadassah hospital and asked why I wasn't eating and drinking. I told him it was because they brought the water in filthy bottles and the food was so foul that I was afraid it would make me sick. I sat opposite me and said that he wouldn't move until I drank 10 glasses of water in front of him. Every half hour they took my blood pressure, until my pulse revived. After that, they took me to the interrogations without a bag over my head, because I couldn't breathe with it on. After I had drunk, the doctor gave permission for me to return to the interrogation room. The investigator asked me a few questions, and left me alone in the room with the air conditioning on. I was wearing only sandals, and I felt as though my feet were frozen. During all this time, they did not allow me to shower or change underwear. I began menstruating and, at my request, the medic sent me some cotton wool. When I said that this wasn't sufficient, he sent me some sanitary napkins in its place. I washed my underpants in water from the drinking bottle. Since I never knew when they might take me out for an interrogation, I did this quickly and put the underpants back on. Later, when I was transferred to an ordinary cell, I stopped getting my menstrual periods, maybe because of my drastic weight loss. After they examined me in the hospital, they gave me medication for restoring my periods. During the interrogation, they tried to accuse me of distributing PLO money to families of prisoners, together with a man who had incriminated me in his confession. I denied it. I explained that it was correct that I gave things to the needy, but it was family money given to poor families. I explained that it was charity, which was obligatory for Muslims. I am religious and, during the interrogations, they did not remove my head covering. Once they threatened me that they would bring someone who would rape me. I said to them, these threats were deliberate. Once I called the interrogator and asked him to smell the place, and I requested permission to clean it. He allowed me to clean it, but afterwards I was called to an interrogation and was returned to a different cell, as dirty as the first.[=-]
(I already weigh about 56 kilos), and today I returned to work for the first time. From the February-March report of WOFP-Jerusalem.[4]

60348. Abu Laila, Aiman. "Features: Basic Services Lacking," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 22, 1995, p. 7. The village of Tabeh Sheikh Hamoudeh, (population around 5000) lies in an old Palestinian area to the northeast of Khan Yunis. Its name is derived from the seaside trip of Sheikh Hamoudeh, one of the villagers. It is considered to be part of Qararah village, which lies to the east. As well as lacking any kind of essential services, the villagers also suffer from daily harassment by the Israeli soldiers who are still to be found in their military posts on the borders of the area--despite the signing of the peace accords. The village has a total lack of any educational, health or social services. There is no electricity, while the nearby military posts and Kosofim settlement have access to electric lines. As for the villagers, they even use car batteries to operate lighting systems in their homes during celebrations. Despite the advent of the Palestinian National Authority, the Israeli soldiers prohibited the villagers from collecting water from the nearby wells, and now, they have to walk about three kilometers to fetch it. Umm Abed Thaher, age fifty, said that they can barely find drinkable water. "I’m ashamed to offer our guests tea, fearing that they will refuse because the water is so salty," she said. The roads are unpaved, and the children must walk six kilometers to get to school in Khan Yunis. There are no nursery schools, and no clinics, let alone a hospital. Settler road leads to trouble: In 1988, the Israeli army built a military road to connect the settlements of Gush Qatif and Kosofim, appropriating in the process the land of four Palestinian families. Ostensibly to prevent the settlers' cars from being stoned, the road ends in a military checkpoint to the east of Kosofim. Soldiers leave the checkpoint regularly to harass the villagers. Masa’ad Samiri, a student, said that they often came to the village to check identities and would often arrest people. He said that the soldiers set up road blocks at night, and have even demolished three houses in the village, claiming that they were built without a license.

The road is frequently closed by the Israelis, perhaps for a Jewish holiday or for fear of some attack. This forces taxi drivers to take alternative and difficult routes, with the added annoyance that their cars are likely to be stopped and searched by the military. Even salesmen visiting the village must surrender their identity cards until they have left the area. One villager told of other unhappy incidents in the village’s history. In 1993, the settlers kidnapped Muhammed Abu Haddaf and beat and abandoned him inside the “green line.” In another incident, a pregnant woman who went into labor in the early morning hours had to be taken by car to the military post so that the only telephone in the area could be used to call an ambulance to take her to the hospital. A few months after the signing of the Oslo Agreement, the soldiers uprooted scores of olive and orange trees belonging to the villagers. Despite the signing of the peace treaty, the soldiers still enter the area even though it is now under the Palestinian National Authority’s rule. The whole area has been surrounded by more checkpoints, suffocating the village. Student Yasser Abu Sleisal, age twenty-two, reported that students, including women, were often turned back at the checkpoints. The humiliating searches often ended with the people being told to raise their hands and face the wall. The Israeli army frequently prohibits the entrance of any Palestinian military patrol, even policemen in uniform. The only patrol allowed to enter is the joint Palestinian/Israeli patrol. The respond to the question, because the last time I spoke out about the killing of collaborators, I was accused - by the same Yizhar Be’er - of abhorrent. Contrary to the assumption of the questioner, I believe that the torture attacks were not raised at the conference. At the time, I hesitated to inquire why the conference signed of the peace treaty, the soldiers still enter the area even though it Israel (sponsored by the Association of Israeli-Palestine Physicians for Peace, so do not let us say good-bye to UNRWA. [5]

60350. Abu Shakrah, Jan. "A Point of View by Jan Abu Shakrah: A Palestinian Woman On the Journalists Who Worry About ‘What They Do to Each Other’", in Al-Fajir Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly, June 21, 1993, p. 16. In the last few minutes of last week's conference on torture in Israel (sponsored by the Association of Israeli-Palestine Physicians for Human Rights and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel), an Israeli journalist raised a predictable question about why the conference had focused only on Israeli torture of Palestinians and not on the brutal torture Palestinians inflict on their own. He cited, with a notable degree of self-satisfaction, photos shown him by Yizhar Be’er (director of B’Tselem) of mutilated victims of “Palestinian torture,” and queried why such tortures were not raised at the conference. At the time, I hesitated to respond to the question, because the last time I spoke out about the killing of collaborators, I was accused - by the same Yizhar Be’er - of expressing sympathy with murderers. But it bothers me that such a called intervention essentially went unanswered, except for a polite response by Neve Gordon, director of AIPPHR, noting that the topic of the conference was, after all, torture in Israel and assuring the questioner that the conference organizers of course considered torture by anyone abhorrent. Contrary to the assumption of the questioner, I believe that such tortures were very much on the agenda of the conference, but remained very largely unarticulated by both Israeli and Palestinian participants, and for very good reasons. The conference was not a therapy session, although it perhaps had some therapeutic effect, nor was it a court of recriminations, although responsible officials, medical
professionals and others participating in or acquiescing to torture were very clearly identified. The question of what is to be done to prevent torture and to heal its victims was repeatedly raised and perhaps could be said to be the governing question of the conference. At least in the workshop on rehabilitation, in which I participated, the concern for domestic violence and the brutalizing effects of institutionalized violence on Palestinians was specifically addressed. It seems to me, however, that the refrain, "But look at what they do to each other," calls for more response than an assurance that "Of course, we are concerned." [=]

60351. Abu Shakrah, Jan. "A Point of View by Jan Abu Shakrah: A Response to the Journalist Who Worries About 'What They Do to Each Other,' Part 2," in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly. June 21, 1993. p. 16. I am outraged and appalled, dear journalist, that you take such smug delight in purveying the horrors of mutilated bodies. I am disgusted that not only Israeli officials - who inflict daily, dehumanizing torture and humiliation on Palestinians - but also human rights activists engage in what can only be described as occupational pornography. And I am angry at myself, at Palestinians, and at Israelis who know better, who silently acquiesce to such orgies of perversity and sadism. Do you derive a kind of Mengelian satisfaction from discovering, after the experiment of 26 years of dehumanizing occupation, that, "Ah-ha, we treated them like animals and now, look, they're acting like animals?" And what, may I ask, would lead you to believe that Palestinians would want to share with you the agonies of their own devastated society and personalities? What can you - who planted collaborators in our midst and taught us torture - possibly offer us in return?

The organizers of the conference, I believe, did offer something worthwhile. They offered an opportunity to consider how to prevent torture and how to rehabilitate its victims. While I appreciate the intelligence and care with which Israelis are looking for legal guarantees and sanctions and the honest attempt to reform their own system, I respectfully submit that the system which imprisons Palestinians for their opposition to the occupation and which legitimizes their continued subjugation and humiliation is beyond reform. Removing the tools of dehumanization is a necessary step toward restoring humanity. There are other roles Israelis can play in this work of restitution. I believe the offers of assistance from mental health professionals attending the conference were genuine and that such partnerships in healing can have less than those of closed ones. Problems in closed societies are a result of doubts, skepticism and lack of confidence. Democracy needs cooperation between women and men. The state that we are after offers of assistance from mental health professionals attending the conference were genuine and that such partnerships in healing can have less than those of closed ones. Problems in closed societies are a result of doubts, skepticism and lack of confidence. Democracy needs cooperation between women and men. The state that we are after...

60352. Abu Shakrah, Asaad. "Two Views From the Islamic University: Feminization of Schools (Opposing View)," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times. May 5, 1995, p. 5. The Palestinian National Authority's recent decision to "feminize" the girls' schools in the Gaza Strip was intended to suit Palestinian tradition. Under this decision, all men are to be excluded from female society in the field of education. I admit that I am unfamiliar with the details of this decision and the reasons behind it. Nonetheless, I feel compelled to comment. Since when did our traditions prohibit men from teaching women? Palestinian society has never prevented men from teaching female students in the past. If we take a cursory look at the history of Palestinian education, we will find that men have played a significant role teaching women in schools or universities. What problem will this decision solve? What problems might be complicated? We are living in a transitional period and we need to think deeply before taking any decision before it's too late and we regret it. We are now in the stage of building a healthy society that needs good relations between men and women. This does not require an oppressive separation of the sexes. The annoying thing about this decision is that it was made in haste and could create turmoil at all levels as it arouses many questions and concerns. Will this decision apply to governmental offices? Will women have to deal only with women in the society and will the separation include workers in hospitals, police stations, universities and public transport? Will there be a directive to prohibit women from riding the same buses as men? Is it fair from the economic point of view at least? Are we approaching a stage where we can call a "social divorce."

60353. Abu Shusheh, Khayriyeh, "Painful Memories of a Palestinian Woman," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times. February 3, 1995. p. 5. On 12/29/1947, a couple of days before the new year, 47 years ago, a bomb exploded at the Damascus Gate entrance to Jerusalem's Old City. The burst mixed with the oranges to create one horrendous balloon, a horrifying image that can be seen in Walid Khalidi's book, "Before the Diaspora," which contains photos painful for many. One of the women to be hit by some of the shards from the bomb is from the Ayyad family and she lived to tell us her story. Um Sami Ayyad, from the village of Abu Dis near Jerusalem, said, "I was going to the market that day with my two sisters, Fatima, 19, and Ruqiyah, 6, and after shopping, we went to the bus stop. As we stood waiting, a car came by and stopped, and a young man wearing a dark blue jacket got out of the car, put two barrels on the ground, and then jumped back in the car, which sped off. All of a sudden the two barrels exploded, and from the strength of the explosion, I felt that I had lost my hearing. "I looked at my sisters, and Ruqiyah was on the ground. I thought I was not hurt, but Ruqiyah was. I then went to see Fatima, who asked me to get her some water, so I searched around and put it on her lips. After that, her body stopped moving. "I returned to Ruqiyah, she was standing up and then she fell. I did not know what to do, and thought that she too had died. I started to search my body, and found that my hand had gone into my chest due to the injury. But from the shock, I did not realize that I was injured. "I saw a young man whose...
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body was cut in half, his head on one side and his body on the other. I
took the head and put it next to the body so that his parents could identify
their son. I don't know how I did that, but I started to get gray hairs from
that moment on. "I began searching the area, and found that oranges
were mixed with body parts, even the donkeys had disappeared. I started
calling out for help and a policeman came and carried my sister Ruqiyah
who had been hit in the stomach. She lived until 1988, but my sister
Fatima was hit in her heart and she died immediately. I went through a
tobacco which used to be in the Russian Compound." Um Sami
remembers that incident as if it happened just a few days ago and still
bears the scars on her body.

The incident is commemorated every December in the press.
In 1986, Um Sami saw a newspaper which published a photo with a
caption: "A Palestinian policeman carrying a little girl who died in the
bombing incident." In fact, that little girl was Ruqiyah who lived until
1989. That year, Ruqiyah sent a letter to her sister from hospital
asking whether anything was removed from her body after the bomb
attack. Um Sami answered that this had happened in 1947 but she could
not remember why. That was the last she heard from Ruqiyah before the
latter passed away. But Halitha, Fatima's daughter, is not a mother of
eight, and she always wished she had seen a picture of her mother, but
she never did; she only has her mother's coat to remember her by.
As for the policeman who appears in the photo carrying Ruqiyah, his name
is Al-Haj Hasam, aged 95, who now lives in Jordan. Khalidi and other
writers on this period say the Irgun, an underground Jewish organization
formed in 1935, was responsible for the bomb which resulted in the
death of 17 people. Another writer says the Irgun was the first to use
bombs in order to spread terror among the Arabs. [=]

60354. Abu-Lughod, Iliamah; Palestinian Human Rights Campaign. Afro-
Americans Stand Up For Middle East Peace: Essentials of the Palestine
Rights Campaign, 1980. pp. 53-55. [This is an adaptation of Iliamah Abu
Lughod's testimony to a US Congressional Committee on 9/30/1975,
during the most recent in-depth US hearings on the Palestine issue. Dr.
Abu Lughod, a professor at Northwestern University, is a member of the
Palestinian National Council.]

More than 400 representatives of the dispersed Palestinian
people convened in the first Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting
in 5/1964. That Council meeting committed the Palestinian people
to liberating their homeland, and there the Council decided to create
the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to represent and to express the
will of the Palestinian people in that liberation process.

In the structure of the PLO, the Palestine National Council is the
highest representative body of the Palestinian people. The Council is the
authoritative body that establishes and promulgates national goals
and policies. In its ranks are representatives of the Palestinian people
both inside and outside the occupied territories, including representatives
of the General Unions of Palestinian Workers, Women, Students and
Writers; the Palestine Red Crescent; the Palestine Cinema and Arts Institution;
and representatives of all the major Palestinian political and
military organizations. In turn, the Council elects an Executive
Committee which is equivalent to a government. The Executive Committee
oversees different departments of the PLO that deal with
health, welfare, education, arts and culture, diplomacy, and other affairs.

At present the Council has about 300 members representing
broad sectors of the Palestinian people; the Executive Committee (of
which Yasser Arafat is the Chairman) has 15 members. So long as the
Executive Committee has the Council's confidence, it carries out its
day-to-day tasks. The Executive Committee is permanently in session,
and the Council meets only once a year or for special reasons when it
deems this necessary.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has acquired the
legitimacy of representing the Palestinian people. It acquired that
legitimacy first from its own people; Palestinian associations, groups,
and communities in the Arab world and the Israeli-occupied areas
accept the formulation of their goals, the methods of achieving these
goals, and the various edicts, rules, and regulations which the
organization has issued as theirs.

Briefly, the primary goal which has been accepted is that of
the liberation of Palestine, which entails the restoration of Palestinian
national sovereignty over the entire Palestinian national homeland. The
ultimate goal of the Palestine Liberation Organization is to establish a
unitary, nonsectarian democratic state for all Palestinians irrespective of
creed, national origin, or language. The Organization believes that such
goals will be attained only through a national struggle patterned after the
wars of national liberation waged by the formerly colonized.

In the conduct of that struggle, the Palestine Liberation
Organization has sought and obtained the assistance of oppressed
peoples throughout the world and further has obtained considerable
support from established states that view Israel as an agent of the West
in the Arab world. Thus the socialist system of power has supported the
PLO; the Afro-Asian states have supported the Palestinians' struggle;
and African and Latin American movements of national liberation have
supported them as well. Considerable sectors of societies in the US and
Western Europe also have extended support to the Palestinians, to the
chagrin of their governments.

As a consequence of this broad international support and the
active political campaigns of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the
international community as it is legally organized in the UN conferred
legitimacy on the Palestinian struggle as well as on the Palestine
Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian
people. Initially the UN in 1948 recognized the rights of the Palestinian
people to repatriation (Resolution 194); it has reaffirmed that right almost
every subsequent year.

Beginning in 1969, as a direct consequence of the armed
struggle of the Palestinian people and political support for the PLO from
the socialist system of power and the Afro-Asian and some Euro-
American powers, the General Assembly has recognized the status of
the Palestinian people as a colonized people entitled to independence.
Several UN resolutions have affirmed the right of the Palestinian people
to struggle by all means to attain independence. The culmination
of steady recognition of the Palestinian struggle for independence and the
legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative
of the Palestinian people came in 10-11/1974 when the UN General
Assembly invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to attend the 29th
session of the General Assembly and address it on the aspirations of the Palestinian people. After
the address delivered by Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee, and the ensuing debate, the General Assembly
passed two historic resolutions. One recognized the right of the Palestinian
people to independence and sovereignty in Palestine. The other
conferred full Observer Status on the PLO as the sole representative of the
Palestinian people. Today no fewer than 105 states in the world recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole
representative of the Palestinians. [=]

a Government, Al-Wazir Will Work To Get Equal Rights and Justice For
Minister of Social Affairs Intissar al-Wazir (Umm Jihad, widow of Khalil
al-Wazir, known as Abu Jihad; he was assassinated by an Israeli death
squard in 1988) is using her new position to push for equal rights for
women in the traditionalist, male-dominated Palestinian society. Arafat
promised to create a Department for Womens Affairs, and Umm Jihad plans to make sure that promise is fulfilled. Her initial work
will be especially important, considering the restrictions on women upheld by the traditional culture. Arafat and al-Wazir have
both been promised that by 1996 respect for women will be fully
recognized in the new Palestinian state

60356. Ackerman, Gwen. "Netanyahu Wins Israeli Vote; Peres Loses
stunning rejection of the Clinton-backed 'peace plan', Israeli voters have
selected the most outspoken opponent of peace with the Palestinians as the new Prime Minister of Israel. Pres. Bill Clinton had actively campaigned for Peres, making the bias of his administration very clear to Israelis: the vote repudiates Clinton's intense and uncritical support for Peres.

The new Knesset will have: Labor 35 seats, Meterz 9 seats, Hadash 3 seats, Arab Democratic Party 2 seats, Yisrael with Immigration 6 seats, Third Way 4 seats, Shas-United Torah Judaism Party-National Religious Party 24 seats, Likud 31 seats, Moledet 3 seats.

The outgoing Knesset had: Labor 42 seats, Alex Goldfarb 1 seat, Meterz 12 seats, Yuvi 1 seat, Arab Democratic Party 2 seats, Hadash 3 seats, Yisrael with Immigration 6 seats, Third Way 4 seats, Shas-United Torah Judaism Party-National Religious Party 24 total, Likud 31 seats, Moledet 3 seats, Tzomet 5 seats, Yemin Yisrael 1 seat, Esther Salmovitch 1 seat.

60357. Adawin, Basima. "Young Witnesses", in Challenge, March-April, 1994. p. 5. Goldstein, a father of four children and a doctor, did not spare children. Seven-year-old Kifah Ja'afar Marafa was killed and 13 children were injured.

Five-year-old Musa'b Ja'abari is the most seriously wounded child. He has four bullets lodged in his body - in the chest, hips and legs. He lies quietly in stable condition at the Alia Hospital, but doesn't speak. Musa'b tried to hide behind a pillar but the bullets found him. His father, an ambulance driver for the Alia Hospital, did not know his son was wounded. His grandmother accompanied Musa'b to morning prayer, and now sits by his bed wondering why, after so many years that men and women have been praying in the same room, on that fateful morning the soldiers ordered women to pray in a separate room.

Ten-year-old Khamis Mahmoud Jamal was lucky - the bullet scratched his skull and just missed his brain, and he was clever enough to play dead. His 17-year-old brother was wounded in the leg. Recalling the events, Khamis enthusiastically explains a map of the al-Ibrahimiya Mosque, draws the movement of Goldstein and affirms that other settlers were helping load his M16 rifle. Khamis tried to escape through the doors, but the soldiers shot indiscriminately at those fleeing. On returning back into the mosque he was shot by a settler. He heard Goldstein cry in Hebrew - 'ze hasof shelachem (this is your end). The two men who were praying near him were killed. Khamis' father died four months ago. His mother lives in the Hiseb (vegetable market) and could not make it to the hospital on the first day, so Khamis was taken care of by his brothers.

In a somber painting Khamis drew the massacre with knives, machine guns, and chains surrounding the map of Palestine. A Palestinian flag is flying above the al-Ibrahimiya Mosque. From the corner an M16 is scattering bullets in all directions.

Palestinian children have gone through an endless chain of massacres, from Deir Yassin, through Sabra and Shatilla and the al-Aqsa massacres. Only a just peace can give these children a promise to end these tragedies.[=]

60358. Adv. Assaf. Interview: "Reverend Riah Abu El-Assal: Seeking Recognition, Part 7", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 6. Question: You said that today everybody accepts that the Palestinians in Israel are part and parcel of the Palestinian people. Is it true that Arabs in Israel are engaged in a certain kind of withdrawal or lessening of concern regarding the Intifada?

Answer: It is a fact that there is less expression of solidarity than there was a few years ago. But the Intifada itself is not the same as it was a few years ago. Also, the Gulf conflict relegated the Arab-Israeli conflict to the margins: even the Intifada did not hit the news when people were busy with the Gulf. The Arab sector inside Israel did express solidarity with the Arab-Palestinians under occupation. But because of the crisis of leadership, even organized events for expressing support and solidarity were lacking. In our little school, for example, I appealed to all Arab schools in Israel to give one pencil and one notebook from every child to every child in the Occupied Territories. About three hundred and fifty of our school kids managed to bring twelve hundred pens and notebooks. But the Arab leaders' response to the action fell short of what we wanted.

In addition, more people are unemployed in the Arab sector. Many more people need help. This does not mean that when you do not have enough to support your brother, you do not have anything else to do with him. On the contrary, there is real concern that their pains are our pains, and their hopes are our hopes. There has been a revival of interests and hopes in the Palestinian struggle after the beginning of the peace talks. This is not true for all of us. Some of us have questions and queries and are not sure where we are going to end up with these talks. [=]
two months.

It was supported most generously by the Church of Sweden Mission, also the Palestinian group in Deventer, and the german friends, Lutheran friends from Germany, and many others. So now, we really are almost ready to move into the new school. For safety considerations we chose to complete the basics on all parts of the building that would be needed by staff and students at the time we move in. The kindergarten wing and the entire ground floor of the elementary school wing are now at the stage of 'finish' work. That will make available formal conference space for teachers, officers for the staff, a bookstore and a large meeting room for workshops, and community meetings with parents and other groups as soon as we open. For the children it means typical, modern classrooms, a large play area for organized sports and free play, also completely safe from the possible hazards of an active construction site, since only the finish-work will remain when they arrive. For that to be accomplished, we ask you assistance for a final every-the-top push. Funds are both used up and overcommitted, a fiscal risk taken on behalf of maintaining our momentum to completion. We now again need money to pay for the last of the building materials for this 'move-in' stage of the construction: Plastering, painting, flooring, electrical light fixtures, etc. We also still need to connect with the civil water supply (about which negotiations have been very difficult and complicated) and to complete the toilet unit and its electric system. Some furnishing for the new rooms will be made locally, and we need money for the materials.

Once again, can you, will you help us? We are continuing to work long days to assure that every cent, pence, mark, shekal, etc., are wisely spent. But we need more of them for us to be able to really be able to use all that has come before. The last remaining needs are just that—complete necessities for the school to really come alive. Will you help it, and us, to live this new life? For a total of $10000, we can move in. For $20000 we can finish the package, including playground equipment. Toward these goals, we ask you to consider your means and our needs and give whatever you can. Donations of any amount will be very gratefully received and fruitfully applied. Thank you again for hearing our plea and responding.

Meanwhile, the school life goes on stimulating the growth and understanding of our West Bank students. We would like to share with you a look at some of our accomplishments and honors from our recent activities: In February, Alamal was visited by Rabbi Sheldon Lewis and a group from his congregation in California, and soon after by a group of Lutheran friends from Germany. Also our friend from Jerusalem, Joana Cooper-Ryam, brought international friends to see us. In March, we took two busloads of children and their mothers on a recreational excursion to the town of Jericho, Dead Sea and to some beautiful sites between them: all enjoyed the natural adventure. Also in March we received an Earthstewards visitor, John Snelling, from Portugal. He arrived on the day we celebrated Mother's Day with a program of plays and games as one of 19 Bethlehem area schools [one line lost]. Looking ahead, we have firm plans for exciting events. First our summer camp for learning and support the school. Without such independence the unique peace-related activities could not be-activities like field trips for parents and children into cooperative contact situations with their Jewish counterparts inside Israel and Hebrew lessons for Palestinian parents, to help reduce fears by promoting communication with Israelis. But with such independence, we have also responsibility of complete self-support, because of no political or religious funding. Most of the parents, many still residents of refugee camps, remain poor. So we rely for assistance on a small expanding group of friends from many nations and backrounds— including Christian Ministers from Sweden and Germany friends, and many friends from Switzerland, and from Holland friends, who are working for peace and justice, as well as Jewish rabbis from Israel and California. They support us because the center and the school are the bright blossoms in the desert that was described the desert of despair. Rather he has felt motivated to work in these ways for good childhood, for it is the wealthy tomorrow. The path of the school to become an independent- one. We have no political and nor formal religious affiliation; both Christian and Muslim families attend and support the school. Without such independence the unique peace-related activities could not be-activities like field trips for parents and children into cooperative contact situations with their Jewish counterparts inside Israel and Hebrew lessons for Palestinian parents, to help reduce fears by promoting communication with Israelis. But with such independence, we have also responsibility of complete self-support, because of no political or religious funding. Most of the parents, many still residents of refugee camps, remain poor. 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So we rely for assistance on a small expanding group of friends from many nations and backrounds including Christian Ministers from Sweden and Germany friends, and many friends from Switzerland, and from Holland friends, who are working for peace and justice, as well as Jewish rabbis from Israel and California. They support us because the center and the school are the bright blossoms in the desert that was described the desert of despair. Rather he has felt motivated to work in these ways for good childhood, for it is the wealthy tomorrow.
democracy and Middle East peace-building. You would be most welcome to contact us, to visit school and to join our efforts toward exchanging views instead of violence, building bridges for peace. [-]

60364. Al-Amal Child Care Center. Press Release: First Anniversary of the Peace Accord. Bethlehem: Al-Amal Child Care Center [Post Office Box 732, West Bank via Israel; tel: 972-2-74-1628; fax: 972-2-74-7084], September 24, 1994. Warming relations with the Jewish neighbors, having been silent these past few months. All of my energy has been devoted to supervising the construction of our new school building on our new land. And that investment of energy has paid off in a way that I hope will please and excite you, as much as it piqueases and excite me. The big news, the beautiful fruit of all our labors, is here: We have seven new classrooms completed and almost ready for occupancy. We have accomplished completely the substructure of the entire L-shaped building that will eventually house another 20 classrooms. (The concrete for the final action was poured last week.) Levelling of the ground for the play area is almost complete. It is a magnificent accomplishment, and we can all be very proud. Thank you for helping me to make it possible. At the same time that I am very happy and proud about our achievement, and also feel sad and frustrated about not being able to share more of it with you. I would love for you to come to visit, to see for yourself the miracle in the hills below Bethlehem. Perhaps you cannot imagine the difficulty of accomplishing even minor projects in the West Bank, and this is such a major one, it is sometimes a suprise even to myself that we have done it. I would like to send you photos and floor plans to help convey all our progress, the result (on the ground) of all our work. But at present we have no resources for doing that, though we plan to do so as soon as we can. Our financial situation at the moment is as desperate as ever. In order to reach the present stage of completion on the construction, all of our resources to date have gone into that, including the students enrollment fees for the last week.

For reasons that are not clear to us, the flow of donations was reduced drastically during the summer, so that our cash situation becomes very critical in the faces of mounting construction costs. (But costs, let us assure you, were strictly minimized by rigorous attention to PLO. But there is no real understanding with the Jewish neighbors so far. Some time ago, whoever has contacts with Israelis was suspected of being a collaborator. Hussein Issa had contacts them. His car was burnt as well as the school bus that brings the school children to school. Hussein’s contacts however were not private ones but part of his concept for the school. Peace education--this was the motto, when back in 1984 he built a house not only for his family of six, but also some appeal for funds to institutional sources were unsuccessful--more about this below.

So we are in need of operating funds, probably more in need than at any other time, because, with little income in the summer, we accepted loans that must now begin to be repaid. Thanks ALLAH that we had the loans, but now we must find a way to make them good. We have sought support from every source that we learned about, but recent efforts have yielded few results so far, though our requests are still under consideration in some places. We want to acknowledge here the special help of our Dutch friends and their work to gain us assistance from a Dutch NGO, CEBEMO, and also our Swedish friends instrumental in the assistance we received from the Church of Sweden mission. If you know of a group or institution in your country that might have charitable goal in Palestine, please do bring ALAMAL Center to their attention. Among our critical remaining needs for the new school are connecting the water and telephone. The total cost of these needs will be about $3000. We still need window panes, doors and light fixtures for some of the completed classrooms. Each stage of our expansion presented its problems. We have, with your ongoing help, surmounted them. We remain confident that we will do so again, and ask you again--humbly, hopefully for the most generous help you can give. We remain committed to the vision that you share with us of promoting peaceful relations among all the people of our region by teaching peace to the children and their parents both in the classrooms and by activities that involve them without fear in the larger, multi-cultural world. To do this we still need your help.

Let me clarify that we are not yet in a position to receive help from the newly created Palestinian Authority. Their focus remains in Gaza Strip and Jericho, where international news coverage will have told you there are problems that challenge the new entity’s capacity. Though it is supposed to begin to administer educational functions in the whole West Bank before long, there is no expectation that this will involve an infusion of of money, nor ease in any other significant way the difficulties of functioning as a private school here.

Finally, may I say a word about the demands that beautiful people like you in the developed world face in terms of requests for help from all the world’s disasters. My heart also breaks for abject disruption and privation of so many lives in Bosnia, Rwanda and elsewhere. But I beg you not to forget Palestine as being still a place of immense pressure, including widespread dstritution, a decrepit infrastructure, and the persistent violence of an occupation and resistance to it. There have been openings in the situation that justify hope, but the road to freedom and democracy and peace is still long, and we too still need. The West Bank as a whole has seen no single benefit, save occasional spiritual uplift, from last September’s accord. Tanks again for receiving our news and our please. May your own way be blessed with peace. To all our Jewish friends we wish special blessings in your holy seasons of new year. May we all have a sweet year.

PS-The way to donate to ALAMAL whenever you can, is to send a check by registered air mail letter to ALAMAL Child Care Center, or send the donation to ALAMAL Child Care Center, Account 118451, Mercantile Discount Bank, Bethlehem, West Bank, via Israel. [-]

60365. Al-Amal Child Care Center; Simon, Jurgen. Press Release: Al-Amal: A School For Peace: A Utopia Started in Bethlehem Ten Years Ago. Bethlehem: Al-Amal Child Care Center [Post Office Box 732, West Bank via Israel; tel: 972-2-74-1628; fax: 972-2-74-7084], November 1994. Bethlehem is a tourist attraction not only at Christmas time, The whole year busloads of pilgrims crowd Manger Square as well as the narrow steps to the grotto in the Church of Nativity. Many shops sell cribis, mary and Joseph, shepherds and sheep from olive wood. Icons, Souvenirs and devotional items. Bethlehem lives on tourism. This is why everything seems to be more peaceful here compared to other places on the Occupied West Bank. Nevertheless, the Israeli occupants remain the enemy for a certain part of the Palestinian population. The time of the Intifadah, the uprising against the occupation has ended since the agreement on ‘Gaza and Jerischo first’ was signed by Israel and the PLO. But there is no real understanding with the Jewish neighbors so far. Some time ago, whoever has contacts with Israelis was suspected of being a collaborator. Hussein Issa had contacts them. His car was burnt as well as the school bus that brings the school children to school. Hussein’s contacts however were not private ones but part of his concept for the school. Peace education--this was the motto, when back in 1984 he built a house not only for his family of six, but also some rooms in the basement where he taught children to read and write and to count. In the meantime, his center Al-Amal has become a model how to exchange views instead of violence, building bridges for peace. [=] Finally, may I say a word about the demands that beautiful people like you in the developed world face in terms of requests for help from all the world’s disasters. My heart also breaks for abject disruption and privation of so many lives in Bosnia, Rwanda and elsewhere. But I beg you not to forget Palestine as being still a place of immense pressure, including widespread dstritution, a decrepit infrastructure, and the persistent violence of an occupation and resistance to it. There have been openings in the situation that justify hope, but the road to freedom and democracy and peace is still long, and we too still need. The West Bank as a whole has seen no single benefit, save occasional spiritual uplift, from last September’s accord. Tanks again for receiving our news and our please. May your own way be blessed with peace. To all our Jewish friends we wish special blessings in your holy seasons of new year. May we all have a sweet year.

The school lessons are very similar to those in every other place of the world: opening the books, reading and writing, copying the floor 1994. Bethlehem is a tourist attraction not only at Christmas time. The West Bank as a whole has seen no single benefit, save occasional spiritual uplift, from last September’s accord. Tanks again for receiving our news and our please. May your own way be blessed with peace. To all our Jewish friends we wish special blessings in your holy seasons of new year. May we all have a sweet year.

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expansion of Hussein’s house some years ago is no longer big enough. Therefore, he started building a new school with six classrooms outside of the city center. The parents of the children cannot afford to build a new school. This is why the school needs the donations of Jews from Jerusalem who view the project as a chance for peacemaking, as well as Christians in Sweden, the Netherlands, the USA and Germany. Hussein has finished the carcass of the school buildings, which will hold 12 classes. Now, it needs more donations to buy tables and chairs, blackboards and doors... He is moving on without resting. For the Palestinian Authority that is presently taking over responsibility for the educational system from the Israeli administration. His school can be a real model not only from the educational point of view but also from the economic one. [The author, Jurgen Simon, is an editor at the Central Office of the Press Service of the Evangelical Church in Germany in Frankfurt.] [==]

60366. Al-Asi, Mohammad. “Zionist Gridlock on the American System”, in Crescent International, September 1-15, 1996. p. 7. [Mohammad al-Asi is the Elected Imam of the Islamic Center in Washington, DC, from which he was forcibly evicted by armed guards, hired by the minions of the Saudi regime. He has led the Juma’ Prayers outside on the pavement since 1983.] Bill Clinton’s democratic administration is the most pro-Israel the Americans have ever had. For the first time in US history, there are four Jews in the US cabinet; Mickey Kantor (commerce); Robert Rubin (treasury); Dan Glickman (agriculture); and Robert Reich (labor). The chairman of the US Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, is also a Jew, as is the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), John Deutch. The Jews also occupy several high-profile positions in the State department. They are riding high in this Jew-to-the-bone administration. The US ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk, is also a red, white and blue Jew. The Jews are now so well-entrenched in decision-making posts that they brag about it in their periodicals - in Israel and the US. Obviously, they would not mind a second term for Clinton, who is their political slave. Clinton has become the “yes, master” president of the alright Jewish lobby. This does not mean that the shrewd Jew is going to place all his eggs in the Democratic party’s basket, even though 400 Jewish delegates will attend the Democratic party convention in Chicago. Vice president Al Gore had an opening reception sponsored by the National Jewish Democratic Council and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). There was also a “welcome home” reception for Hillary Clinton sponsored by the Chicago Jewish community, and a “Clinton-Gore Leadership Council” luncheon, attended among others by Mickey Kantor. The selection of Jack Kemp as the running mate of Bob Dole is an obvious concession by republican leaders to the powerful Jewish lobby in the country of the “brave and free.” Here is how the Jewish press put it: “The day after Mr. Kemp’s selection was announced, the former congressman and quarterback from Buffalo, NY, visited with the Jewish supporters at a reception sponsored by AIPAC and the National Jewish Coalition [and said] “Tonight, with you, we are like mishpocha (family); Joanne and I will never forget who was there when the going was tough.”

“The following day, Monday, Mr. Kemp spoke by telephone with prime minister Netanyahu. “It’s perfect,” exulted a Republican [Jewish] pollster.... ‘Kemp’s basically Jewish. Dole couldn’t have picked a better candidate, for America or for the Jews. He’s just phenomenal.’ "...On a range of issues, Mr. Kemp’s track record is likely to appeal to Jews. ‘Jack is known as a very strong pro-Israel Republican,’ said a senator McConnell, a Republican from Kentucky. “It was Mr. Kemp, after all, who once faulted Mr. Dole for having a ‘blame Israel first mentality.’ ‘Mr. Kemp’s own pro-Israel credentials are impeccable. He’s particularly close to Mr. Netanyahu. As secretary of Housing and Urban Development during the Bush administration, Mr. Kemp infuriated president Bush’s secretary of State, James Baker, by travelling to the Israeli embassy in Washington to meet with Ariel Sharon, then housing minister, who feuded with Mr. Baker over the issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.”...[Mr. Kemp] has long been an advocate of opening up the Republican Party to minorities and city dwellers. At a receptions sponsored by AIPAC and the National Jewish Coalition, Mr. Kemp wished the crowd mazel tov (good luck) and shalom, shalom, shalom, y’alil. “Mr. Kemp’s ties to the National Jewish Coalition, a group of Jewish Republicans, are particularly close. The NJC’s executive director, Matthew Brooks, cut his political teeth on Mr. Kemp’s 1988 presidential campaign, and Mr. Kemp has joined the NJC on at least one ski retreat.” If Bob Dole is so weak as to appease the Jewish lobby by giving in to this pressure, then Mr. Dole should be removed from the race. It is time to find out a replacement for Mr. Kemp’s role in the NJC. [Mr. Kemp has joined the NJC on at least one ski retreat]." If Bob Dole is so weak as to appease the Jewish lobby by giving in to this pressure, then Mr. Dole should be removed from the race. It is time to find out a replacement for Mr. Kemp’s role in the NJC. [Mr. Kemp has joined the NJC on at least one ski retreat]."

60367. Al-Ayam. “Feature: Intifada Generation in the Legislative Council”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 2, 1996, p. 7. The results of the recent Palestinian elections made clear that the impact of the intifada on Palestinian awareness is an ongoing phenomenon. The primary measure that electors depend on to clarify their election choices is the combative measure of candidates. Marwan Barghouthi, the secretary of the higher movement of Fateh movement in the West Bank, and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council said: “This combative measure appeared particularly during the intifada.” Barghouthi headed student council at Bir Zeit university for two consecutive periods. At that time, the student movement was the primary vehicle of the Palestinian struggle, and paved the way for the eruption of the intifada later. The student movement appeared at the time when Israeli authorities thought it had landed a knockout blow at the Palestinian National/Movement after it arrested and expatriated a number of its prominent leaders. Thousands were arrested, hundreds expeled. Barghouthi experienced both forms of punishment. Between 1978-1987, he spent nine years in prison. He was deported for another seven years. It was a geographical prison. Barghouthi nevertheless continued to organize and lead the intifada. “The generation of the intifada is like an army that requires everything.” With these words, Barghouthi described the present situation of the intifada youth. “Do not forget that this generation was born under the Israeli occupation and grew up during the intifada. Therefore, this generation is the most persistent and determined on the issue of liberation. It does not and will not accept less than liberation. This generation is filled with ambition. It strives to have an education system from the Israeli administration. His school can be a real model not only from the educational point of view but also from the economic one. [The author, Jurgen Simon, is an editor at the Central Office of the Press Service of the Evangelical Church in Germany in Frankfurt.] [==]
efficient and qualified candidates." His victory surprised some in Ramallah. He entered the elections as an independent candidate, with minimal funds to publicise his campaign. His only asset, in a sense, was the sentence of fourteen years he received for leading an armed cell in the early eighties. The reputation he gained from his role as a leader of Jneid prison colleagues. Despite changes in the political situation, the combative experiences of the prisoners movement are still ingrained in the minds of people. This, he felt, played a crucial role in ensuring his election. Jamal Shobaki, whose name was closely related with the "Daboya" operation in 1980, received storming applause when his name was mentioned during the electoral campaign in the suburbs of Hebron. His house in "Ithna" village was blown up following the operation, and he was imprisoned for eight years. "Our struggle over the years created a state of solidarity and loyalty between us," said Al-Shobaki. Muhammad Horani was another Hebron candidate. He was imprisoned shortly after finishing high school. He spent a short time in prison, after which he left to study Psychology in Bulgaria. Due to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Horani plunged into defending the revolution, along with thousands of students from all over the world. After three years, when he decided to come back to the homeland, he was taken from the Allenby Bridge to prison. During the intifada, he spent three years in prison at An-Naqub prison. "I believe my election is a gesture of loyalty from the people, the combative value was a strategic accumulation," he posted. In Jerusalem, Ahmad Al-Batsh was the head of the Palestinian Legislative Council. His physical appearance gives the impression that he is a quiet person. Anyone who knows him says that he hardly loses his composure. Once he lost his control and bit the investigator at the Russian compound. As a result, he spent eight years instead of seven in prison. He led an escape attempt from "Kifar yuna" prison in which three people were captured. During his last period of detention, in Ramallah prison in 1993, Al-Batsh was severely tortured. Credibility in dealing with people is considered a primary aspect of gaining their confidence. It is not enough to be a prisoner and just expect support. The main factor in electing the most efficient candidate mainly rests on peoples' awareness. The common issue amongst the candidates is the intifada experience. They have a common bond binding them to each other, along with the thousands of people who experienced arrest, oppression and expulsion. This "collective" past played a crucial role in cultivating their awareness, as well as informing their vision of the present and future. At the same time, because the winners understand who form the biggest part of their constituency, this should establish itself as one of their priorities, as new representatives. The new legislative council must address the most important question, of what to do with the generation of intifada in particular, and the people in general? Muhammad Al-Harani considers the solution is the provision of job opportunities for the youth. He strongly emphasized the need for practical and vocational rehabilitation, as well as the necessity of their involvement in the production sector. Jamal Al-Shobaki said that the Legislative Council should enact laws to attract Palestinian and Arab investment. In this, the council should make efforts to secure political and security stability, which will in turn help in attracting economical and developmental projects. Marwan Barghouti emphasized the necessity of opening sporting and cultural youth clubs, as well as increasing support to the Ministry of Youth and Sports. Due to widespread youth unemployment, thousands are in the Palestinian National Authority's police and security institutions, as these are the only options. Some members believe that this will lead to inflation in the institutions, as usually happens elsewhere. It will impact on future economic development, due to large budgets required by these institutions. It will also have social and behavioral impacts, increasing the likelihood of the recruitment of people at the expense of political and religious institutions. Al-Batsh posited "It is absolutely necessary to provide anyone who is willing to join these institutions with comprehensive training and cultural courses so as to be a productive worker."

The "new council" acknowledges the enormous duties ahead. They are preparing themselves to play an essential role to achieve these duties. Accordingly, they posit their first duty is the final negotiations, seen as the most important, in that it will determine the destiny of the people. Barghouti says that they will use their mandate to ensure support for Palestinians in the negotiations. Horani adds, "The council strongly identifies with Palestinian issues, with Jerusalem as the paramount issue. " The "big battle," as it is called by some members, will be completed on an internal front of the battleground. A major theme that has emerged is the necessity of beginning the building process of the democratic civilized society. Through symposiums and meetings held during the electoral campaigns, it emerged people long for a democratic and free state. "It is a natural demand," and, says Qadwah Fares, "Our people suffered many years of pain, to realize their desire to having a democratic state." The councils should establish this democratic system by enacting the necessary laws, through which Palestinians can present their concerns before the entire world, which will be unable to ignore it as in the past. Al-Batsh posits another priority relating to Jerusalem, namely that the isolation imposed on Jerusalem should be lifted, a constant political in nature, not security-based, as Israel claims. This cordons disrupts the health, economic, social, and educational life for Palestinians in the city. Al-Batsh talked about the deteriorating situation in twelve Palestinian villages north of Jerusalem, and the bad situation of the Bedouins living in Jerusalem, and the necessity of improving their living situation in ways suited to their social environment. He also mentioned that close attention should be given to improve and develop the rural areas of prisoners and the closing of their files should be resolved. Furthermore, the issue of gender reparations for women should be up for discussion, with Al-Batsh advocating they should be accorded full rights and compensated for previous years of deprivation. Moreover, close attention should be given to improving the conditions for refugees, and their was also the necessity for securing the right of return for those expelled or forbidden from coming back for various reasons. The members confirmed that it would exert maximum pressure to make the Legislative Council effective in achieving a qualitative and concrete change in the lives of Palestinians. One final issue for consideration was that of the actual performance of the members, and their ability to implement policy through committees with experts, and use their experiences to provide results. This is one issue on which everybody would be willing to offer assistance. [==]


A Civil Administration officer said that investors had to prove serious intent in order to obtain a license. They also had to give assurances that many laborers would be employed, to help alleviate the financial misery in the occupied territories. If the investor is a Palestinian living in exile, the size of the investment must be a minimum of $100000. The investor is given a one-year residency permit, according to the Civil Administration officer.

The Civil Administration officer added that once seriousness of intent is proven, the investor is issued a West Bank identity card, and also for his family in case he is married.

The owner of the Amal Factory, Malak Tawfiq Hammoud, said she had produced clothing items since 1985 before going into the interior decoration business. She explained that in 1990 she applied for a license to set up a plant in Ramallah because of the good terms. "This plant will provide 40 Palestinian families with work," she said.

Asked why she believed she had received a license, she said that the present peace talks were a factor. She added that there have been changes within the Civil Administration, and that a recent appointment proved to be more open to her request.

Daoud Hussein Najm, the owner of a paints factory, said he applied for a license in 1992 and was asked by the Civil Administration to provide a blueprint for the factory.

He said construction will take between 10 and 12 months and will provide work for 42 to 45 workers in the first stage.
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine
www.ReferenceCorp.net/downloads

Asking why he decided to set up a factory in the West Bank, Najm said that he did not believe that his wares could compete with Israeli goods in the market, nor with wares in East Jerusalem, but that he had plenty of clients in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Approved factory owners are also lucky enough to be issued licenses to travel beyond the “green line,” the Civil Administration announced.

Since the beginning of the year, some 84 licenses for new factories have been issued. [=]

Maher Abu Srour: Date martyred: 7/1/93; Age: 20; Residency: Aida RC, Bethlehem; Circumstances: Shot after hijacking Egged bus.
Muhammad Hindi: Date martyred: 7/1/93; Age: 12; Residency: Jabalya RC, Gaza Strip; Circumstances: Shot after hijacking Egged bus.
Ala Niser: Date martyred: 7/6/93; Age: 6; Residency: Al-Bireh; Circumstances: Run over by Israeli vehicle.
Safir Shaath: Date martyred: 7/8/93; Age: 22; Residency: Rafah, Gaza Strip; Circumstances: Assassinated by undercover units.
Ashraf Hamamreh: Date martyred: 7/10/93; Age: 16; Residency: Dhahiriya, Hebron; Circumstances: Died of wounds sustained in demonstrations a week before.
Isam Salah: Date martyred: 7/12/93; Age: 19; Residency: Balata RC, Nablus; Circumstances: Shot by soldiers.
Muhammad Mughrabbi: Date martyred: 7/12/93; Age: 19; Residency: Balata RC; Circumstances: Shot by soldiers.
Ibrahim Samara: Date martyred: 7/14/93; Age: 23; Residency: Al-Bireh; Circumstances: Shot by undercover units.
Ahmed Abu Ilayan: Date martyred: 7/15/93; Age: 92; Residency: Bani Suhaila, Gaza Strip; Circumstances: Run over by army vehicle.
Fathi Abu Khader: Date martyred: 7/16/93; Age: 49; Residency: Rafah; Circumstances: Shot by soldiers.
Izzat Matar: Date martyred: 7/20/93; Age: 9; Residency: Jabalya RC; Circumstances: Shot by soldiers.
Suleiman Arafat: Date martyred: 7/20/93; Age: 16; Residency: Abasan, Gaza Strip; Circumstances: Shot by soldiers.
Aziz Zuheikah: Date martyred: 7/21/93; Age: 21; Residency: Sawahra a-Sha’iq, Jerusalem; Circumstances: Died of heart attack during army chase. [=]

60370. Al-Isawi, Tarek. “Survivors of Shelling Cannot Forget The Horror; Hameedeh Deeb Screams In Pain From Her Hospital Bed After Doctors Amputated Her Left Leg and Right Arm. Severely Damaged By Israeli Shelling”, in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, April 23, 1996. p. A2. The Qana massacre killed over a hundred civilians, shattering families, butchering and maiming refugees. Many people's bodies disintegrated as other refugees and rescue workers tried to save them. Still without an official death toll, many bodies were vaporized by the repeated Israeli attacks on the refugees in the UNIFIL camp. Most of the deaths came as Israeli 155mm shells slammed repeatedly into a large mess hall. Many surviving children had multiple amputations.

Throughout most of the world, the arrival of the New Year on 1/1/1997 represents a new beginning of an opportunity to reflect on days gone by and look forward to those yet to come. Taking into account the dismal economic and political situation in most of the Palestinian Territories, one would assume that the majority of Palestinians would have welcomed the arrival of the Islamic New Year on 5/8/1997. Unfortunately, one would be wrong: too many years of occupation and Western influence have finally succeeded in reducing an important date on the Islamic calendar to one of little, if any, real significance for the majority of Palestinian Muslims. Before delving into the matter further, it is perhaps necessary to take a closer look at the religiously sanctioned system of dating in Islam, according to which the arrival–according to the Gregorian Calendar–of the Islamic New Year differs from year to year. The aforementioned system of dating is one of purely lunar months. Therefore, a year comprises 354 days and the months do not correspond to the seasons of the solar year. With regard to the reasons for establishing an Islamic calendar, the Muslim era is computed from the Prophet Muhammad's migration of Hijra from Mecca to Medina, which took place in September 622AD; although the Islamic year actually began on the first day of the lunar year in which the migration took place, for example, 7/16/622 AD. At present, the Hijra year is used mainly for religious purposes and many Palestinians, particularly those of the younger generation, would be hard pressed to give today's date using the Islamic calendar. Having established why the Islamic New Year arrives when it does, it is now pertinent to ask what makes it so special? How is it celebrated? What does it mean to different people? To find answers to these questions, I interviewed a large group of people of varying ages and backgrounds–with surprising and alarming, results. Admittedly, some of the more informed individuals I met with spoke of various customs associated with New Year, but these, it appears, are rapidly dying out. The customs that do still exist include the exchange of sweets among family members and neighbors, including the special New Year sweet, mushabak, which is eaten in the hope that the coming year will be as sweet as the delicacy itself. Several interviewees also mentioned the habit of eating some kind of “green” main course, such as sabaan (spinach) or wara dawali (stuffed vine leaves), symbolizing productivity and fertility, and of hanging something green over the door, such as an olive branch, to ensure peace and prosperity throughout the year. One of the dishes that must not be eaten, however, is maqloub (upside down). As it is believed, that by turning the saucepan, the cook will also turn her family’s life upside down, and not necessarily for the better. Part of the blame for the ignorance surrounding the Islamic New Year must be placed with the schools: according to students, very little is taught about the Islamic calendar in general and the less known religious festivals in particular. Blame should also be put on the Palestinian National Authority for doing so little to promote interest in the Islamic holidays: yet since the end of the Intifada, most of Palestine’s larger towns have taken to arranging large-scale Christian new year parties, with the Palestinian National Authority’s approval, on 12/31/1997. The response of 18-year-old Jerusalem resident Mariam Dahbour, to my question concerning the Islamic New Year, was typical. She said: “To be quite honest, I feel ashamed that I am so unfamiliar with the Islamic calendar, and I find it very sad. Palestinian society seems to become more and more Westernized with each passing year, and I don’t expect it will be too long before more of our customs and traditions are forgotten. “I feel particularly ashamed because my family, like many others, makes such a big deal out of the Christian New Year. We do not attend special parties, but we always stay up late and, come twelve o’clock, turn out the lights for a whole minute while silently asking God to show us his bounty and protect us during the year ahead, before ringing our friends and relatives to wish them a happy new year. Although I believe this is harmless in itself, there is certainly a need for us to return to our Islamic roots and to be more alert to the dangers of succumbing to the Western-Israeli influence with which we are threatened on a daily basis.” Mariam’s sister, two years her junior, appeared even less informed about the Islamic New Year and expressed surprise that, at the time of the interview, its arrival was imminent. “Really?” she asked. “That’s great! At least we can stay at home and do some extra studying during army chase.”

It should be noted that both Mariam and her sister are reasonably educated and come from an average religious family. So what could be done to promote the Islamic New Year as a religious festival and national holiday? Mariam replied: “Whatever we do, one thing is for certain. The holiday should be promoted to such an extent that, in the eyes of Muslims, it replaces the Christian New Year. More and more of my friends and their families are attending Western-style New Year parties. At such parties, there is an extraordinary amount of pressure on people to conform by drinking alcohol, which is totally against our Islamic principles. Many Muslim women feel self-conscious until they dress in a Western manner. Muslims believe that by attending
such parties, they are being progressive and open minded. "In Palestine, there is this peculiar concept that "West is best."" Mariam continued, "But from what I have seen so far, this is not the case. We should feel proud of our Arab and Islamic customs, traditions and heritage. I believe it is up to educators, including those in charge of the Palestinian National Authority, and the different religious organizations to ensure that more is done to revive this important date in Islamic history." [-]

60372. Al-Shomali, Yacoub. "In Cold Blood, Part 1", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 17. Everyone knows that a murderer tries to create lies in order to conceal the truth. He tries to overwhelm the truth with doubts in order to weaken its conviction, and attempts to shatter arguments against him in order to escape from the hand of justice. By the same token, the family of the victim endeavors to present reality, convinced that truth alone can defeat the injustice - especially when the case seems to be as incontestable as is our family's case.

Let us give voice to the events so that they may speak for themselves; declaring the truth needs none other than honest expression. We hope that local and world opinion will understand that people with a living conscience cannot be silent about crimes committed under a "legal" pretext founded on hatred and nurtured by a government whose evils may soon spread to other nations like a fire feeding itself.

This calamity began at six in the evening on 5/2/92 - a Saturday. At this time, 22-year-old Anton al-Shomali was returning home from Bethlehem University. He quickly descended a steep hill to avoid harm from the enemy soldiers, and seeing tires ablaze at the entrance to the city, he decided to take a path far away from the location of the trouble. He maneuvered a few kilometers away from the area where the tires were burning, as he felt he was a constant target for the enemy. He was young, and mere youth is a crime. He was also a university student and every student is subject to chase - he himself having twice been a victim of torture in prison. He did not want to hasten death, for there were many family responsibilities awaiting him. His father was born with a paralyzed leg and a paralyzed arm. He aspired to be his father's arm and wanted his father to walk with his leg. This is why he devoted himself to his studies and was a distinguished student, having earned a full scholarship from the university.

In his hasty descent, Anton ran past two heavily armed border guards. He was unaware of their presence, did not carry a green identity card, and wore no mask. Witnesses saw the two soldiers arguing with each other as Anton surrendered with his hands up, one of them saying that shooting was unwarranted. He did not resist when one of the soldiers effortlessly held him while the second shot him from the side through his lungs and heart. The murder happened in cold blood on a main street lined with hundreds of inhabited houses. [-]

60373. Al-Shomali, Yacoub. "In Cold Blood, Part 2", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 17. Together, the soldiers dragged him and threw him down at the side of the road. They left him there without help, nor did they call an ambulance to take him to a hospital. He lay there with blood flowing from his wounds, until the neighbors were sure the soldiers had left the site of the crime. They took him to a Christian Holy Land Mission hospital in Bethlehem, and from there to the Maqassed Hospital on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. But it was too late. He died on arrival, another soul who yearns for the attention of the world, that it may realize the suffering of our people under Israeli occupation.

The family quickly moved the body to the center of the church, to avoid the soldiers' attempts to snatch it for tedious and lengthy bargaining under the pretext of an autopsy. The autopsy might be better performed on the conscience of the killers.

The army surrounded the church and shot tear gas into the area, thus preventing the priest from delivering a eulogy and depriving the faithful from casting their last look on the martyr before his burial. More tear gas was sprayed on the funeral procession, making the people feel that death pursues them even after death. The army ignored our traditions, barring us from performing our duty to the dead. They gave heed to none, not even the handicapped father of the martyr.

During the month of mourning, the army barred many people from paying condolences to the family. They broke into the father's home and ransacked it, even tearing the martyrs picture. All of this was followed by a period of curfews, during which time we were barred four times from attending worship services in our church. The Israelis' claim that they are the protectors of freedom of religion leaves many questions unanswered. It is evident to the people that the Israeli occupation seeks to do more than commit murder, but also insists on stifling every human emotion and killing the spirit of fellowship among the Palestinians. [-]

60374. Al-Shomali, Yacoub. "In Cold Blood, Part 3", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 17. We have taken our case to the Israeli courts, but we have no faith in the justice of the occupation. We know that the suspect will simply enter one door and exit another. Yet we are consoled by our faith in the cause, and in the honor our family received by giving yet another martyr to the struggle. We are consoled by the knowledge that injustice has a shorter life than justice, and by our belief in the nobility of our aims: to be liberated and to establish our independent state. Only when these goals are realized will the souls of our martyrs find rest.

[Translation: Dalia Habash] [Y'a'oub al-Shomali is a writer and a member of the al-Shomali family. Immediately after the killing, the family called upon Att. Tamar Peleg of the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, to initiate legal procedures. On 6/1/92 the investigation was removed from the local Bethlehem Police to higher authorities within the Ministry of Police, which is responsible for the Border Guard Unit.] [-]

60375. Aleis, Fady. "Election contest begins in Ramallah constituency", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 7. Throughout the West Bank and Gaza there are hundreds of candidates vying for the 88 seats on the Palestinian Legislative Council. The constituencies have been allocated a certain number of seat each. The Ramallah and Al Bireh district has been allotted seven seats; six Muslim seats and one Christian. There are over 40 candidates competing for these seven seats. The candidates are either independent or part of the Fatah coalition, which has a central program. The candidates concentrate their campaigns on a personal political level aside as well as the central campaign. TJT interviewed the five most prominent candidates to find out their campaign agendas. Abdul Jawad Salah, former Mayor of Al Bireh and member of the PLO central committee, is running as an independent candidate. His campaign agenda concentrates on Palestinian human rights, including all the legal and social aspects, the evacuation of the settlers from the West Bank and Gaza, and the return of all Palestinian refugees. In a speech presented in Al Bir, he declared that, "All Palestinian refugees must return as have Soviet Jews who don't own an inch of this land. Furthermore, without the water issue being resolved and the total evacuation of settlers from the West Bank and Gaza, there will be no peace." Ghazi Hanania, a gynecologist and a candidate for the Christian seat in the Fatah coalition, was asked to reveal his political campaign: "There are many fundamental issues to be dealt with aside from the issue of settlements and Jerusalem. These are considered personal issues relating to the daily affairs of the people. They are: the security of the citizen; an increase in labor wages; the improvement in economic conditions, including the construction of factories. In the health sector, there must be an expansion of rooms in hospitals as well as introducing modern equipment to operating rooms and intensive care wards." Azmi Shueibi, former minister of youth and sports and a member of the Palestinian Democratic Union (FIDA), divided his campaign into political, social, economical and educational aspects. Concerning the political aspect, he emphasized the necessity of "implementing the peace agreement until the end of the second stage of the negotiations and to guarantee the building of a Palestinian state." Discussing social issues, he said, "There must be equal rights for all and they must participate in building Palestinian Institutions."

Lastly, he commented on economic and educational matters: "The economy must be based around the free market and concerning education, there is a desperate need for philosophers, writers, children and the handicapped to be given the opportunity to express themselves. Rabiba Diab, head of the Association of Women's Committees for
Social Work, and a member of the Fatah Higher Command is running as part of the Fatah coalition. Discussing her personal campaign agenda, she said: “The first and foremost issue I will concentrate on is that of women and children. Currently in my work, I travel to remote villages to educate illiterate mothers about their legal rights. Aside from this, I have children’s centers in each village where I also educate and give workshops about child development. My present work will become the basis for the future work if and when I am elected. In addition, I will support the issue of prisoners and those Palestinians who were wounded during the Intifada. These people have the right to carry on a normal life as everyone else. I will work to secure their freedom and offer them adequate medical care.” Buthaina Duqnaq, an attorney and the head of labor management in the Jerusalem Medical Equipment Co., is running as an independent: “My priorities are to work for a democratic system that includes freedom of speech, equal rights for all, religious tolerance and ensure the future Palestinian state will give importance to those who were injured during the Intifada. Also, the law must be implemented equally over all people and justice must exclude military courts and a states of emergency must never occur in Palestinian Society.” [—]

60376. Alin, Erika G. "West Bank and Gaza Palestinians and the Peace Process", in Journal of Critical Studies of Iran & the Middle East, Fall 1993. pp. 13-34. In 1991 direct Arab-Israeli peace talks started for the first time in 40 years, following the years of the Intifadah which brought greater attention onto the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The talks were based on the Palestinian willingness, as the weakest party, to compromise on being represented by the PLO. However, Palestinian opposition to the peace process has been considerable: many Palestinian question whether the present peace process is capable of resulting in a meaningful fulfillment of their national aspirations. Palestinian nationalism has emerged as a consequence of the inability of Arab states to successfully confront Israeli military power. By 1974, the Palestine National Council endorsed the principle that a Palestinian state could exist only within the Occupied Territories. Similarly, in the mid-1970s, in the Occupied Territories, the emergence of a large migratory Palestinian work force undermined the traditional rural sociopolitical order, and led to a radicalized urban nationalism among Palestinians. By the end of the 1970s, this led to the spontaneous emergence of a broad spectrum of local and community organizations in the Occupied Territories, including student, youth, professional, volunteer, labor and women’s committees. These provided the training ground for independent Palestinian national development. By the early 1980s, Palestinians were coming to recognize that the only basis for an independent Palestine would be political compromise with Israel: much of this was rooted in the belief (documented by Abdul-Sattar Kassem in 1982) that for much of the Arab world the issue of the Palestinians was unimportant. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the emergence of the Intifadah solidified the Gaza and West Bank Palestinians focus on a political settlement with Israel: just as the invasion limited the ability of the PLO of affect events in the Occupied Territories, the Intifadah deepened the growth of independent institutional development. The 1980s saw a sustained effort by West Bank and Gaza intellectuals to both shift the public perception of the PLO towards that of a diplomatic organization, and to shift the willingness of Palestinians to accept a political compromise. While Palestinians were divided as to whether or not the Madrid conference was desirable, in general factions among Palestinians on this question reflected the underlying factions within the Palestinian nationalist movement: in general, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were skeptical about the peace process being able to fulfill their national aspirations. In addition, Palestinian suspicions were reinforced by Israeli unwillingness to slow the pace of new illegal settlements and by Israeli insistence on a very limited form of Palestinian autonomy. The US also gave Israel $10 billion in loan guarantees without requiring Israel to end settlement expansion. The Madrid process required the Palestinians to begin with a whole series of major concessions before the start of talks: hence, for many Palestinians the major effect of the Madrid talks was to call into question the legitimacy and the judgement of the PLO. Further, the mass expulsion of 400 Palestinians during the peace talks, and the Hamas condemnation of the PLO as a consequence of the deportations, again led to questioning of the role of the PLO in the talks. Even if the peace process leads to elections, it is clear that the PLO will probably lose in free elections.

60377. Aloni, Shulamit. “This is a day of mourning - MP Shulamit Aloni: A speech in the Knesset on the inauguration of the new government”, in Challenge, July, 1990. pp. 2-3. So, after all, there is a government. Finally, there is a government. However, Mister Prime Minister, today is not a day of joy, but a day of deep anxiety. Today is not a day of rejoicing, but a day of mourning; not a festival, but a fiasco. We have before us a government most of whose members are seditious money-grabbers. Its ministers are adolescent and ruled by trickery, as we have seen. In their own eyes they are the smart ones and to themselves they appear full of sense; all their deeds, of the majority of them, are a race after power and riches. They convert law to lawlessness, the rule of law to the rule of force and blackmail directs their moves.

So, after all, gentlemen, there is a government, a national government. Where, in the democratic world today, would a government call itself a national government, a national-patriotic government? Here, where mere citizenship is held in contempt and where, by force of law, we are faced with segregation, discrimination and strict separation of various ethnic groups. What future can the non-Jewish citizens of the state expect from the national patriotic government? What future does this national government promise to the people under military rule in the Occupied Territories for 23 years - a people with no civil rights, no human rights, no future and no hope, when the threat of mass deportation, transfer, which has found itself a place and support in this government, hovers over their heads? What is the character of this national patriotic government which wants to build anew the Third Temple?

What is the character of this national government which wants to build anew the Third Temple on the expanse of the Greater Land of Israel? Gentlemen, doesn't this call to mind the aspiration for expansion of the Third Reich at the expense of the Slavic peoples? Is it possible to grow and to expand at the expense of others only by the use of force? [Chairman demands Aloni to withdraw from the comparison to the Third Reich. Aloni does.]

Let's talk about the expansion of Pilsudsky towards a Greater Poland, and of Mussolini towards a Greater Italy. Irridentism. That is the meaning of the Greater Land of Israel. I will take back the reference to the expansion of the Third Reich at the expense of the Slavs. You said no to peace. You put constraints around our necks and now you are going to exterminate, to uproot, to silence the intifada. What does this mean - to exterminate, to silence and to uproot the intifada without talking peace, without making peace, without recognizing the rights of the others? Doesn't this mean suppressing by force to the bitter end a people who want what we wanted, when we were few and just: to be like every people, to be like every human being, masters of our fate? How will you exterminate? With pesticides? Are you going to perform another Deir Yassin to all the inhabitants of the West Bank? Will you blow up the mosques and build the Temple for presenting sacrifices? You are already preparing Cohanim (priests) for the job! Do you think the world will be silent because we are the Chosen People or maybe because they have guilt feelings towards us? How much longer can we milk the subject of anti-semitism in the service of continued colonialism? Is the Christian world going to be silent? Say it is. Is the Arab world going to be silent?

Are you going to say about this government that the people chose it, that the people authorized you to send our children like mercenaries against civilians, women and children? Did you receive our authorization to drag us into another war and bloodshed?

You were alone in power from 1981 to 1984. What did you accomplish in those years? You ruined the social fabric, you were responsible for terrible inflation, you invaded Lebanon to create a new order in the Middle East, for the sake of the Kingdom of Greater Israel. Now you have bought your power by whoring and bribing at the
cost of the destruction of general education, the destruction of health, the abandonment of the weaker parts of the society, of development towns and the aged. You bought your power by whoring and profiteering at the expense of the development of science and research. And all this for the sake of the Greater Land of Israel, for the sake of the Kingdom of Greater Israel. And, in fact you are endangering the Third Temple, the glorious creation of the Jewish people after 2000 years - the State of Israel.

In the whirlpool of your constraints, your arrogance, your huge appetite, you have dragged Israel, which had been developed, democratic, down to the status of the worst of the third world states. What kind of tomorrow does this inflated, this insular national government promise to us and our children?

The Lubavitcher Rebbe and Rabbi Shach and the rest of those conjurers and sorcerers have become the lords of this land. Remember them? They are the ones who justified the Holocaust, the monstrous murder of six million Jews, a million and a half of them children. They will also find a justification for the destruction of our Hebrew culture and the murder of our children for the sake of their Torah scholars, for the sake of their yeshivot, and for the sake of their Hasidim whirling on the graves of rabbis on every hill, on every hill and under every blooming tree.

... But you, those of you - and there are a lot - who were partners in the war of independence and the creation of Hebrew culture, the rebirth of the Hebrew language, you who once spoke about law and justice and the freedom of man, how can you be ready to endanger all that we built here and all that could be built here in these crucial days of large Aliya from the Soviet Union, for the sake of a vain dream of greatness?

How is it that you deliver yourselves to this eccentric from New York, the modern Shabbatai Zvi [a false messiah] and to the deceitful rule of Gush Emunim? How is it that you put over your own head and ours the restless "constrainer", the man of war steeped in blood from Qibya to Lebanon; and his hand is yet stretched forth?

A voice of dread rises from all over the land before your collective countenance and before your way of buying votes for your rule. This voice of dread rises before the memory of the war in Lebanon and the disintegration that came with rampant inflation.

We feel and we hope that this very voice of cry and dread will become the strength that will give us the power to stop you, to sober up and to prevent your attempt at the expansion of the Greater Land of Israel, which can not come about at the expense of others in the modern world. And this voice will come, and may it come upon us before the catastrophe which your government heralds. May it be so.

Shulamit Aloni, founder of the Citizens Rights Movement spoke at the Knesset on June 11 1990. [Translation: Judith Green] [^]


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60380. American Jewish Committee; Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems; Kulischer, Eugene M. Jewish Migrations: Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects: Part 03: 'The Wandering Jew’. Pamphlet Series: Jews and the Post War World Number 4. New York, N.Y.: American Jewish Committee, Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems, [April] 1943. "I wandered through town and country. They drowned me with wormwood and choked me with gall, they poured poison in my wounds, and made my bed on thorns, and when I would have laid down my head to rest, they made the ground tremble beneath me, and when I uplifted my complaisances they stuffed my mouth with fiery embers. In every place to which I directed my footsteps they seized me by the hair, collected wood in a pile, and thrust me into the flames. When will it end, o Lord? . . . Where the bonds of ice have been massacred or will have died of starvation and disease." -- These words were uttered by Ahasuerus, the legendary personification in Christian lore of the Wandering Jew, in Berthold Auerbach's Spinoza, written a hundred
years ago. According to the legend, Ahasuerus, because he had refused to succor Jesus on his road to Golgotha, had been condemned to eternal life and everlasting wandering, thus becoming the symbol of the Jewish nation. In the light of this legend, Judaism remains aloof; it does not merge into its surroundings; it is detached from them to live forever. But as soon as it takes root in one part of the world, the will of history flings the Jewish people into another. Jews are destined to wander, always.

We may be permitted to doubt the accuracy of these propositions. True, the "everlastingness," the presentation of the national individuality of the Jewish people, can be observed throughout its entire history. The few instances in which Jews were given the opportunity, not only formally but actually, to share completely in the life of the general populations, are not enough to make any general conclusions regarding the future adjustment. Still greater doubts can be raised concerning the truth of the second half of this statement—the everlasting wanderings of the Eternal Jew. The history of the Jewish people has been called the story of its vicissitudes. Correct—but to a great extent this applies to all nations and peoples.

The story of the whole of mankind is a story of migrations. A conspicuous example of the truth of this assertion is the United States, about forty million people having come here from Europe since 1800. The map of Europe is the product of migrations. We learned in school of the "Great Peoples' Migration," which preceded and followed the fall of Rome and is reflected in the sixth chapter of Genesis. The subsequent history of Europe has seen continued ethnic movements and changes. Let us compare the situation now and approximately 1000 years ago, four centuries after the end of the Great Migration. In 900, there was not a single German in the Berlin of today, and in modern Moscow, not one Russian. Madrid was an insignificant Moorish hamlet; in Ankara and in Constantinople—there were no Turks, in Budapest—no Hungarians.

Wandering, as we see, is certainly not a peculiarity of the Jewish people alone. Many a nation has retained in its folklore the memory of its trek in prehistoric times. Its legends tell us how large its population had become, that the land could not provide enough food for all, and how the people had to leave it, to seek a new and better country. Every child learns in Sunday School about the wanderings of the Jews which began centuries ago; the migration of Abraham to Canaan, Jacob's sojourn in Egypt, the exodus of the tribes of Israel, their forty years of trial in the desert, the conquest of the Promised Land and subsequent Jewish migrations.

"And Abram was very rich in cattle. And Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents. And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together; for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle.... And Abram said unto Lot: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt go to the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou take the right hand, then I will go to the left." -- This may be a true historical episode from the life of the forefathers of the Jews of today. In any case, it represents a typical social-economic stage in the development of a cattle-breeding people: the need of the group to split up, and the search for larger pastures by the newly formed sub-groups. Other typical phenomena in the history of mankind are subjugation, liberation from servitude and, above all, armed conflict and the conquest of new territories to live on.

The ancient Jews recorded in the Bible various incidents of their history, though not always in exact chronological order. However, the primeval wanderings of other nations lie beyond the border of history. As Horace has said in his immortal Odes, "They are covered by the eternal blackness of oblivion, because the singer who could have told us about them had not been born." Only archaeology with its study of skeletal fragments, weapons and household utensils, the religious symbols and artistic creations of the dim past, has been able to shed light on and trace the paths taken by those wandering peoples.

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Religious History of the Jews the reason why Jewish migrations did not establish any Jewish political centers: "Unlike the Puritans, the Jews could not go out and find for themselves a new empire. Not having the backing of any state, totally lacking in political or military power, they could not have embarked upon any large scale colonization, even if their aversion to statehood and their peculiar economic stratification had not precluded any such ambition. More like the French Huguenots, in the main a class of merchants and artisans, they applied for admission to the neighboring civilized countries."

The first Jewish attempt to create a political body by means of migration is being made at the present time in Palestine.

Migrations play an important part in the social and economic life of every nation. The German census of 1925 included the question: "Where were you living on 8/1/1914?" It appeared from the answers that one-fifth of Germany's population in 1925 resided in places different from their domiciles in 1914. Between 1914-1925 more than 9 million people moved from one town or province to another. Examples like this should help to change our conception of a "fixed" population.

In peace time, millions of people migrate every year from their own village, town, province, or continent. The migratory movement is at the time perpetual, universal, and partial. The illusion of the immobility of nations arises from the fact that migrations affect only a fraction of each one, at a given time. However, migrations never cease within nations.

It seldom happens that a nation in its migration moves en bloc. The wandering of entire nations is as much a myth, as is the immobility of peoples. Ethnical groups do not set out as units in this perpetual motion which only changes outwardly, and which continues throughout the history of mankind. It is the steady migration of members of groups, as individuals or en masse, which constantly breaks down old communities and forms new ones.

Along with the sudden shifting of large masses, passing like a hurricane over the earth, migrations of small groups to nearby places have also taken place at all times. It is the cumulative effect of these smaller migratory movements that has in the past, as well as in our times, created the migrations of nations. Friedrich Ratzel, the father of anthropogeography, wrote: "History is too one sided with regard to the so called migrations of peoples; it regards them as rare phenomena, historical storms, uncommon exceptions, which stir the peace in the every day life of nations. This way of looking at historical movements resembles the now discarded 'catastrophic' theory in geology. In the history of nations, as in the history of the earth, we should set out with the preconceived idea that great effects are produced by great causes. In human history, too, we must take into consideration the effects of the steady process of movement of small forces, which by accumulation become great ones."

Every emigrant usually has some reason for leaving his place of residence. Some migrate because they are unable to find work at home. Others do so in order to get better jobs. Sometimes constant humiliation and persecution because of race, nationality or religion impel people to leave. Sometimes, the hope of finding better investments for their small capital is the inducement to emigrate, and the example of relatives who have been successful abroad serves as the chief attraction.

As in all social phenomena, we can detect here, too, basic patterns and motives. These motives are either "pushing" from, like the flight of Jews from Hitler, or "pulling" towards—the rush of gold seekers into California. Forces that "push and pull" can be further classified, according to their nature, as economic, political, religious, military, and the like. But these forces bring forth migrations only when they are sufficiently powerful to offset the desire of the people to remain where they are. In other words, the propulsive force prevails over the power of inertia. A migration is the result of the "push and pull" between two territories. It takes place when there is a strong enough attractive force from one side, or an expelling force from the other. On the whole, a migration is the result of the reciprocal action between these two forces.

The main factor in the "push and pull" is economic. People go to places where living conditions are better. Science puts it this way: The migratory movement is the result of a differential pressure of population. The migratory stream flows from places where reciprocal relations between means of existence and the number of the population are unpropitious, to places where this correlation is actually or potentially more favorable.

But we should not exaggerate the importance of the economic motive. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the steppe men of Southern Russia were besieged by a nomadic horde, the evacuation of Kiev and the adjacent regions shifted northward, to the Muscovy provinces. They exchanged a rich, abundant land for dark forests and infertile swamps. It is possible to say that, however inhospitable those new places were, they presented easier means of subsistence than the old ones, under the incessant menace of invading tribes. It would be more accurate, however, to state that the main reason for this particular migration was strategic, the attraction of a locality well protected by forests. History knows still more vivid examples of migrations prompted by non-economic motives. Spanish Marranos (forced Jewish converts to Catholicism), French Huguenots, English Dissidents, left a comfortable, often rich living for an unknown future, in order to be able freely and openly to profess their faith.

Whatever the fundamental motives for emigration or the fate of these emigrant groups in their new places, they all left a land economically limited for one with more economic space. The Marranos abandoned Spain, then on the decline, and turned towards the flourishing Netherlands. Huguenots fled from a France devastated by the wars of Louis XIV, to the Netherlands, then on the rise economically, and to Germany, with its still scanty population and growing industry. English Dissidents left England with its limited possibilities for America, the land of potential opportunities.

We should add that in many instances the economic factor played an important role, though on the surface the reasons for migration were religious and political. The persecution of Protestant Huguenots in the reign of Louis XIV was carried out under the slogan of "admission to the neighboring civilized countries." Of Kiev and the adjacent regions shifted northward, to the Muscovy provinces. They exchanged a rich, abundant land for dark forests and infertile swamps. It is possible to say that, however inhospitable those new places were, they presented easier means of subsistence than the old ones, under the incessant menace of invading tribes. It would be more accurate, however, to state that the main reason for this particular migration was strategic, the attraction of a locality well protected by forests. History knows still more vivid examples of migrations prompted by non-economic motives. Spanish Marranos (forced Jewish converts to Catholicism), French Huguenots, English Dissidents, left a comfortable, often rich living for an unknown future, in order to be able freely and openly to profess their faith.

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In Jewish migrations, the economic factor played a decisive role in an overt as well as in a concealed form. Kings who welcomed the Jews did not conceal the fact that they expected in return profits for themselves and their subordinates. Those who expelled Jews or drove them to flight, uncouthly spoke of their "spiritual motives" and the impossibility for pious Christians to live peacefully side by side with the enemies of Christ. We should not minimize the significance of religious fanaticism, intertwined with "racial" enmity, but the economic motive was manifested in the very acts of violence. Not only did the mobs kill Jews, but they also pillaged their belongings. The kings who confiscated the properties of the Jews before they expelled them, followed the same procedure. Both acted, in the words of a pious chronicler, "more out of greed, than for God's righteousness." And, if we substitute "domination by a superior race" for "God's righteousness," the reflection of the chronicler on the German pogromists 800 years ago, will apply as well to their descendants today. The Teutons of today are indeed worthy of their forefathers. [=]
simple natural forces are obscured by historical events and at the same time serve to demarcate various historical epochs.

The wanderings of the Jewish people for the most part correspond to the world-wide currents of migrations in any given period. For apart from specific factors applying to Jews only, general conditions of migration also influence the trend of Jewish wanderings. This generalization is modified by the fact that the Jewish people has experienced a total "push and pull," and to that degree its migrations have differed from the general trend prevailing at any given time.

Let us examine this relationship since the time the Jews were a settled agricultural nation in Palestine.

The Jewish State in the Holy Land had long been a corridor between Mesopotamia and Asia Minor on the one side, and Egypt on the other. We know but little of the structure, character, and tendency of the human streams which flowed through that corridor in the ancient world. We are acquainted only with their outward manifestations, such as military campaigns and political expansion. Palestine was an outpost of equal importance to the great empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and Macedonia. All these powers at one time or another sought to assure their domination of this strategic area by seizing Palestine and by shifting its population. Thus came about the first mass deportation of Jews from Palestine in 721 B.C.E., when the Kingdom of Israel in the North was conquered by the Assyrians. 27,000 Jews were deported to different parts of the Assyrian Empire, and foreigners were settled in their places. During the years 597-586 B.C.E., the Southern Kingdom of Judaea came under Egyptian hegemony and in 586, it was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylonia. It was at this point that much of the Jewish population was deported and settled in different parts of the great empire. This mass deportation is represented in the Bible as the banishment of practically the whole of the country's Jewish population, but modern findings indicate that the biblical account is exaggerated.

Enforced transfer of population was often practiced by Eastern despots. In the course of time, this governmental measure was applied less often and finally was no longer practiced. 2500 years later the Nazis revived this practice in the most brutal fashion.

"By the rivers of Babylon, There sat we down, yea, we wept," says the Psalmist. At first, the Jews did not End it easy to adjust themselves to Babylonian captivity. Soon, however, they entered the economic life of Babylon, and acquired much of its rich culture. Their position improved still more after Babylon was incorporated in the Persian Empire. When the Jews were finally permitted to return to Palestine, and Ezra reestablished the Temple at Jerusalem, only a small number of exiles followed him.

The subsequent history of Babylonia Jewry is a denial of the theory of the external character of Jewish wandering. Constantly reinforced by new adherents and numerous Jewish immigrants, the Babylonian community remained for more than a thousand years even after the destruction of the Second Temple, a center of religion and culture for all Judaism.

We usually link the creation of the Diaspora with the great historical disaster of the destruction of the Temple by Vespasian and Titus in 70 C.E. It was then that the uprising of the Jews against Roman imperialism was crushed, and much of the Jewish population of the Holy Land was taken in slavery and scattered throughout the Roman Empire. But, although this political catastrophe culminated in an enforced mass emigration to the West, a movement in this direction had been in swing long before the destruction of the Temple.

The philosopher Philo asserted in the second century that the Jews constituted one-half of mankind. Other writers of that period tell us of the millions of Jews inhabiting the Roman Empire.

Students of demography are distrustful of such general figures given when statistics was not the science that it is today. The science of demography, however, endeavors to make use of data which might have been known to the ancient contemporaries, as a basis for its own calculations. For instance, the size of the army of the Crusaders was estimated on the basis of a story by an eyewitness who described the length of time which it took them to cross a certain bridge in Palestine, still in existence today.

Records of taxes prove to be the most valuable sources for population statistics. True, tax collectors were usually inclined to exaggerate the number of tax payers, while the Jewish communities were prone to underestimate them. Though usually incomplete and often fragmentary, records are being used successfully to estimate the number of Jews in different countries and periods of history.

The estimates by writers of the Roman Empire of the existence of millions of Jews are a proof of the fact that the number of Jews was large enough to elicit amazement on the part of their contemporaries. It is possible that the huge Jewish population of the Roman Empire was the consequence of emigration of Jews from the East. Still it cannot be completely explained without taking into consideration the mass proselytism of pagans. Judaism was then a missionary religion. It is not our task to discuss the theories of the mass conversion to Judaism of Phoenicians and Carthaginians, nations spread throughout the Empire and closely related to Jews by descent and particularly, language. It is sufficient to say that Jewish proselytism was extremely active until the second century, when Christianity began to spread amongst the heathens and the erstwhile pagan converts to Judaism.

As a result of migrations and conversions at the zenith of the Roman Empire, Jewish communities stretched in a long chain along the African and European coasts of the Mediterranean, and penetrated deep into the European continent. Thus, Jews inhabited Cologne and Treves long before the Germans invaded the Roman provinces bordering on the Rhine.

A new large-scale Jewish migration, influenced by the movement of the Arabs, began in the eighth century. In the reign of Mohammad's successors, Arab tribes united by the warring missionary zeal of Islam left their desert peninsula to spread in two directions, westward along the cost of Northern Africa, through Gibraltar, to Spain and France; and eastward through Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran to the Caucasus and the Pamir mountains in Central Asia. Their terrific pressure profoundly affected the populations of the three continents. With the exception of the earliest campaigns, the Arabs were in the minority in this victorious march of the prophet's conquering armies. Their bulk was composed of peoples conquered by the earlier converts and carried onward by the Arab torrent for further conquests. The Arab-Moorish armies which had vanquished Spain were composed chiefly of African Berbers. Such was their commander in chief, Tarik, whose name was given to Gibraltar—Gibr-al-Tarik, the Bridge of Tarik.

The Arab expansion could not fail to affect the Jews. Caliphate, which established law and order in its enormous territory, opened up new outlets and lent a wider scope for economic activities. Jews reached the Caucasus together with the Arab invaders. Here they came in contact with the Khazars, whose upper classes as a result embraced Judaism. Together with these, the Jews penetrated into the vast lands of the Slavs, some of whom were vassals of the conquering Khazars.

In their western migration, Jews settled mainly among the Mohammedans of Spain. In the East, the Caliphate of Bagdad was weakening under the growing pressure of the nomadic Turks. As early as the end of the ninth century, an exodus of Jews started, therefore, from the East to Northern 16

Africa and Spain. True, until the twelfth century the majority of Jews still lived in the East, but simultaneously, on the Iberian peninsula, a new population and cultural center of Judaism was rising. Formed under Arab rule, it held its ground for centuries after the greater part of Spain was reconquered by Christians.

In the eighth century, Jews, along with the Arabs, had already passed beyond the Pyrenees, to Provence. Then they moved on northward beyond the Arab conquered territories, down the Rhine to England, and up the Danube to the Slavic East. In the tenth century, Jewish merchants from the West encountered in Kiev their coreligionists coming from the East.

The Jewish people who settled in Christian Europe were driven to a new and tragic migration in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. First, the hordes of the First Crusade perpetrated pogroms on an
unprecedented scale in the name of a merciful God. The chronicler in his description of the subsequent extermination of these bands in Hungary and in Asia Minor, intimating that this was God's punishment for the atrocities committed by the Crusaders against the Jews. Since then, persecution of Jews became a permanent part of the social and political life of Christian Europe. Pretexts for pogroms such as the blood libel and desecration of the host frequently made their appearance. In the cities, the rising Christian and handicraft guilds deprived the Jews of the possibility of making a living. Jews, therefore, moved eastward beyond the Elbe and settled in Poland.

Jewish emigration to the East was determined, however, not only by the desire to escape persecution, but also by the general population "pull" towards Eastern Europe. The twelfth to the fourteenth century saw a great German colonizing migration to the Slavic East. Germans went as conquerors. They also came as colonists on the invitation of Slavic princes, who wished to have their territories settled and developed. Agrarian colonization went hand in hand with urban settlement. Cities and settlements of newly arrived merchants and artisans sprang up. In many cases Jews were the pioneers in this urban migration in which they took part, the same as the Germans. Every man with some skill or capital was a valuable acquisition, and Jews were therefore welcome guests in Poland.

German colonization came to a halt in the fourteenth century. But the Jews, fleeing from persecution in Western Europe, continued to move along the paths that had been blazed. Jewish pogroms in the West reached their culmination in 1349-1351, during the terrible epidemic of the Black Death, when Jews were accused of plotting the death of Christians by poisoning wells.

Previously, toward the end of the thirteenth century, they had been exiled from England, and in the fourteenth century from France. Their treatment in the German feudal domains usually followed a twofold pattern: first they would be admitted, so that they might prosper and provide substantial revenues; then they would be banished so that the rulers might appropriate their property for themselves. Indeed, the analogy of the Wandering Jew may with justice be applied to the Jews resident in Western Europe during that period. In Poland, however, Jews remained comparatively untroubled for many centuries. From there, they spread throughout Lithuania and the Ukraine, then parts of the Polish State. Here a new Jewish center came into being. It replaced the Spanish center, which came to an end in 1492.

Four decisive events took place in the second half of the fifteenth century. They were the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453); the fall of Granada, the last outpost of Islam on the Iberian peninsula, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the discovery of America, the last three events taking place in 1492. These are closely linked. During the preceding two centuries, the Turks had established themselves in the Near East. They had cut off Europe from the East, deprived her of trade connections, and, penetrating deeper into the North, they threatened to curtail Christian Europe's "living space." Their gigantic blows were felt throughout the continent. Spain, deprived of her political and economic influence in the Mediterranean, was forced to seek other outlets; she therefore drove the Moors back into Africa and began to search for new trade routes. The material effects of the discovery of the new continent were not felt immediately. Previously the Spaniards, following the line of least resistance, had endeavored to expand their "living space" partially at the expense of the Jews. A century of persecution was climaxed by a Royal Decree of 1492, ordering Jews to choose between Christianity and exile.

As a consequence of intermittent persecution, thousands of Jews in Spain had already adopted Catholicism. Many had done so only in appearance and secrecy continued to practice Judaism. It is estimated that there were in Spain 250000 Jews who practiced their religion openly at the time of the expulsion decree. 50000, preferring to remain in Spain, embraced the Christian faith. The rest left the country. Thousands of exiles perished at sea, en route to their new homes. A smaller number settled in the Netherlands, where the Jewish colony was to play an important part in the cultural life of the Jewish people, as well as in the economic history of Europe. However, Marranos continued to leave Spain in a small but steady stream for several centuries thereafter. The largest group among the Spanish Jews, about 100000, settled in the Turkish Empire.

It was a historical irony that Jews, banished from Spain, should find themselves, after a roundabout journey in the very same country—Turkey, whose blows made the whole of Europe tremble. Jews gained a footing in the economic life of the Balkans and the Near East. In the face of the growing might of Russia, its nationalism, and its great power on the Bosphorus. The conquerors did not, however, have a commercial-industrial class of their own. Jews ably supplied this want, and served in this capacity for a long time. Turkey became the promised land for Jews, who streamed into the Ottoman Empire from all parts of Western and Middle Europe. The Jews of Spanish origin, however, predominated.

Thus, beginning with the fifteenth century, a new center of Judaism arose in Turkey. In turn, Turkish pressure gave rise in the middle of the seventeenth century to a new emigration from the largest Jewish center, the Polish-Lithuanian area, back to Western Europe.

The intensive colonization of the Ukraine began in the sixteenth century. The landowners were Poles, and the peasants, Ukrainians. The Jews were the administrators and middlemen. As the oppression by the Polish landowners increased, many peasants fled their serfdom by retreating further into the steppes and becoming free roving Cossacks. They lived on cattle and robbery of neighboring territories. The Turkish sultan, who controlled the Black Sea coast, brought pressure to bear on the Polish government to take rigorous steps against the Cossacks. In answer, the Cossacks rebelled against Poland in 1648, under the command of their national hero Bohdan Chmielnicki, and in alliance with the Tartars, subjects of the sultan. This campaign brought with it a general rising of the peasants of the Ukraine, which in turn resulted in a mass slaughter of Jews.

This was the first blow that spurred the Jews to move back to the West. But the roots of the movement lay deeper. Poland had lost her domination over Eastern Europe. Centuries of expansion gave way to centuries of political retreat in the face of the growing might of Russia, and of an economic decline which deeply affected the Jews for the worse. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Polish Jews therefore emigrated in small but steady numbers to Germany, where they were given no rights and were subject to humiliation. The partition of Poland toward the end of the eighteenth century brought many Jews under the rule of Prussia, and, incidentally, nearer to Western Europe. Actually, however, it was only from the time of Jewish emancipation in the German states in the middle of the nineteenth century, that emigration to the West opened wide vistas for the Jews. The Jews stood between the peasant and the nobleman in Poland. They form one fourth of the population, they are engaged in all kinds of trades, and so they can call themselves the third estate of Poland. Therefore, our editors of statistical manuals, who apply to everything a French or a German measure, are completely in the wrong when they write that Poland does not have its tiers etat. True, that class of people is sharply separated from the others, and its members are busy commenting incorrectly on the Old Testament. True, this class is outwardly still far from reaching the bourgeois ideal. But all the same, by their number and their standing Jews in Poland have a greater political economic significance than in Germany.

Jewish emigration continued. But the Jews, fleeing from persecution in Western Europe, continued to move along the paths that had been blazed. Jewish pogroms in the West reached their culmination in 1349-1351, during the terrible epidemic of the Black Death, when Jews were accused of plotting the death of Christians by poisoning wells.
Simultaneously, Galician Jews began to move to Vienna as well as to Germany. Many Eastern European Jews fleeing from the Pale of Settlement (that area of the Russian Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland in which the immense majority of Russian Jews were forced to live), also settled in Germany, particularly after the pogroms of 1905. Investigations made in various parts of Germany showed that 10-30% of the employed Jewish population had been born abroad. In the case of Saxony this proportion was 50%. Alsatian Jews, who preferred to live under France following the annexation in 1871 of Alsace Lorraine by Germany following the Franco-Prussian war, settled mainly in Paris. Germany was not the only European country to which Eastern European Jews emigrated. Many went to the great cities of the West. Especially after the pogroms of the 1880s, migration was directed more and more to London. In 1880 there were less than 100000 Jews in England; towards the end of the century, that figure had more than doubled. Paris also became a center of migration for Eastern European Jews. The final destination of both the general and Jewish migrations of the nineteenth century was the Western Hemisphere. The migration of masses of Europeans to great industrial centers and the process of colonizing the New World are closely linked. Together with the export of capital, large numbers of Europeans went to these comparatively still unsettled countries and step by step built up new wealth and prosperity for their old and new fatherslands. At the same time, these 40 million emigrants eased the population pressure in the thickly populated countries of Europe. The immigrants helped to create new means of existence for the quickly growing populations of the new countries, as well as of Europe. Vast spaces of rich and fertile land in North America, Latin America, South Africa, and Australia became populated. The development of navigation facilitated the transport of wheat, meat, minerals and cotton. Europe acquired new sources of cheap food and inexpensive raw materials, and became more and more industrialized. The new countries also served as markets for European industrial production, which, in return, sent to Europe the products of their rural economy. Jews played an important role in this industrial boom of Western Europe.

When Heine wrote these lines in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jews were indeed the “third estate” of Poland, a poor and humiliated class. And yet Polish-Lithuanian Jewry, by the virtue of its numbers and religious and cultural milieu, retained its position as the foremost Jewish center until World War I. The new great Trans-Atlantic migration of the Jews to the West, which began late in the nineteenth century, was also but a part of an enormous world-wide movement of peoples. In geography a watershed is the dividing ridge, from which rivers flow in different directions to different seas. Similarly, watersheds are encountered in the wandering streams of humanity. In the nineteenth century, the watershed of migratory currents in Europe passed from North to South—from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea, following approximately the line established as the western Soviet border in 1921. If we look at the map we see that to the left of this line migrations go westward, and to the right of it, they go eastward. For a hundred years a gradual shifting of the population was taking place intermittently in Poland and Germany. Beginning with the sixties of the nineteenth century, the movement became accentuated. The exodus of villagers from Eastern Germany flooded Berlin and the industrial Rhine-Ruhr area; the districts with millions of newcomers. A radical change in the ethnic composition of the German people took place and the population of Western Germany was soon outnumbered by the proliferating descendants of Prussian serfs.

The places left vacant by the Germans in Eastern Prussia and other German provinces were occupied by Polish peasants who made up for the so closely linked with the colonization across the Atlantic. Emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe was made possible because of the economic growth of the European trade and industrial centers, which opened a wide field for the enterprise of Jews. But it was the migration to the New World that was most important for Jewish history. Jews have been linked with America ever since its discovery. The expedition of Christopher Columbus was financed by Marranos. The first European to step on American soil was a Marrano, Torres, Columbus’ interpreter of oriental languages. Jews were prominent in the economic development of the New World. During the first centuries, following her discovery however, America could not serve as the place of mass colonization by Jews, or, indeed, for any really large-scale immigration.

We can hardly imagine what migration to America meant to our ancestors. In 1847, of 90000 emigrants who sailed for Canada in British ships, 15000 died en route. In the same year, the Congress of the United States ascertained that, because of the overcrowding of the ships, immigrants frequently arrived in the Port of New York in a poor state of health—many of them so weak that they could hardly walk. As a result, Congress passed legislation regulating the minimum amount of space to be assigned to passengers on deck. In 1860, another law was issued to protect women passengers against the objectionable conduct of the crews.

On the average, 15,000 people migrated annually to the United States around 1820. Their number had increased to more than 100000 by 1890, and by 1905 it surpassed 1 million. The major countries of emigration had also changed with the years. Until 1850 most immigrants came from Great Britain, Ireland and Western Germany. In the next thirty years, Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, Eastern Germany, Bohemia and Austria began to furnish immigrants. Beginning with the outbreak of the South Eastern, and Eastern Europe followed suit. The "pull" of the New World was felt further and further away from the shores of the Atlantic.

Jews had been going to America together with other inhabitants of the various countries where they had been living. In the first period, the emigration of the Spanish and Portuguese Marranos and the Dutch Jews took place. Relatively few Polish Jews reached America in the eighteenth century in their flight from the bloody massacres by the Ukrainian Cossacks. They were part of the general and rather small Polish emigration to America. It was then that Kosciuszkto, the future hero of the Polish revolution, came to America.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Germans constituted the bulk of Jewish immigrants to America, although they too were not numerous. Germany at that time supplied the United States with more immigrants than any country except the British Isles. The special reasons which prompted so many Jews to leave Germany were the prevalent spirit of "Teutonomania," and the reintroduction of anti-Jewish laws after the defeat of Napoleon, and later, the failure of the Revolution of 1848.

The Russian pogroms in the 1880s were the signal for a mass exodus of Jews, a movement which assumed enormous proportions as economic conditions grew worse. The rapid growth of the Eastern European Jewish population in cities within the Pale of Settlement, together with the disproportionately large percentage of small tradesmen and petty middlemen among them with obsolete techniques, limited their opportunities in their places of residence. Competition, which led to pauperization, reached catastrophic dimensions in the 1880s following the forced transplantation of about 1.3 million, or one-third of the total Jewish population from the villages to the towns. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Jewish craftsmen found it more and more difficult to compete with the rapidly developing big Russian industry. In factories, the mass character only after the United States had become an advanced industrial nation. Then every immigrant could obtain work upon his

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land. Industrialization was especially significant for Jews, who were comparatively strangers to agricultural life.

The desire to accept newcomers in the countries of immigration corresponded with the existing objective conditions for their absorption. The beginning of the period of mass migration belongs to a time, now almost legendary, when emigrants were avidly recruited and sought after. While anti-immigration tendencies in the United States became manifest in the middle of the nineteenth century, the effects of the ever mounting anti-alien agitation bore fruit after the First World War, with the issuance of the quota laws of 1921 and 1924.

In the period from 1881-1914, 27.5 million persons came to the United States. Of these, 2.25 million were Jews. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish immigrants came from Eastern Europe, Russian and Austrian Poland, Rumania, the Baltics, White Russia, and the Ukraine. The last named country lies beyond the watershed. Only the Jewish migratory stream went from there to the West. Christian emigrants from the Ukraine fumed their faces eastward, to the vast expanses of the Russian Empire, Siberia and Middle Asia beyond the Urals.

Earlier, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Russian Jews migrated to the thinly populated region of lower Ukraine annexed by Russia from Turkey. The Tsarist Government in its desire to populate this area, permitted Jews to settle there, but at the same time prohibited their residence in the Russian Interior.

The Russian Pale of Settlement was both a symbol of Jewish lack of rights and a barrier to migration to the East. It was the severest of the multifarious restrictions from which the Jews of Russia suffered until 1917. Millions were forcibly detained within a certain territory, together with the growing non-Jewish population of towns and villages, while the boundless spaces of the Russian Empire remained closed to them. Jewish initiative could have been of much use in the Interior of Russia and her outlying provinces. Indeed, the rapid industrial growth of the country demanded technical as well as commercial workers, but the existing laws permitted only a small and privileged class of Jews to live where they pleased in the Empire. They were university graduates, merchants with large capital, certain classes of artisans and several other privileged categories. The preponderant majority had only one way out—America.

The situation underwent a drastic change during World War I. Accused of espionage by some Poles and reactionary army officers, Jews were exiled from the war zone. During the great Russian retreat, this measure was further extended to the entire Jewish population, in order to depopulate the territory to be abandoned. And so, more than 500,000 Jews whose one ambition had been to get out of the Pale of Settlement, suddenly found themselves forced out of it.

The Civil War of 1918-1920 brought new pogroms to the Ukraine, the most cruel and widespread since the eighteenth century. Masses of Jews fled the pogroms of the armies of Petlura, of the "White Guards," and sometimes, the chastisement of the "Reds," who considered Jews to be a "bourgeois element." In the years 1918-1921, nearly 300,000 Jews emigrated from Russia to the West. During the same time more than 1 million anti-Bolshevik "Whites" of all faiths and nationalities left Russia.

Revolution is often compared to storms. It would be more accurate to compare a revolution to a whirlpool, where normal movement is replaced by a destructive and rapid rotation. As soon as the bloody Civil War had subsided, large-scale internal migrations were resumed. As a consequence of the growing industrialization of the Soviet Union, masses of people moved both to the old industrial centers, and to the Far East. The Soviet Statistical Bureau points out that "a significant transfer of people took place from the Ukraine and Byelorussia (White Russia) to the industrial centers of Russia." Along with this migration, 600,000 Jews from the Ukraine and Byelorussia settled in the Interior, the Ural mountains, Middle Asia and the Soviet Far East between 1920-1939.

Hitler's invasion of Russia gave the final impetus to the Eastward migration of the Soviet Jews. In Latvia and Lithuania, where there was no time for evacuation, practically the whole of the Jewish population was trapped by the Germans. However a considerable part, probably over one million of the total Jewish population of over 2 million of the Ukraine, and adjacent Great-Russian regions managed to escape in time.

Thus over 2.5 million Jews are now living in the territories of the USSR, which the Nazis were prevented from occupying. The Russian Jewish community outside the Pale of Settlement which before the revolution harbored but a small number of Jews, became second in size to that of the United States.

Between the two wars, migrations to the West and overseas were resumed on the Western side of the "watershed." About 350000 Jews, mostly from Poland and Rumania, left for the United States between 1918-1926. The new quota law of 1924 severely restricted Jewish immigration to the United States, because it affected particularly those European countries where Jews were concentrated. Migration to other overseas countries and especially Palestine became increasingly important, but none of these outlets could be compared with the United States. From 1881-1925, Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe attained the figure of 3.5 million. Of these, a little less than 500000 went to Western Europe, and more than 2.5 million to the United States. The remaining 500000 were dispersed outside the European continent.

After 1925, the greatest flow was directed to Palestine, which received over 300000 persons until 1941. Other emigrants were scattered through 42 countries across the ocean. They did not go where they wished, or where there was a better chance to live decency: they went where they were permitted to enter. Generally speaking, the closing of the safety valve of world immigration, which relieved in a large measure population pressure in Europe, contributed greatly to the rise of fascism, and in turn to the present world conflagration.

Every migration is influenced by the dynamics of "push and pull." The tragedy of recent Jewish migrations lies in the fact that they took place under the influence of "pushing" forces only, especially since Hitler's domination. Persecutions created an overpowering desire to emigrate, but opportunities for emigration remained severely limited. The economic crisis of 1929-1932 seriously affected the whole world. Planned migration did not exist, and even the small afflux of foreigners was resented by alien-bating demagogues as an evil to guard against.

Before Hitler's rise to power in Germany and his seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia, there were about 850000 Jews in those countries. Of these, 450,000 managed to escape before America's entry into the war, while it was still possible to do so. Of those who did escape, 100000 came again under the Nazi rule in the European countries where they had fled. The question of admitting at least some of the millions of European Jews who were directly menaced by threat of Nazi invasion or even afterwards to the United States or any other democratic country was not even raised. They were a sacrifice to the "holy quota." Even the few thousand German, Polish and Russian Jewish refugees who found themselves in Unoccupied France, found all doors closed in their efforts to escape deportation to the ghettos of Eastern Europe.

At the very time when at countless meetings, beautiful phrases on solidarity and the fight for democracy against fascism were being constantly repeated, bureaucrats narrow-mindedly, and sometimes with deliberate intent motivated by inhuman attitudes or fascist sympathies sabotaged the possibility of saving the victims who could still have been rescued. This continued until the doors of Hitler's prisons closed upon those who had been refused asylum by the democracies.

At the same time Hitler is continuing to solve the Jewish problem by migration—forced migration to the ghettos and concentration camps of Poland and Occupied Russia. The motives which determined this policy were many and complicated. The irrational sadistic instincts of the Fuhrer and his followers cannot be discounted. Robbery is the motive for the practice of first stripping the exiles of all their belongings during their deportation and later exterminating them. Another important motive is the intention of the Nazis to make use of Jewish manpower. Until December 1942, the Nazis deported to the East more than 2750000 Jews. These were doomed to die in the ghettos and in concentration camps, together with the remaining one and a half to two million Polish Jews. But deportation to Poland was merely a makeshift as the Nazis
transferred Jews en masse to the occupied Soviet areas. Rumanians followed suit. They had already cleared Bessarabia and Bukovina of Jews by deporting 185000 to Occupied Ukraine. By the end of 1942, the Slovaks had deported 70000 of the entire Jewish population of 90000.

At first the Nazis toyed with the idea of creating a "reservation," where Jews would live segregated completely from the "Aryan" populations, or, more accurately, where they would slowly die out. This was the reason for the unsuccessful Lublin Reservation. The Nazis yields children, who continue for 15-25 years to be an originally planned to deport Jews on a world-wide scale after their intended victory in the present war to either Madagascar or the Northeastern corner of European Russia. Peter-Heinz Seraphim, a Baltic German, and Nazi "expert" on the Jewish question, relates with pride how Germany has solved both the Jewish problem and the problem of Jewish migration in her own country. "But," he concludes, "the long wanderings of the Jewish people will not come to an end in the present period; this migratory movement will end only when an inter-governmental and universally binding agreement on the Jewish question will be reached." In other words, if Germany wins, the conquered countries will do as Hitler pleases.

But what will happen when Germany is defeated and rendered harmless? Will the hundreds of thousands of Jews deported by Hitler, and the hundreds of thousands evacuated by the Soviets return "home" to the West? Or, will one part of these forced exiles, Polish, Rumanian, and other European Jews remain where they are now, by their own free will as has already happened in Jewish history? Will they make their present refuge a new fatherland? The answer to these questions depends on the social and economic conditions which will prevail in Eastern Europe after the war. Equally important are the directions and possibilities of post-war migrations. Emigration of Jews and non-Jews from Europe will depend, first of all, on the extent to which the countries across the ocean and Palestine's Mandatory will be ready to accept immigrants. A great deal depends on whether the nations and their governments will understand that the problem of migrations must be solved in the interests of securing world-wide order. The psychology of isolationism must be abandoned for that of international collaboration, and the dread of migrations must be substituted by the acknowledgment of all of the benefits which, when rightly directed, migrations would contribute to the world. [\[60382. American Jewish Committee; Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems; Kulischer, Eugene M. Jewish Migrations: Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects: Part 05: Immigration, An Asset. Pamphlet Series: Jews and the Post War World Number 4. New York, N.Y.: American Jewish Committee, Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems, [April] 1943. Differing opinions exist on the cultural and economic role played by immigrants in the life of the country of their immigration. Some think that immigrants are under all circumstances an asset to their new country, because they supply it with ready labor, thus saving the state the expense of training workers. Attempts have even been made to calculate the average cost of "educating" a worker, and, on this basis, also the "capital" which a nation acquires with the entry of every new immigrant. On the other hand, some think that every immigrant is a burden. They say that even if a country is thinly peopled, the needed population can be acquired through the natural increase of its inhabitants rather than by immigration. It is maintained that immigrants usurp the place of the unborn children and grandchildren of the local population and tend to use the free productive forces of the country, which should be reserved for the natives' own descendants. To substantiate their argument, the opponents of immigration cite calculations designed to prove that had the original settlers in some overseas countries not been compelled to face the economic competition of immigrants, they would eventually have produced a population as great as that provided by the continuous immigration. Science refutes both extreme views. It knows that overpopulated countries where immigration would constitute a heavy burden. But it also admits that for an underpopulated country, immigration is the only means of utilizing of its productive forces and assuring a development commensurate with its natural resources. Furthermore, progress can be achieved only through an influx of manpower in places where, because of the natural richness, the means of existence can be increased far beyond the hitherto reached levels, and where the potential possibilities surpass actual production and returns. The eminent German economist, Gustav Schmoller says: "... We should not overlook the fact that the increase of population through immigration... essentially provides trained and capable people, not sucklings... Natural increase is the means of securing world-wide order. The psychology of isolationism must be transplanted by immigrants from country to country. The natural increase of a country's population is possible only when the work of its inhabitants produces the necessary means for the upbringing of their children. Only immediately available manpower, adult and ready for work—in other words, immigrants, can speed the underpopulated country's progress towards a richer future. Immigration can also be of great use even to a well populated country, provided that it is of the right quality. Such selective immigration not only creates the means for its own existence, but also expands the prevailing possibilities, and even prepares the way for a further influx. It introduces and develops new forms of economy. The work and the example set by the new immigrant "bearers of culture," bring ever increasing returns. J.P. Sussmilch, a German economist of the nineteenth century said: "A native subject is generally better than two immigrants." Schmoller replied: "If we think of the Huguenots, the Salzburgers, the Saxons, the Dutch and the emigrants from the Palatinate, this statement can be reversed with equal justice. Immigrants of their kind were worth twice as much as the native subjects, and more."

Civilization spreads by the process of one country borrowing the achievements of another. This can take place only through the medium of people. Adam Smith had already pointed out in the eighteenth century that a number of methods and fields of production were transplanted by immigrants from country to country. We often tend to draw sharp distinctions between the two types of emigrants—the political-religious, namely, people who leave their countries because of religious and political discrimination, and the "economic," those who leave their homes in search of better ways of earning a livelihood. Emigrants of the first type are usually acknowledged to be the superior and the more useful kind. We should not, however, exaggerate these differences. The "economic" immigration does not consist exclusively of people who were incapable of making a living in their own countries because of their own unfitness or shortcomings. On the contrary, immigrants of this type are often the most energetic, the bravest and the most enterprising. The fact that they left their countries proves both that economic conditions there were not satisfactory and that these individuals were sufficiently enterprising to seek better opportunities elsewhere. While it is true in the case of the political and religious emigres that most of them could have made a comfortable living in their original homes, had they been left alone, the fact also remains that much of the persecution is due to envy because of their success in the economic field. How often are politics, religion, and race but a screen for those who aim to be enriched at the expense of the persecuted, or to eliminate economic rivals. While giving due honor to the nations and countries that have helped and protected the oppressed, we should at the same time realize that their motives have not always been entirely altruistic. A cogent consideration was the awareness that they would acquire allies in the fight against the common enemy. Protestant countries admitted Huguenots—fed, clothed and helped them because these refugees were equally as great enemies of the Catholics who drove them out as were the Protestant governments and nations which came to their assistance. French aristocrats fleeing the revolutionary terror were able to find hospitality in the European monarchies, because the monarchs hated the revolution as much as did the emigres.

In the past, people of the same ideological convictions, facing the same enemy, united against him. Help to allies was not merely a humanitarian duty. In was an imperative political reality. Tua res
agitur—your own interest is at stake!

Aside from humanitarian motives there was also the desire to obtain certain gains which only refugees could bring. The combining of humanitarian action and sagacious politics brought economic and cultural advantages to many countries.

The best example is that of the Huguenot Protestants. About 250000-300000 of them fleeing from France at the end of the seventeenth century, found a welcome in England, and in 1760 the city of England welcomed about 60000 Huguenot refugees, an enormous figure, if we consider that upon the invitation of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen. In the twentieth century the Jews, Spain experienced a marked economic decline. Antwerp, where the Marranos went, enjoyed prosperity as long as they remained there. When Holland won her independence, the Jews migrated to Amsterdam.

Thus governments, the Church and private enterprise gave the Huguenots support on a large scale. Officers, lawyers and clerks were given governmental jobs, while merchants, manufacturers and artisans obtained generous privileges for trade and work. Those who prophesied that their country would benefit from the influx of refugees, were not mistaken. The Huguenot mass immigration proved to be a brilliant example of the economic history of the countries which admitted them. In one of the Berlin museums there is a painting portraying the arrival of pitiful Huguenots with their bundles on their backs and their household utensils laden on little carts. A few years later, some of these very same pathetic wanderers were occupying leading positions in industrial, trade, military and administrative spheres. For the backward German countries, the activity of the Huguenots proved to be the beginning of a new economic era. But even in more progressive countries such as Holland and England, the Huguenots not only co-operated in the development of the numerous existing trades, but also brought with them new skills and industries, previously unknown in these localities.

The latter immigration refers to the Protestant refugees who had escaped the terror of the Spanish Duke of Alba in Flanders. Welcomed by Queen Elizabeth, they completely revolutionized England's textile industry. As for the Huguenots, it was they who introduced the manufacture of sailcloth which laid the basis for British sea power.

The history of Jewish wanderings shows many similar examples. To enumerate all that the Jews have brought into every new country of their immigration would require a detailed history of their wanderings. In the words of Mark Wischnitzer, a student of Jewish migrations: "It is not true that the Jewish people experienced only the fate of wanderers; wherever they could settle down, they worked and created cultural values."

Jews brought into the new countries not only their culture and art, but also skills and crafts. It is said that the Turkish Sultan Bajazet upon hearing that the King of Spain had decided to exile the Jews in 1492, exclaimed: "You call Ferdinand a wise king—he who has made his country poor and enriched ours!" Whether these words were actually uttered or not, they do describe both the objective consequences of the exile of the Jews, and the reaction of the Turkish Government to it. The reception accorded the Jewish exiles in the Ottoman Empire and the freedom which they enjoyed played an important part in the history of Turkey. A French traveler who visited Turkey in the middle of the sixteenth century complained that, to the detriment of Christian nations, Spanish Jews acquainted the Turks with various inventions in the field of arms, such as artillery pieces, the arquebuse and gun powder. The relations of the Turkish Jews with their co-religionists abroad proved very useful, especially in international trade.

We could compile a very long list of all that the Jewish immigrants did for the economic welfare of different nations. In the sixteenth century they brought silk to Italy, where many of them came upon the invitation of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen. In the twentieth century they brought wherever they settled the artificial silk knit goods industry from Hitler Germany. The emigration of Marranos from Spain to the Netherlands is another outstanding example. After the exodus of the Jews, Spain experienced a marked economic decline. Antwerp, where the Marranos went, enjoyed prosperity as long as they remained there. When Holland won her independence, the Jews migrated to Amsterdam. This small country soon became the center of world-wide trade, and the Jews introduced a new technique of credit, commercial transactions, and of monetary circulation. They were the founders of the Amsterdam stock exchange—the first institution of this kind in the modern sense of the word. Later, in conjunction with the Dutch, they created the London stock exchange after the pattern of Amsterdam, as well as the Bank of England.

The eminent German economist, Werner Sombart, who could not by any stretch of imagination be termed a friend of the Jews, summarizing his research into the reciprocal relations between migrations of Jews and the economic evolution of various countries, said in his work The Jews and Modern Capitalism: "From the first day of its discovery America has had a strong influence on the economic life of Europe and on the whole of its civilization; and therefore the part which the Jews have played in building up the American world is of supreme importance as an element in modern development."

The first industrial enterprises in the American colonies were created by Jews. In Portuguese Brazil, the Marranos founded the sugar industry as early as the sixteenth century. The greatest boom in Brazil's colonial stage occurred when it was temporarily taken over by the Dutch, with the result that Dutch Jews began to settle there. When Brazil once again reverted to the Portuguese, the exiled Jews transferred sugar refining, a most important industry, to the British West Indies.

Our list could be extended to our own days. Well known is the part which the Jews have played in the economic structure in the era of capitalism, a period of private initiative and free competition. But what of the contribution of Jews to economic progress in the present age of transition from individual initiative to regulated economy? The different stages in the economic development of mankind are the logical developments of preceding stages. The Russian Jews who were permitted to leave the Pale of Settlement following the abolition of Tsarism are making important contributions to the economic life of the Soviets. And, whatever one may think of the political and social aims of the Soviet Union and of its economic structure, its citizens have shown themselves more than capable of preparing their country for the bloody struggle of today.

Numerous and important as were the Jewish contributions to trade and industry, and acknowledged as they are even by anti-Semites, we should not overlook the equally important role of Jews in cultural life. The Jewish center in Spain, formed during the Arab period, was a significant factor both in the cultural and economic life of Europe. Not only were Jews middlemen in international trade, but they also constituted the link between the science of the West and East. Together with the Arabs, they preserved the treasures of ancient Greek learning, cultivated it, and passed it on to the people of New Europe. Not only did Marranos finance the first voyage of Columbus but the author of the astronomical tables used by the discoverer of America and his maritime contemporaries was also a Marrano. On the basis of these tables, two Marranos and two Christians invented the astrolabe, an instrument used for computing distances from the equator and indispensable in early navigation.
Here is another example: Beginning with the early nineteenth century, there was a steady influx of Polish Jews to Berlin and to Western Germany. This illustrates the type of creative immigration which is in no way a burden to the existing population. On the contrary, it opens up new possibilities for economic development. Advancing German industry in which Jews actively participated as well as the export of manufactured products, which had been organized by Jews, gave work to millions of Germans. These Jews also contributed greatly to German culture. Nazi "science" in its assiduous genealogical search for Jewish antecedents of famous Germans has proved a point which even the greatest enemies of the Germans would not have been able to assert before, namely, that German culture, in all its aspects from the department store to the Nobel Prize winner, was, in fact not German, but German-Jewish. This fact is now receiving greater recognition as illustrated by the statement of Winston Churchill on 8/21/1940, that "since the Germans drove out the Jews and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs."

In conclusion, let us briefly analyze the opinion that immigration has proved to be useful only in countries with no surplus of manpower and no unemployment. We have, however, already seen that this is not always true. In Germany, at the end of the nineteenth century, there was an abundance of manpower but it was the influx of Jews which through the development of various industries, provided work for it. Overpopulation is a relative concept, and should be judged from the point of view of economics. The true criterion of density of population is not physical but economic, and the correlation between the numbers of the population and the means of subsistence should be taken into consideration. A given territory may become overcrowded for a hunting tribe comprising a few hundred people and unable to find the needed game or, for a nomad group of several thousand families and insufficient pasture, whereas the same area could sustain a farming population ten times larger than the nomad group or even a population of a million, if modern Western industrial and agricultural technique were utilized. There have always been underpopulated and overpopulated countries in relation to the existing conditions of production and exchange. Each new influx has always proved useful for countries underpopulated in this sense. Even in overpopulated countries, immigration has been helpful when it has improved economic and cultural standards.

We must not think that creative immigration, which seems to us today so obviously beneficial, was always welcomed in its own days. What becomes clear with the lapse of time could not be foreseen by all contemporaries. There have always been groups of people to whom an influx of foreigners was highly inconvenient. The historian often encounters complaints against Jews and Huguenots lodged by merchants and artisans guilds, with the oft-repeated arguments that foreigners take their bread away, that they compete by underselling and upset the existing price structure. But even in such cases, the local population eventually profited by the immigration. The lowering of prices which produced a large turnover at smaller profits per unit led to a quickened development of trade.

In the new country, across the ocean, the usefulness of immigrants is determined by the practical needs of colonization. The trained agriculturist, the skilled worker, the engineer, the physician—compose a class of immigrants that can advantageously be used in new countries. Let us use as an example the case of the pure scientist. Malthus issues his teachings on population, Darwin builds on it his theory of selection, innumerable research workers adapt it to the domain of practical biology, and the final results are for the tangible benefit of all. Maxwell and Herz develop the science of electromagnetic waves, and Marconi applies it to wireless telegraphy, an invention adapted better organized from the point of view of health and hygiene. As with the others, the chief factor in the growth of the Jewish population eventually profited by the immigration. The lowering of prices which produced a large turnover at smaller profits per unit led to a quickened development of trade.

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Migrant provides most of the answer. And Jewish migration involved a large proportion of the Jewish people over an extensive period of time. Jews went from East to West—from countries with a lower level of civilization to those with a higher level. The other population shift was that from small towns to larger cities, often metropolitan centers, far better organized from the point of view of health and hygiene. The living conditions of the immigrants from Galicia, Rumania and the Russian Pale of Settlement improved rapidly overseas, in the great cities of Western Europe and in the Interior of Russia. Their children lived in surroundings totally different from the poverty their parents had known in their old homes. Furthermore, the death rate in these new places was much lower.

By finding a new country for himself and his family, the emigrant made easier the existence of those who remained behind.
However great the struggle for existence in the towns and cities, competition would have been still fiercer, if many of the competitors had not been constancy siphoned off through emigration. In addition, the emigrants usually aided their relatives at home. Money gifts, however small, judged by American standards, represented wealth in some far away European hamlet. On the eve of World War I, American money orders represented an important factor not only in the economy of the Jewish communities but also in the national economy of a great nation like Italy.

Population increase as a result of emigration is not a permanent trend. The rise in the birth rate among the first generation lasts only until the influence of city life takes its toll. While the prospects for longevity increase both for the immigrant and his offspring, the urban influences on customs and the higher standard of living eventually lead to a fall in the birth rate of the second generation. In time, this decline exceeds the gain made by the lowering of mortality. Then, the natural increase of the population is gradually lowered to zero. Often the tendency leads to a drastic decrease, a point reached among the Jews in Germany long before Hitler’s coming to power.

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries witnessed the greatest absolute and relative growth of the Jewish population, which increased by 200000 or nearly 2% per annum. After the last war, the growth of the Jewish population began to slow down and the birth rate to fall. The present war brought about a new development—a rising death rate, due to Nazi policy. Jews suffer from this policy more than any other conquered group. Apart from the terrifically high “natural” death rate in the ghetto, which in 1941 amounted to 8% in Warsaw, the Nazis are carrying out a deliberate and cold-blooded process of extermination of the Jews in Occupied Europe, mainly through outright massacres.

Migrations also have determined the occupational structure of the Jewish people. Their estrangement from agriculture, in which they had been successful in Spain and Southern Europe, and their preoccupation with trade, took place during the Middle Ages. During the later centuries of this period, expulsions of the Jews from Western and Central Europe took place. Under such conditions Jews preferred to have their wealth in cash, jewels and other easily portable assets, rather than in real estate and fixed capital. In Spain, Sicily, the South of France and later in Turkey, Jews were renowned for their skill in various crafts. The monopoly by craft guilds in the German cities of the late Middle Ages drove them out from most handicrafts. They similarly were eliminated from most branches of commerce by the all-powerful Christian merchant guilds.

The stigma of usury which Jews brought with them from Germany still remains a part of the folklore of Christian Europe. In Poland, however, handicraft and commerce were more widely open to them. During the early centuries of their settlement in that country—a boom period in every respect—much of Polish trade was in the hands of Jews, as for instance the export of grain from the Baltic to Flanders. Jewish artisans in Poland, like the Christians, were organized in their own guilds and played an important role in the economy of Eastern Europe.

With the decline in Polish political and economic life came the destitution of the Jews of Poland, Lithuania, White Russia and those parts of the Ukraine which belonged to her. Jews were successful in agriculture, commercial, and especially in commerce, running taverns and petty trades of every description in a country with a steadily declining economy, and exploited and impoverished peasantry. The poverty of the Jews in Poland reached its depths at the time of her partitions at the end of the eighteenth century, when most of them came under the rule of Russia.

Jacob Lestschinsky, the outstanding authority on the social and economic problems of Eastern European Jewry, proves that beginning with the eighties of the last century, emigration has wrought profound changes in the social structure of both the emigrants, and those who were left behind. Jewish artisans were usually the first to set out across the ocean. They were followed by the unskilled. In the United States two-thirds of the newcomers became factory workers, thus exchanging the “independent” poverty of the peddler, who carried all his merchandise on his back, or that of the go-between, who never knew where his next meal was coming from, for the “dependent” existence of the nominally functioning wage-earner. The children of these immigrants have taken full advantage of the opportunities to enter the professions. The picture of great change in the occupational distribution of the Jews of the United States is completed by the presence of 100000 Jewish farmers.

In the Soviet Union, Jews underwent a similar process at a much more rapid pace and in a painfully different way. They experienced the terror and the pogroms in the period of strict and confiscatory Military Communism (1918-1921), the famine of 1921-1922, the NEP (New Economic Policy) period (1922-1925), in which an attempt was made to reintroduce limited private initiative, and the final destruction of the entire traditional economic system in the Pale of Settlement (1926-1929).

Adaptation to the new conditions was difficult. Lestschinsky calculates that in 1928 a million Jews in the Soviet Union were either starving or living on charity and half a million somehow managed to eke out a living by means of prohibited private trade. The constant migration from small towns and villages to the large administrative and industrial centers of Russia and the Ukraine, such as Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and Kharkov, plunged Jews into a totally new life, and opened for them new ways of earning a living. Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, in the days of Military Communism, thousands of Jews began to occupy positions in the government apparatus and in the nationalized trade and industrial enterprises. In the 1920s, emphasis was placed on land settlement as a solution for unemployment among Jews and their “productivization,” with the result that by 1931, 255000 earned their livelihood from agriculture.

It was the Five Year Plan (1928) which introduced mass industrialization among the Jews of the USSR. In 1939, wage-earners constituted one-fifth of all Jews gainfully occupied. Salaried employees, including white collar workers, were even more numerous, constituting one-third of the Jewish population. There were also many Jews in liberal professions—at least a quarter of a million or 17.8%. College professors and scientists numbered 7000. Half of the Jewish population in the Soviet Union are government employees. Still, the occupational structure of Soviet Jews differs considerably from that of the general population. Only 7% of them are individual or collective farmers. The present trend is predominantly towards white collar occupations.

Palestine, the third Jewish center formed in more recent times, is another example of occupational restratification through migration. The typical impulse of Zionism precipitated a “back to the soil” movement. Together with this, Jews in Palestine have created new industrial and trade possibilities in which Jewish workers have found many opportunities. This has meant work and bread for the masses of immigrants who prefer to settle in 39 the cities. The Palestinian Jews have thus acquired the economic structure of a modern and advanced nation.

It is clear then that present migrations have done more than merely rebuild the social structure of the Jewish people. They have changed the whole trend of its life, in both its spiritual and material aspects. Nor should we be surprised at these tendencies, for Jewish history shows many similar developments. Influences from without operated throughout Jewish history. Judaism is a synthesis of interaction of Palestinian and Babylonian cultures. The Jewish center in Spain not only enriched Europe, but also gave the Jewish people new spiritual strength. Many descendants of exiles from Spain still speak Ladino, a Spanish language. The long sojourn of Jews in Germany and special conditions in Eastern Europe, have produced the Yiddish language, the basis of which is German. Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian cultures existing in an area in which a new center of Judaism grew up and flourished for centuries, did not have a decisive influence on the Jews, because of the comparatively lower cultural level of the general population. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Polish culture began to exert its influences upon Jews in the larger cities. In the same period, Russian culture also began to make itself felt even more strongly, in the
local urban centers and the Great Russian Interior. Immigrants to Western Europe and overseas rapidly adjusted to the dominant civilization of their new homes. But the masses of the remaining Eastern European Jews continued to live their own religious, cultural and economic life.

With the present destruction of the Jewish centers in Central and Eastern Europe, the Jewish communities of the future are now concentrated in America, the USSR and Palestine. In Palestine, Jews are creating their own civilization, the ultimate evolution of which will probably result in some kind of synthesis of the biblical tradition, partially secularized, with Western civilization. Both in America and in Russia, Jews have found themselves in an atmosphere of dominant, all-embracing civilizations. In the United States, the cultural adjustment of Jews, as well as of any other immigrant group, to the American pattern of Anglo-Saxon civilization is hastened by educational, social and business influences. Complete fusion is prevented by social prejudices against Jews on the one hand, and by religious differences on the other. In the Soviet Union, where religion is being continuously weakened both among Jews and Christians, a thorough-going assimilation of Jews to Great Russian culture is taking place—this, in spite of the fact that Jews, like the Russians, Ukrainians and others are officially recognized as one of the many Soviet nationalities, and have their own Jewish national regions, including the autonomous territory of Birobidjan, a state supported Yiddish school system, theatres and libraries. This nationalist factor is powerless in face of the close relations with non-Jews in work, in public, and in everyday life, the prohibition of Hebrew and Zionism and the animosity towards religion, and particularly, the universality of Russian culture, which exerts powerful influences among all the peoples of the USSR.

Despite the differences in the milieu of these three new centers, still in the process of formation, a completely new mental and physical type of Jew, common to all, is emerging. Never perhaps has migration accomplished so complete a transformation of human beings in so short a time. Until the very present, the status of Jews as permanent strangers, members of a persecuted minority, consequences of constant undernourishment, extreme preoccupation with study accompanied by contempt for physical prowess resulted in the formation of the Ghetto-type—weak, servile, and yet capable of undergoing the greatest hardships in clinging to his religious faith. These qualities produced in the modern Jews the capacities which made them the religious dreamers, revolutionary fanatics and martyrs for their faith, national existence and for movements for social equality for all.

We are struck by the appearance of the Palestinian, American or Soviet Jew. In these countries, the young Jew presents a totally different appearance from that of his ghetto predecessor or contemporary. His body is straight, his muscles strong, his expression free and straightforward. He has spent his childhood in the open air and in modern schools, not in the stifling heder (the old style Hebrew restored schools). In a large measure, he earns his living from manual labor, and competes in sports. The Palestinian Jews want to be a nation, like any other, American Jews strive to resemble Americans. The Soviet Jews live the life of the Russian people. They all have ceased feeling the ignominy imposed on Jewishness. And yet, they are Jews, and they react strongly to all that the Germans are doing to their brethren. In Russia this reaction is illustrated by the message of a Gentile Russian poet to the Jewish people: "Rachel, arise from the ashes, and shake off the ancient dust of time. Having destroyed the anguish of the past, look up; the avenger is here, the child of your great love. He is Hersh Levi, the soldier of the Red Army and the descendant of all the proud Maccabeans." [=]

60384. American Jewish Committee; Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems; Kulischer, Eugene M.: Jewish Migrations: Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects: Part 07: Post-War Emigration Policy. Pamphlet Series: Jews and the Post War World Number 4. New York, N.Y.: American Jewish Committee, Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems, [April] 1943. The Jewish problem is part of the general problem of post-war reconstruction and Jewish emigration is part of the general question of migration, which will undoubtedly be one of the means of restoring war-devastated Europe. Because it is bound to affect a great number of Jews, the question of post-war migration is especially vital for the Jewish people. We must remember, however, that it is not an exclusively Jewish question, and it should therefore not be treated as such.

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These courses, all of equal importance, should be part of the general program of the reconstruction of Europe. Some believe that Europe itself is capable of providing for its entire population by increasing the productivity of her more backward areas. A contrary point of view sees salvation in emigration alone. Both answers are one-sided and oversimplified. In some overpopulated regions, it will be difficult to provide on the spot for the entire population. In such cases, it would be better for surplus populations to seek out more suitable environments abroad. Poland is the classical example. It suffers mainly from lack of land and from the resulting overcrowding of the towns by an influx of landless peasants. No economic solution for Poland, not even a thoroughgoing agrarian reform, can be conceived without emigration playing a part in it.

After the last war, however, migration encountered nothing but short-sighted selfishness and malicious and ignorant treatment in practically every country of the world. The rich countries dreaded the exaggerated danger of lowering their standard of living and tried to stop the entry of the "tired, poor and huddled masses, yearning to breathe freely," described with such pathos by Emma Lazarus and immortalized in the inscription on the Statue of Liberty. The fight against such a mentality goes far beyond specifically Jewish interests. We must understand, once and for all, that immigration must be permitted not only because it is an asset for the country to which it is directed, but also as the first condition in restoring international amity and in preventing war in the future. International relations must be based on collaboration among nations, not on narrow-minded national egotism. Countries possessing natural riches have acknowledged the need for cooperation. Their representatives have declared in the Atlantic Charter that their duty is to make wealth accessible to those nations that have not been so fortunate. Wendell Willkie stressed that "not only must people have access to what other peoples produce, but their own products must in turn reach men all over the world. There will be no peace, there will be no real development, there will be no economic stability, unless we find the method by which the trade barriers hampering the flow of goods are removed."

But peaceful cooperation among nations and the complete harmonization of economic interests will remain utopian, as long as countries will continue to hold tenaciously to their "rights" and bar their unutilized resources to millions of people who need them. Here again is an important corrective in the economic structure of overcrowded countries, and its neglect may have the most serious result in the post-war world.

Of course, emigration is not a panacea for all social evils. It is not even a complete remedy against overpopulation. It is only a safety valve. But if the safety valve is closed, an explosion is sure to follow. Isolationist demagogues have succeeded in deluding the ordinary man into believing that immigration will harm the local population. This attitude is least of all understandable in the United States, a country built by immigrants. The argument that immigration merely results in overcrowding is obviously false when applied to countries with insufficient populations, such as Australia. Careful calculations have proved that the population of that country must be trebled in order to attain a reasonable degree of security and a higher standard of development. As for the countries with "adequate populations"; the influx of new men and women can ease the existing economic lack of "space" by enlarging the means and sources of productivity. We have already illustrated this point by numerous examples. The usefulness of an immigrant arriving with his own capital and opening a new branch of business or industry, thereby helping in part to solve the problem of unemployment, is readily acknowledged. But we should not ignore the usefulness of the immigrant worker which is in no way smaller. In any branch of industry where a scarcity of specialists exists, even one skilled immigrant workman will provide work for a number of local unskilled hands. Skilled immigrant physicians and engineers have immunized entire regions, thus opening up new lands for the productive application of labor.

The selection and training of immigrants are among the most important aspects of migratory regulation. We must endeavor to give to each country the people most needed by it. The principle to be applied must be—the right people to the right places. This will be feasible after the war, because future migration should be organized and regulated on a world-wide scale. It is absurd to think in terms of resuming to the planless and haphazard migration practices of yesterday. In our times, where the trend is in the direction of regulated economy, migrations too, to be effective, must be internationally regulated.

Rational subsidy of migrations must avoid the extremes of the purely charitable and the purely profit-making approaches. Financing of migration ventures which does not take economic factors into consideration is easily transformed into the least rational form of philanthropy. One can point to experiences in Jewish colonization where invested funds produced such meagre results, that the question could be legitimately raised whether the money would not have been better spent on ordinary relief. On the other hand, profits on invested capital should by no means be the only criterion of the success of a migratory or colonizing undertaking.

The noted American geographer and president of Johns Hopkins University, Isaiah Bowman has expressed a similar opinion: "Colonists have always had to be aided. The "proprietors" of the American "plantations" always lost on their investment because the colonists could see only their own hardships and the heavily populated cemeteries in their midst and cared little for mere monetary losses on the other side."

We know of many cases of successful organized migration in which the necessary funds were invested without a desire for immediate profits. In these cases, advantage was taken of the objective conditions of peopling a new country by stimulating and directing the spontaneously growing movement. The economic results obtained were so great that the invested capital appeared trifling. The most outstanding example is that of Siberian colonization before World War I. Colonization in this region reached its climax between 1906-1913, when four million persons crossed the Urals. I.L. Yamzin, a Soviet authority on colonization, who is
not at all inclined to emphasize the achievements of the Tsarist regime, admits that "this migration to Siberia, which progressed with the assistance of the Government, has after all created the present economic power of this part of the Soviet Union." The comparatively modest sum of 200 million roubles ($25.00 per person) effected this tremendous transformation.

Another aspect is the character of the organized migration. Hitherto rural settlement was the fashion in migratory projects, both Jewish and non-Jewish. But this trend went in most cases against the stronger tendency of industrialization and urbanization at the expense of the farm. Emigration was further stimulated by a major cause, the mechanization of farming. The rural exodus made itself felt not only in the old, but also in the new countries. Governments of overseas countries and organizations interested in emigration, including Jewish ones, encouraged in every way agrarian colonization. But soon enough, it became evident that the very country chosen for colonization was itself experiencing an incessant How of farmers and their sons to the cities. Propagandists for the "return to the soil" always point to the limitless spaces awaiting the plow and tractor, which would transform fallow land into fields of golden wheat and rye. Stern reality, however, shatters these illusions. On the eve of the present war, corn and other agricultural products could not find enough markets. The problem of marketing was particularly serious in the rural economy of the new lands. The time is gone when agricultural colonization had at its disposal virgin land, which promised a return surpassing that of lands already under cultivation. Now, as Isaiah Bowman says, "most of the pioneer lands that remain are 'marginal' in climate, fertility, and transport." They are, therefore, handicapped in the race for markets.

The predominant economic tendency of our times is industrialization. Young countries, especially, strive to have their own industries in order to obtain economic independence and to exploit their natural resources. If the market for copper is more favorable than that of wheat, copper mining should be pursued for profit, even if this operation is less profitable in the new mines than where it has long been produced. They similarly prefer to have industries located near the sources of raw materials. The younger countries are resentful when they see their flax exported thousands of miles away to be reimported as linen and sold to their own people.

In turn, industrialization and the growth of new trade centers create new markets for agricultural products. Indirectly, therefore, agrarian colonization combined with industry is successful in places where it would have failed had it been planned merely for competition in the world market. This truth has lately been realized by the Soviet Government. With the final cultivation of the fertile and accessible strip of land along the Trans-Siberian railroad, purely agrarian colonization in Asiatic Russia was faced with a shortage of markets. But since the introduction of the Five Year Plan and the industrialization of that region, agrarian colonization received a new impetus because of the needs of the city populations multiplying in the new industrial areas.

We see, therefore, that the problem of planned migration and colonization is closely related to the problem of the industrialization of underdeveloped areas. It is in essence the same problem of men and capital. Young countries, interested in industrialization, require both. They need people, tools and funds for new ventures, employing thousands of men and women.

The burning question—whither shall the emigrants go—is no longer a refugee problem when approached from this pragmatic business point of view. It then becomes a problem of rational redistribution of working power. The international operations of supplying underdeveloped areas with capital and labor should be performed in the interest of both the emigrants and of receiving countries. Emigration organizations, especially the Jewish ones, taking part in these operations, will then no longer need to beg humbly for admission, or knock at closed doors and be supremely grateful for the occasional and fitting opening of the gates to a few hundred people out of a waiting line of hundreds of thousands.

We have indicated only a few aspects of the enormous problem of regulating migration. This problem needs a good deal more careful study both from the general and Jewish points of view. Such studies should deal not only with the control of migrations, but also with their routes and destinations. In the words of Albert Thomas, the founder of the International Labor Organization: "The more thorough our knowledge of the manner in which migration movements naturally and spontaneously develop—ifletto themselves—the easier will it be to regulate and control them by systematic action."

Notwithstanding the many barriers it encounters, Jewish immigration in our time is directed mainly to North America, the Soviet Interior and Palestine. There is also Latin America, with its Jewish population of over 400,000, about half of which is concentrated in Argentina. In face of the trend toward regulated and organized migration, we should not overestimate the significance of the individual infiltration of Jews into the different countries. Much is to be said for the assumption that after the war, Jewish migration will follow this already marked trend. The problem is to give it the planned character of an industrial or industrial-agrarian colonization.

Immigration into Palestine has been a great success, as a result of the combined agricultural and industrial colonization. Nearly half a million Jews have found homes and opportunities in the Holy Land. A large number of them was specifically trained for agricultural and industrial pioneering, mainly through the He-Halutz, an organization of future pioneers, branches of which existed in almost every community with a sizeable number of prospective emigrants. The two forces which determine the intensity of a migration—the "push and pull"—were clear in this case. The "push" forces were the various Jewish persecutions, culminating in the permanent pogrom carried through by the Third Reich. The "pull" forces were the attraction to Jews of their ancient fatherland and the promise of Palestine as a Jewish National Home by the governments. Creative idealism was a major force in the success of the immigrants and investors. Simultaneously, Jewish agricultural and industrial enterprises served as a powerful attraction for the Arabs in the neighboring countries. Bedouins of the desert are becoming townspeople in the cities of Palestine. In times of greatest need for new homes, the immigration of Jews has been grudgingly limited by the British administration and was strictly controlled at the ports of entry; that of the Arabs is neither supervised nor controlled. In their efforts to limit the immigration of Jewish workers, the British employed the excuse of overcrowding and "absorptive-capacity," while at the same time they greatly diminished Palestine's possibilities of absorption of immigrants by cutting off the vast areas of Trans-Jordan, the western part of the Holy Land. In contrast to the workers, Jewish capitalists were admitted more liberally. Under these conditions, the investment of capital by Jews has in some ways worked against the Jewish colonization of Palestine. It could not stimulate the immigration of Jewish workers, which was at times a matter of political expediency. It therefore, stimulated the influx of Arabs. The greater the Jewish economic activity, the larger the Arab proletariat.

Future possibilities of the Jews in Palestine depend on their rights and conditions of their admission into the home promised them. A continuation of the White Paper policy of 1939 would be a serious blow to post-war Jewish migration. In view of the happy experiences of organized Jewish settlement in Palestine, there should be no fear concerning the ability of the Jews to continue successful planned immigration, if given the proper opportunities by the makers of the post-war world.

In other places, the precedents of Jewish agrarian colonization have resulted in a relatively insignificant number of Jewish immigrants. The major problem of post-war reconstruction is the change from the method of subsidizing individual immigrants to that of planning mass resettlement on an agrarian-industrial basis. In Russia, it will be mainly a question of capital needed for the restoration of economic life destroyed by war. Economic and financial planning following victory must provide possibilities for creative work to masses of people, including hundreds of thousands of Jews. These will consist mostly of Polish refugees already in Soviet Asia and other parts of the Russian Interior, as well as Jews from Central Europe deported to the East. In the Americas, too, where manpower is needed, future Jewish immigration will have to be organized. Planning is essential.
Throughout their history migrations have saved the Jewish people and Judaism from extermination. Migrations have always opened new horizons for persecuted and destitute Jews. At the present time, millions of Jews are being murdered by the Germans. But in the three new centers, Palestine, the cross-roads of the British Empire, America, and the Soviet Union—the fate of the Jews is linked with that of the three great nations under whose blows the Germany of Hitler will disappear.


1900: 60764.
1901: 58908.
1902: 57688.
1903: 76203.
1904: 106236.
1905: 129910.
1906: 153748.
1907: 149182.
1908: 103387.
1909: 75551.
1910: 84260.
1911: 91223.
1912: 80585.
1913: 101330.
1914: 138051.

1916: 15108.
1917: 17342.
1918: 3672.
1919: 3055.
1920: 14292.
1921: 119036.
1922: 53524.
1923: 49719.
1924: 49699.

1926: 10267.
1927: 11483.
1928: 11639.
1929: 12479.
1930: 11526.
1931: 5692.
1932: 33801.
1933: 4075.
1934: 30327.
1935: 4837.
1936: 6252.
1937: 11352.
1938: 19736.
1939: 43450.
1940: 36945.

1923: 7421.
1924: 12856.
1925: 13081.
1926: 2713.
1927: 2178.
1928: 5249.
1929: 4944.
1930: 4075.
1931: 9553.
1932: 30327.
60389. American Jewish Committee; Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems; Kulischer, Eugene M. Jewish Migrations: Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects: Part 12: American Jewish Committee: research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems. Pamphlet Series: Jews and the Post War World Number 4. New York, N.Y.; American Jewish Committee, Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems, [April 1943. [Max Gottschalk, Director.] The Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems, a special department of the American Jewish Committee, was established on November 1, 1940, as a fact-collecting and planning laboratory on post-war problems relating to Jews. Its work is to investigate, collate and interpret data on the political, economic and social conditions of Jews, everywhere—as an urgent and indispensable preliminary step to post-war planning. The program of the Institute falls into three divisions, as follows: (1) Division on Political, Economic and Social Problems; (2) Division on Migration and Colonization; and (3) Division on Relief and Reconstruction. The published studies and the unpublished memoranda are intended for the use of those who will represent the Jewish communities in the deliberations and negotiations on post-war problems. In addition, the Institute has recently launched an educational program designed to stimulate thought and discussion of these problems among the general public. The activities of the Research Institute are guided by a Committee on Peace Studies set up by The American Jewish Committee and composed of twenty-nine pewns, representing different points of view. A number of outstanding scholars organized in an Advisory Council assist the Institute with advice and suggestions. It is the policy of the Institute to employ the services of outstanding scholars and experts in the United States and abroad in its individual and collective research projects. The Institute also endeavors to cooperate with other existing organizations and agencies, both Jewish and general, engaged in similar efforts. [=]


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MRS. ARTHUR BRIN, Chairman, National Committee on International Relations & Peace, National Council of Jewish Women.

GABRIEL DAVIDSON, Managing Director, The Jewish Agricultural Society.

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, President, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

MAX GOTTESCHALK, Director Research Institute on Peace & Post-War Problems.

ADOLPH HELD, Chairman, Jewish Labor Committee.

MAURICE HEXTER, Executive Vice-President, The Federationfor the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City.

ALEXANDER KAHN, Vice-President, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

BERNHARD KAHN, Honorary Chairman, European Executive Council of the JDC.

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CHARLES LIEBMAN, President, Refugee Economic Corp. HENRY MONSKY, President, Bnai Brith.

EDWARD A. NORMAN, President, American Economic Committee for Palestine; Lieutenant, U.S.N.R.

MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL, President, Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America.

JOSEPH ROSEN, President, Agro-Joint; Vice-President, Dominion Zionist Organization of America.

ABRAM L. SACHAR, National Director, Bnai Brith Hilf Foundation Commission.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Chairman, National Labor Committee for Palestine.

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN, Assistant Secretary, The American Jewish Committee.

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ALAN M. STROOCK, Chairman, Administrative Committee, The American Jewish Committee.

MORRIS D. WALDMAN, Executive Vice-President, The American Jewish Committee.

MAX M. WARBURG, Member, The American Jewish Committee.

MAX WEINRICHT, Research Director, Yiddish Scientific Institute. [=]

60391. Amiry, Suad; Johnson, Penny. "Jerusalem and the Peace Agenda: Interview: Representing Jerusalem", in Middle East Report, May-June 1993. pp. 22-23. [Amir is coordinator of the Palestinian team for the Jerusalem program at the Smithsonian Institution's 1993 Folklore Festival in Washington DC.] The Festival, which was intended to demonstrate a vision of Jerusalem based on 'parity and equality' was postponed due to lack of funds. The Smithsonian is not taking a political position, but is acknowledging that East Jerusalem has a distinct Palestinian culture by having Faisal Husseini represent East Jerusalem. Since the festival is intended to showcase folklore, the decline of crafts, crippled by high taxes, the absence of tourists, shut-downs and the depressed economy, raises the question of how this should be portrayed. Trying to portray crafts and religious diversity had the tendency to squeeze out women's roles in the city, and domestic crafts were then included: it is hard to portray the less private crafts and lives of women in the Middle East and North Africa. Israel-Palestine
Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and Islamic Jihad in December 1992. Since then, more than 100 Palestinians have been shot and killed by Israeli forces, at least 70 in the Gaza Strip. More than 30 were 16 years old or younger. The month of May has already registered the highest monthly death toll since the end of 1992, with up to 24 people shot dead by Israeli forces, up to 19 of these in the Gaza Strip.

Amnesty International believes that many of these killings are absolutely unjustifiable and that some may amount to extrajudicial executions. It calls on the Israeli authorities to take urgent measures to redress this situation and to prevent the death toll at the hands of its forces from rising still further.

Amnesty International is also concerned that the use of massive firepower by Israeli forces against dwellings in which Palestinians suspected of having committed serious crimes—as such participation in the killings of Israelis or other Palestinians—are alleged to be hiding in, may amount to collective punishment.

In May, an Amnesty International delegation composed of a staff member from the International Secretariat and Major Allan Hugstad, an officer in the Danish Army, visited Israel and the Gaza Strip to investigate recent cases of killings by Israeli forces and cases of house destruction. They also discussed the guidelines for the use of firearms and on house destruction operations with Israel Defense Force (IDF) officials. The delegates also requested information on a number of individual cases. [=]

60393. Amnesty International. "Amnesty International: Unjustifiable Israeli Killings in Occupied Territories: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem WC1X 8DJ, UK, May 31, 1993. p. 6. Cases of particular concern are those of people who were shot dead while apparently not engaging in any violent activity. They include: Rana Abu Tuyur, 11, killed on 12/19/92, during clashes in Khan Yunis while on her way to buy milk; Rizq Fara, 19, shot dead on the same day while standing on his balcony after helping carry Rana Abu Tuyur to a car; Maher Majaideh, 8, shot dead in the street in Khan Yunis on 3/20/93; Raeda Qarrar, 13, shot by a soldier on 4/8/93 while she was standing by the corner of her house; Najah Abu Dallal, a 34-year-old mother of six who died 4/26/93, after being shot in the head on 4/21/93 by a soldier stationed on a tall building while she was standing in a private courtyard; Fouad Temraz, 20, killed on 5/12/93 in Deir al-Balah refugee camp by a single shot to the head also from a tall building nearby; and Faris Kurdi, 18 months, shot in the chest on 5/16/93, during clashes in Jabalya refugee camp while he was taking shelter in a shop doorway.

The IDF has undertaken to provide Amnesty International with information on these cases. The Amnesty International delegation also visited scenes of houses destroyed by the IDF during operations said to be aimed at capturing Palestinians wanted for arrest. The buildings were massively destroyed and had been rendered uninhabitable. Amnesty International fears that the large number of houses damaged in each operation and the extent of the damage indicates that one of the aims—if not the main aim—of these operations is to impose a form of collective punishment on the inhabitants.

This is reinforced by evidence that at least some of the dwellings may have been blown up from the inside after soldiers completed their search and arrest operations. Amnesty International is awaiting clarification of such evidence from the IDF.

Armed Palestinians have been responsible for an increased number of killings of Israeli civilians, as well as of a number of Palestinians alleged to have collaborated with the Israeli authorities, since December. Responsibility for some of these attacks has been claimed by armed Palestinian groups; like the killing of two Israeli civilians and two Palestinians while engaged in a business transaction in the Gaza Strip 5/16/93. Fatah—the main faction of the PLO—and Hamas acknowledged joint responsibility for their deaths. Amnesty International condemns such deliberate and arbitrary killings and appeals to the PLO and Hamas to stop them. [=]
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

clashes in Jabalia Refugee Camp while he was sheltering in a shop doorway. The IDF has undertaken to provide Amnesty International with information on these cases. The Amnesty International delegation also visited scenes of houses destroyed by the IDF during operations said to be aimed at capturing Palestinians wanted for arrest. The buildings were massively destroyed and had been rendered uninhabitable. Amnesty International fears that the large number of houses damaged in each operation is testimony to the high number of the inhabitants. The death toll indicates that one of the aims of the operation, not the main aim, of these operations is to impose a form of collective punishment on the inhabitants. This is reinforced by evidence that at least some of the dwellings may have been blown up from the inside after soldiers had completed their search and arrest operations. Amnesty International is awaiting clarification of such evidence from the IDF. Armed Palestinians have been responsible for an increased number of killings of Israelis, as well as of a number of Palestinians alleged to have collaborated with the Israeli authorities, since December. Responsibility for some of these attacks has been claimed by armed Palestinian groups, like the killing of two Israeli civilians and two Palestinians while engaged in a business transaction in the Gaza Strip on 16 May. Faith -- the main faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) -- and Hamas acknowledged joint responsibility for their deaths. Amnesty International condemns such deliberate and arbitrary killings, and appeals to the PLO and Hamas to stop them. [=]

60396. Anani, Rana. "Adroit Rendering of a Shakespearean Classic", in Bilad-Jerusalem Times, August 25, 1995, p. 13. The latest offering from Ashtar, "A Midsummer Night's Dream," opened at the Assirraj Theater in Ramallah on 8/17/1995. Twenty young men and women from various Palestinian cities performed. The play is directed by Peter Braschler from Switzerland; his associate director is Sameh Hijazi, who also translated the William Shakespeare classic into Arabic. The play is the third summer production to have been produced by the Ashtar Theater School. It also marked the graduation of the first group of students who enrolled three years ago when the program began. Ashtar chose this play for its summer production for various reasons, says Iman Anoun, a founding member of Ashtar and the production manager of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Explaining why this play was chosen, Anoun says, "Before we picked the play, we took into consideration the psychological and physiological development of our students and their control over their muscles. The age of our students is the same as that of the characters of the play and, given their age, the themes and problems are very much the kind our students have on their minds." Shakespeare's play, written some 400 years ago (1595-6) represents three incongruent worlds: the world of kings and rich people, the world of the artisans and the mechanics, and the world outlining the realm of a fairyland rich in the secrets of Nature. "All three are amalgamated to form that hazy line that separates dream from fact, nightmare from reality, history from mythology, and the eternal from the transient," says Sameh Hijazi, the translator and associate director. The play was performed using the Palestinian vernacular. "The Arabic language in its formal shape has a certain depth and beauty, but the vernacular creates a closer relationship between the actors and the play on the one hand, and the play and the audience on the other," says Aoun. Even so, Hijazi's translation is an adroit combination of the vernacular and the classical which is just true enough to belong to the universe of this ancient play.

"My attempt to translate 'Midsummer Night's Dream' into Arabic were marked by a mammoth perseverance. I strove to render the beauty of the language while communicating the spirit of the comedy. It is my conviction that the theater should mirror the local vernacular. However, there are some poetic phrases that Shakespeare uses that can be said to be "untranslatable" due to the inherent difference between the Arabic and the English language. Nonetheless, my determination to give sound and sense a pattern mirroring the original text never wavered. While translating the play, Hijazi looked carefully at the origins of each of the characters. Some were drawn from Greek mythology and others originated in the conventional fairy tales found in English and Irish folklore. He asked himself how he was to turn these varied sources and what they stand for into a form closer to the world of the middle East and to that of the Palestinians. "I searched for the motifs, and sought their equivalents in the mythology of the region. Thus the story of Qais and Layla is the story of Pyramus and Thisbe and of Romeo and Juliet, both stories plucked from Babylonian mythology," Hijazi explains. "It was easier with the names of the mechanics who were the artisans contemporary to Elizabethan England. Their names are derived from the work they do. So I gave names in Arabic that are equivalent to the names of their trades in English. The names of the fairies' names derive from the names of some natural elements concocted by the apothecaries of the time. They too received names in Arabic," Hijazi says. The present production is in association with the Maralam Theater of Switzerland. "They have participated in producing all of Ashtar's works since Ashtar was established," says Aoun. A key figure behind the Ashtar program is the Swiss director Peter Braschler of Maralam. "He has added a lot to our theater experiences and to theater education in our country. He has been sensitive to the special circumstances in which we live and has tailored a program to suit our experience and our needs," says Aoun. "We also hope through Maralam to connect with other theaters in the world."

The participants in the present production are first, second and third year students. "Our aim at Ashtar is to bring something of the theater experience to interested students for a period of three years following which they should be ready for work on the professional stage. They can then either join the Palestinian theater movement or continue to work with Ashtar according to a special advanced program for another two years," says Aoun. [=]

60397. Anani, Rana. "Arts & Culture: Stitches in Time", in Biladi: Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), June 16, 1995, p. 14. Alice Aghaarian is a highly qualified seamstress in Jerusalem. After 55 years of cutting and making patterns, she is telling the story of her life. "I was born in Alexandarona, in southern Turkey, to an Armenian family in 1923. When I was 5 months old, my family and I left Alexandarona after the massacre of the Armenians there. We settled in Jarash, a city in northern Jordan, where my father died. When I was 8 years old, we came to Jerusalem and settled here," Alice studied in the school of the Sisters of Resign until she was 13 years old. "Because of the war, I had to leave school. When I got married, I thought of my future so she married me to a wealthy man at the age of 13." Alice had 2 children by the time she reached the age of 18. "By that time I had a better understanding of life. I had realized that I should not depend on the generosity of life for it might betray me." Alice tried to study nursing, but the health center was too far. She also had to take care of her children, so she reconsidered and took a course in sewing instead. "That was in 1946. The course was of high quality and many housewives were joining. We learned how to make French fashions." Alice made a suit jacket and skirt for the first time in her life when she was 18. "The lady was happy with that suit and she brought me many presents. I thought that I was a skillful seamstress and I was encouraged to go through with it as a career. That was my starting point as a seamstress." During the 1948 War, Alice left Jerusalem for Amman with her family. "Every thing was gone and I had to start from the beginning in Amman. I began to work as a seamstress in my house, and soon I had many customers." After 9 months, Alice returned to Jerusalem and she started once again from the beginning. "My family was made up of 8 members and the situation was very miserable after the war. I started my work in this period by making bed clothes for hospitals and clothes for nuns. I insisted on continuing my work." In 1954, Alice took her daughter Haigana out of school in order to help with the sewing work. "The living conditions were hard and I had to help. My mother taught me a skill that will accompany me for the rest of my life," said Haigana. In 1960, Alice and Haigana decided to open their own store, "It was the biggest dress making store in Jerusalem. We used to sell ready made clothes as well as commission work. The business was becoming better and better when the 1967 War started. Again we lost everything. All the dresses in the store were damaged by bombs and bullets. A year after, the store was robbed." Alice and Haigana started once again from nothing. They
have almost been able to build up to the achievements they made in the past, but the early 60's was the most successful time of their work. They had 2 fashion shows at the Ambassador Hotel in Amman. "Now the situation is terrible." Alice would like to advise all women that they should work side by side with men. "Women should benefit from every single minute they have. They should teach themselves because life is very hard and women must be well qualified to face it." Now Haigana has followed in her mother's footsteps and she is working hard to fulfill her ambitions in her little store. [=]

60398. Anani, Rana. "Palestine and People Book Review: 'Jerusalem and I Peaceful Memories of Katamon'" in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 30, 1995, p. 14. "Jerusalem and I" by Hala Sakakini is a personal record of the author's childhood and youth in Jerusalem. The author has strong ties to the city in which she was raised. The book discusses the phases of Hala's life in Jerusalem. The book is divided into five chapters: The Windmill and After, The German Colony, Katamon, Away and Letters from Cairo. The chapters are named after the places the Sakakin family lived until 1953. Hala provides the details of her life. She describes her childhood, studies and work as a teacher. The book depicts the social life of a Jerusalem family under the stresses of turbulent times. Hala was fortunate in being born into not only to a wealthy family but also to educated parents. In her youth, few people were able to obtain an education and people chose to work rather than to attend school. Her father Khalil Sakakini was a well-known Palestinian writer. During his life, he devoted himself to the Arabic language and tried to sustain it. He played an important role in education in the Jerusalem schools from the beginning of the twentieth century. He is famous for his book "Al-Jadid," which teaches Arabic to beginners. Her mother was "among the very first Arab girls from Jerusalem to be sent to a boarding school." During the first two years of Hala's life, the family lived in a small house in western Jerusalem which was originally a windmill. Their house was outside the walls of the old city when most houses were still inside the walls. The members of the Sakakin family were the parents, Sari the eldest son, Dumia and Hala the daughters and Aunt Melia her father's sister. Hala does not linger on this period of her life because she was just a few months old and can not remember many of the incidents.

In chapter two, "The German Colony," Hala discusses specific details. Hala and her sister Dumia began going to the school in the German Colony. Because they were only children and their house was too far from school, their parents decided to move to a home nearer to the school. The Sakakin's lived in this house from 1931-1937. Those years seem to have been the most cheerful of Hala's life. Hala was fond of the school in the German Colony. She describes it as unique in its style and method of teaching from traditional schools. Students did not take exams. They only had homework. Hala and her sister Dumia had the opportunity to learn German, French, English in addition to Arabic while at this school. Hala's father played an important role in her life. He always encouraged his daughters to take part in sports as well as encouraging them to read. Hala was very proud of her brother Sari who was studying in the United States in this period. He would send his sisters colored books to encourage them to read. These books were of great importance in forming the habit of reading for both Sakakini sisters. At the end of this chapter Hala describes the problems the Palestinians suffered during the British Mandate—especially during the six month strike of the 1936. The Sakakinis moved in 1937 to a house in Katamon in western Jerusalem where the incidents of the next chapter began. The main incident that Hala concentrates on is the arrival of Sari from the United States. Sari's presence means a lot to Hala, especially after her mother's death. During this period, the Sakakini face tragedies. Sari began to suffer from heart disease. They lost their house in Katamon during the 1948 War when the Jews occupied the city. Hala had lovely memories in Katamon. She describes relationships with neighbors, family, friends and relatives. Their house was daily full of visitors. The visitors were usually friends of her father and scholars and intellectuals. They often discussed literature and recent political subjects. Hala and Dumia attended the American Junior College in Beirut prior to 1948. After two years they were able to join the American University of Beirut. In 1946, Dumia and Hala became teachers. The whole Sakakini family was deeply involved in teaching and education. People lived peacefully with each other in the Jerusalem of Hala's memory. Arabs and Jews were neighbors and friends. Yet, in 1948, the situation turned upside down. The Jews started bombing and killing Arabs. In the end of this chapter, Hala describes from her diary the occupation of Jerusalem and how they were expelled from their city and country under the threat of bombs and gunfire. Chapter four describes the period following their expulsion. The Sakakinis went to Cairo hoping to manage there until the situation calmed down and they would be able to return to Jerusalem. After months passed, the Sakakinis realized that it was just a dream. Dumia worked as a teacher in Ramallah while the rest of the family lived in Cairo. The situation was getting worse and worse in Palestine and "people were feeling hatred towards British as never before." Chapter five consists of letters from Cairo to friends and relatives. The letters show the despair and misery the Sakakinis were feeling away from their homeland. The Sakakinis lived in Cairo until 1953 when Sari died at the age of thirty-nine. Three months later the father died grief-stricken and broken hearted for his son. Hala ends her book by a quotation from Sari's letter to a friend: "What worries me is the moral wrong I see done and condemned everywhere. Not only done and condemned, but even sought after and wished for and planned."[=]

60399. Aoun, Feyez Abu. "Close Association", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 13. Amina Abu Ghnam, who stars in "Sawahel" is one of the best known faces on the arts scene in Gaza. She belongs to those actors who believe in pursuing a career in the arts because of the social message and cultural impact the arts have on society. She has been known to use her own financial resources to ensure the success of a work of art. Involved in the arts since her childhood (she began in school plays) Abu Ghnam has been a familiar face to audiences in refugee camps, towns and cities of the Gaza Strip ever since she performed in "O My Country!" One of the most important phases of her career began when she met director SoudMuhannah. She acted in his first film, "A Cry of Hope" which won awards at the Cairo and Alexandria Film Festivals. She was also in his next film, "Terror Beach" which addressed the issue of drug abuse in the Gaza Strip. She played in the role of the mother. Her third film "Al-Karmel" was also directed by Muhannah. In the early part of her acting career, Abu Ghnam faced many obstacles. In the beginning, her parents and family opposed her choice of a line of work. Only her husband backed her, giving full support to her wish to work as an actress. Eventually, those who tried to stand in her way, changed their mind and became some of her most fervent fans. [=]

60400. Arfa, Orit. "Scaasi: Isaacs Spelled Backward; Designer for the Stars; From Barbara Bush to Jackie O", in Forward (New York), November 22, 1996. p. 14. Born in Australia, Scaasi has become a major fashion designer, as his exhibit at the New York History Society illustrates. He was inspired by his aunt Ida, who was a major figure in the women's international Zionist Organization in the 1930s and 1940s, and who traveled worldwide to raise money for the Zionist conquest of Palestine. Inspired by her sense of fashion, he became a major designer in the United States. His clients included Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Eleanor Roosevelt, Barbara Bush, Barbra Streisand, Mary Tyler Moore, and Elizabeth Taylor. [TXT]

60401. Aroui, Majed. "Expired Permits: Families Under Threat of Separation," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 3. At a time when negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians regarding the refugees continue, and when there is talk about the return of hundreds of families to the Palestinian National Authority administered areas, the Israeli Civil Administration department has been putting pressure on Palestinian families where a spouse came from a different country on a visitation permit and remained here though the permits have expired--even though these permits could be renewed. In Kharabita village, twenty-five kilometers west of Ramallah, the Israeli Civil Administration
has warned about five families in which a spouse is here on a permit to leave the country. They were given a week to do so. Mervat, wife of Muhammed Injas, age twenty, is a Palestinian woman who came here to marry her cousin, which she did on 1/30/1993. Her husband carries an Israeli military-identity card and they both live in his house. After her permit expired on 2/17/1993, she went to renew it. Her application was rejected and her husband was told to get Mervat out of the village. The Israeli authorities practised harsh methods of deportation at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Hundreds of women whose permits had expired were taken late at night by Israeli soldiers in private cars and transported to the Allenby Bridge. This changed around in 1991 when then Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin went to Washington, D.C. and was sharply criticized for inhumane actions. From America he sent orders to change this practice and to allow the women six months in the country—until their status changed and they got their permits. But the Civil Administration continues to subject residents whose spouses are here “illegally” to psychological and practical pressure. They either do not give them permits, or they confiscate their identity cards if and when they apply for permits for their spouses.

Muhammed Injas said that soldiers came with the officer of the Civil Administration to their village and asked about Muhammed’s wife. After that, they confiscated his identity card as a means of pressure on him. Muhammed tried to go and get his identity card but refused to apply for permit because he knew that the answer would be the same. After ten days he went back and forth to the Civil Administration. Finally, he called the complaints department in Jerusalem, who helped him get back his identity card and things remained calm for about a year. A year later, he heard that the Civil Administration was accepting applications, and he went to apply for his wife. But each time they told him that a paper was missing. The officer finally asked him if his wife was in the country and when Muhammed replied that she was, the officer told him he had to get her out, because she was here illegally. The threat was made even more openly when the Civil Administration informed him through the village mukhtar (Israeli-appointed major) that his wife, along with four other women, had to leave the country in mid-June. Thus, the family would be separated, with the wife and daughter in Jordan and the husband here. The husbands are threatened with deportation as well. Yousef Muhammed Abdel Ghani, age thirty-four, was born in the village and studied in its schools. In 1981, he decided to continue his higher education at the University of Jordan in Amman. There he lost his permit to re-enter and eventually lost his identity card. In 1983, he married a woman from his village and had two boys, aged eleven and six and continued to live in Jordan. On 7/30/1994, he came back to the village with a permit, which was renewed twice, but the Civil Administration eventually refused to renew his permit. Every time he was late in renewing his permit, he had to pay a seventy-three dollar fine. Yousef tried to get back his lost identity card, but to no avail. On 6/7/1995, his father was asked to go the Civil Administration where he was told that his son was staying illegally in the country and that he had to leave in a week’s time.

This Israeli policy makes Palestinians disappointed and pessimistic about the peace process. Wisam Taha Injas, another wife under threat of deportation, said that she never thought her life could be subject to such threats and pressure. Yousuf said that what is happening now shows that there is a gap in the peace process—while there is little about the return of those who lost their residency rights, the Civil Administration is practicing the exact opposite policy. The society for the citizen’s rights in Israel has assured these families that the organization received word from the assistant to the judicial advisor of the Israeli government, that they have instructed the Civil Administration to stop using force to deport people. This encourages the people without permits to refuse orders from the civil administration to leave the country. Many of the village mukhtars were informed by the Civil Administration that if those staying illegally in the villages did not leave, no visitation permits will be issued for those villages. With this, hundreds of Palestinian families will be under threat of separation. These families are asking for a solution to this issue, so that they can live in peace. [ ]

60402. Arouji, Majed. “Theatre & Elections: A democrat despite himself”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 13. Script in hand, leaning back in his seat at the Sarraj Theater in Ramallah, director Wahid Abdul Salaam is busy putting the final touches on his latest production. Titled, “A Democrat Despite Himself,” by well-known writer Mahmur Pasha, the production could not be more timely. The leading man is none other than returning Zuheir Nubani, popular for his portrayals of Bedouins in numerous Jordanian TV series. Nubani, who was born near Nablus in the village of Lubn Sharqiyeh, says the play presents a duality: the protagonist is a positive character who strives to come to grips with the problems of the land and the people but he works through a negative model. “There is a message we wish to convey to Palestinians at this time in our history, especially as this is the first time elections are taking place in our country,” says Nubani. “As people working in the theater, we feel it is our duty to help people realize the proper ways by which a legislative council ought to be elected.” High-minded though he made be, the protagonist has chosen to count on his intuition rather than on the political automated system. The theme of the play, this is the erroneous way. He criticizes his ideologically inclined relatives for affiliating themselves with various political factions and configurations, leaving him to fend for himself, despite the enormous amounts of money he has spent on the electoral campaign. Then one of his relatives advises him to pick a quarrel with another family in the hope that his own family will close ranks behind him. The play encompasses many dialectics, evolving through this device the various facets of Palestinian society—both the city and the countryside are represented. The play, which opens Jan. 7, remains an open-ended affair says author Sheqir. “We shall have to wait and see what model will succeed: the one based on family loyalties or on principles that transcend those narrower associations. Should the elections prove that the former, negative model has succeeded, this will then be written into the play, or if the positive triumphs, this will become the ending. It’s a matter of waiting.” [ = ]

60403. Asad, Asad A. “PHRIC Director Jan Abu Shakra: End the Myth of a Kinder, Gentler Israel: Part 1”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), February 22, 1993, p. 16. Believing that a Labor government must be more liberal than a Likud government, and also believing that the atmosphere of peace must be spreading since the Madrid conference, the world community ignores Israel’s spiraling human rights violations in the occupied territories. Meanwhile, Israeli forces have gotten into the habit of using missiles to destroy Palestinian homes collectively, and it doesn’t seem anything will stop them. More and more Palestians are killed with live gunfire, and even children aren’t spared. Worst of all is that Palestinians are asked to concentrate on the faltering peace talks instead of their everyday predicament with the Israeli army. Jan Abu Shakra, director of the Palestine Human Rights Information Center, was asked by Al-Fajr’s Khaled Abu Aker about this situation and about what sort of message will be relayed by human rights organizations to US Secretary of State Warren Christopher this week.

Q: How do you view the unusually high number of Palestinians who have been killed by the Israeli army during the past two months?
A: Since we have been documenting human rights violations for the last seven years we view it as one more inevitable period. We view it as a very high rise in human rights violations in general, and specifically of killings. These are due to the fact that there has been no real change in the overall Israeli policy towards the occupied territories.

In this case, it appears that the immediate cause of the clashes is as a result of the expulsions in December, the consequent crackdown by the occupation forces in general on the population protesting those expulsions. In the long view, we have to see that these two months are not unusual if we look at the last five years of the Intifada as a whole.

I think what has to be stressed particularly during the upcoming visit of the Secretary of State Warren Christopher is that particularly the US believes that the change of government would be a change in policy. Our statistics for the last six months of the Shamir government and the first six months of the Rabin government show that almost in every category of human rights violations, an increase under the Rabin
government is apparent].

So this should put to rest the myth, that a kinder, more gentle, more liberal Israeli government is going to change the basic Israeli policy towards the occupation and towards the Palestinians. In particular we, as human rights organizations are making a direct representation to the secretary of state through the Palestinian delegates. [↩]

60404. Asad, Asad A. “PHRIC Director Jan Abu Shakra: End the Myth of a Kinder, Gentler Israel: Part 2”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), February 22, 1993. p. 16. Q: In the beginning of the Intifada, Rabin was the defense minister and it was a time of a high number of killings, breaking of bones, etc. Is there a similarity between the two Rabin eras?

A: There is no question that Rabin has reinstituted his style. He’s the current defense minister, so there is no question that he is reactivating his style of response to the Palestinians—his basically racist attitude towards the Palestinians—but I think it’s very important to emphasize that [the problem] is not any one particular defense minister or any one particular Israeli government.

Israel is the occupier of the West Bank and Gaza. It continues to carry out these basic policies under Israeli law in the occupied territories, and what we have to address is the foundation of the occupation itself. We, as human rights organizations, find ourselves in the position of doing body counts, of releasing statistics that are basically statements in numbers on the tremendous suffering that the Palestinians are continually undergoing.

We don’t see any future in just reenacting these body counts over and over again. What has to be addressed—and the US Secretary of State should be taking a lead in addressing it, as a minimum—that the occupied territories must be recognized as occupied territory by Israel.

Q: Will you deliver such a message to the secretary of state?

A: Yes, we are raising it through an independent letter under the name of human rights organizations, and we also had discussions with the Palestinian delegation to ensure that this very basic issue is the basis for the discussion with the secretary.

Q: Do you think that Christopher should concentrate more on human rights violations than the peace process?

A: First, if he wants a peace process, as we all do, he must solve the human rights breaches of war crime which Israel is committing and demand that these crimes stop before political negotiations begin. The political negotiations must be based on a respect for international law and for the lives and human rights of the people for whom peace is being negotiated.

There can be no peace agreement that is based on a fundamental violation of the principles of international law. One of the basic ones, in this case, is that the Fourth Geneva Convention’s apply to occupied territories as long as they are occupied.

This is a minimum demand. To open a discussion, to reach a peace agreement, we cannot bargain the human rights of people. In the end, if an agreement is reached on paper clearly it could not be an agreement which would last, as long as the basic human rights of Palestinians are being violated. [↩]


A: Geneva Convention Articles 146 and 147 define what are considered grave breaches, and the terms under which any official of government including the defense minister, the prime minister, the chief of staff and the soldiers themselves who are carrying out these acts. It is an obligation of the signatories of the Fourth Geneva Convention to try these people responsible for grave breaches as war criminals. It is a provision in the Fourth Geneva Convention. Israel knows this, the United States knows this. The same principles have been incorporated into Security Council resolutions. I’m not saying anything that is a surprise to anyone. They all know this is the case.

A: What do you think of the new policy regarding the demolition of houses through the use of anti-tank missiles?

Q: I see the destruction of houses by missiles and blowing them us without a demolition order exactly the way I see the policy of temporary displacement of over 400 Palestinians. That is: Israel is playing games with international law and with the international community.

The international community tells them they have to abide by international law. Demolition orders that are collective punishment and expulsion orders are violations of international law. So what does Israel do? It stops issuing demolition orders and expulsion orders, but it carries out temporary displacements which are not expulsions. An it bombs houses and it says it’s for “military necessity,” which is allowed under the Hague Convention. So they are really playing games. [They say:]

“You didn’t like what you called ‘illegal orders,’ so now we’re doing this.”

The international community, and certainly the people’s whose homes are bombed and the people who are expelled, know that they are playing games with international law, and their lives. The international community cannot allow this total lawlessness and total disregard for human life to continue.

Q: As a human rights organization, how do you think these violations can be stopped?

A: ...I think [one thing] is very significant, that is the United Nations Human Rights Commission passed a resolution appointing an emergency rapporteur, or emergency representative, to monitor the human rights violations in the occupied territories. This was a significant step, which was supported by 26 of the 47 state members. The United States voted against it. This is another demand: a special representative assigned by the UNHRC, which should be respected and should have the full cooperation of all these states. In monitoring the situation, [the representative] should develop some kind of steps which will lead to greater action. [↩]

60406. Ashman, Sam. “What Do Socialists Say About Islamists?”, in Socialist Worker, April 14, 1995. p. 5. The press portrays all movements as though they are identical and unified in their fight for a sole cause. This could not be further from the truth. Some Islamist movements seek to change society through peaceful reform and some wage an armed struggle. They vary between those in power and those that are not. In Sudan, Islamists form a highly oppressive government, repressing non-Arabs and arresting trade unionists. Among Palestinians in the Hamas movement, there are arguments about whether to compromise with the Israeli government’s puppet Palestinian state run by Yasser Arafat or to carry on fighting. And while some young militants’ instincts will tell them to back workers’ struggles, their leaders will tell them not to. Socialists do not believe that Islamists are the main enemy. They have not wrecked whole continents in their drive for profit. But we do not believe that they provide any solutions to the problems of the poor and workers either. We therefore oppose state repression of Islamist parties. We oppose any attempts to make them illegal, or to repress, jail and murder their leaders. We will sometimes find ourselves fighting on the same side over issues like opposition to the Gulf War. But that does not mean we support their aims. We oppose any attacks on women’s rights, gay rights or the rights of religious and ethnic minorities. Above all, we see to build independent socialist politics that can win over workers and the poor. We want to prove to them that socialism is the road to liberation, not Islam. [↩]

60407. Association for Support & Defense of Bedouin Rights in Israel. The Bedouin of the Negev: A Threatened Minority. pamphlet. Beersehva, Israel: Association for Support & Defense of Bedouin Rights in Israel, June 1995. Asiah al-Sana’a is baking bread for her family on a vaulted metal disc over an open lire. The dough for the tasty thin Bedouin bread is made out of oil, wheat flour and water. Asiah belongs to the Terabin, a Bedouin tribe from one of the Negev in southern Israel, which is still attached to the traditional lifestyle of semi-nomads. The term Bedouin originates from Arabic and means ‘desertdweller’. Asiah is not married yet. She is living with her family in a small village of 1500 inhabitants. Asiah’s father Suleiman works as an unskilled labourer in nearby Omer, a prosperous
Jewish-Israeli town. Suleiman al-Sana’a still remembers his former home southwest of Be’ersheba from which he and the entire Terabin tribe were expelled by the Israelis upon the 1948 establishment of the State of Israel. Like other Bedouin, some Terabin members practiced seasonal migration, within about a 60 km area, in search of pasture and water for their goats, sheeps and camels. Traditionally they lived in tents, woven from black goatswool, which were cool in the summer, provided shelter during the winter, and could be easily transported on the camel’s back. The tent, divided by a curtain for men and women, was always open to visitors, who were greeted with ‘Ahlan wasahlan’, ‘welcome - make yourself comfortable’ - and a cup of strong coffee.

Before the turn of the last century the Bedouin began to build permanent homes on their land alongside their tents. While there was still migration, some family members remained throughout the year on the land and undertook agricultural projects. They also built dykes to collect rainwater in this normally dry but fertile area. Their land and successful farming practices were, and still are, the pride and wealth of every family.

Homeless On Their Own Land: At the beginning of the 8th century, following the spread of Islam in Palestine, the ancestors of the Bedouin came from the Sinai and the Arabian peninsula to the Negev, where they lived and cultivated almost exclusively until 1948. The Bedouin adapted in a unique way to the desert climate of the fertile northern Negev as well as the southern area, which is unfit for human habitation. Although its dramatic landscape is awe inspiring. With the 1948 formation of the State of Israel some 80% of the Negev Bedouin fled to Jordan, the Sinai and Gaza Strip. The remaining 12000 Bedouin were removed and forced into a reservation near Be’ersheba, which is where Suleiman and his family live today. The Bedouin living in this area are forbidden to cultivate this land. Last year Suleiman built a house of iron-sheets for his family. However shortly after having finished the house he received a demolition order from the Israeli government stating that his house was built illegally and was therefore slated for demolition within the next two years. As an option the Israeli government told Suleiman he could buy a plot in one of the government-planned townships of Tel Sheba designated for Bedouin residence. Suleiman however cannot afford to buy the land and does not want to move away from his relatives and the land on which he has been living for more than 30 years.

Israel Settlement Policies: The fate of the Terabin is an example for the situation of Israel’s 135000 Bedouin, of whom 80000-90000 live in the Negev. While land ownership rights of the Negev Bedouin were unquestioned during the Ottoman period (1517-1918) and the British Mandate (1918-1948), the Israeli state refuses to recognize their legitimate land claims. British sources however from the 1940’s, state clearly that all cultivable land was utilized by the Bedouin. Israeli government policies of separating the Bedouin from their land and concentrating them in seven townships was invented in order to make way for agriculture and future settlements for Jewish immigrants. The Negev is regarded as a prime agricultural area for intensive commercial farming, thus leaving no space for the Bedouin’s traditional cultivation and grazing practices. The plan was made and approved without the participation of the Bedouin people. The government-planned townships lack basic services and infrastructure such as schools, clinics, transportation, shopsands community centers. None of the townships have sewage-systems. Only two townships have an elected district council and the others are run by a delegated Jewish administration. The townships do not provide employment thus the entire Bedouin community is dependent on Israel, where they work as unskilled and low paid laborers. Nearly 40% of the workforce has no permanent source of income and no economic security.

Villages - Threatened by Demolition: The remaining 50000 Bedouin live in “illegal villages” which are not recognized by the Israeli government. They live mainly in simple wooden or iron sheet structures. The people and the animals live in close quarters together, presenting a health hazard. In order to pressure the Bedouins to move into government planned townships, they are denied any assistance. Dirt streets turn to seas of mud during the rainy season. There is no electricity, no telephone lines, not enough schools and no green-areas. Sewage-systems and wastewater disposal are also lacking. Water has to be piped from the nearest carrier of an adjacent Jewish town. In addition, the Bedouin suffer under the watchful eye of the ‘Green Patrol’, a paramilitary unit which was established in 1976 by the Ministry of Agriculture to supervise the “protection” of the nature in the Negev. But their activities are almost always directed against the Bedouin population, pulling down their tents, confiscating their flocks, uprooting their trees. Building of houses outside the seven townships is prohibited by law, therefore all the houses in the unrecognized villages are threatened to be demolished by the Green Patrol. Between 1989-1993, 1300 houses were demolished. In 1994-1995 more than 100 houses. Despite all these hardships, many Bedouin like the Terabin prefer to live in the unrecognized villages, within the community of extended families and on their land were they are engaged in agriculture, however limited.

Social Conflicts: The average age of the Bedouin population is very low: 64% of the Bedouin are under 19 years old. Regarding this fact, education clearly has a crucial role to play. But there are not enough schools and kindergartens, especially for those who live in the unrecognized villages. Some of these children have to travel 50 km to the nearest school. Furthermore these schools suffer from a chronic shortage of manpower and substandard equipment. Many students, especially girls, leave school early. Beside school there are almost no activities for adolescents. Much social change has been experienced by the Bedouin women. Traditionally they were involved in the household and were responsible for the animals. They fetched water, made dairy products, spun and wove the wool for the tents. In their spare time they sewed and embroidered, maintained social relations between the families and arranged marriages. Although the lives of Bedouin women were uninterrupted hard work, women had considerable status in their communities. Nowadays only a minority of women are still involved full time in their traditional pursuits. However the community’s loss of land and transfer to wage-labour lessens the importance of women’s work and consequently their social status has been reduced. Girls receive little education beyond primary school, especially when they are required to travel long distances to the next school.

Health Hazards: There are limited primary health care services provided by a few mobile clinics for the scattered population in the unrecognized villages. As a result, only 30% of the Bedouin children are immunized and two-thirds of the women do not receive any prenatal care. The majority of the Bedouin are compelled to travel a long way to Be’ersheba in order to receive medical attention. The infant mortality rate among the Bedouin population is 23 per 1000 live births - compared to 10 per 1000 in the Jewish population in the same area. Many medical problems such as diarrhoea, bronchitis, pneumonia and other childhood-diseases can be traced back to poor living conditions in the villages.

Commitment for the Negev Bedouin: The Association for the Support and Defense of Bedouin Rights in Israel was founded in 1976 as an independent organization to defend the Bedouin rights in Israel. The common objective of the members of the Association - Arab and Jewish Israelis - is to achieve full equality for all citizens of the State. In particular the organization defends the legitimate claim of the Bedouin to their land, access to water and the right to raise animals. To achieve this aim the Association provides legal advice and legal aid, including law suits. Another objective of the Association is to improve the social and educational situation and to lay the foundations for a better future by implementing social and educational programmes for students in addition as literacy courses for women. A rural clinic is in a planning stage. The Association is also fighting for the religious rights of the Bedouin who lack mosques and cemeteries. An important part of the organization’s advocacy work is trying to influence government policy. A recent governmental plan for the Negev, submitted in 1994, continues to ignore furthermore the existence of the unplanned villages. It seeks to improve 11 sites for the 300000 Jewish inhabitants of the Negev in addition to the 114 existing sites. At the same time, it does not allocate sufficient land for the 90000 Bedouin residents of the area. The Association has filed an objection against this plan and collected hundreds of signatures. The Association has prepared an alternative
Beersheva, Israel; tel: 00972-7-231687.

He was in excellent health, and complained of no disease.

Bedouin community. Association for Support & Defense of Bedouin Rights in Israel (New York), May 3, 1993. p. 6. After Israeli authorities announced that former mayor of al-Bireh, Abdul Jawad Saleh, would be returning after 20 years after the expulsion. While my father was away, my brother Maher was martyred as a result of a bomb explosion in Beirut.

My brother Nasser and I did not get to see our father till 13 years after the expulsion. While my father was away, my brother Maher was martyred as a result of a bomb explosion in Beirut.

I am very happy that the expellees are returning, especially my father. And now I wish all our expellees to come home, the recent ones and those of yesteryear.

Q: How does your grandmother feel now that she knows her son is coming back?
A: My grandmother is now 88 years old. Time has taken its toll. Since news reached her that her son would be coming back, she has been visiting us every day. Her health has improved and her spirits have gone up. All those years while her son, my father, was in exile she tilted the land. Over and over she would say, "This piece of land belongs to Abdul Jawad; he is bound to be back some day to plough; till and seed it himself."

Q: Will your father settle in al-Bireh?
A: My father refused to allow his children to grow up abroad while he was in exile. He taught them to live in their native land. This was his way of showing his attachment to the land and to his country. He also refused to own property abroad, so as to assure that his bond with his native land remained intact.

My father was mayor of al-Bireh at the time of his expulsion. His position strengthened his bonds with his fellow citizens. For 20 years, the only sentiment equal to his longing for his country was the pain of exile he had to bear.
and dismayed over the action of the Norwegian government. We call every child accompanied by his mother and another relative. While we

city of peace, Al-Quds Al-Sharif, WILPF Palestine is greatly surprised Pediatric section of the hospital and found four children per bed and

under the brutality and humiliation of Israeli Occupation. From the holy urgent demand of the families and associations in Jenin, we went to the

country to another enduring harassment and poor health. In 1977 the 43 children in the ward and consequently the children are forced to

punishment over the subsequent years in exile, forced to move from one ward of Jenin Hospital. The families said that there are only 11 beds for


that she is in need of an operation on her leg as a result of wounds

handicapped and cannot walk unassisted, and doctors are of the opinion surrender and accept slavery, or leave. [=]

issue was whether to send her back to Germany or not. He further added public opinion for the protection of the Palestinians under the occupation,

Al-Sayeh's appeal, did not study its human or judicial aspects. The only the justice of our people's cause. You must also mobilize international

Norwegian Minister of Justice declared that the authorities, in reviewing are the conscience of your states and peoples, to promote awareness of

the history and struggle of the Palestinian people. He commented that the organizations, you have an historical and active role to accomplish. You

WILPF had great hopes that the spirit arising from the Oslo Agreement, which Norway historically required being at the Civil Administration for three or four days. Thus, the holy places are under Israel's mercy.

Ministry of Justice, International NGOs, and women's and human rights organizations. Al-Sayeh's case was discussed at the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 3/1995, and to a lesser extent at the Beijing World Conference for Women. WILPF had great hopes that the spirit arising from the Oslo Agreement, which Norway historically required being at the Civil Administration for three or four days. Thus, the holy places are under Israel's mercy.

The Israeli authorities partitioned the occupied territories into different zones in order to bypass Jerusalem, the heart of the area. So, if you have to go from Bethlehem to Ramallah - usually 20 minutes travelling time - you now have to spend more than two hours to travel to Jericho, then to Telbe.

The UN Security Council ordered unanimously the return of the 413 expelled by Israel to Marj az-Zuhour eight months ago; but Israel till now is adamant not to abide by this decision. Furthermore, the United States not only did nothing to compel Israel to abide with the UN resolution but encouraged her to find means to escape the implementation, making a suspicious package refused by the expellees themselves.

The negotiations, which have been going on for nearly two years, produced no tangible result, owing to the fact that the United States is acting not as a mediator, but a full partner of Israel.

Therefore, dear brothers and sisters of the non-governmental organizations, you have an historical and active role to accomplish. You are the conscience of your states and peoples, to promote awareness of the justice of our people's cause. You must also mobilize international public opinion for the protection of the Palestinians under the occupation, who are suffering heavily while the Zionists aim to compel them to surrender and accept slavery, or leave. [=]

60412. Ballas, Mohamed. "Four Children to a Bed in Jenin Hospital", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 19, 1996. p. 12. Families in Jenin have expressed their concern about the shortage of beds in the pediatric ward of Jenin Hospital. The families said that there are only 11 beds for the 43 children in the ward and consequently the children are forced to sleep four to each bed. They called on President Yasser Arafat, the PNA, the Health Ministry and human rights institutions to put an end to this tragedy. They are worried that the overcrowded conditions will lead to the spread of infectious diseases among the children. Depending to the urgent demand of the families and associations in Jenin, we went to the Pediatric section of the hospital and found four children per bed and every child accompanied by his mother and another relative. While we
were in the emergency department, one of the residents told us that he had to take his sick two-year-old child out of Jenin's government hospital and take him home because of the situation, even though he needs treatment to keep him in good health. His parents said that keeping him in the children's ward was too dangerous to his health due to the overcrowding. Mohammed Abu Ghali, speaking for the hospital administration, said the principle of the hospital was to accept only those who had health insurance. He renewed his demands to the Ministry of Health to hasten the building of the new government hospital in Jenin. Abu Ghali also called upon the residents of Jenin to understand the situation as the administration has no "quick-fix" solutions to the problem. The maternity ward suffers from a similar problem. There are only 13 beds yet there are 400 live births per month, which has meant that there are two women to each bed.[2]

60413. Bar-Yosef, Arinoam; Shahak, Israel [trans]; New American View. "The Jews Who Run Clinton's Court: Most Interesting Aide", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol. 9(14), October 1, 1994. One of the most interesting Jewsi from the Israeli point of view, who has been barely exposed to view till now, is Rehm Emmanuel, Clinton's senior adviser in charge of coordinating special projects in the White House. His office is located next to the famous Oval Office. Rehm won extra points from his boss last week, when he succeeded in passing the law for combatting crime. He has become an expert at communicating with Congress and has already had many successes, the most prominent of which was the ratification of NAFTA. Now he is immersed in the passing of the health bill. Last Thursday his office was in shambles and he strode around it like a typical saba [a native-born Israeli], simultaneously conducting a lively conversation with me, studying the protocols of the debate held at the time by the Senate and watching the report of Wolf Blitzer (also a Jew) on CNN and being updated by his secretary and three aides on the positions of the senators regarding the vote. "Do you prefer to meet over the weekend or early next week, after this whole nightmare is over?" I asked him. "That would be a real relief," he replied. The following day, after the law passed by one vote, I called to congratulate him: "If you want to come, you have to do it now. The president decided to take a vacation and told us that whoever wanted to enjoy the summer should also take a vacation. So I'm on my way, leaving on Sunday morning." Even then he was not calm but nervously fidgeting in his chair. He has a face that is more suitable for an Israeli tourist than for a senior official in the US administration. "You know, Rehm Emmanuel is a name that would not be out of place in the Tel Aviv phone directory," I told him. A large, warm smile spread across his face. "Of course Auerbach. We opened the first phoneline here in Tel Aviv and in Jerusalem. My father changed his name after my uncle, Emmanuel, was killed in Israel's War of Independence [1948-49]. My father was then a member of Etzel [Irgun] commanded by Begin, and it was customary to change names in the underground. Yes, he is still a warm Likud supporter, but he also admires Yitzhak Rabin, since he admires whoever becomes prime minister as a result of the last Israeli elections. After that war he came to America, studied medicine and met my mother who was then a social work student. I was born in Chicago." Rehm and his two brothers received a warm Jewish education. "You know, we studied at a Jewish school and had private Hebrew teachers. My first visit to Israel was three days after the Six-Day War. My father said then that we had to go to Israel. I was eight years old, but I remember it as if it were this morning. The Arabs were completely defeated. There was such a joy and it was so very exciting. There were high hopes that as a result the Jews will enjoy freedom and peace. Since then I continued to visit Israel every summer until 1972. Then I began my studies. When I matured I went into politics, the pastimes of an American youngster. "What meaning does the connection to Israel and to Judaism have to you today?" "Since 1972 I did not visit Israel, until 1991. Then the Gulf War broke out and missiles landed in Tel Aviv. I immediately volunteered for one month service in the Israeli army, through the 'Overseas Volunteer Unit.'" [translator's note: By special permission of the US administration, which is not often mentioned in the US media for reasons clarified in this article, American Jews can volunteer to serve in the Israeli army and some of them often do so, especially during Israeli wars. The number of US Jews who rushed to volunteer in the Israeli army during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and who helped it to besiege Beirut was quite big, but since the Israeli censorship banned any mention of them, they were "invisible" to the US media. No other army enjoys a similar privilege. The service of the US Jews in the Israeli army is not supposed to include combat duties, but only such things as helping to repair tanks. Some of it certainly takes place in the territories, including the Golan Heights.] What I did then to help the Jews was not much. Naturally, it was not combat service. But we helped as much as possible and the main thing was that we were there. Does that answer your question?" Perhaps the most intriguing thing that happened to me personally in the course of the past year, since I have been posted in Washington, was the meeting with organized American Jewry. The best place to see them as they are, the place where I always came each year to admire them, is the annual convention of the pro-Israeli lobby AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs Committee]. This is the place not only to feel the pulse of American involvement in the Middle East, but also where I felt that somehow it helps me to ignore the deep distress inherent in the feeling of loneliness of living in a state located in the heart of so many hostile Arabs. I always asked myself what was the value of the Jewish experience in America as far as Israel is concerned. Did the identification with Israel derive from a deep sense of a common Jewish fate or was it one of the tools of the local community to garner power for achieving equal rights in a mixed society comprised also of many emigrants and members of various faiths? Was Jewish power in the US a phenomenon which will decrease or increase? Were the intermarriages of Jews with gentiles threatening to weaken the Jewish power in the US? Or, so I was sometimes afraid, were American Jews building a new Jewish cultural center that would compete with Israel? [2]

60414. Barzak, Ibrahim. "Palestinian Says Israelis Shot Deaf Boy; Officials May Be Barred After a Week of 'Crazes'," in Seattle Times, June 23, 1997. p. A9. Outside the heavily fortified Morag settlement of Jewish extremist militias, wild gunfire by the settlers shot and seriously wounded a deaf Palestinian boy. The Israeli government is planning travel restrictions on 20 Palestinian officials that it blames for widespread Palestinian disgust with recent Israeli brutality. In Hebron, 14 Palestinians were wounded by rubber bullet fire by Jewish soldiers and stun grenades; those protests spread to Nablus. Israel Radio hysterically reported that one Israeli woman settler was struck by a stone allegedly thrown by a Palestinian. [TXT]

60415. Batrawi, Walid. "Features: Arab Villages Suffer Through Water Shortages While Nearby Settlements Flourish," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 22, 1995, p. 7. In the early hours of each morning, the women of Marda village near Nablus head to the only spring to collect water which they take to their homes on donkeys. Instead of gathering in stone allegedly thrown by a Palestinian. [TXT]
the committee for the development of the village said, "At the beginning of the occupation, we asked the Israeli authorities to install water pipes to the village, but they refused. I think the main reason for the refusal is political. When the village union was formed, we were asked to coordinate with figures from other villages. When we refused, we were asked to coordinate with the village mukhtar who was working for the Israeli authorities. We refused this as well. We have been denied water ever since. "I feel that the water issue should not be negotiated, since it is the source of life. He asked the Palestinian negotiators not to concede a single drop of water because it is the natural right of the Palestinian people.

Iman, a housewife, was standing in her kitchen watching the purification process: the water is boiled. She said that, as a housewife, she finds it very difficult to do chores in the house since water is very scarce, and the demand for it is very large. Iman wishes she could lead a normal life, like other women, just doing the household chores without also having to collect water each day and then boiling it as well. The children, men, women and elderly of the village of Marda look with disgust, anguish and envy up to the mountain top and the settlement of Ariel, with its red rooftops and luscious green gardens. They look with envy when the gates to the swimming pool open, and kids run and jump into the pool and bathe in its cold waters in the scorching sun, not caring what happens to kids their age down in the Arab village below. Just a few meters from the swimming pool sits Mimi Cohen, age thirty-eight, drinking a cup of coffee and blowing the smoke of her cigarette, watching one of her workers cleaning the sidewalks with a hose. Mimi laughed when I asked her if she suffers from any water shortage. "As you can see, we do not have any problems regarding water. We use as much as we need and then pay for what we consume," Mimi said. On a table close by sits the mayor of the settlement and Likud Member of Knesset, Ron Nachman. He considers the water issue in Israel one of the most difficult cases, and denied what the inhabitants of Marda village say regarding theft of water by the settlement. "What those lousy Arabs say is all lies, and they come up with such stories to ruin our image with the general public, and you journalists believe them," Nachman said. He added, "The Arabs have no rights to the water, and what reaches Judea and Samaria is water from the Golan region. And there is an equation we should not forget: Those who own the land, own what is above and below it, so if oil is found under this land, it belongs to its owner."

Nachman rejects any concessions the Rabin government would offer the Palestinians, saying that if the Israelis give the Palestinians more water, it will destroy the Israelis. "If you give something to someone, then you acknowledge the rights this person has, and the Palestinians do not have any rights to this land, and I do not think that one day I will acknowledge that they do, no matter what the circumstances are," Nachman said. "The next war in the Middle East is not going to be from Hafez Assad, Saddam Hussein or Yasser Arafat, but the dispute over water," he added. The water issue is a big part of the negotiations going on in Eilat, and there are newspaper reports which claim that there is slight progress and that an agreement may be reached between the two parties. Abdel Rahman Tamimi, head of the Palestinian Hydrology Group and a member of the negotiating team said that the water issue is one of the most complex issues and requires a firm position from the Palestinians. "Israel controls 83% of the water sources, and 73% of the West Bank's citizens do not have running water. Thus, the inhabitants of about one hundred and eighty-nine villages in the West Bank have to use primitive methods to collect water which threatens them with an environmental disaster," Tamimi said. Tamimi said that the Israeli consumption of water is five times that of the Palestinians, while the latter pays three times more for consumption. He blames the Israelis for the water shortages from which Palestinians suffer and considers control of water and not the distribution process to be the problem. Marda is only a good example of what many Palestinians suffer due to water shortages. The settlement of Ariel is just an example of people enjoying the abundance of water. Will the inhabitants of Marda and their Palestinian brethren one day enjoy water in abundance, or will they remain dry, envying the exorbitance of water their neighbors have access to?="

60416. Batsh, Madja; Vitullo, Anita. "Jerusalem and the Peace Agenda: Profiles: Growing Up in Jerusalem: Two Women's Stories: Madja Batsh", in Middle East Report, May-June 1993. pp. 17-18. [Madja Batsh is a 34-year old journalist in cinematography in the USSR. She stills lives in the Muslim Quarter. Her house is surrounded by the overhead 'security' walkways used by Jewish militants to intimidate Palestinians. Batsh, who has been an outspoken critic of the North Palestinian Authority, has had her house seized in the area.] Batsh grew up as a 'hasan sabi' [tomboy], her father, who had been a wealthy merchant, lost his stores and went bankrupt after the 1948 war; he became a construction worker and always refused to accept a refugee card that would entitle him to relief aid. Attending school after the 1967 war was difficult because the only neighborhood school was destroyed and only rebuilt in 1977. She went to a school, but teacher turnover was high: once her Hebrew teachers was sometimes by Israeli troops in the classroom. Going to work in Israeli owned plants, she was cheated on her wages: the plant that produced cloaks for Jews visiting the Wailing Wall held back half the wages promised. Once the city neighborhoods were like a big family: now criminals and drug addicts are moving in, and families are leaving to escape the crowding.

60417. Beinart, Peter; Rosin, Hanna. "AIPAC Unpacked: The Real Story of Tom Dine", in New Republic, September 20, 1993. pp. 20-22. After 13 years as the boss of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), executive director and chief lobbyist Tom Dine was quoted by journalist David Landau as characterizing the Orthodox as 'smelly'. Six days later, after a dunciation of Dine's comments by Rabbi Moshe Shere of Agudath Israel, Dine's resignation was requested: one day later he provided the resignation. Since 'it is rare to have more than one yarmulke on the board', the decision is seen coming more from wealthy backers of the lobby than from the Orthodox.

Dine was in many ways a victim of his own success: the officers who voted to remove him were, after all, all his own cadre. In 1980, when Dine assumed leadership of AIPAC, its had a staff of 24, in 1993 that had grown to 158; paid membership grew from 8000 to 55000, and the budget grew from $1.7 million to $5.5 million. The organization was long overseen by Dine's hand-picked underling Arthur Chotkin. Former Henry Seigman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, observes that there were longstanding tensions with the 'Gang of Four': past presidents on the board of directors: Mayer Mitchell, Robert Asher, Edward Levy Jr., and Lawrence Weinberg. The beginning of the end came when Dine conceded management authority to Howard Kohr. Ironically, despite Labor's victory in Israel and the advantages for aligning the major Israeli lobby in the US with Israeli policies, the Gang of Four remained staunchly Likudist. Tensions have been growing between Israel and AIPAC: the statement by Amb. Itamar Rabinovitch to the 7/1993 AIPAC Policy Conference that 'peace might require some compromises' was despised by AIPAC. Even worst, Dine has even stated that he does not need AIPAC to continue in its role as an intermediary for and agent of the Israeli government in its relations with the White House. After Rabin criticized AIPAC in 1992 for '"making too many enemies'. AIPAC spokesman Toby Dershowitz denounced the Prime Minister as 'naive' and condemned him for since he 'doesn't know how important AIPAC is'. Dine had been something of a moderate, even though he barred American Friends of Peace Now from joining the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, Peace Now was Washington director Gal pressberg noted that AIPAC and Peace Now had been able to work together. As pressure grew on Dine for being 'too liberal', Orthodox members of the Conference of Presidents demanded a new requirement of the head of AIPAC: that he not be intermarried outside the Jewish Race (Dine was married to a non-Jew). However, with Dine gone, AIPAC seems adrift, and has had to release eight staff members due to a fundraising shortfall.

Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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Founded in 1985, by focusing on Israel as the central interest of the US in the Middle East in a manner that 'resonates with the anti-Arab and Islamophobic premises of the conventional wisdom on Middle East affairs, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP) had become, by 1/1989, the NGO with the greatest influence over US Middle East policy. During the Persian Gulf War, WINEP operatives were a major source of pro-war sound bites, op-eds and canned quotes in the mass media; when th Madrid Conference started, the CNN 'expert commentator' was WINEP chief Martin Indyk. WINEP emerged in 1988 with its study 'Building for Peace': six members of WINEP would become members of the Bush Administration: Lawrence Eagleburger became deputy (later Acting) Secretary of State; Dennis Ross became head of the State Policy Planning and one of James Baker's aide on Middle East policy; Richard Haass became the NSC staffer on the Middle East; Harvey Sicherman became speech writer for Baker; and Francis Fukuyama ('History is Over') and John Hannah joined Ross's staff. A WINEP formulated post-Gulf War policy for the US in the three years after the Saddam invasion was made by Indyk, Marvin Feuerwerger, Geoffrey Kemp, Dov Zakheim, Charles Hill, Daniel Pipes (of the rightwing Foreign Policy Institute), Laurie Mylroie; Patrick Clawson (previously at IMF, now editor of the Foreign Policy Institute's Orbis); as well as Democrats: Michael Mandelbaum (foreign policy advisor to the Clinton campaign), Stuart Eizenstat (member of WINEP board of directors; chair of the 1992 Democratic Party Platform Committee); a member of the executive committee. Indyk left AIPAC to create a 'more credible' pro-Israeli foreign policy advocate, during a period of tense relations between the US and Israel. All the State Departments that worked to rebuild those relations (Peter Rodman, Eagleburger and Charles Hill) later became regular WINEP associates. Rep. Les Aspin, Walter Mondale, Sen. Sam Nunn, and Sen. Daniel Inouye. Thus WINEP was positioned to capture Middle East policymaking under the incoming Clinton Administration, just as it had captured the Bush Administration. The role of WINEP continues the down grading of area expertise in the US government, as 'strategic policy' ideology was seen as more important than knowledge of the region being targeted.

The major backers of WINEP are Barbi Weinberg (former president of Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, and of two Hollywood Hadassah branches) and Martin Indyk (former deputy director of research for AIPAC). Fundraising from Jewish-Americans provides the $1.2 million annual budget of WINEP: contributors include Weinberg, the Blinken Foundation, the Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, the Koret Foundation, the Meyerhoff family and Soref family; named after the nearby town - include the camps of Yibna, Shabura, Weinberg, the Blinken Foundation, the Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, the Koret Foundation, the Meyerhoff family and Soref family; as well as Democrats: Michael Mandelbaum (foreign policy advisor to the Clinton campaign), Stuart Eizenstat (member of WINEP board of directors; chair of the 1992 Democratic Party Platform Committee); a member of the executive committee. Indyk left AIPAC to create a 'more credible' pro-Israeli foreign policy advocate, during a period of tense relations between the US and Israel. All the State Departments that worked to rebuild those relations (Peter Rodman, Eagleburger and Charles Hill) later became regular WINEP associates. Rep. Les Aspin has used his growing ties to WINEP to argue that he is an expert on Middle East policy, and in 1991 traveled to the Middle East twice accompanied by Indyk as an aide. Mylroie in the early 1980s was avidly pro-Iraqi as she promoted an Israeli-Iraqi rapproachment through Orbin, the day on which four young men were killed in the center of the market. Out of the market began to throw stones at the border policemen. Witnesses of the police post in Rafah. There, a number of youths stand with a slingshot and stones?) There are no seatbelts, no rules. Everyone is in a hurry. The skull-capped soldier points his gun at them. Afterwards, his friend appears and and unceremoniously throws stones from the roof onto the crowded street below.

The southern refugee camps - generally known as "Rafah," named after the nearby town - include the camps of Yibna, Shabura, Brazil and others. They are unique in their high level of politicization and organization and managing even today to bring large numbers out into the streets for confrontations with the military. Here, the residents say, tongue in cheek, we count those who are out of prison, not those inside.

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ambulance on the way to Khan Yunis. In the first wave of bullets, some 50 residents were injured. The confrontations continued when a large military force arrived in order to enforce a curfew. Locals claim, and this is supported by the version of events supplied by UNR.W.A. personnel, that another 30 people were injured by live ammunition and rubber bullets [In actuality, these are metal bullets covered with rubber.]. The confrontations continued until 9:20 p.m., when the military finally succeeded in enforcing the curfew. Hundreds of residents from nearby Khan Yunis rushed to the town's Nasser Hospital in order to give blood for 80 victims injured in the massacre. [–]

60421. Ben Efrat, Roni. “Gaza: Trees That Feed the Fire, Part 3”, in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 22. On that same bloody day Ta‘alat Lafi, a 25-year-old trade union activist, was standing near his house when he heard shots from the market and he went to take a look. He spotted a Border Police jeep passing by and then a second jeep in which he discerned the soldier inside pointing him out to another soldier. This second soldier shot him in the head. Ta‘alat was taken to the Shifa Hospital at 6:45. However, a Civil Administration officer named Kobi delayed him at the checkpoint for 30 minutes. Ta‘alat submitted a complaint against the I.D.F. through the Al Haq organization. Today, as he lies at home, the left half of his body paralyzed, he raises a number of questions: A week before the incident in the market, a group of soldiers came to his house accompanied by the same Civil Administration worker, Kobi, who was in charge of searching for “wanted” Palestinians. They conducted a search of his house, asked after a relative who was on the “wanted” list and at the same time overturned furniture and spoke roughly to his brother’s wife. Ta‘alat rebuked the soldier for speaking rudely. Three days later he was summoned to the Civil Administration. Kobi threatened him and told him, “I’ll show you. . . .” Was the target practice of those two soldiers in the jeep and the delay at the checkpoint merely coincidental? [–]

60422. Ben Efrat, Roni. “Gaza: Trees That Feed the Fire, Part 4”, in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 22-23. Ta‘alat’s history is that of an activist. He carries a green identity card [A green I.D. card prevents its bearer from entering Israel.]. Since ’87 he has spent three periods of 6 months each under administrative detention. He has twice been interrogated for periods of 48 and 30 days respectively without confessing to anything. Ta‘alat married a year ago and now has a baby boy. It is hard to know whether he will ever be able to function fully again. From Shafla he was transferred to the Tel Hashomer hospital where the bullet was removed from his head. He lay in a regular ward and maintains that he was given excellent treatment by his doctor. The nurse, on the other hand, made his life miserable. “Communists threw you to the dogs” By some miracle she was able to express in words what the soldiers do in practice to the local residents every day. The family of Sami Abu Samhadana who is awaiting deportation and who is imprisoned at the Ketziot Camp, one of the cornerstones of the southern camps. You cannot go there for even the most fleeting visit without visiting the home of Rukiya and Aza Abu Samhadana. We were informed that the mother, aged 62, and the father, aged over 80, were staging a sit-in at the Red Cross. The Ketziot prisoners are in their fifth day of hunger strike and there are reports of tear gas being fired into the camp. While we are getting settled on the broad veranda with its potted plants and creepers, the parents arrive. They show no signs of fatigue or analysis of the ideological challenges faced by, and the strategies used to, the Ketziot prisoners. On the other hand, insisted that Sami was continuing to lead the Strip from prison. He concludes, “That’s Likud - they believe in Bush not Allah!” Although Rukiya and Aza have welcomed the peace talks they say that peace is not just around the corner. Rukiya is willing to bet that it will be another ten years before peace is achieved. Her prophecy contains no sigh, nor trace of weariness. [–]

60424. Ben Efrat, Roni. “Gaza: Trees That Feed the Fire, Part 6”, in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 23. Two days after my visit to Gaza there were reports of mass demonstrations in the Nusseirat and Jabaliya camps. Twenty people were wounded. The residents were protesting the nightly curfew enforced in the strip from 21.00. I was reminded of the words of a former prisoner whom I met: “All that the Intifada needs is trees and matches.” If the trees are the residents who sacrifice their lives, their bodies and their freedom in order to live as human beings, then the match is the occupation. This has been the story day in, day out. For 25 years. For 9125 days. [Translation: Yehudit Keshet] [–]

60425. Berkowitz, Sandra Jean. Challenging Holocaust Ideology: ‘Jewish Women Call For Peace’ (Israel, Palestine, Intifada, Jewish Women’s Committee To End The Occupation Of The West Bank And Gaza, Tikkun Olam). University Of Minnesota. Dissertation. 183pp. AAC 9422288. [Advisor: Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs] As tensions between Israelis and Palestinians increase, erupting into violence on both sides, many US Jews find themselves in a very difficult situation. On the one hand, they want to assure the safety and security of Israel, while on the other, they witness through the media the brutal Israeli military reaction to the Palestinian uprising, or intifada. This study is a critical rhetorical analysis of the ideological challenges faced by, and the strategies used by a US Jewish women’s peace group, the New York-based Jewish Women’s Committee to End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (JWCEO), who advocate a negotiated, two-state settlement of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Gaining support for negotiation and a two-state settlement is more difficult than merely explaining the nature of the occupation. [–]
equating negotiated settlement with disloyalty, the JWCEO, through silent vigils and the pamphlet, Jewish Women Call for Peace, argues that a negotiated, two-state settlement is most humane, most rational, and most consistent with Jewish beliefs. The arguments of the JWCEO embrace and embody the concept of tikkun olam, a progressive, historically based belief in the need to heal and repair the world. The discourse of the JWCEO offers a glimpse into how the obstacles created by Holocaust ideology can be overcome through a revised vision of liberalism embodied in the process of tikkun olam. For students of discourse, this analysis illustrates a useful approach to the study of Jewish rhetoric. Additionally, this study advances our understanding of the rhetorical dimensions of ideology. [Reprinted with permission of Dissertation Abstracts, 1999-2000, v.49, n.13, p.13169.]

60426. Berry, Jessica. "Shoe, Textile Production in Palestine: Hebron Factory Strives for Women's Self-Sufficiency", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995, p. 11. Take some leather made in Hebron or even Tel Aviv, a team of about 12 Palestinian women and you have 250 leather uppers for shoes every day. A venture inspired by Nora Kort of Jerusalem's Catholic Relief Services. This small factory has been operating for about a year. The aim is to give Palestinian women a chance to work and given them better social standing. The project seems to be succeeding. A handful of women from all over the West Bank and Gaza are working furiously, eight hours a day, to produce these leather uppers which are then sent to an Israeli factory in Tel Aviv that attaches the soles. The shoes are then either exported or sold locally. "Speed and quality are of the essence," says Lyda Araj, Israeli President of the Women's Initiative Committee for Development. "If they (Israeli dealers) see the work is not good and we can't get our work there on time, they will just forget us. We are under a lot of pressure." Shoe factories are nothing new to Hebron. About two-thirds of the town makes shoes. The manufacturers range from small family businesses to bigger factories. But the committee in Hebron which has started this new group has grander ambitions. Suher Beder, 35, who has been training now for about a year, wants eventually to set up her own shop. She is not allowed to leave the group for another two years, as part of the training deal, but after that she will try to go it alone, adding that she will take most of her inspiration for designs from catalogues. The group also provides security for some women, who would otherwise probably stay at home. The youngest of the party, nineteen-year-old, is glad of the chance to work, and says she will never leave. "This fulfills all my demands for the future," she says. Israeli dealers pay seven shekels for a pair of leather uppers. This is cheap, perhaps half of what they would pay Israeli workers, according to Araj. But Araj adds she expects the factory to be independent by about $1996, when the women will be able to make the complete product. They must wait until then as the machine tools cost money and are very large. She says the group still needs another $80000 for more machines and simply for running expenses. Most of the money comes from an Australian humanitarian foundation called World Vision. The machines are bought from Italy and Germany. "We hope to be wearing our very own shoes made entirely by us next year," says Jamjoun Abu Al-Abed, the group's manager. [↩]

60427. Bishara, Azmy; Yakutiel, Oman; Amirav, Moshe; Habash, Assia; Dakkak, Ibrahim. "Jerusalem and the Peace Agenda: Jerusalem Voices", in Middle East Report, May-June 1993, pp. 28-31. Azmy Bishara (philosophy teacher at Birzeit University): notes that the city has no meaning for her, dismissing as 'stone-fetishism' the myth that every stone has meeting. She notes that Israeli ideology has prevented archeology and historiography into theology to reshape Jewish and Palestinian history. Bishara notes that in response Arab leaders have built countermyths that are no better. However, the myths of Jerusalem have meaning for hundreds of millions of Jews and Muslims. Jerusalem is really only the area inside the old walls: the Israeli settlements are meaningless. The questions of the theology of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem' are irrelevant if the binational nature of the real city can be addressed. Oman Yakutiel (deputy mayor of Jerusalem) sees Jerusalem as the focus of all Israeli hopes and fears: so Jerusalem is the only 'Israeli city' in which the Intifadah has taken place. There has been discrimination in construction and land use: in a perio that saw no new Palestinian housing, 150000 Jewish residents were added beyond the Green Line. There is a deliberate policy to push Palestinians out of the city. Inevitably, there must be 'some kind of Palestinian-Arab sovereignty' over East Jerusalem which will provide the basis for a sustainable urban future.

Moshe Amirav (member, Jerusalem City Council, responsible for engineering, roads and transportation): all plans for Jerusalem based on compromise have failed because they have never discussed sovereignty. He suggests a two-state, dual capital status for a Jerusalem three times as large and including ten Palestinian and ten Israeli municipalities. Central functions such as planning, the judiciary, education and health would be shared responsibility.

Assia Habash (head, Early Childhood Development Center, Jerusalem): notes that the Old City is being demolished, and all traces of Christian and Muslim Palestinians are being erased. Only a humane solution based on coexistence can secure future for the city that transcends national claims.

Ibrahim Dakkak (president, West Bank Engineers Union; founder, Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem): Jerusalem has been a Palestinian city for centuries. Jerusalem is essential for any independent Palestinian state. There will be no solution to the question of Jerusalem until the international community ends its 'indifference' to Israeli disrespect for UN resolutions. A depoliticized and demilitarized city can be the center for a two-state solution. [TXT]

60428. Bishara, Ghassan. "Arab & Diaspora News: Experts say Mideast at historic point, Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Times, December 1, 1995. p. 11. "We hope to be wearing our very own shoes made entirely by us next year," says Jamjoun Abu Al-Abed, the group's manager. [↩]

Meanwhile, the American president has inherited in recent times. We have never been in a better position than we are today to bring about a solution to the conflict," says former Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy. "What is urgently needed in the process now is some success for all of the delegations to deflate the naysayers."

Murphy, a senior fellow for the Middle East at the non-partisan Council on Foreign Relations, moderated an April 16 briefing on the peace process at the National Press Club. He was joined by Judith Kipper, senior program associate for the Middle East Forum; Raghida Dergham, senior diplomatic correspondent for the Arab daily Al-Hayat; and Ow Nuri, Washington bureau chief for the Israeli daily paper Haaretz.

Murphy, in assessing how the Clinton administration is likely to handle the upcoming round of talks, said President Clinton and Secretary Christopher "have talked of playing a full partnership role, but I don't think you're going to see that in reality until negotiations are seriously engaged. I think the United States...is being careful until it sees the directions they are ready to move in."

Kipper said she agreed with Murphy that President Clinton "has been handed a good hand," but pointed out that if the participants are not seriously intent upon moving the process forward, "much more serious situations" are demanding US time and global concern and "the US could lose interest."

"I think there is a lot of helpfulness, but we shouldn't confuse the negotiation process with the larger crucial and historic issues that are taking place in the region," Kipper warned.

She said the geopolitical race in the Middle East, where "60 to 70% of the people are under the age of 20, is between democratization and extremism," despite the innumerable volatile and sensitive issues and problems confronting parties to the peace process. "Ultimately, the greatest threat in the region today is the lack of democratization in regimes that do not represent their people," Kipper underscored.

While direct talks "are a nice idea," Kipper said, "it is unlikely that present talks will be successful without the direct, hands-on
mediation of the United States.”[=]


Mama Aysha, the Palestinian woman who came to Washington in 1949, died last week at the age of 93, leaving no children of her own, but a splendid history and many friends and admirers who will miss her deeply.

Mama Aysha--as Aysha Abul Hawa was known to many people in Washington and even to those who visited Washington for only a short while--reached people through the two best-known avenues: her serenity and warmth, and her ability to satisfy their stomachs.

Her Palestinian-Arab demeanor made people comfortable at her restaurant on Calver Street, off Connecticut Ave., and her smashing arabic food--with Palestinian flavor--made them come back for more. Mama Aysha, as a result, became one of the most identifiable Arabs in this very famous and often stuffy town.

For an Arab to have lived or even passed through the capital without knowing who Mama was, revealed a gap in that person’s education and Arab identity, and exposed a weakness in his/her familiarity with what is really important here.

Mama Aysha’s Calver Cafe became a must-see for people in this busy city, especially people with some connection to the Middle East. Though not very fancy, Mama Aysha’s restaurant radiated warmth and friendliness; the food was authentic and very good. Mama Aysha made it herself.

People also remember that, in the late ’70s, when the Palestine Information Office was allowed to open in Washington, D.C., Mama Aysha’s became the staff’s favorite watering hole. Receptions were often held at the restaurant, where the political talk about Palestinian was mixed with Palestinian food prepared by a true Palestinian woman.

Mama, with her white headdress, was always in the restaurant sitting quietly at one of the tables; she never said very much, yet when she did, everyone would listen.

Aysha Abul Hawa hailed from At-Tur village, just outside of East Jerusalem. Because of the nature of Washington as the capital of the federal government, millions of Americans come to serve here, only to leave after a few years. In many ways, Mama Aysha may have been one of the few people who could claim residency of the capital for such a long time—44 years.

Thus, her passing away attracted the attention of media ranging from the Washinton Post to Al-Majal, a magazine run by the US Information Service. [=]


The Young Women’s Christian Association in East Jerusalem celebrated the graduation of 141 female students enrolled in courses in management and secretarial skill; health care and community service; and home economics and sewing 12/10/1994. The opening speech was delivered by Doris Salah, general secretary of the Young Women’s Christian Association in Palestine. She emphasized the crucial role the YoungWomen’s Christian Association is dedicated to playing in the advancement and improvement of the status of women in society. The association is concerned about women, not only as the cornerstone of all students and women, and it will always be there to cater to the needs of women who want to participate in building their society and ensuring a better future.

Another type of advancement and improvement of the status of women in society. The association is concerned about women, not only as the cornerstone of all students and women, and it will always be there to cater to the needs of women who want to participate in building their society and ensuring a better future. The Young Women’s Christian Association is currently working on starting new advanced courses in secretarial work and computers.

One of the graduates, Rania Abu Sara, delivered a speech on behalf of the graduates, in which she thanked the teachers, the parents and the associations for providing such opportunities and support. She added that the Young Women’s Christian Association was not only a place where they studied different courses to help them start a professional life, but it was also the place where they actually learned a new way of life; one where self-respect, love and awareness come before anything else. Linda Jarayseh, coordinator for the community health workers at the Young Women’s Christian Association said, “Although I have worked in different places, this is the place where I feel I belong and can give most. I feel that my students benefit a lot from the courses they take, since they learn to handle their houses, children, parents and above all themselves.” Maha Shatarah, age twenty-seven, is one of the graduates of the home management and dressmaking course. “At first, I enrolled in the Young Women’s Christian Association to fill my time. But when I started the dressmaking course, I found out that I was really good at it and enjoyed it a lot. I decided to continue to learn dressmaking at the Young Women’s Christian Association for another year, and now I have become quite professional.” When asked why not make a profession out of dressmaking, Shatarah replied, “My parents do not want me to work in a dressmaking factory because women do not get fairly paid. But we are thinking of starting our own dressmaking family business.” Sahar Khateeb, age twenty-two, is one of the business course graduates. “I have benefited a lot from the one year secretarial course I took at the Young Women’s Christian Association. Of special benefit were the computer and the business administration courses,” she said. Khateeb is currently working as a secretary at the Bir Zeit-Palestine Pharmaceutical Co. She said, “I was employed at the same place where I was sent by the Young Women’s Christian Association for training. I feel quite comfortable in my work, but I wish the Young Women’s Christian Association would offer more computer courses, especially ‘Windows.’ It would also be of great benefit if we could get more advanced courses in secretarial and business management work.” [=]
Democracy" (West Virginia). In the main these caucuses directed their struggles against the lack of union democracy and the corruption of the union leadership, like the Tony Boyle case. Through genuine rank and file organizations with good mass membership, these caucuses are led by reformists, and would-be union bureaucrats, or in the case of Miners Democracy, by a bourgeois lawyer! These caucuses are usually national or industry-wide, but very seldom, if at all, lead and develop local, or for that matter national, mass struggles against issues facing the rank and file. At the end of every issue is the would-be union bureaucrat or reformist crying: "Elect me and I will get things done!" These caucuses are nevertheless progressive to the degree that they do challenge the class collaboration of the union leadership, but are weak in the sense that the reformist leadership and the basic programs have not and cannot make any essential changes in things or develop the worker's consciousness to a higher level. [4] 

60432. Black Workers Congress. Black Liberation Struggle, the Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution: Why We Need a 'New' Communist Party and the Role of a Black Communist Organization: The Role of the Black Workers Congress, Part 2. Pamphlet. Detroit, Mich.: Black Workers Congress, 1974, pp. 38-39. On the other hand, some say because we are a "national form" we cannot be a communist group. They try to compare us to the Jewish "Bund" in Russia. They would like us to liquidate ourselves and join their "multi-national" form or group. Again, we would like to make clear we are for the fusion and unity of all Marxist-Leninists into one Communist Party. This is the only basis on which we unite - multi-national forms" are not the multi-national party. All Marxist-Leninist organizations will have to "liquidate" themselves (we like the word "unite" better) if they intend to be members of the party, not just the "national forms." Prior to the party, no particular "form of communist organization" is higher or "lower" than any other (that is, unless some groups think they are the party already?!) - all are affected with the same narrowness and amateurishness one has, but whether or not one is willing to openly and resolutely admit its short-comings and to move towards genuine unity, away from the path of isolation and sectarianism to the path of uniting on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the building of a new, genuine, revolutionary Communist Party. Only such a party (national in scale, Bolshevik-type) can lead the working class and its allies to power and socialism and guarantee the complete emancipation for the Afro-American, Puerto-Rican, Chicano, Asian, and Native American (Indian) peoples. Only such a party can liberate women from their age-long oppression and guarantee them full equality with men in the struggle. Only such a party can release the full energies of the youth and allow full play to their ambitions and talents. In words, only such a party can bring proletarian revolution to America. [4] 

60433. Blankfort, Jeffrey, Speech Presented At The ALA New Orleans-ALA Forum, Part 1. June 27, 1993. We are only a few days short of an historic anniversary, a day on which I hope I can join you in celebrating your "independence." I'm not referring to July 4th, but to the evening of last July 1st when the ALA, meeting in San Francisco, declared its independence from the peculiar, special relationship that exists between Israel and the United States that has kept our institutions, both public and private, from speaking critically of Israel. On that day the ALA delegates, having heard a moving and factual presentation by Israeli journalist Michal Schwartz, overwhelmingly approved two resolutions. The first protested long-standing Israeli censorship policies of which Schwartz, herself, had been a victim, and the second, criticized the threatened expulsion of Palestinian librarian Omar al-Safi from the Israeli-Occupied West Bank. Data was presented documenting the acts of censorship by the Israeli government against both Palestinians and Israeli dissidents that violate Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They included: (a) the banning of publications and books; (b) the harassing, imprisoning and expulsion of journalists; (c) the closing of universities, research institutions, libraries and the censoring of communications by phone and fax.ALA's actions were consistent with position it has taken in past years, targeting countries such as South Africa, Chile and the former Soviet Union, for practicing censorship and stifling intellectual freedom. But Israel is another matter. Consequently, it is the ALA that is now in the process of being censored. And that censorship is being orchestrated by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, an organization that presents itself as America's predominant champion of civil liberties. It is happening, ironically, at the same time that the District Attorney of San Francisco is preparing to file charges against the ADL on the basis of illegal spying activities that its agents carried out against some 12000 individuals and nearly a thousand organizations in the Bay Area and around the country. Surveillance was not only not limited to Arab-Americans and pro-Palestinian activists, - the majority of groups spied upon have nothing to do with Jews or the Middle East. Nor could they, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered "anti-semitic" or "extremist." In May, the district attorney's office released over 700 pages of documents relating to the case. Among them was a list of the groups monitored by a long-time ADL operative, Roy Bullock and a moonlighting San Francisco policeman, Tom Gerard, both of whom had also been working for the South African government and the FBI. But this was only the tip of the iceberg. It was apparent from the documents and other information secured separately, that the ADL has been operating a clandestine espionage network in cities all across the United States, serving, in the main, the interests of Israeli intelligence, and to a lesser extent, the FBI and the apartheid regime of South Africa. Though the ADL vociferously denies any ties to any foreign intelligence agency - maybe they don't consider Israel foreign? - a letter from its then national director, Benjamin Epstein to another B'Nai B'rith official, Saul Joffes, written in 1961, would indicate otherwise: "As you know," the letter reads, "the Anti-Defamation League for many years has maintained a very important confidential investigative coverage of Arab activities and propaganda... Our information, in addition to being essential for our own operations has been of great value and service to both the US State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge that we were the source." The ADL's link to Israeli intelligence, was reaffirmed several months ago when a Palestinian-American, Mohammed Jarad, a Chicago resident whose name was in the ADL files, was arrested in Israel shortly after his arrival, and accused of raising funds for Hamas. ADL's spying activities have been assisted by national and local law enforcement agencies with which it has enjoyed a term a long-term, if uneasy relationship. The ADL has enlisted the services of police and sheriffs departments in a number of major US cities in order to receive unauthorized personal information on individuals the ADL has selected for surveillance. One of the categories of groups spied upon, identified by Bullock as "pinko," included virtually every African-American, Latino, Asian-American, Native-American, Gay and Lesbian, solidarity, environmental, anti-nuclear organization in the Bay Area, a number of weekly newspapers, the local public TV station and more than 20 labor unions. 

On the list, for example, were the NAACP, the United Auto Workers, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Centro Legal de La Raza and SANE/Freeze. It also included Jewish and Israeli organizations that have been critical of Israeli policy from Americans for Peace Now to Friends of Yesh Gyuvi and the International Jewish Peace Union. One of the organizations listed in the files, the respected Asian Law Caucus, immediately canceled a joint program on hate-crimes it had scheduled with the ADL, expressing dismay that it had been the subject of the ADL's spying. Rather than apologize, the local ADL accused the group of showing bad faith. A special category in Bullock's files was devoted to the African National Congress, whose expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and its on-going criticism of the Israel-South Africa military alliance made it a natural target for an ADL espionage. Rather than apologize, the local ADL office released over 700 pages of documents relating to the case. Among them was a list of the groups monitored by a long-time ADL operative, Roy Bullock and a moonlighting San Francisco policeman, Tom Gerard, both of whom had also been working for the South African government and the FBI. But this was only the tip of the iceberg. It was apparent from the documents and other information secured separately, that the ADL has been operating a clandestine espionage network in cities all across the United States, serving, in the main, the interests of Israeli intelligence, and to a lesser extent, the FBI and the apartheid regime of South Africa. Though the ADL vociferously denies any ties to any foreign intelligence agency - maybe they don't consider Israel foreign? - a letter from its then national director, Benjamin Epstein to another B'Nai B'rith official, Saul Joffes, written in 1961, would indicate otherwise: "As you know," the letter reads, "the Anti-Defamation League for many years has maintained a very important confidential investigative coverage of Arab activities and propaganda... Our information, in addition to being essential for our own operations has been of great value and service to both the US State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge that we were the source." The ADL's link to Israeli intelligence, was reaffirmed several months ago when a Palestinian-American, Mohammed Jarad, a Chicago resident whose name was in the ADL files, was arrested in Israel shortly after his arrival, and accused of raising funds for Hamas. ADL's spying activities have been assisted by national and local law enforcement agencies with which it has enjoyed a term a long-term, if uneasy relationship. The ADL has enlisted the services of police and sheriffs departments in a number of major US cities in order to receive unauthorized personal information on individuals the ADL has selected for surveillance. One of the categories of groups spied upon, identified by Bullock as "pinko," included virtually every African-American, Latino, Asian-American, Native-American, Gay and Lesbian, solidarity, environmental, anti-nuclear organization in the Bay Area, a number of weekly newspapers, the local public TV station and more than 20 labor unions.
on the recently assassinated ANC leader Chris Hani when he visited the West Coast in 1991. And what was equally predictable, every anti-apartheid organization was in his files. ADL officials have tried to distance the organization from Bullock, saying he was a private contractor and it didn't know everything he was doing, even while paying his legal expenses and keeping him on the payroll. Well, technically, not on the payroll. They used to send the checks to a Beverly Hills attorney, and he would write the check. The argument that the ADL "just didn't know" hasn't found many buyers. Yehuda Lev, founder and associate editor of the Jewish Journal in Los Angeles, recently wrote: "I have enough common sense to know that a 40-year relationship between client and agent should result in some knowledge, each about the other. The official explanation, that Bullock was "an independent contractor," holds no water. "That may affect his Social Security payments and tax deductibility, but an employee of a firm for four decades is more than a freelance researcher." (Jewish Journal, April 30-May 6) Has the ADL expressed contrition? Not for a moment. In force. What they are saying, in effect, is that you and your fellow members lack the wisdom and the right to criticize Israeli policies financed by their tax dollars. In fact not only do you and your fellow members lack the wisdom and the right to criticize Israeli policies, but, says Foxman, American Jewish critics of Israel, such as myself, don't have it either. That right is reserved for Israeli Jews. Many of whom, ironically, are justifiably scornful of American Jews who blindly support Israeli policies and politicians. (According to Foxman, writing in an article published in a number of America's Jewish newspapers earlier this month: "the ability of American Jews to be effective on the American scene is directly related to the perception of our support for Israel and criticism of Israeli policies will play into the hands of Israel's enemies... Israeli democracy should decide: American Jews should support. " This is not a partisan policy," writes Foxman. "It is intended to support whatever party is in power in Israel and is particularly necessary when individuals might not agree with the policies of a particular government. ") (No. California Jewish Bulletin, 6/4/1993) That first part of that sentence is patent nonsense. He assumes that American Jews must incorporate uncritical support of Israel into everything they do, whether fighting for better health care or teaching in the public schools. The last part is somewhat frightening, but revealing both of the man and his organization. Since Foxman places no limit on what the policies of a particular Israeli government might be, one must assume that he believes that American Jews should be ready and willing to support anything from mass expulsion and mass murder to providing weaponry to South Africa and the "death squad" generals of El Salvador and Guatemala - if and when a particular Israeli government so decides. And to a large extent, the majority of American Jews, have long ago internalized Foxman's dictum, which leads us to another highly sensitive area where the censorship surpasses that protecting Israel. And that is the Holocaust.

At a time when a gigantic museum memorializing the Jewish victims of Nazism has just opened in Washington DC and another is about to open in Los Angeles, there are several aspects of that tragedy which remain largely hidden from the American public - as opposed to Israel where discussion of the Holocaust is not freighted with the degree of emotion as it is here. The first hidden aspect is the pre-war collaboration between the main-stream Zionists in Palestine and the Third Reich. The second was the apparent indifference to the fate of European Jewry, to the point of sabotaging Jewish rescue efforts, by mainstream Zionist officials both in Palestine and the United States. And the third was the collaboration during the war by certain Jewish officials appointed by the Nazis to supervise the ghettos of occupied Europe. Although well documented, the horrible truths contained in that sentence, have been suppressed and censored by almost every means possible. Let's begin with the case of Hannah Arendt, arguably one of the foremost Jewish philosophers of the 20th century, and a leading writer on totalitarianism and anti-semitism. In 1963, Viking Press published her book on the trial of Nazi war criminal Adolph Eichmann, titled "Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil." In several pages near the middle of the book, she described in sufficient detail, the role of the Judenrat, the Jewish Councils appointed by the Nazis, to carry out, with the assistance of Jewish police, whatever orders came
down from the local Nazi commandant, including the roundup of their fellow Jews for the gas chambers. She also, in a sense, wrote herself out of existence. Arredt concluded that without such Jewish organization, there "would have been plenty of misery but the total number of victims would hardly have been between four and a half and six million." (P. 111). The reaction in the Jewish community was vitriolic and unforgiving. Artzy-Ben Abadi suffered the Jewish equivalent of "excommunication." Her name no longer appeared by her book at press.

Two years earlier, another book, even more troubling, suffered a worse fate. The author was Ben Hecht, whose play, Front Page, written with Charles Farrel, was, at one time, a must for high school drama classes. Hecht was a powerful writer, and an ardent Zionist. So much so that he joined the Irgun Zvai Leumi, which most Jews, in Palestine as well as America, considered as a terrorist outfit. Hecht was a passionate lover of the Jewish people and when he learned of a trial that was to occur in Israel in which the Labor government was taking side of a Jew who had collaborated with the Nazis against a Hungarian Holocaust survivor, he decided to cover the trial and write a book about it. He would add to it his own experience with the part that the mainstream Zionist leadership had played in sabotaging Jewish rescue efforts. The name of the book, appropriately, was "Perfidy," published by Julian Messner. I searched for it for years, until finding it in a private library in 1990. For those who wish the details, I will be happy to answer them in the question period, or at campuses across the country, when they could not be stopped, were New York's two leading black newspapers and the city's black radio station. One need not agree with or defend any or all the individuals or organizations listed within the booklet to understand how the publication has been seen in sectors of the black community - as yet another step by the ADL and its allies to control the direction of African-American politics by calling those who criticize Israel, the pro-Israel lobby or the extent of Jewish political influence as being, automatically, "anti-Semitic." To publicly criticize Jewish political power is bound to make almost everyone uncomfortable, even me, and I think it is excessive. Particularly, because that power is in the hands of a relatively small, increasingly reactionary segment of the community. I also think the Christian right has too much power. What does that make me?

Arthur Hertzberg, a distinguished historian and rabbi, has an observation that gets us off the hook. Writing in the June 24th New York Review of Books, the current issue, he has this to say: "The Jewish establishment has been asserting for a generation that it wants political power beyond its numbers, and it has been getting it. Why is it anti-Semitism if non-Jews are aware of this desire?" Or Jewish critics of the Jewish establishment, I hasten to add. Within the Jewish community, the lobby's control over Congress is admitted, even bragged about. A clear example was provided by Morton Kondracke, a long-time Israel supporter, when he quoted an unnamed pro-Israel Congressmen in the New Republic back in 1989. The congressman, explaining why there was no debate on the issue of aid to Israel, told Kondracke: "If there were a secret ballot, aid would be cut severely. It's not out of affection that Israel gets $3 billion a year. It's from fear that you'll wake up one morning and find that an opponent has $5000000 to run against you." (New Republic, August 7-14, 1989). What we can see from this is a very different type of censorship than what we have been talking about, but a form of censorship none the less. When the subject is Israel, I am afraid, it has no limits. One black scholar, Prof. Fred Dube, found out the hard way back in 1983 when he was teaching at the State University of New York at Stoney Brook. For a summer school a member of the African National Congress and a former prisoner of the apartheid regime, offered as an optional subject for a term paper, the question of Zionism as a form of racism. Whether or not Zionism is a form of racism is something which few supporters of Israel will debate. Those who consider it to be racist, at least in practice, are automatically considered to be anti-Semitic, as if Zionism can be equated with Judaism. Despite the fact that Dube received support from a large segment of the university's Jewish student body, New York's Jewish establishment
demanded his head and Governor Mario Cuomo delivered it. Dube was not rehired. A frequent target of ADL's "political correctness" is Palestinian-American professor, Edward Said. Said, a professor of linguistics at Columbia University, has been recognized as a spokesperson for Palestinian aspirations in the US and has served on the Palestine National Council. He also has been critical of the PLO and is a firm advocate of a just settlement between Israelis and Palestinians. To the ADL, he is the face of the enemy. When he is scheduled to speak on a college campus, the pro-Israel campus "truth squad" is there to greet him and his audience. This is how Said described one such event: "They stood at the door of the auditorium and distributed a blue leaflet which seemed like a program, but it was, in fact, a denunciation of me as a "terrorist". There were quotations from the PLO, and things that I had said were mixed in with things they claimed the PLO had said about murdering Jews. The idea was to intimidate me and to intimidate the audience from attending." "The issue," according to Prof. Eqqal Ahmad, "is not one of Jew versus gentile. There is a silent covenant within the academic community concerning Israel. The interesting thing is that the number of prominent Jews who have broken the covenant is much larger than the number of gentiles." Four of those Jewish professors came to the assistance of a group of San Diego High School teachers last year, when the teachers were asked to review 13 world history texts and recommend two for use during the 1992-1993 academic year. The first choice of the 19 teachers who volunteered for the project was one titled "World History: The Human Experience," co-authored by Mourir Farah and Andrea Karls. Now in its third edition, it was first published in 1985 and has been adopted in Florida, Georgia, New Mexico and right here in Louisiana. At a meeting where the teachers gathered to discuss their choices, they were surprised to find representatives of the ADL who raised vehement objections. The ADL's regional director in San Diego, Morris Casuto, charged that the text "leans over backward to provide a flattering portrait of Islamic civilization." The teachers were, in turn, encouraged to adopt what had been their fifth choice, a book entitled "Perspectives on the Past," by Larry Krieger. In a crude attempt to convince them to change their choice, the teachers were given copies of an anonymous letter to the school board that began: "I am a young and very enthusiastic world history teacher..." and went on to pan "The Human Experience" and laud Krieger's book. The teachers were "floored" that the board would treat an anonymous letter with respect. "We all resent [the letter's] anonymity, said one of the teachers. It weakens the case."

To the rescue eventually came the four Jewish scholars, all professors of Middle East history: Don Peretz, of the State University of New York at Binghampton, Joel Bein of Stanford, Zachary Lockman of Harvard and Nron Mezvinsky of Connecticut State. The four wrote to the school superintendent expressing their anger over the ADL's tactics. "Frankly and simply stated" wrote Prof. Mezvinsky "I am antagonized as a scholar, teacher and Jew by the charges made against this book by the ADL." Several Catholic professors also came to the defense of the book and the ADL finally backed off. It was a rare victory. Speaking of anonymous letters, one has been used to challenge the holding of tonight's forum and to intimidate the ALA. A lengthy "letter to the editor." apparently planted in a number of Jewish newspapers throughout the country denouncing this forum and alternately signed, "Jewish Taxpayer," "Concerned Jewish Taxpayer" and "Concerned Librarian" warns that: "since public libraries are funded chiefly by local tax dollars... and if the ALA cares more about the welfare of libraries and librarians than about political posturing, it will not want to imperil its constituents' survival by antagonizing the taxpayers who support them." (Washington Jewish Week, June 3). In other words, censorship through blackmail. That the anonymous letter writer raises the issue of taxes seems to be the ultimate chutzpah. While deep cuts are being made in every domestic social program, when our schools have trouble merely functioning, our libraries are gasping for breath just to stay open, and librarians are losing their jobs, Israel will continue to receive its $3 billion dollar "entitlement" plus another $1.5 billion "off-budget," plus another 2 billion of its $10 billion package of loan guarantees, all taken from our tax dollars.

Finally, let's take a look now at what has been happening in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza since the ALA passed its resolutions. The May 7th issue of the Israeli paper Hadashot contained a summary of a report by the French organization Journalists Without Borders, which was originally based, among other things, on publications issued by the Israeli human rights organization, B'tselem. Their report found Israel topping the list of democratic states which violate freedom of the press. To the ADL, he is the face of the enemy. The report not only vilified the oppression of Palestinian newspapers and journalists is considerably harsher. Of the 300 Palestinian journalists working for foreign media their in 1992, 18 were in detention. Since the beginning of the intifada through the end of last year, 150 Palestinian journalists were arrested, 35 were given green identity cards, preventing their entry into East Jerusalem and Israel and others were expelled. Since the first of the year, here is a sample of what has been happening. In January two American photographers were arrested while taking pictures in the Shati refugee camp in Gaza On the same day, Palestinian journalist Mashid Arabeed was shot in the knee by an Israeli soldier while filming a confrontation with Israeli troops in Khan Yunis. A newspaper report by Reuters the other day said he had been shot again, the fourth time he has been shot four times. On January 21, three Palestinian journalists were arrested and held for 11 hours while filming confrontations between Palestinian demonstrators and Israeli troops in Jabalya camp. On January 24, Members of Israeli intelligence stormed into several Palestinian press offices and gave the owners written requests to report to the military government's office. On January 28, Marwan Ghoul, a cameraman for the Reuters was arrested in Gaza while filming confrontations with Israeli troops in Jabalya camp. On February 6, he was again arrested in Gaza City, along with his brother, Ashraf, and Taher Shreiteh, also with Reuters. They were accused of being in a restricted military area. After interrogation, they sent to the Ansar II detention center in Gaza. Shreiteh had been one of the 415 Palestinians expelled to Lebanon, but was returned when Reuters appealed in his behalf. He was recently honored by the Washington Press Club. On the same day a photographer for British TV was shot in the leg again with a rubber bullet and held in custody while soldiers fired on protesters in Gaza City. Recently On March 27, the three were again arrested, and sent to the Ansar II detention center.. On March 30, Israeli authorities ordered the Hebron-based Al-Zahra press service shut down for six months after seditionist material had been found on the premises. On May 12, Israeli soldiers raided Ghou's office and confiscated its contents. They also took his identity card and that of a colleague.

The issue that the ALA should be deliberating here is not the question of Israeli censorship; that was decided last year. The question is whether this organization, one that is dedicated to the freedom of opinion and expression, and the widest circulation of information, is going to allow itself to be silenced. Evidently the answer rendered by the ALA Council is yes. The council's vote today to rescind the resolution on censorship validate is an act of cowardice and subservience to those forces of thought control and censorship I have just described. The ALA Council has become yet another "Israeli Occupied Territory." The ALA membership will have an opportunity to take a monumental act of moral courage Monday night by reaffirming the resolution when it comes before the membership meeting. If it fails to do so, this convention will have provided another sad footnote in the annals of censorship. That is the decision that you are your colleagues are going to make. I trust you will make the courageous choice. [Jeffrey Blankfort was invited as a speaker at the ALA convention by the Task Force on Israeli Censorship & Palestinian Libraries, head by David Williams of the Chicago Public Library.]
indeed, the all the way to Apion--but her tone is trenchantly post-modern. How dare the deity prefer Abel's sacrifice. Dr. Spock would never have approved, and Johnnie Cochran in his closing statement undoubtedly would have told the jury to "send a message" to the ultimate authority figure by acquitting Cain. Schwartz settles feminist scores by playing up episodes like David's rape of Tamar. A describable act, surely, but in what other sacred text is a rape victim allowed to speak out against her rapist? The book praising and justifying such kindred bodies. It is to promote the ideals which the Jews have carried forward through thousands of years of persecution and by much sacrifice. We must learn to realize that our sacrifices have enhanced the quality of our achievements, and that the overcoming of obstacles is part of our attainments. Men differ in ability, however great the average ability of the Jews is, but every single Jew can make his own contribution to the Jewish way of life. Every single one of us can do that for himself. Every one of us can declare: "What is mean is not for us." We bespeak what is best, what is noblest and finest in all civilization. This is our heritage. We have survived persecution because of the virtues and sacrifices of our ancestors. It is for us to follow in that path. It is the Jewish tradition, and the Jewish law, and the Jewish spirit which prepare us for the lessons of life. In Palestine the younger generation is taught that heritage and as a result they live for the highest and best of what life is and what it may be. To my mind, in order that the world may gain from what is best in us, we should aid in the effort of the Jews in Palestine. We should all support the Zionist movement, although you or I do not think of settling in Palestine, for there has developed and can develop in that old land to a higher degree, the spirit of which Mr. Aaronsohn speaks. With our assistance the Jew there will develop to fullest manhood and manfully perform his fullest duty to his people and to his country. You ask what the Young Men's Hebrew Association can do? It can do much. It can achieve almost anything worthwhile if its members respond to this hope, if they live in the spirit of our highest traditions, if they are resolved to make new records for a people distinguished for its great lives. [=]

60436. Brandeis, Louis; Zionist Organization of America. Brandeis on Zionism: A Collection of Addresses and Statements By Louis D. Brandeis: Part 07: To be a Jew. District of Columbia: Zionist Organization of America, 1942. [This is one of Brandeis's earliest speeches on Zionism. It was delivered on 5/18/1913, before the Young Mens Hebrew Association of Chelsea, Mass. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]]

FORTNIGHT AGO it was my privilege to spend the evening with one of the most interesting, brilliant and remarkable men I have ever met. He is the son of a poor Roumanian Jew who migrated from his native land thirty-two years ago to take up his residence in Palestine, the land of his fathers. The son, who is now at the head of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine, is Aaron Aaronsohn. He made what is considered one of the most remarkable and useful discoveries in recent years, and possibly of all times. He discovered what is known as the wild wheat,* the plant which botanists, all over the world, had been trying for years to locate. There is a hope that, by reason of this discovery, the food products of the world may be immeasurably increased in quantity; that it may be possible to extend the area of wheat culture by utilizing land long believed to be unfit for that purpose because of the lack of moisture. He told us that it was his persistent efforts to improve the fertility of Palestine which had led to the discovery of the wild wheat, a feat which has impressed the Government of the United States and which may mean much for the future of Palestine. He related another story even more remarkable than the first. We were discussing the series of unpleasant occurrences in New York City, to which a Jewish name was connected last year. [The reference is to the murder in 1912 of a certain Hermann Rosenthal by gangsters acting under the instructions of police lieutenant Charles A. Becker, who as involved in police graft in connection with gambling houses. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]] Then Mr. Aaronsohn told us that in Palestine, in the little communities which have grown up in the last thirty-two years and now number 10000 Jewish souls, not a single crime was known to have been committed by one of our people during all that time. In our conversation I asked him: "How do you account for that fact?" He answered: "I account for it as follows. Every member of those communities is brought up to realize his obligations to his people. He is told of the great difficulties it passed through, and of the long years of martyrdom it experienced. All that is best in Jewish history is made to live in him, and by this means he is imbued with a high sense of honor and responsibility for the whole people. You will find in the children," he added, "none of the weakness, none of the servility, which they or their parents had when they came to Palestine." What is being achieved in Palestine can perhaps be achieved only there in the fullest degree; but the lesson applies to the Jews all over the world. We have our obligations, the same noblesse oblige. Our traditions are the same. They have been transmitted also to us. We have not applied them in the same Association and was published in the first issue of the Menorah Journal (1/1915) of which Justice Brandeis was then a consulting editor. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]

In their self-governing colonies, over forty in number, ranging in population from a few families to some 2000, the Jews have pure democracy, and since those self-governing colonies were establishing a true democracy, they gave women equal rights with men, without so much as a doubt on the part of any settler. And women contributed, like the men, not only in the toil of that which is narrowly called the home, but in the solution of broader and more difficult problems. [=]

60438. Brandeis, Louis; Zionist Organization of America. Brandeis on Zionism: A Collection of Addresses and Statements By Louis D. Brandeis: Part 17: A Call to the Educated Jew. District of Columbia: Zionist Organization of America, 1942. [This challenge to the educated Jew was delivered at a conference of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association and was published in the first issue of the Menorah Journal (1/1915) of which Justice Brandeis was then a consulting editor. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]]

WHILE I was in Cleveland a few weeks ago, a young man who has won distinction fulfills the bench told me this incident from his early life. He was born in a little village of Western Russia where the opportunities for schooling were meager. When he was thirteen his parents sent him to the nearest city in search of an education. There, in Bialystok, were good secondary schools and good high schools; but the Russian law,
which limits the percentage of Jewish pupils in any school, barred his admission. Educational opportunities for Jews in Tsarist Russia were restricted by two orders of the Minister of Public Instructions, issued in July, 1887. They limited the proportion of Jewish students in the universities and secondary schools to 10%. And finally, the Jewish capacity for hard work was also a product of Jewish life, a life characterized by temperate, moral living continued throughout the ages, and protected by those marvelous sanitary regulations which were enforced through the religious sanctions. Remember, too, that amidst the hardship to which our ancestors were exposed it was only those with endurance who survived. So let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own. The phrase “self-made man” is most misleading. We have power to mar but we alone cannot make. The relatively large success achieved by Jews wherever the door of opportunity was opened to them is due, in the main, to this product of Jewish life, to this treasure which we have acquired by inheritance, and which we are in duty bound to transmit unimpaired, if not augmented, to coming generations. But our inheritance comprises far more than this combination of qualities making for effectiveness. These are but means by which man may earn a living or achieve other success. Our Jewish trust comprises also that which makes the living worthy and success of value. It brings us that body of moral and intellectual perceptions, the point of view and the ideals, which are expressed in the term “Jewish spirit; and therein lies the truly striking fact that the spirit of the Jew was much more than an education. It included that combination of qualities which enabled and impelled these three men to give, and the boy to seek and to acquire, an education. These qualities embrace: first, intellectual capacity; second, an appreciation of the value of education; third, indomitable will; fourth, capacity for hard work. It was these qualities which enabled the lad, not only to acquire but to so utilize an education that, coming to America, ignorant of our language and of our institutions he attained in comparatively few years the important office he has so honorably filled. [The reference, according to Rabbi Solomon Goldberg, is to the late Judge Manuel Levine (1881-1939), former Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the Eighth Ohio District. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]] Whence comes this combination of qualities of mind, body and character? These are qualities with which every one of us is familiar, singly and in combination; which you find in friends and relatives; and which others doubtless discover in you. They are qualities possessed by most Jews who have attained distinction or other success. In combination, they may properly be called Jewish qualities. For they have not come to us by accident; they were developed by three thousand years of civilization, and nearly two thousand years of persecution; developed through our religion and spiritual life; through our traditions; and through the social and political conditions under which our ancestors lived. They are, in short, the product of Jewish life. Our intellectual capacity was developed by the almost continuous training of the mind throughout twenty-five centuries. The Torah led the “People of the Book” to intellectual pursuits at times when most of the Aryan peoples were illiterate. Religion imposed the use of the mind upon the Jews, indirectly as well as directly. It demanded of the Jew not merely the love, but also the end of God. This necessarily involved a study of the Law. The weaker ones passed either out of Judaism or out of existence. That struggle persecution was to lead a constant struggle for existence. That struggle was so severe that only the fittest could survive. Survival was not possible except where there was strong will, a will both to live and to live as a Jew. The weaker ones passed either out of Judaism or out of existence. And the Jewish capacity for hard work was as product of Jewish life, a life characterized by temperate, moral living continued throughout the ages, and protected by those marvelous sanitary regulations which were enforced through the religious sanctions. Remember, too, that amidst the hardship to which our ancestors were exposed it was only those with endurance who survived. So let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own. The phrase “self-made man” is most misleading. We have power to mar but we alone cannot make. 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particularly effective in promoting democratic ideals among the Jews, because of their deep-seated community feeling. To describe the Jew as an individualist is to state a most misleading half-truth. He has to a rare degree merged his individuality and his interests in the community of which he forms a part. This is evidenced among other things by his attitude toward immortality. Nearly every other people has reconciled this world of suffering with the idea of a beneficent Providence by contemplating for the individual. The Jew, however, has looked toward his own present ills by regarding this world as merely the preparation for another, in which those living righteously here would find individual reward hereafter. Of all nations, Israel "takes precedence in suffering"; [cf. Leopold Zunz, Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1855, p. 9, and Idem, The Sufferings of the Jews During the Middle Ages (Engl. trans.), New York, 1907, p. 19. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]] but, despite our national tragedy, the doctrine of individual immortality found relatively slight lodgment among us. As Ahad Ha'am so beautifully said: "Judaism did not turn heavenward and create in Heaven an eternal habitation of souls. It found 'eternal life' on earth, by strengthening the social feeling in the individual; by making him regard himself not as an isolated being with an existence bounded by birth and death, but as part of a larger whole, as a limb of the social body. This conception shifts the center of gravity of the ego not from the flesh to the spirit, but from the individual to the community; and concurrently with this shifting, the problem of life becomes a problem not of individual, but of social life. I live for the sake of the perpetuation and happiness of the community of which I am a member; I die to make room for new individuals, who will mould the community afresh and not allow it to stagnate and remain forever in one position. When the individual thus values the community as his own life, and strives after its happiness as though it were his individual well-being, he finds satisfaction, and no longer feels so keenly the bitterness of his individual existence, because he sees the end for which he lives and suffers." [From "Flesh and Spirit," in Selected Essays by Ahad Ha'am, Transl. from the Hebrew by Leon Simon, Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 146-47. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]] is not that the very essence of the truly triumphant twentieth-century democracy?

Such is our inheritance; such the estate which we hold in trust. And what are the terms of that trust; what the obligations imposed? The short answer is noblesse oblige; and its command is twofold. It imposes no less important duties upon us in respect to our own conduct as individuals: it imposes the movement which is destined to lead to the solution of the Jewish problem. Zionism points the way to a solution, because it will enable the Jewish people to help them, selves and thus be also of greatest service to the world, Zionism will make it possible for Jews to put an end to wholesale misery and not merely alleviate it. I interpret your presence here as an expression of your faith; as testimony to your interest; as a present ills by regarding this world as merely the preparation for inheritance do less than the Irish, the Serbians, or the Bulgars? And must we not, like them, have a land where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Jewish language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevail? Surely we must, and that land is our fathers' land; it is Palestine. The undying longing for Zion is a fact of deepest significance, a manifestation in the struggle for existence.

The establishment of the legally secured Jewish home is no longer a dream. For more than a generation brave pioneers have been building the foundations of our new-old home. It remains for us to build the super-structure. The Ghetto walls are now falling. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed, assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be reestablished in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future. The glorious past can really live only if it becomes the mirror of a glorious future; and to this end the Jewish home in Palestine is essential. We Jews of prosperous America above all need its inspiration. [–]


THIS GREAT ASSEMBLY manifests the essential unity of the Jewish people. Those who are in this crowded hall, together with those who have failed to gain admittance, constitute a large part of the Jews of Massachusetts. You it testify by your presence to your great interest in the establishment of the legally secured Jewish home which is destined to lead to the solution of the Jewish problem. Zionism the way to a solution, because it will enable the Jewish people to help them, selves and thus be also of greatest service to the world, Zionism will make it possible for Jews to put an end to wholesale misery and not merely alleviate it. I interpret your presence here as an expression of your faith; as testimony to your interest; as a promise to aid in carrying forward the Jewish ideals; as a determination to realize the Jewish hope of the twentieth century, Realization demands of you, of course, much more than expressions of sympathy. It demands action, and since you are Americans, we expect from you that you bind yourselves together by organizations into an effective body. By so doing you will not only manifest indomitable will; you will fashion the indispensable instrument for achievement. Stand up, each and every one of you, and be counted. Join the Zionist Organization and shoulder your part in this great movement. Only by bearing your part can you be true to the Jewish people, just as you can be true to the American Government only by doing your share. No American, man or woman, may shirk when a great cause is to be striven for and won. Such is our duty as Jews and as Americans. By battling for the Zionist cause, the American ideal of democracy, of social justice and of liberty will be given wider expression. By such action the manhood and womanhood of American Jews will be made manifest to the world. By concrete action, the prayer of twenty centuries will be made to come true. The great Herzl was right when he said in his Altheimul, "If you wish it, it is no fable." Dreams may be made into realities. [Altheimul (Old-New-Land) is the name of a utopian novel by Theodor Herzl, published in German in 1902. Its title was suggested to the author by the Altheimul (old new synagogue) of Prague, Czechoslovakia. An English translation of this work appeared only as late as 1941. (Old-New-Land, Altheimul, Translated by Lotta Leversohn, New York, Bloch ] [Note added by Zionist Organization of America.]}
Women in the Middle East and North Africa

Israel-Palestine

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60440. Brandeis, Louis; Zionist Organization of America. Brandeis on Zionism: A Collection of Addresses and Statements By Louis D. Brandeis: Part 36: Realization Will Not Come As a Gift. District of Columbia: Zionist Organization of America, 1942. [The following address was delivered before the New England members of the Palestine Labor Zionist Movement, communities, frequently held through the month of March, by the wandering fund raiser. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]]

I AM GLAD that, besides some older Zionists, we have sitting here many others, men and women who are far younger. For it is through these younger folk, aided by the older, that we shall find the full realization of our plans. To some of you it may seem that our progress has not been rapid, but when you compare where we are today, and where we stood ten years ago, when I first spoke to Boston Jews about Palestine, you will see how long a way we have traveled. Ten years ago the Homeland was a dream, a dream for which realization seemed so far. Then, we could do little more than hope and prepare ourselves for realization. Five years ago, with the Balfour Declaration, that dream began to take on the shape of opportunity. Now, for over four years the opportunity has been ours. The question is merely whether we shall take hold in that earnest, effective, and intelligent way which will make out of that opportunity the realization of our fondest dream. We know that much has not been done, but we know very much that has. What has been accomplished is not merely providing opportunity. The first steps toward the achievement of realization have been taken. We have found in the Land not merely an open door, but a country in which all is possible which had pictured to ourselves as desirable. It is now four years since de Haas and I went together to Palestine. I had read much about it, heard much about from those who had been there, and reasoned much about it. But it was only by going there that I could convince myself in fullness how much was open to us and why we should endeavor to work out the problem, not as a dream, but as a beautiful reality. I found difficulties, but the difficulties were inviting because in respect to everyone of them solution seemed to be possible. To my mind, there is nothing about the Palestinian problem which the we cannot solve, if they will to solve it. To solve it, we must have the superhuman effort of extraordinary individuals. We need only the everyday earnest effort which we are making, and by which we are achieving successes in other fields of activity all over the world. If the persistence, devotion and ingenuity, readiness of self-sacrifice and self-control which have given Jews high station individually in every branch of human activity and in every country on earth is practiced by those who go to Palestine, and is manifested by those who have an interest it, there is nothing worthy which cannot be realized there. None of the pictures which have been painted exhaust the possibilities that actually exist. But realization will not come as a gift; and it will not result from the mere giving of money. It must be earned, earned by effort, earned by a persistent, active desire to have and to hold that which lies before us. Some are making that effort on the fighting lines and are taking part there happily and effectively in the upbuilding of Palestine. Some who have gone from America have played a most creditable, as well as interesting part in that effort. Many of you know what the Hadassah Medical Unit has been doing. It undertook to make health possible in Palestine. And it was not a difficult problem. For the lack of health was largely due to malaria. Happily, science enables us to grapple with this disease which had devastated many countries of the world for thousands of years. We know how to rid a land of it. It is a perfectly simple thing, a thing as simple as the removal of typhoid which once was a curse in so many of our cities. The Medical Unit, in connection with others, undertook to eliminate malaria. It did so not only because malaria interfered with the joy of life, but because it is the disease which interfered most with self-support and the building up of the country. There remains some malaria in parts of the country. But that problem is being grappled with and in a very few years Palestine will be one of the healthiest countries in the world. For otherwise all the conditions in Palestine are conducive to a healthy life in body as well as soul. Men may go to Palestine now and settle there with the assurance that they will be able to work there as well as in any part of the world. To have been assured, within four years, the elimination of malaria is a great achievement. For hard work is the stuff of which Palestine must be built. Not Halukkah gifts [Halukkah, the Hebrew word for distribution, was the system for rendering relief and support to those Jews who came to Palestine to pray, study and die. It was usually distributed by the Kolelim system for rendering relief and support to those Jews who came to Palestine to pray, study and die. The funds for this purpose were obtained from various groups, and through the medium of voluntary contributions from the wandering fund raiser. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]], whatever their nature, but the ability to make men self-supporting is the prime requisite. They must develop themselves and their families in the course of the development of their country. For immigrants into Palestine to become self-supporting is, in some ways, more difficult than it was for those coming to America, or going to Canada, or Australia, or South America. It is more difficult for this reason. America and Canada, South America and Australia were new countries with virgin soil. Palestine is a new-old country, old in having suffered for centuries from abuse. Its wonderful trees had been destroyed. Its water-courses had suffered from the destruction of trees. Its fertile land, no longer protected by the trees, had been washed away by the flow of the waters. Thus Palestine presents a new situation. I mean new to those minds are accustomed to such things as the frontiersman, going out to build his hut with his own hands, with the expectation that next year, or the year after, it will be superseded by something better. Palestine not like that. You must build homes for people and they must be built substantially, of stone, or cement, at a considerable cost. The slight structure which frontiersmen built in other countries is not feasible. So we have in Palestine the housing problem.

We have had in Palestine another problem which was very serious. The cost of living is very high; higher there in many ways than here. The war made it so, with its great influx of gold through Egypt. Jews coming there from different parts of the world, largely impoverished, came thus into a country in which the cost of the bare necessities of life was great. We were, therefore, confronted with this problem: How can we make it possible for these people coming to this sparsely settled land, to supply themselves with homes and get a living from farms which they must first make ready for cultivation? In many places in Palestine you must make the land as well as raise the crops on it. Moreover, it will be seven years from the time you plant your orange trees before you get a return. Just as water is necessary for irrigation, credit is necessary there to enable people to conduct their business operations, to become self-supporting. We turned our minds, therefore, to devising instruments through which credits might be extended to deserving men and women, not as gifts, not as charity, but to enable them to make a living. The Palestine Cooperative Co. [The assets of the Palestine Cooperative Co. have been taken over by the Palestine Economic Corp. [Note added by Zionist Organization of America compilers.]] undertook to deal with that question in two ways. To provide loans to cooperative societies of producers or consumers and to provide building loans for those who undertake construction. These are examples of the kind of things the Palestine Development Council wishes to promote. It wishes also to aid in the development of the Rutenberg project, the called hydro-electric plan for harnessing the Jordan to provide the country with power and irrigation. Everything that we have undertaken to do has been directly in the line of production, in the effort to make men and men effective, to give opportunity to the individual as the Mandate has given an opportunity to the Jews of the world to make Palestine a Homeland. Our prime endeavor is to encourage initiative. It is not our brains, but the brains of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who are to go to Palestine, that will build up that country. What we are endeavoring to encourage is not anything new. It is exactly the thing which Jews are doing throughout the world. Those of us who do not wish to go, or not, may also have a vital part in the building of Palestine. But it cannot be done merely by giving or investing money. To have a vital part we must add to investment a willingness to take the trouble to learn what the needs of Palestine are and how they are being, or should be, met. To achieve for Palestine what the American Jew can do for it and for the American Jew what Palestine can do for him, we
must make the development of the Homeland a part of the daily thought of the Jew. here are ample means of acquiring knowledge about it, and the happenings in that new-old land can be followed with the absorbing interest with which we follow the growth of a child. We are not asking you to give. We expect you to get a return on your investment, a return in money. But the greatest return which you will get is in the joy you will have in watching the development of the country. And when good fortune leads you to Palestine, and you see what Jews are doing there, what Jewish life really is, what it means to be a Jew in a Jewish country, then you will get satisfactions which will make you regard your cash dividends as negligible. Make it your business to know what is going on there; know what has been achieved there. Confirm and enrich your knowledge, if it lies within your power, by visiting the country and seeing things for yourselves. If you do that you will enjoy the greatest experience of your life. [a]

60441. Branigan, William. “‘Schindlers List Fuss in Philippines: Censors Object to Sex [while Filipinos are indifferent to the political purpose of the movie, they object to sexual intercourse, breasts and orgasm scenes, finding the movie to be pornography; in the Philippines, the film has been mocked as ‘Schindlers Lust’],” in Seattle Times, March 9, 1994, p. A19, [TXT]

60442. Brauchli, Marcus; Johnson, Ian; Lachica, Eduardo. “Money Flap Undercuts Chinese Lobbying; FBI Warning on Donations Also Could Hurt Corporate Campaign; For Years, Corporate America, Along With Some Academics and Retired US Officials, Have Been Urging China To get Down in the Trenches And Start Fighting For Its Interests in Washington,” in Wall Street Journal, March 11, 1997, p. A19. A year ago Jiang Zemin established an institute to lobby the US Congress, which has long been perceived by the Chinese as the center of hostility to the China in the US government. This group, the US-China Educational Foundation, has $30000 month budget for lobbying, and was backed by American International Group, Boeing Corp., General Electric Co., General Motors Corp., IBM Corp., and Motorola Inc., all of which have significant economic interests in China. The institute retained Edelman Public Relations Worldwide of New York. The Chinese are widely seen following the model of the Taiwanese, who have long provided vast amounts of money to American politicians, as diverse as Sen. Jesse Helms and Pres. Bill Clinton. Xinhua Press Agency stated that reports that China has bribed the Democratic National Committee and members of Congress as “ill-motivated fabrications”. [b]

60443. Brenner, Lenni. “Jews and Israel U.S. Jewish Establishment and Zionism: An Identity Crisis By Lenni Brenner”, in Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, October-November 1995. The Israel-Diaspora Identity Crisis: A Looming Disaster is a recent pamphlet by Isi Leibler, of the World Jewish Congress governing board. It is typical of a strange genre of Jewish establishment handwringing spawned by the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey. Leibler bemoans the “eventual disappearance of...perhaps even a majority of Diaspora Jews.” He writes that “It may well be too late for anything to halt that slide to oblivion [because] at least half the Diaspora’s Jews are not affiliated with any form of institutionalized Jewish activity.” In reality, however, world Jewry isn’t disappearing or in crisis. It is thriving. American Jewry is the richest religious or ethnic grouping in the country and Diaspora Jews are the most educated stratum in the world. It is the Jewish establishment and Zionism that face “catastrophic decline,” not the Jews. The NUPS counted 3.2 million American households containing one or more present or former Jews, coming to 8.2 million individuals. Of these, 4.2 million were born Jews who considered themselves Jewish by religion. Another 185,000 were Jews “by choice,” with about 70% of these formally converted. Another 1.1 million “secular Jews” are born Jews unaffiliated to any religion. Rolled together, these are considered the “core Jews,” the clientele of organized Jewry. The survey also counted 1.3 million people of Jewish descent following a non-Jewish religion. Some 210,000 personally had adopted another creed. Another 415,000 adults were raised from birth in another religion. Additionally there are 700,000 youngsters under 18 with a core Jewish parent but raised in a non-Jewish faith. Another 1.35 million Gentile adults lived in these households. Some were roommates. Others were sexual partners "without benefit of clergy." The rest were spouses of core Jews. About 69% of married Jews lived with another born Jew or convert to Judaism. But the 31% married to Gentiles is dramatically up from a mere 8% in 1970. And the percentage continues to rise. The intermarriage rate between Jews and Gentiles has increased from 1889-1990 was 32%. Moreover, in our feminist age, the percentage of spouses who converted to Judaism dropped to 9% by 1990. Only 25% of the children under 18 in mixed marriages were being raised as Jews. 45% were raised in another religion and 30% without any religion. According to Steven Cohen, an establishment sociologist, “The vast majority of mixed-married Jews will have non-Jewish grandchildren." Most people marry someone they meet in their neighborhood, or at work or school. Since the onset of massive suburbanization, most Jews don’t live in Jewish neighborhoods. With anti-Semitism in free-fall, Jews are found throughout the economy. “College is a disaster area for Judaism, Jewish loyalty and Jewish identity”: Highlighting the Jewish establishment’s intractable problem is an assessment by Irving Greenberg of the National Jewish Center for Learning & Leadership, that “college is a disaster area for Judaism, Jewish loyalty and Jewish identity.” One study, David Singer's "A Profile of the Jewish Academic," bluntly declared that “Jewish professors...regard themselves as academics first and as Jews second.” A June 16, 1995 article on Hillel, B’nai Brith’s student arm, in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency’s Daily News Bulletin, reports that “of the more than 400000 Jewish students...only about...12.5% are involved in any Hillel activities....25% are so alienated from Jewish life that they can be counted out." With the patronage of billionaire Edgar Bronfman, Hillel hopes to reach the rest. But these students, a bulwark of socio-economic liberalism, are not about to join an outfit with Paine Webber Reception Centers, as at Harvard's Hillel house. Zionism to the rescue! The establishment hopes to send 50,000 teenagers per year to Israel to find their roots. This year they spent $1 million on subsidized tours. “An increase over 1994 of fewer than 500,” was the result described in “Can't Give a Ticket to Israel Away,” in the July 27 Jerusalem Report. The richest Americans, Jews are the most traveled. But “only 20%...have ever visited Israel,” says an Israeli Ministry of Tourism official. “Without an agreement with a synagogue or youth movement,” teens “don't think much about visiting.” That is only part of the explanation. The Reform movement is the country’s largest Jewish sect. Its rabbinical students must spend a year in Israel. Yet, according to Cohen, “much of the Reform public doesn't share the passionate involvement...that has come to characterize the...institution.” Only 3% of Reform parents had “a sizable interest” in their children settling in Israel. Non-Orthodox Ceremonies: Zionism’s Reform rabbis never stop talking about “prophetic Judaism” and its “passion” for “social justice.” But none is a prophet “in his wrath.” This year a delegation went to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem to conduct a mixed-gender service. However the Daily News Bulletin for March 17 reported that the Reform rabbis submitted to performing it “at the Wall’s southern flank, the area the Israeli government...seems to have unofficially designated for...ceremonies of the non-Orthodox.” They met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He evaded dealing with the fact that in Israel Reform rabbis can’t perform legally valid marriages or divorces. And then they did nothing. Their Israeli cothraughts were outraged: “Sometimes I feel that there is no real commitment to build a Reform movement in Israel,” Rabbi Meir Azari said “as other Israeli Reform rabbis nodded their heads in agreement.” These Americans know that mobilizing their congregations to fight seriously for their movement’s rights in Israel will only increase their congregants’ alienation from Zionism. But, as long as they don’t have their rights, preaching Zionism to their ranks is wasted lung power. Their youth resolve pro-Zionist Reform’s dead-end contradiction by voting with their feet, i.e., overwhelmingly opting for biological assimilation. An American Jewish Committee poll conceded that only 22% of American Jews still think of themselves as Zionists, while 32% put distance between themselves and Israel. But the dramatic reality behind those numbers is that the world’s Jews are moving in two
directions. Most, especially the youth, are exploding away from Jewish identification, at greater or lesser speed, while a minority are imploding into a fanatic swarm. Recently a U.S. friend of Ariel Sharon punched dovish Israeli Communications Minister Shlomot Aloni, a woman who endorses Arab-Jewish marriages. The International Rabbinical Coalition for Israel contains elements who New York’s Forward says “have even suggested that the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin or Foreign Minister Peres would be hallowedly approved.” Even Leibler warns that relying on pilgrimages to Israel “as the panacea for all the Diaspora’s ills is somewhat naive.” Baruch Goldstein, “the murderer from Kiryat Arba,” came from Brooklyn, only to be “nurtured in Israel’s religious society.” Some Zionists dread this polarization. They don’t want to be locked up in a “community” that consists only of themselves and these wackos. Reform’s Albert Vorspan says that “many liberal Jews are beginning to ask themselves painful questions….Am I more connected to a Lubavitch chasid, a racist JDL hoodlum, or a rabbi who panders to Pat Robertson than I am to a Christian who takes social gospel seriously?” But don’t wait for such “moderates” to break with the ultra. Most will remain joined-at-the-temple to the crazies by their mutual belief that the Jews of the world are one nation. By now, even the most conservative will ask why Washington still gives Israel billions per year if the majority of Jews never give Zionism a single penny. But didn’t Mark Twain truthfully jest that “the United States does not have a hereditary criminal class, except for Congress?” The Forward has quoted sociologist Cohen as saying that “if money matters, Jews count a hell of a lot and Israel-oriented Jews give a disproportionate amount to presidential candidates.” To be sure, opposition to Arab nationalism, anti-Semitism and concern about Islamic fundamentalism have been augmented at times by “statesmen” to justify patronage of Zionism. But ethno-religious demagoguery is the black-lung disease of democracy. No one should be “shocked, shocked” that, in a capitalist society, pandering to the chauvinism of the richest stratum in the country became a central leitmotiv of our politics. The only thing that is unique is the fact that today’s Jews are the “beneficiaries” rather than the victims of the opportunists. On the June 28th first anniversary of his death, Menachem Schneerson, the late Lubavitcher rebbe, was given the Congressional Gold Medal, America’s highest civilian award. In an accompanying message, Bill Clinton welcomed the opportunity to “recognize a revered leader who was a great moral inspiration…to people of all creeds and faiths.” Newt Gingrich praised Schneerson for living his ideals. (His “ideals” included opposition to restoring any land to the Palestinians.) Orthodoxy is only 6.8% of American Jewry, and even the majority of Orthodox reject the widely-held Lubavitcher notion that Schneerson was the messiah. The movement disguists most other Jews.

Yet there was no secularist or assimilationist opposition when the bipartisan trashmouths praised this oboecamus, in gross violation of at least the spirit of the First Amendment’s separation of religion and state. Overwhelmingly Democrats, these “liberals” take such “Jew-wooling” as “just politics.” Jewish chauvinism has no coercive statepower over Jews here. Therefore few feel any obligation to combat it. Zionism is avoided rather than opposed. Except for a tiny minority of old leftists, campus radicals, and some others, Zionism is frowned upon because it has nothing rational to offer Jews, rather than because it oppresses Arabs. Once they opt out of Jewish separatism, most youth have no more interest in the Middle East than their Gentile peers. Nevertheless principled agitation by those of us—Jew, Gentile, atheist and believer alike—who worship the First Amendment’s anti-establishment clause can reach those bright Jewish kids, and their Gentile colleagues. We have religious peace because we have separation of religion and state. We can convince them that the people of Israel/Palestine are as entitled to that same peace. But the only time that country will ever see it is under a new, secular Arab-Israeli regime that separates religion and state, exactly as we do here. Then our politicians—unworthy heirs to Jefferson and Madison—will not be able to get away with slipping domestic Zionist money into their campaign coffers, and sliding billions out of the taxpayers’ pockets to put it in the hands of an Israeli theocracy. [Lenni Brenner is the author of Jews in America Today, The Iron Wall, and the new AET White Paper The Anti-Defamation League’s National Director is Crazy Like a Foxman, all of which are available through the AET Book Club. [=]

60445. Bronner, Ethan. “Israel Shifting To Army Built On Pay, Not Patriotism”, in Seattle Times, September 2, 1994. p. A3. [TXT] The Israeli Defense Forces will switch to an all profession military. Already, it is rejecting many from obligatory duty and investing its funds in more advanced weapons systems. This will lead to far-reaching changes in the Israeli society: where workforce discrimination was legally enforced against anyone who was not in the military [such as most Jewish women and all Palestinian Israeli citizens]; failure to have served in the military meant that an Israeli could never obtain a job. Amram Mitniza, former military planner and now mayor of Haifa, notes that the military must abandon its old socialization role and begin preparing for the new round of wars that Israel will fight. Alex Fishman, a military analysts at Maariv, claims that, ‘Israel’s society is growing less idealistic and people want to be paid for what they do. We are adopting, even if we don’t admit it, the military culture of the West.’ [sic: he fails to observe that no military in world has conducted a generation long occupation of a country unprecedented brutality: this played a key, if unacknowledged role in the erosion of ‘Zionist idealism’.] At the same time, youth groups such as Nahal (‘Fighting Pioneer Youth’) established by Ben-Gurion to seize and settle Palestinian lands, and to inculate the value system of the ‘Zionist settler-farmer-soldier’, which established 85 permanent Jewish-only settlements, is nearing collapse since few youth want to join it anymore. [TXT]


In the vast desert of works supposedly portraying the reality of the Middle East, Kamal Boullata’s Faithful Witnesses is a refreshing oasis. How does art flourish in an atmosphere of tension, fear and repression; when there are long strikes and long curfews; when schools are closed and fathers unemployed; when one is surrounded by the dead, the wounded and grieving? Through their carefully drawn pictures, Palestinian children narrate the story of their daily existence under Israeli military occupation, their visions of the past, and their hopes and dreams for the future.

The book is a collection of 75 paintings in color made by Palestinian children aged 4 to 14 years, most of whom were born and raised in refugee camps in the Occupied Territories. It is 120 pages in length and contains 66 black and white photographs and 6 folkloric illustrations, supplemented by columns of textual commentary by the author in English, French and Arabic. It is a beautiful hard-cover book, attractively assembled and clearly reproduced.

The book is loosely divided into three spheres of Palestinian reality. The first group of paintings deals with traditional pastoral life and visions of the ancestral landscape in bloom. Their titles convey their context: “Spring in Hebron,” “Church in Jerusalem,” “The Harvest,” “Picking Lemons,” “A Walk in Grandfather’s Olive Grove,” “Planting the Land,” “Ploughing the Land.”

For example, 14 year old Majdi Sarray’s “Picking Oranges” is typical of the way in which children pay close attention to detail. Each blade of grass is separately drawn, each orange on the tree, as well as in the baskets, is a distinct entity. Each of the four fruit pickers is an individual, three are in traditional Palestinian dress. A horse and wagon wait to transport the fruit to market, a rock having been placed under the wheel to prevent any unwanted moving. The viewer is struck also by the deep rich colors used in this and other paintings, suggesting a fertile landscape.

One might ask why the children paint such a fertile landscape when they actually live in a blanched, arid, treeless refugee camp? When life is harsh, memory is a comfort and protection. They hear stories from their elders about a better time and place long ago and they...
listen. The oral tradition is strong and is still passed on, from one generation to another. Through art, these children can be transported into the past.

"Women at the Village Fountain" by Ahmad Zaiti, 13 years old, is a beautiful, neat and delicate painting of women in Palestinian dress, with pitchers on their heads and arms, coming to draw water. The wells are mauve colored, the village proud in the background, each house brown and geometric, every stone clearly in place, with a mosque standing in its midst. All are sunk in an earth of lush green—the color and energy of simple life.

Many children drew pictures of weddings, not unusual considering the central position of the wedding in Palestinian culture. Love between a man and a woman often becomes a metaphor for the Palestinian's love for his land. [x]

60446. Brumm, Anne M. "Palestinian Children Recreate Their World": Reviewing a new collection of children's drawings from the Occupied Territories: Part 2", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 40. The second section of Faithful Witnesses contains paintings dealing with various aspects of the Intifada and life under occupation. One of the most moving and unforgettable pictures (which also appears on the cover) is "Tear Gas in My Eyes," by 8 year old Sahar Mansour. A young girl is desperately covering her burning eyes with both her hands. Her mouth is parted in a scream that we can almost hear. Three tear gas bombs have exploded around her. Three boys are falling backward with their arms in the air. (Have they been captured?) Her skirt is in the colors of the Palestinian flag. The artist even remembered to put red bows at the end of the pigtailed and on her head. Each boy is dressed in a different design and color. Sahar has used the colors of rose, red and orange in an effective combination to convey the illusion of pain, suffering and hell.

Another young artist, Valentina Affif, 11 years old, has also harnessed the power of art to tell her story. In the picture, "The Day of the Strike," all the shops are heavily boarded up with padlocks. The children are on one side. Several hold Palestinian flags, and some have stones. Each has a different color and style of clothes and hair, but all courageously face the armed soldiers pointing their guns at them from the other side. Black smoke rises from the tires burning in the middle.

Valentina repeats this configuration in "Confrontation in the Road Between Qalqilya Refugee Camp and an Israeli Settlement." Only now, two of the children have been shot and lie motionless in the road. In the background looms a large prefabricated high-rise Israeli settlement, complete with TV antenna and yellow electric light seen burning through all the windows. On the near side, an olive grove thrives. A helicopter and a bright sun look down on the tragedy.

This same artist shows three Israeli soldiers arresting a young man and woman. Both are handcuffed, and the man is blindfolded. In a similar scene, family members plead with the soldiers as two women are taken for interrogation. These are the basic themes and motifs which are repeated most frequently by the children. Some relate several stories in one picture, as, for example, Ahmad Awad, age 14, in "Checking the Identity of the Man Returning From the Supermarket, Blindfolding Another and Beating a Third." What is unusual in his picture are the dark depressing shades of brown, black, gray and ghostly white.

A few chose to portray other events. For example, Iyad Barbbar, age 11, in "Confiscation of a Piece of Land" paints three armed men pointing their guns at them from the other side.
various social sectors of the society as well as women's rights." Hanna Siniora, head of the European-Palestinian Chamber of Commerce, is widely regarded as a high profile member of the Palestinian community. He has contributed to the community in various ways, among which are his former capacity as editor-in-chief of Al Fajr newspaper, publisher of The Jerusalem Times, and a founder-member of the Islamic-Christian Council. Siniora divides his campaign program in two; the political and the social. His political program includes building strong Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital, and improving the lives of Jerusalemites and making them an integral part of the Palestinian state. The practical side of Siniora's campaign are divided into the following areas: (a) To build an industrial zone in Jerusalem that will create more jobs for the Palestinian labor force. (b) To address the issue of increasing rents in Jerusalem. (c) To get Palestinian youths involved with the community and make more resources available to them. One issue is to improve existing sports stadiums and build new ones. (d) To address the issue of infrastructure relative to Jerusalem and its outlying rural areas. [=]

60449. Bukhari, Ahmad. "Intifada Anniversary", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 8, 1995, p. 1. This week Palestinians mark the 9th anniversary of the popular uprising known to history as the Intifada. It began in the Gaza Strip on 12/9/1987. It is also known in Arabic as the Revolution of the Stones. According to the Ramallah-based human rights organization, the Mandela Institute, 1538 Palestinian men and women have been killed to date; over 5000 are still in prison, and 873 houses have been demolished by the Israeli authorities in punitive measures. Tens of thousands have been wounded. Those who died in confrontations with the Israelis are considered martyrs. [=]

60450. Bukhari, Ahmad. "Palestine and People: Sorcery in Palestine," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 14. One of the oldest professions in the world, common in the days of the pharaoh, persists in this modern era. The practice of magic by quacks and swindlers in the West Bank and Gaza who claim to cure the sick and to know the unknown is widespread. What is hard to explain are the educated individuals with university degrees who wait in line to solve the mystery of who robbed them, or be cured of impotence because they want to have a child. Sessions sometimes cost hundreds or even thousands of shekels. Sorcery thrives because of the increase in social problems and disappointments. Sorcerers claim they are capable of curing almost any problem, and use different methods depending on the individual and the problem. Despite the fact that the monotheistic religions forbid resorting to sorcery, many wait for their turn to be deceived. Furthermore, quacks often perform their acts in the name of religion. Claiming to be guided and inspired by supernatural forces (jinn), they are quick to fill their pockets. A well known local sorcerer, who agreed to be interviewed only under the condition that his true identity and location not be revealed, said that he "learned and inherited the profession through watching my father and great grandfather perform." Most of his customers are women. They request cures for an impotent husband, for release from seclusion, or to prevent a husband from marrying a second time. He says that "When the woman is in my presence, I can understand her personality and exact psychological dilemma and help her resolve it." Other clients are the victims of robberies or thefts. He claims to be able to identify the location of the thief in any part of the world. Amazingly, even policemen request his assistance in resolving mysteries and recovering stolen items.

He concedes, however, that there are cases which can't be resolved, such as illnesses and diseases, and most cases dealing with lunacy. He also uses plant concoctions "derived from mothernature" which are "bought from pharmacies or perfume vendor shops and mixed together to create the medicine needed." An example, used in cases of female sterility, uses the patient's dried blood by mixing it with tea which is then given to the husband to drink without his knowledge. He further claims that "I contact the outside world, the world of demons," who assist him with his work. Usually patients come to him after losing faith in doctors, and at times, they are referred to him by the doctor. Patients come to him from the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel. In the context of religion, his practice is condemned. The scholar, Sheik Ismail Al-Gamal, the head of Islamic Waqf, says, "In religious terms, we believe sorcerers and quacks are doing the devil's work. It's forbidden and the penalty for this behavior is death as the Prophet Mohammed said, 'Whenever sorcerers are found, they should be put to death.'" He also stated that, "Those who consult the sorcerers, priests, and fortune tellers believe in them are not my followers." Al-Gamal says that sorcerers and quacks whose work depend on demons and divinities such as the claim to bring departed loved ones closer are wicked. The Prophet stated, "These words are based on sleight of hand, smooth talk, and a great deal of lying, and if one's lie incidentally becomes truth, the lie is repeated a thousand times." The Holy Quran reiterate ins these sayings. "When there has come to them a Messenger from God/confirming what was with them, a party of them/that were given the Book reject the Book of God/belonging their backs, as though they knew not/and they follow what the Satans recited/ over Solomon's Kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not/but the Satans disbelieved/ teaching the people/ sorcery, and that which was sent down/upon Babylons two angels, Azza and Maru they taught not any man, without they said,"We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve." (Al-Bakara/The Cow Verses 95-97, the Arberry translation.) Parallel to Islam, Christianity considers sorcery blasphemous. Father Aden Samara, the secretary of the Latin Patriarchate said, "[t]hat the Bible has condemned the act of sorcery in all its forms because it blasts the name of God. God has forbidden assistance through the demons. Do not request assistance from or turn to quacks." In Revelations 8:21, sorcery is condemned, and those who resort to it receive endless punishment. "Hell would rot those who commit the acts of sorcery." The apostle Peter in Galatians 20:5 warns us that sorcerers and those who deal with them will be forbidden to enter the Kingdom of God. [=]

60451. Bukhari, Ahmad. "Samih Khalil: Presidential Candidate", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 22, 1996, p. 7. Samiha Khalil (Um Khalil), 70, is a prominent Palestinian figure in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. She is what Palestinians call a true fighter and nationalist. A member of the Palestine National Council, she established the Palestinian Women's Union in 1952 and the Inaash Al-Usra Society in 1965. As soon as the nominations opened for prospective candidates in the forthcoming Palestinian legislative elections, Samiha Khalil expressed her desire to stand for the presidency, to compete with President Yasser Arafat. She told The Jerusalem Times that she decided to stand after holding a number of consultations with her supporters. "I hope to win, but in case I don't, it will be enough for me that I raised my voice high as a Palestinian woman, demanding the fulfillment of the dreams of Palestinians at home and abroad. I believe that women, like men, are fully entitled to lead the Palestinian people and that women will be able to do it just as well." Khalil added that since the Palestinians are clamoring for democracy, she took the decision to stand with the conviction that her candidacy would strengthen the democratic base, thus helping to show the world that Palestinians could, indeed, rise to the challenge. Um Khalil pointed out that her membership in the Palestinian National Council did not forbid her from standing as a candidate for the presidency, and that she was not thereby obligated, according to the Palestinian Election Law, to resign her post. As for her political agenda, Khalil said that she was still preparing it, focusing on a number of essential issues like Jerusalem, settlements and the right of return. She pointed out that, in case she wins, she will form committees to address the issue of infrastructure relative to Jerusalem and its outlying areas: (a) To build an industrial zone in Jerusalem that will create more jobs for the Palestinian labor force. (b) To address the issue of increasing rents in Jerusalem. (c) To get Palestinian youths involved with the community and make more resources available to them. One issue is to improve existing sports stadiums and build new ones. (d) To address the issue of infrastructure relative to Jerusalem and its outlying rural areas. [=]
Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 24, 1995, p. 12. Unbeknownst to many, regional director of the Arab Bank in Palestine, Shukri Bishara, is also a Tai Kwan Do expert. A fifth dan black belt, the highest of them awarded by the International Union of Tai Kwan Do in Korea, Bishara told "The Jerusalem Times" Sports Reporter Ahmad Bukhari his advice for young Palestinians. Question: What is Tai Kwan Do? Answer: The term divides into three parts: tai, the kick; kwan, the punch; do, the philosophy behind both kick and the punch. Al-Lo these three techniques to the art of Korean origin developed. It is also known as the art of the wrist and foot. Question: What is the difference between Tai Kwan Do and Karate? Answer: All sports concerned with the art of self-defense are branches of the same tree. Each part has its own characteristics. For instance, Tai Kwan Do depends more on the foot than the hand, and a number of moves that characterize it. Karate, on the other hand, depends on one or two moves. You can see this every time you watch a karate performance. This does not make Tai Kwan Do superior to karate. What makes the difference is the performer in action. Question: What other sports do you practice besides Tai Kwan Do? Answer: I have been involved in many of the arts of self-defense. Jujitsu and Aikido during my residence there. I have five dans (black belts) in Tai Kwan Do from the International Union in Korea. Question: Being the regional director of the Arab Bank in Palestine, how do you find time to train in your busy schedule? Answer: I trained in France during my long stay there. My teacher was Kim Yung (a ninth dan black belt, the highest level). Unfortunately, I cannot train as much today because of a lack of training facilities in Palestine. I do simple, basic exercises at home to remain supple. I call upon the Ministry of Youth and Sports to set up facilities in Gaza and the West Bank, at least one center in each.

Question: Now that you are back home, do you intend to share your experience with young sports people in Palestine? Answer: Most certainly, especially considering that Tai Kwan Do will be officially integrated into the Olympic Games of the year 2000. At the moment, Tai Kwan Do masters appear as guests and observers. Since we Palestinians have been accepted to become an official team in the Olympic Games, we must devote time during the next five years to get into shape if we are to have a chance of success in the competition. Question: How would you like to tell young Palestinians about Tai Kwan Do? Answer: Palestinians are a great people with plenty of potential in the field of sports. Let us remember who faced the Israeli army during the Intifada. The Children of the Stone. They faced a highly sophisticated army with nothing but their tai (kick) and their kwan (punch). In other words, they touched the basis of this art of self-defense. If anyone, this generation has a right to be given the chance to earn it thoroughly and take gold medals in the Olympics of the Year 2000. Question: How do you manage to keep so fit and supple at your age? Answer: My daily exercises with special attention to the way of breathing during the exercise itself. Tai Kwan Do is good for everyone; it knows no age difference. It benefits all—young and old. It contributes to an upright posture and teaches the ways of patience. Question: Is Tai Kwan Do a sport for men only? Answer: No, this is a game for everyone. Especially women who are in danger of being exposed to embarrassing situations where they might need to resort to the arts of self-defense. Besides, it is good for their mental health and physical well-being. —

60453. Bukhari, Ahmed. "Swimmers Fish for Future", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 23, 1995. p. 12. "The idea of establishing a Palestinian Union for Swimming is very old and the arrival of the Palestinian National Authority has helped to realize its creation," said Suleiman Al-Lo, a Palestinian swimming coach. Palestinian swimmers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip were asked to attend a meeting at which the union was finally created. Al-Lo said that more than 70 athletes met in Jerusalem and held general elections to form a board of trustees. He was elected chairman. Al-Lo, a coach at the YMCA for 25 years, thinks there are a lot of excellent Palestinian swimmers but, they lack access to adequate and modern training facilities. There is a lack of good centers and clubs with appropriate pools for training. Some centers, like the YMCA in East Jerusalem, closed their pools. The YMCA closed 10 years ago for financial and social reasons. "As an administrator and a professional coach, I can say that if Palestinian swimmers were provided with more and better facilities at centers and clubs - more pools, they might send swimmers to the Olympics by the year 2000," he said. Al-Lo revealed that the Israeli Union of Swimmers offered money to some Palestinian swimmers, such as Zeina Hanan Ashrawi, to compete internationally with the Israeli team, but that they refused the offer. Asrabi is considered one of the best Palestinian women short distance swimmers. He added that the Israeli occupation prevented many swimmers from the West Bank from entering Jerusalem to get their training - whether at the YMCA in East Jerusalem or West Jerusalem. Al-Lo hoped that the YMCA in East Jerusalem would reopen its doors and pool to Palestinian athletes again. He announced that there will be swimming courses held at the American Colony Hotel, Beit Hanina, Jabal Al-Mukabbar, Ramallah and in Hebron. He called on parents to encourage their boys and girls to attend these intensive courses in hopes of discovering more talented swimmers. —
peaceful society without militarism, sexism, and racism. Therefore we support the Israeli "Women's Organization for Political Prisoners" and also claim the unimpeachability of the right to asylum in our country. We are shocked about the terrible fact that there are men who hate strangers and promote racism, killing people from abroad. Hence we are gathering signatures against such hostility and against rescinding the right to asylum. One of the most exciting and inspiring events prior to our existence was the ceremony in Amsterdam on 4/9/1995, where the Nobel Peace Prize was bestowed upon Israeli Women in Black. We greatly rejoiced and admired the courage of those women who accepted this reward although it came from German hands. We talked together about our experiences and sang together with much enthusiasm, "We Shall Overcome." The climax of this memorable meeting was a Jewish Palestinian Palestinian-German Festival of Culture and Peace that we celebrated artists told together with many people on the following day in the Stollwerk building in Cologne. Jewish and Palestinian artists told stories, sang, and danced. Then many people danced together in a merry mood. It was the fulfillment of a dream that we had dreamt for a long time. We hope so much that we shall have other opportunities to celebrate similar festivals. In addition, we are fighting for some other initiatives. I mention the campaign against the dreadful mass rape of women in ex-Yugoslavia as one of the most important actions in previous weeks, but I can describe that another time. I want to add just one thing: We do not stand as a silent vigil, but we distribute information material and hold discussions with passers-by. Some people are very aggressive and insult us with vulgar words and gestures, but most identify with our aims. This is a very encouraging sign for us! We are very glad that the groups of Women in Black are increasing all over the world. We greet you in solidarity! [=]

60455. Canaan, Suzanne. "Opinion: Open Letter to Bill Clinton", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), August 16, 1993. p. 5. Dear Mr. Clinton, I am a 16-year-old Palestinian born in Australia. My parents were among the more than 900,000 Palestinians (80% of the Palestinians) dispossessed from Palestine in 1948 by the underground Jewish terrorist organizations of the time: Haganah, Stern Gang and Irgun. When you were campaigning for your election, I was, as a Democrat myself, happy and hopeful that you would win the election, as were my parents. We thought that you would bring a fresh foreign policy based on the right of all people to self-determination and freedom, including the Palestinian people of course, and you would oppose all occupation and aggression by any state, including Israel. In short, we thought that you would bring decency and respect to the New World Order and change the hypocritical image of the United States. But to my great disappointment, I cannot understand why you are so blind to the suffering and oppression of the Palestinians. I recently saw you standing between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela and heard you praising Mr. de Klerk's wisdom and determination in moving to dismantle apartheid and "his courage in asking his people to give up something that they have which is not fully legitimate so that they can live together in real liberty." You can imagine that I could not but make an analogy with the Palestine-Israel conflict. I do not like the idea of being disappointed again and seeing another president of hypocrisy governing the most powerful country on earth. I do not see why you shouldn't invite President Arafat and Prime Minister Rafin to America. You know that Israel cannot challenge its breadwinner and main protestor, the United States, and that you don't need to bombard the hell out of Tel Aviv, as the United States did with Iraq, to force Israel to comply with UN Security Council resolutions regarding its occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories. I still hope that you will be, as we say in Australia, a fair-dinkum president - a president who will go down in history as an honorable president who forced Israel to stop the killing, oppression and dispossession of the Palestinian people and brought a just peace to the Arab, Palestinian and Israeli people in the Middle East. [Suzanne Canaan lives in Manuka, Australia.] [=]

the doubt to members of one's own group and devalue the intentions of those outside the group. Those who are officially recognized as oppressed are allowed to do things that would otherwise be seen as oppressive. [e.g. Israeli eviction of the Palestinians is excused because of the hostile experience of the Holocaust; Palestinian terrorist reprisals are excused because of the extreme brutality of Israeli occupation/repres...]

The security forces deployed in Jericho and arrived at the Liaison Bureau in Balu' where documents were signed by the Israelis and Palestinians declaring Ramallah and Al-Bireh, Palestinian territories. Abu Jaber told Al-Quds that while the area was closed to Israelis for 72 hours, inhabitants and other visitors were free to move about the cities. The Palestinian forces were greeted by the warbles of women, traditional dances and cheers from the crowd. Many sang or chanted slogans of support as the security forces entered the city. The official ceremony to mark the hand-over, scheduled to have taken place on 12/28/1995, was postponed until 12/29/1995. According to the Voice of Palestine, President Arafat will arrive in Ramallah on 12/29/1995 to take part in the festivities. [ ]

60459. Cary-Webb, Aimee. "Ramallah Liberated", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 29, 1995, p. 1. 12/28/1995, 150 Palestinian police arrived in the cities of Ramallah and Al-Bireh to ensure internal security before the arrival of the remaining Palestinian forces at 10:00 p.m. that evening. Brigadier General Haj Ismail Abu Jaber, acting as President Arafat's envoy declared the two cities liberated following the Israeli withdrawal 48 hours earlier. As agreed, the number of Palestinian Security forces numbered 1200, all of whom were present by 11:00 p.m. The security forces deployed in Jericho and arrived at the Liaison Bureau in Balu' where documents were signed by the Israelis and Palestinians declaring Ramallah and Al-Bireh, Palestinian territories. Abu Jaber told Al-Quds that while the area was closed to Israelis for 72 hours, inhabitants and other visitors were free to move about the cities. The Palestinian forces were greeted by the warbles of women, traditional dances and cheers from the crowd. Many sang or chanted slogans of support as the security forces entered the city. The official ceremony to mark the hand-over, scheduled to have taken place on 12/28/1995, was postponed until 12/29/1995. According to the Voice of Palestine, President Arafat will arrive in Ramallah on 12/29/1995 to take part in the festivities. [ ]

60460. Cary-Webb, Aimee. "Sports: East Jerusalem YMCA Gets a New Lease On Life", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, March 24, 1995, p. 12. Plagued by financial difficulties since the early 1980s, the East Jerusalem YMCA sports department is slated to open its doors again this June with an array of programs. The sports department of the "YM", as it is known to local residents, was closed in 1986, partially re-opened and subsequently closed again in December 1987, following the outbreak of the Intifada. The YMCA was first established in the West Bank with the arrival of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1949. At that time, its first facility in Jericho was no more than a tent with a handful of volunteers ministering to the needs of the community. In conjunction with the ICRC, the YMCA ran nurseries and vocational training courses. The training courses were aimed at instructing unskilled workers in the areas of carpentry, metal work, upholstery, sewing and mechanics. The East Jerusalem facility opened its doors in 1963 and served the community without fail until the early 1980s. After the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, however, the tourist industry dropped off, and the first indications of financial strife became apparent. In 1986, an assessment of the available financial resources was made. It was discovered that there was a huge budget deficit due to the overwhelming costs of the association's sports teams. The teams were supported solely by the YMCA hotel's profits and could not be shouldered any longer. Although all the sports activities were terminated, education classes and lectures continued until the start of the Intifada when the YMCA's programs ended completely. It was during this hiatus that the decision to renovate was made. The 24-year-old building was allowed the need of repair. The renovations would be expensive, and the money would have to be raised. The association turned to its donors for additional funds. Of the incoming contributions, the bulk have come from abroad, from charitable organizations, churches and individuals who believe in the YMCA's commitment to community activities and public support. The first priority has been major maintenance and renovation projects like the repair of the 52-year-old water and electric systems. These have been in dire need of restoration since the onset of the financial crisis. According to YMCA sources, the swimming pool and other facilities will be repaired with the help of the YWCA in Sweden. The YMCA is focusing on swimming activities, since the pool was the one and only indoor swimming pool open to the public throughout the year in the West Bank. Restoration of the basketball and handball courts are next on the agenda. There are plans to hold sports training courses to instruct coaches and players in a variety of sports, including basketball, volleyball, handball, swimming, squash and football. The YMCA will work in conjunction with the Palestinian Sports Ministry to train coaches and staff. Clubs from all over the West Bank can then be staffed. The YMCA's assistant general secretary, Jack Sa'id, told The Jerusalem Times that the association hopes to reopen its sports department in June or July, provided the renovations are complete. Sa'id said that the re-opening will be in phases. By June, the swimming pool, new sauna, changing rooms and playgrounds, as well as the courts will be finished. The organization then hopes to implement new sports and educational programs gradually. The YMCA expects to resume all of the activities that have served the community for decades, added Sa'id. It also hopes to maintain good relations with the Palestinian Sports Ministry and enjoy their cooperation in instituting some of the projects. When asked how he sees the role of the YMCA, Sa'id said, "During the late 1960s and 1970s, we played a very important role in Palestinian society since we lacked any kind of government. We shouldered the responsibility of coordinating adult and youth programs. Our main priority right now is the pool," he said. "We are focusing also on women and children activities. Afterall, our programs always focused on children." He was quick to add that the YMCA is a place for everyone: men, women, seniors and children. "If there is a need, we are there." Sa'id himself joined the YMCA as a student on the basketball team, then as a summer day camp volunteer. The YMCA sent him to New York for training after high school, and he has been part of the organization ever since. Sa'id remarked that what has kept him part of the YMCA for all of these years is his feeling about the institution and its mission. "I feel that this institution is serving the community, like the children and young people... The YMCA does a great job of giving chances to all, so everyone can benefit from the programs. I believe in the principle of the YMCA: to develop mind, body and spirit." Remarkable on the geographical areas encompassed by the programs. Sa'id said, "Our work extends to every city, town and refugee camp in the West Bank." [ ]

60461. Cass, Connie. "Democrats Reveal Rewards For Donors; White House Defends the System [of selling offices]", in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, April 15, 1997. p. A3. Under subpoena by Congress, the White House and Democratic National Committee has released some 10000 pages of additional campaign contribution documentation. One large body of documentation concerns the routine sale of high public office by the Clinton Administration: the White House defended the exchange bribes for public office as simply a routine part of the American political system of government. Among those who purchased their offices in the federal government are: (1) John Huang, then an executive with Lippo Bank in Los Angeles, for a position in the Commerce Department (he later moved to the Democratic National Committee; (2) Arthur Levitt, proposed as ambassador to Germany or Mexico or as a member of the National Economic Council, was instead made chairman of SEC; (3) Erskine Bowles purchased the position as administrator of SBA, and now is White House chief of staff; and (4) the systematic sale of key ambassadorships in return for campaign contributions Alan Blinken (Belgium), Donald Blinken (Hungary), Clay Constantinoi (Luxembourg), and Thomas Siebert (Sweden).

Documents also detail how the number two official at the NSC, [reported Zionist activist] Nancy Sonderberg worked a 1984 Democratic gala to party with John Huang and James Riady of the Lippo Group. In addition, the White House sold rides on Air Force One; some
purchasers were Tommy Boggs (lobbyist), Vernon Jordan (lobbyist), Dan Duffy (lobbyist), John Sweeney (union leader), Lane Kirkland (union leader), Richard Trumka (union leader), Paul Montrone (CEO, Fisher Scientific International), Richard Blum (husband of Sen. Dianne Feinstein, with significant investments in China), and three men who provided "jobs" to Webster Hubbell after he left the White House in disgrace (Truman Arnold, Texarkana petroleum distributor; Bernard Rapoport, Waco insurance executive; Wayne Reaume, Washington lawyer). Even the foundation set up to convert ClintSon's birthplace into a shrine has acknowledged fundraising activities in Asia. [TXT]

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine. "Conference on the Palestine: Part 1: Introduction," in CPAP Newsletter, June 1994. For four days, from 12 to 15 May, Palestinian intellectuals, political leaders and activists exchanged ideas about the emerging Palestine, within the context of a conference organized by the Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine and Birzeit University. More than thirty speakers addressed the conference, in order to encourage wide popular participation, convened in different locations in the West Bank and Gaza. The conference began with an opening banquet in Jerusalem on 12 May. Keynote speaker was Haidar Abdul Shaf (see infra for a summary of his remarks), and Palestinian poetess Fadwa Tuqan recited some of her poetry. The following three days, about thirty-five panelists and discussants addressed the spectrum of issues and concerns of contemporary Palestinian society and politics. Panels convened the first two days at Birzeit University dealt with the transitional period, continuity and change in Palestinian society, the state and civil society, and the participation of women in politics. The final day of the conference, panels convened at Shawwa Cultural Center in Gaza dealt with pluralism and political parties, and with issues of special concern such as Jerusalem and Jewish settlements. The conference, by bringing together a large number of leading Palestinian intellectual and political leaders, and by creating an opportunity for the free exchange of ideas about matters of great concern to the Palestinian people, attracted wide popular attention and participation. Its panels were followed by vigorous debate between panelists and participants, and its proceedings were well covered by the local media. [↩]

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine. "Conference on the Palestine: Part 2: Elections Key to National Salvation," in CPAP Newsletter, June 1994. In his opening statement to the conference, Dr. Hisham Sharabi, representing the Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, said that the Arab defeat in the war of 1967, and Israel's occupation of the rest of Palestine, diminished the scope of the struggle from one over Arab rights in Palestine to a dispute over the future of the West Bank and Gaza. To save what remains of their cause, he said, the people of Palestine need to take back control of their fate. The proper instrument of this change is democratic elections, because it is through such elections that the Palestinian people exercise self-determination, replace a paternalistic leadership with a modern democratic political system, plant the seeds of a new legitimacy, ensure equal status for women, and in brief transform Palestinian society to a pioneering society in the Arab world. Even though elections at this stage are for a council of limited authority, they will be crucial to the Palestinian future because they will demonstrate fitness for self-determination and independence. The success of the Palestinian people in organizing free and democratic elections will be the key to national salvation. [↩]

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine. "Conference on the Palestine: Part 3: Conference Reports," in CPAP Newsletter, June 1994. The Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine will publish, as part of its Special Reports series, selected papers presented at the conference on the Palestinian future. The publication will be announced when it becomes available. [↩]

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine. "Conference on the Palestine: Part 4: Fait Accomplis Do Not Have to Be Accepted, A Speech By Haidar Abdul Shaf," in CPAP Newsletter, June 1994. Former head of the Palestinian delegation to the Arab-Israeli peace talks, Dr. Haidar Abdul Shaf, was main speaker at the opening banquet of the joint Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine/Birzeit University conference on the future of Palestine. He spoke on 5/12/1994 in Jerusalem. The following is a brief summary of his remarks.

The Palestinian people today are deeply divided and are in a "wait and see" mode, waiting for further developments to unfold. Instead of being prepared for eventualities, they wait for them with a sense of anxious resignation. What they need is a new consensus to enable them to cope with new challenges. A careful reading of the Oslo and Cairo agreements between the PLO and Israel makes it clear that our fate is no longer in our hands, because the agreements concede Israel's contention that it has rights in the occupied Palestinian lands and shake us with constraints from which it will be difficult to shake free. The Palestinians need to rely on themselves. In the past, we relied too heavily on the support of regional and global sympathizers, and neglected our own sources of strength. The recent PLO-Israel agreements impose an accomplished fact and face us with new and more serious challenges. They also face us with the urgent task of devising a national response and a new program of action. A national dialogue is needed to restore unity around a strategy to deal with the challenges and the dangers we now face.

What is to be done?: The Palestinian national response should be guided by the following elements:

1. Reaffirmation of the rights to self-determination and the right of refugees to return. This is the criterion against which everything, including the Oslo and Cairo agreements, should be measured.

2. Israel's claims that it has rights in the occupied Palestinian territories are invalid and illegal and have been rejected by the international community. All "facts" created by Israel on the basis of these claims, such as settlements, are illegal and detrimental to peace.

3. The fact that agreements reached are accomplished fakses not mean that the Palestinian people are obligated to accept such accomplished facts if they violate their legitimate rights.

4. The fact that the Oslo agreement postpones negotiations on the fate of settlements to the ultimate status phase does not mean that Israel is permitted to continue settlement activity. What the agreement says is that the fate of existing settlements will be decided in future talks; it does not say that until then Israel is free to continue this illegal activity.

5. The Palestinian people have the right to continue to resist the occupation as long as there are no agreements to insure their national rights. Every people under foreign military occupation has a legitimate right to resist it. The PLO leadership should insist on the immediate end of all settlement activity, and it should organize and mobilize Palestinian resources to put in place a competent system of administration. Both are necessary to rid the Palestinians of Israeli occupation and to protect the Palestinian future. [↩]

Chandler, Adam. "American Library Association Buries Israel Censorship Issue: Pro-Israel McCarthyism," in Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, September-October 1994, pp. 15, 87-88. A four-year battle within the 56000-member American Library Association (ALA), in which B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League took a leading role in activating thousands of Jewish librarians to attend conventions and revolve a resolution condemning Israeli censorship of Palestinian libraries, appears to have ended at this year's annual conference in Miami. The ALA's Social Responsibilities Round Table (SRRT) Action Council voted 17 to 1, with 1 abstention, in a 30-minute closed meeting, to abolish the Israeli Censorship and Palestinian Libraries Task Force (ICPLTF), and to prevent Action Council member David Williams from serving out his three-year term. The vote at the June 24-29 ALA conference followed accusations that the Chicago librarian used the organization as a platform for "anti-Semitism" and harassment of other Action Council members. Williams was purged through the passage of two resolutions. The first, titled "A Resolution on the Restatement of Certain Ideals of ALA's Social Responsibilities Round Table," may be applied to any Action Council member. The second, "A Resolution on David Langlois Williams and his Position Within the Social
Responsibilities Round Table of ALA” specifically calls for the abolition of the ICPLTF, which Williams chaired. Officially, the ALA has an open meetings policy. The reason given for the closed session was the personal nature of the charges. The resulting decision transferred the issue of intellectual freedom and Israeli censorship of information from or about Palestinians to another SRRT committee. The Social Responsibilities Round Table was created in the late 1960s to move progressive the ALA units, few have engendered such acrimonious debates among members as has the SRRT. In recent years, SRRT has been criticized by conservative ALA members for such actions as organizing the cancellation of ALA conferences in cities that pass homophobic legislation. However, the level of controversy over the Israeli censorship issue was unprecedented. It became the catalyst for a movement to centralize control by the ALA Council over all positions taken by the Association and its affiliated committees. The votes during the ALA’s Miami convention resulted largely from pressure placed on the ALA over several years by pro-Israel activists both inside and outside the organization. While members of the SRRT Action Council said it was Williams’ uncompromising insistence on advancing his position that brought about the decision to abolish the task force he chaired, Williams saw it as a case of “blaming the victim.”

“Blaming the Victim”: Williams first forced the issue of Palestinian intellectual freedom onto the ALA’s agenda in 1990, when he was attacked by members of the Chicago Jewish community, including B’nai B’rith’s Anti-Defamation League, over a bibliography he had compiled for the Chicago Public Library about the Arab-Israeli conflict. [Robert I. Friedman, “The Jewish Thought Police: How the Anti-Defamation League Censors Books, Intimidates Librarians, and Spies on Citizens,” Village Voice, 27 July 1993.] At the ALA’s 6/1992 convention in San Francisco, after receiving extensive documentation (including Information Freedom and Censorship: World Report 1991, co-published by the Art 19 organization and the American Library Association) detailing the existence of censorship and other human rights violations in the Israeli-occupied territories, the ALA Council took a stand. It adopted a resolution that “calls upon the government of Israel to end all censorship and human rights violations in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza, and in Israel itself; encourages the Israeli and Palestinian peoples in the quest for a peaceful and just solution of their conflict; and ensures that ALA members to develop ways to support librarians, journalists, educators and others working for peace, human rights and freedom of information and expression in the Middle East.” The ALA resolution also noted the “special relationship” between the US and Israel “as the recipient of the largest amounts of annual US aid per capita.” During that conference, one SRRT meeting was nearly canceled when hecklers tried to shout down Michael Schwartz, an Israeli journalist and peace activist who sought to describe her own experiences with Israeli censorship, and her arrest by Israeli authorities. At the same meeting, fire alarms were set off, apparently to prevent panel members from presenting the issue to the ALA membership. A second resolution also was passed at the San Francisco meeting protesting the then threatened expulsion of Omar al-Safi, a Palestinian librarian living in the West Bank. At that 1992 conference, however, during one of the SRRT meetings, a difference between two proponents of the anticensorship resolution led to problems within the Social Responsibilities Round Table itself, and perhaps planted the seeds for this year’s purge. Williams challenged a phrase in the proposed ALA resolution’s preamble: “Whereas Israel considers itself to be a democracy established with the express purpose of creating a safe haven for the Jewish people.” Williams questioned the use of “the” in the phrase “the Jewish people,” calling it a capitulation to Zionism—in that it refers to the Jewish people of the world as one nation. Sanford Berman, an activist Minnesota librarian, questioned Williams’ motivation. Williams says he attempted to pursue a dialogue with Berman on the disagreement over the following two years, but the Minnesota librarian declined to discuss the matter with him.

The ALA Had Passed Resolutions Condemning Violations in Other Countries: Proponents of the 1992 resolution pointed out that the ALA, the world’s oldest library organization, established in 1876, had passed resolutions condemning violations in South Africa, China, the former Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, among others, but none had created as much controversy as the resolution involving Israel. Opponents of the resolutions said it was diverting too much attention from more pertinent library issues. Williams contended the reason the issue was consuming so much of the organization’s time was due to unremitting opposition it engendered. He cited, for example, what he referred to as the “anti-Israel lobby” that during the time an ad hoc ALA committee was established to study the documentation on Israeli human rights violations. The self-appointed chair of the committee declared that the documentation was too biased, and that the uniqueness of Israel had not been taken into account. At the 1991 convention the ALA Council deleted the term “occupied territories” from an SRRT written resolution because an ALA Council member believed such terminology constituted “Israel bashing.” After the resolution was passed in San Francisco, a campaign was mounted to persuade the ALA to correct its “mistake.” At the ALA’s Denver conference in 1/1993, members of the Anti-Defamation League who arrived to persuade the ALA to rescind its resolution were given ALA membership badges. “ADL representatives arranged with the ALA Executive Office to have the customary guest registration fee waived, and were outfitted with membership tags instead of guest convention badges,” Williams recalls. Surveillance and intimidation by the ADL members included writing down the names of participants in meetings pertaining to the Israeli censorship issue. As SRRT coordinator Stephen Stillwell described one such incident, “An ALA member, who identified himself as a member of the Anti-Defamation League, took hold of my convention badge, pinned to my sport coat, so that he might copy my name and affiliation down correctly, an action which I found rather threatening.” The ADL campaign against the resolution and its proponents took place at a time when its long-time spying operation, which included compiling files on persons who attended political meetings the ADL deemed hostile to Israel, was revealed through a San Francisco police investigation. Another intimidation tactic the pro-Israel lobby used was a threat to mobilize a nationwide campaign against public library funding sources if the ALA continued to “target” Israel. The campaign began with a 450-word letter sent to and published by numerous Jewish community weeklies around the country. It was accompanied by a letter from Concerned Jewish Taxpayer, “Jewish Taxpayer,” “Anonymous Librarian,” or “A Librarian Whose Job Would Be Jeopardized By Identification.” Whether or not this was the work of the ADL or another group or individual is unknown. As published in the May 27 Chicago Sentinel, the letter said in part, “If the ALA cares more about the welfare of librarians and “Citizens” Village Voice, 27 July 1993.] At the ALA’s 6/1992 convention in San Francisco, after receiving extensive documentation (including Information Freedom and Censorship: World Report 1991, co-published by the Art 19 organization and the American Library Association) detailing the existence of censorship and other human rights violations in the Israeli-occupied territories, the ALA Council took a stand. 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untangling the problems Palestinian libraries face from the larger context of the history of Israel. There is little doubt, however, that his insistence on launching a broad attack on Zionism contributed to the collapse during the 1993 conference of the coalition that had supported him. “There was consensus that David had abused his position as Task Force chair,” said Mark Rosenzweig, an ICPLTF member. “He organized programs that were inappropriate.” As an example, Rosenzweig cited an appearance in New Orleans by Jeffrey Blankfort, who spoke about the history of Zionism and role of the ADL in American politics during the 20th century. [Blankfort was one of the individuals who first investigated and reported on the ADL spy operation.]

The sketch of Zionist history that Blankfort presented included the Zionist/Nazi collusion reported by scholars such as Lenni Brenner and Edwin Black as an example of history that has been suppressed in the US. Rosenzweig complained that the structure of that history has been appropriated by neo-Nazis. He maintained that, in any case, it was outside the context of a discussion about intellectual freedom in the occupied territories. Blankfort disagreed, saying that the theme of his talk was how Israeli censorship in the occupied territories has spread into the US, using proxies like the ADL to stifle free expression in organizations like the ALA. “There has existed for many years, across virtually the entire American Jewish political spectrum, a ‘circle the wagons’ mentality that measures the reporting of history, or news events in general, by a single standard: whether or not ‘it is good for the Jews,’” Blankfort said. Using such criteria, the telling of some of the ugly truths about Jewish history is considered dangerous because of the possibility that it will be used by anti-Semites to promote Holocaust revisionism and denial. “This, on the face of it, is patent nonsense,” Blankfort said. “If Jews collaborated with the Nazis, whether it was from opportunism, to save Jewish lives or simply out of fear, it might provide a more nuanced understanding of how the Holocaust was carried out, but it would hardly disprove it.”

A Coalition Divided: After its 1993 defeat at New Orleans, the coalition of progressive librarians that originally worked to pass the resolution condemning Israeli censorship was divided. On one side stood those who believed there was little else that could be done within the ALA. On the other side stood Williams, frustrated by the refusal of his colleagues to agree that the ADL and other pro-Israel activists had succeeded in defining the parameters of acceptable speech, even an organization premised on the defense of intellectual freedom. SRRT members Mark Rosenzweig, Elaine Harger and Stephen Stillwell believed Williams did not understand the conservative nature of an organization such as the ALA—a conservatism, they said, that has nothing to do with the pro-Israel lobby. While they talked about starting over to build cooperation with other groups, Williams attributed the New Orleans resolution to the “consensus terrorism” of “hard-line Zionists.”

In 12/1993 Sanford Berman circulated a letter stating the case for disbanding the Israeli Censorship and Palestinian Libraries Task Force and reassembling it outside of the ALA without Williams. That letter, presented during the closed hearing in Miami, blamed “confontational language” used by Williams for the success of opponents of the ALA condemnation of Israel in mobilizing “hundreds of Jewish librarians...from New York City and elsewhere to pack the annual membership meeting” in 1993. Berman’s letter enumerated other complaints against Williams and argued that since the PLO-Israel peace accords, there no longer was a need for the same level of attention on the issue within the community of progressive librarians. Berman claimed that Williams’ presence in SRRT damaged its credibility within the ALA. The dispute within the SRRT became even more personal on 5/25/1994, when Williams angrily accused Mark Rosenzweig, who had lost his job two years earlier after he organized a panel discussion on Palestinian culture at the New York Public Library, of “treachery” and “completely caving in to the Zionist lobby.” In the weeks following Williams’ verbal attack on him, Rosenzweig and two other librarians, Al Kagen and Sanford Berman, drafted a resolution titled, “Resolution on the Censure of David Williams and the Abolition of the SRRT Task Force on Israeli Censorship and Palestinian Libraries.” That resolution, bluntly accusing Williams of making “anti-Semitic statements,” was used as the basis for the two passed in Miami, abolishing the ICPLTF and banning Williams from holding a leadership position in SRRT for three years. The complaints by the three librarians against Williams fell into two categories. He was accused of abusive language and tactics in advancing his views, making coalition-building impossible. He also was accused of continually referring to the presence of a powerful Zionist lobby and taking a highly critical view of Zionism rather than limiting the breach of Palestinian rights. Whether those complaints and of Williams’ views, it is certain that without him the issue of Palestinian intellectual freedom would never have reached the ALA agenda, much less become the subject of an ALA resolution in 1993.

In his zeal to defend the ALA condemnation of Israeli censorship, there seems little doubt that Williams alienated potential allies, and thus perhaps inadvertently helped pave the way for the unprecedented revocation of the resolution in 1993. Unfortunately, this leaves the prestigious 56000-member organization standing four-square in favor of Israeli censorship of information about the Palestinians, their history and their culture. Whether this embarrassing situation is reversed, or allowed to continue, now becomes the responsibility of those “progressive” librarians who decided in 1994 that they could best serve their goals without David Williams. At stake is the right of American librarians and of librarians anywhere to present all sides of the history of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute without fear of McCarthyite retribution from those who would suppress all but their own views. In 1993, under strong and confusing outside pressure, America’s librarians renounced that right. The reality of 1994, it appears, is that they have given up the fight to regain it. [Adam L Chandler is a graduate student in the school of Library and Information Science at Louisiana State University. He presently is working on a master's thesis about the ALA’s resolution on Israeli censorship and human rights violations.]
revolution in Nicaragua, land was redistributed, empowering the population after generations of exploitation by landholders. A mother from one of these cooperatives describes a visit from a group of contra freedom fighters: ‘Five of them raped me at about five in the evening... they had gang-raped me every day. When my vagina couldn’t take it anymore, they raped me through my rectum. I calculate that in five days they raped my 60 times’. Such testimony is not permitted in the US media. It may rendered that can never appear. Then they cut into her chest and took out her heart. The men had their arms broken, their testicles cut off, and their eyes poked out. They were killed by slititng their throats, and pulling the tongue out through the slit.

After visiting the region, the chairman of Americas Watch and Helsinki Watch said, ‘There can be no doubt, on the basis of what we heard and saw, that a planned strategy of terrorism is being carried out by the Contras along the Honduran border’, therefore ‘the US cannot avoid responsibility for these atrocities’. Why do the New York Times and other US news agencies refer to such butchers as ‘the democratic opposition’? Most of the Contras are former members of the Somozas National Guard. CIA chosen spokespersen for the Contras said ‘by mid-1984, 46 out of 48 of the contra commandantistes were former National Guardsmen’. Chamorro testified to the World Court saying, the Contras ‘would arrive at an undefended village, assemble all the residents in the town square and then proceed to kill -- in full view of the others -- all persons working for the Nicaraguan government, including police, local militia members, party members, health workers, teachers and farmers’.

In El Salvador in 1980, the Archdiocese of San Salvador counted 6862 murders of ‘Persons of the popular and progressive sectors killed for political reasons, not in military confrontations, but as a result of military operations by the Army, Security Forces, and paramilitary organizations coordinated by the High Command of the Armed Forces’. The New York Times and other media conglomerates in the US portrayed the death squads as rogue right-wing elements, the evidence does not substantiate this, from the vice-chairman of Americas Watch and Helsinki Watch: ‘death squads were never apprehended or prosecuted; they operated with impunity during curfew hours; they passed police checkpoints without challenge; the security forces sometimes blocked streets to permit death squads to operate without interruption; uniformed forces sometimes conducted joint operations with nonuniformed death squads; bodies were dumped in heavily patrolled areas; death squads had access to good intelligence; the volume of death squad killing was adjusted in response to pressure on government forces; and so on’. To investigate the death squads is therefore to investigate the fabric of military and economic power in El Salvador; given that the goal of US policy makers is to maintain the present economic order, justice cannot be pursued. In the media, numbers of atrocities are always reduced, by an order of magnitude if necessary, and atrocities are always in past, conditions are always improving. A congressional delegation visited the El Salvador-Honduran border in 1981, and reported the following: ‘The Salvadoran method of ‘drying up the ocean’ involves, according to those who have fled the violence, a combination of murder, torture, rape, the burning of crops in order to create starvation conditions, and a program of general terrorism and harrassment’; ‘children around the age of 8 being raped, and then they would take their bayonets and make mcinemat of them’; ‘the army would cut people up and put soap and coffee in their stomachs as a mocking. They would slit the stomach of a pregnant woman and take the child out, as if they were taking eggs out of an iguana’. That is what I saw. The horror increased when Reagan took power. In 1983 Ronald Reagan gave his Presidential Certification, decrying how progress was being made in ending torture and abuses of human rights. Human rights abuses in Central America are directly correlated to the level of US involvement.

In Guatemala, a 1984 British Parliamentary investigative team reported: ‘The grim statistics summarizing Guatemala’s political reality -- 100000 killed since 1960, 100 political assassinations a month in 1984, 10 disappearances a week, 100000 orphans, half a million displaced -- barely reach the North American, let alone the European newspapers’. A witness describes the 7/1982 massacre in Finca San Francisco: ‘Finally they brought the last child. He was a little one, maybe two or three years old. They stabbed him and cut out his stomach. The little child was screaming, but because he wasn’t dead yet, the soldiers grabbed a thick, hard stick and bashed his head. They held his feet together and smashed him hard against a tree trunk. I saw how they flung him hard and hurt his head. It split open, and they threw him inside the house’. A 1963 USAID Vietnam report states: ‘The ultimate target is the human mind. It may be that the statement that has never appeared for expression may be extinguished, but it still remains the critical target’. A sample of Reagan spokesmen/apologists for the terror employed by the US government: Stephen Bosworth (1982); Melvin Levitsky; Elliott Abrams; Edward Fox.

John Loftus, a man who investigated Nazi war criminals for the US Justice Department argues that Nazis brought to the US after the war after WWII have ‘connections to ‘US operations in Central America’. The neo-Nazis of Argentine have been regularly employed by the US in Latin America. Israel has played an active role providing arms and training to regimes, exporting some 1.2 billion dollars worth of arms in 1982 alone. The Rios Montt regime in Guatemala thanked Israel for its assistance in bringing them to power in 1982. The fact that Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie helped to move arms to Israel after an embargo was placed on the Jewish state after the 1967 war created the moral environment in which moralist Elie Wiesel finds it possible to refuse to acknowledge Israel’s role in exporting terror. One of the problems with US policy in Latin America is the dominance of agribusiness interests who strive to use the region as an export resource to the US market. 60468. Churchill, Ward. “Native America: Another Dry White Season; In Jerry Mander’s ‘In The Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of Indian Nations’: The Solution Emerges As But Another Part of the Problem”, in Z Magazine, October 1993. pp. 43-48. Jerry Mander’s work (Sierra Club, 1992), which proports to address the question of technology and indigenous peoples, is a thinly veiled Eurocentric monologue (while he notes a score of important native thinkers, he quotes almost entirely none of them; preferring, for example, the fraudulent writing of Carlos Casteneda; only 16 of 305 citations in the work are to Native Americans), Mander broadly criticizes moderntechnology (citing the chairman of RJR Nabisco Corp, who who looked forward to the day when Arabs and Americans, Latins and Scandinavians will be munching Ritz crackers as ethusiastically as they already drink Coke or brush their teeth with Colgate). Mander juxtaposes the hideous technological future to Indians, whether in the Philippines [sic] or in Canada. While he accurately catalogues many of the challenges facing Indians in North America. However, underlying Mander’s argument is the idea that Whites embody the cerebral element of society, while non-Westerners embody the physical role: hence, if the problems of technological society must be overcome, it will be by Eurocentric intellectuals who appropriate non-Western beliefs and ideologies. Mander also has very clear gaps in what he considers to be legitimate struggles by indigenous peoples, rejecting all US Indians struggles by AIM and rejecting the Palestinians. His complete censorship of some indigenous peoples struggles eviscerates his arguments, and requires him to suppress all discussion of AIM and its related organizations (International Indian Treaty Council; Women of All Red Nations), since the outspoken mutual support of the PLO and AIM is unacceptable to Mander. This forces Mander to misattribute the statements and ideas of AIM that he reproduces; Mander is in turn forced to distort the history of support given by Earth First, Rainforest Action Network, Friends of the Earth, and Earth Island Institute, by deleting the key role played by AIM National Chair John Trudell’s coalition building. Since Mander opposes Palestinian human rights, he is forced to twist and distort the political history of contemporary Indians, in order to downplay the role of AIM. Mander’s underlying ideology of appropriation of the ideas of non-Western peoples and his Zionist race hatred of Palestinians and any who spport their struggle for human freedom degrades his thinking to the level of a crass, new age opportunism. Mander’s embrace of Zionism with a ‘ruthless consistency’ leads him to a ‘concious and willful’, systematic and fundamental distortions in his
thinking that discredits him and transforms his thinking into mere opportunist manipulation. [TXT]

60469. Claude, Patrice. "Jerusalem’s Orthodox Jews Win Right to Exclusive Buses", in Manchester Guardian Weekly, March 27, 1994, p. 15. The Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem has self-segregated themselves, and have strict gender segregation. They reject any contact with impure women. In order to preserve the strictest gender segregation, the municipality will now provide separate buses for the Orthodox Jews, to protect them against the general climate of ‘immodesty’ in Jerusalem. The entire city will pay for the special buses for the Haredim to be provided by Egged Ltd., the municipal bus line. Some critics observe that this is precedent for racial segregation of Jews from Palestinians on buses. [TXT]

60470. Cockburn, Alexander. "Beat The Devil: Michael Lerner", in Nation, December 25, 1996, p. 816. The ‘fearlessly’ smarmy prose of [Zionist] Michael Lerner is again emerging as a mass-media-marketed intellectual fashion. Returning to his status as a lite intellectual-celebrity after his quest for a racial pure Jewish breeder-girl in New York, he is now offering an effortless and painless ‘paradigm shift’ without political content. Significantly, most Americans are entertaining a quest for a paradigm shift but rather a ‘secure job at wages sufficient to keep them and their families alive, on a diet other than Fritos and soda’. In Lerner’s advertising campaign of ‘awe-inspiring vacuity, Lerner purrs: ‘We want to make America more productive and efficient by transforming every institution so that it tends toward the creation of loving and caring human beings... [in] a politics of meaning [that] is more like feminism than a specific political program...’

60471. Cockburn, Alexander. "Spy Networks I: the ADL", in Nation, May 3, 1993, p. 582. The ADL spy and intimidation scandal on the West Coast has been essentially ignored in the eastern press. Roy Bullock, ADL spy and FBI informant, along with former SFPD inspector Tom Gerard, were part of a national spy and intimidation campaign run from ADL New York. They targeted people and groups ranging from Rep. Ron Dellums, to Earth Island Institute, United Auto Workers, Jews for Jesus, and Act Up. Bullock was particularly important as a liaison between ADL and scores to hundreds of local police departments, and arranged indoctrination trips to Israel for American police officers, where they would be trained and briefed by Mossad and the Israeli secret police, Shin Bet. Bullock also marketed information of dissidents to foreign governments such as South Africa, who purchased information of Los Angeles Times journalist Scott Kraft, as well as on anti-apartheid activists. One interesting document discovered by ABC report James Barnford was a 7/7/1961 letter from ADL director Benjamin Epstein to Saul Joffe, which states: “Our information, in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge to each that we were the source”. Bullock who may be a closet Gay, was drawn try to help rescue detainees from the hands of the soldiers, sometimes with the help of Mossad and the Israeli secret police, with a kufiyeh and joined the youths stoning the soldiers. “In recent days of the uprising...”

60472. Cockburn, Alexander. "The ADL Spy Probe", in Nation, May 31, 1993, p. 727. There are continuing fears that political muscle will shut down the investigation of the ADL spy and intimidation network case being built by San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith. As the investigation starts to focus on senior ADL officials such as Irwin Suall, the ADL tries to defend its spy network by claiming it was targeting neo-Nazi and World Trade Center bombers. In the story by Robert Friedman in the Village Voice (5/11/1993), he falsely claims to have broken the story and takes the credit for others’ research. Friedman also allows Chip Berlet (Political Research Associates) to dismiss the importance of the ADL spy network, noting: the ADL “is a group whose leaders, at least, consistently defend the actions of Israel against critics, which is entirely inappropriate”, and “is a group that maintains an information sharing arrangement with law enforcement. Again, there is nothing wrong for a group to do that”. Cockburn concludes: “Berlet argues that it was some malign synergy between such ADL functions that led to trouble. In effect, he ‘OK’d the ADL’s venomous smearing of critics as anti-semites and then makes the amazing statement that there is nothing wrong with illegal acquisition and dissemination of privileged government information about individuals.” [TXT]

60473. Cohen, Na’ama. "The Soldiers Won't Be Able to Face Us Any Longer": Youths of Issawiya Exchange Views on Three Years of Intifada", in Challenge, January-March, 1991. pp. 14-15. Seven young people from the hard core of activists in the Jerusalem village of ‘Issawiya are gathered to speak of their lives and dreams, three years after the outbreak of the Intifada. Fatma, Suzanne, Ibrahim, Jasser, Khaled,Yousef and Ahmad—none of them are used to talking about themselves with strangers. Activities like organizing the village and confronting the army don’t leave much time for questions about the nature of the Palestinian state, the schools of the future, etc. The social changes, generated by the Intifada are described in simple, unpolished language. The two women in the group, Fatma, 30, and Suzanne, 22, arrived at the meeting out of breath. In the neighborhood they had come from, they say, soldiers had fired tear gas without provocation because they had found graffiti on the walls. The women, both unmarried, are active in a women’s committee and participate in the discussion without hesitating. Fatma was detained for 21 days in the Russian Compound. Her companion has not been arrested yet, but hopes to be so that she can go through what her friends and relatives have. “It’s a learning experience, she says. The presence of the two brings up the question of the role of women in the Intifada. Like everyone else, Suzanne would participate in the clashes with the army in the early days of the uprising. Only at the beginning was I afraid of the soldiers. From the moment I joined the demonstration, I felt nothing but anger at what they were doing to us. That's it. I'm not scared anymore. Not long ago her anger was kindled when she saw a little girl who had been injured by a tear gas canister fired into her house. She covered her face with a kufiyeh and joined the youths stoning the soldiers. “In recent months there have been many masked women throwing stones,” she says. “You can't tell the difference anymore.” “The organized women began by visiting the families of detainees and trying to help,” Fatma explains. “The people have stopped being surprised when they see a woman wandering around in a distant neighborhood at night. It’s become recognized.” After that, we would go to the Russian Compound to visit the prisoners. Slowly but surely the group of women expanded, so that by the time of the al-Aqsa massacre we could immediately organize two busloads of women to help. Women also take part in demonstrations and try to help rescue detainees from the hands of the soldiers, sometimes even grabbing them from inside the jeeps. “When I ask Jasser, 16, whether his sister participates, he shakes his head and says he does not allow her. “She helps with other things. I can’t stand it when the soldiers get rough with our girls, hitting or cursing them.” The women give him a look of disappointment. Ibrahim, a slightly older boy, explains: “Not all women participate equally. Each one has to overcome the resistance in her own home and to educate her father and brothers. It’s an individual battle which each woman fights according to her ability. It takes time.” When the Palestinian state is established, will the women -return to the home, as happened in Algeria? Fatma answers as one who has already dealt with the subject. The women in Algeria only participated in the national struggle. They weren’t organized in women’s organizations beforehand, and they didn’t conduct a social struggle to liberate women as we have. We won’t submit to any attempts to shut us up in the kitchens when we have our state.” In ‘Issawiya, the Intifada began on December 8, 1987, immediately after residents heard news of the traffic accident in Gaza, which killed four Palestinians and sparked the...
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 uprising. It hasn’t stopped since. Even in the quiet months which preceded the al-Aqsa massacre, clashes with the army were a daily occurrence in the village. Why here? “Because of the army’s provocation,” they answer in unison. Yousef believes it was a political decision to eradicate the Intifada in Jerusalem. The army would enter the village daily, detain residents, stand them against the wall and check their papers, make arrests, fire tear gas and rubber bullets, breed, without provocation. In October of this year, a total of earth were placed at the village’s entrances in an attempt to blockade it. Teachers couldn’t reach school, despite a promise from the army that they would be able to pass, and workers couldn’t get to their jobs. Eventually the villagers scaled the earth barricades and began removing them by hand. The army arrived and fired tear gas and bullets indiscriminately. This was when Suzanne masked her face for the first time. “Specifically because we are Jerusalemites they give us rough treatment, and we repay them in kind,” explains Yousef.

The question of Jerusalem elicits a lively discussion. Ibrahim says that when there is a Palestinian state, Jerusalem will have a united municipality. Jasser asserts that Jerusalem should indeed be united and all Palestinian. “We don’t want Jews,” he says, adding quickly, “but we’ll give equal services to everyone.” Yousef’s position seems more carefully considered. He believes Jerusalem will be the last problem to be solved, and will require deliberations within an international framework. “It will be divided again, but there will be economic and administrative relations and access to holy places,” he says. Perhaps in the distant future it will be united, but not right away. Opinions also differed over the increase in stabbings in recent months. “I’m happy with it,” says Khaled, the youngest of the group. “Just like they kill us, we’ll kill them.” Jasser too would support a policy of stabbings were it discussed among militants, because of the absence of documentation and the difficulty of proving an occurrence in the village. Why here? “Because of the army’s provocation.” Yousef takes a different view. He points out that stones are never thrown at Hadassah, an Israeli hospital which borders the village, because residents value the equal medical treatment they receive there. Ahmad stresses the importance of international legitimacy, asking the other members of the group why the Palestinian national movement stopped hijacking airplanes. “We have the Palestinian peace initiative and we are struggling to see it realized.” Ibrahim takes a different view. He points out that Knifing members of the armed forces—yes. Settlers—yes. But plain October 1987, have been operative. Whatever the commission’s recommendations of the Landau Commission Report, published in 1987, have been operative. Whatever the commission’s intentions to be charitable, we may say they were to limit the use of torture—its effects have been the opposite. Long-standing legal controls were swept away, not by changing the law but by high-level administrative fiat. Israeli law clearly prohibits the use of force by public servants and rules as inadmissible in court confessions obtained by force. The commission gave the Shabak what it wanted: the stamp of “kosherness” to carry on what they were doing anyway. The background and recommendations of the Landau report are by now well known. The commission was appointed to investigate the implications of the scandalous case of Izzat Natshe, an Israeli Circassian army officer who was sentenced to 18 years in prison in 1982 based on a confession of treason that had been obtained by force. The investigation found that the Shabak had regularly committed perjury for 16 years by lying about the conditions under which confessions were given. However, the commission recommended against prosecuting these law-breakers, regarding them as “ideological criminals” who had been fulfilling the noble mission of protecting the state. The report devotes more space to the record of false testimonies than to the interrogation methods themselves, which it said were “largely to be defended.” The message to the Shabak was apparently that, while the use of torture was acceptable, there needed to be a way to make it sound like something else to avoid lying in court. This was the latent function of the most notorious of the commission’s recommendations: to approve methods of “non violent psychological pressure” to extract information and, when these fail, the “exertion of a moderate amount of physical pressure. A still-secret section of the report describes methods used in the past and provides exact operational guidelines for the techniques now permitted. The report deserves more detailed attention than I have space for here.
Legal critics have rejected its attempt to adapt the "necessity defense" so as to give agents of the state advance permission to use physical force to extract information. Political critics have concentrated on the twisted reasoning which defines virtually every captured (Palestinian) suspect as a terrorist or an enemy of the state.

Any act of "political subversion—not only placing a bomb, but being a member of a political organization or even flying a Palestinian flag—has been considered as an enemy who is not entitled to normal rights and against whom special means" are permitted. The legal criticisms appear in a special edition of the Israeli Law Review (Summer 1989), and I have summarized the broader issues in an article in New Outlook (September 1990). The subject will be widely covered in a report that Dafna Golan and I are preparing for B'Tselem. It will include an analysis of the forms of ill-treatment and torture based on the experiences of 40 Palestinians interrogated during the last two years. The issue is now also being dealt with by the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, which was founded at the end of 1989. We understand that human rights violations like torture cannot be abolished until the overall political situation is transformed. But in the meantime, something must be done. Our task today is to raise public awareness by breaking the barrier of silence formalized by the Landau Commission. We work on three fronts: educational activity, for example a joint public symposium we organized in co-operation with the Association for Civil Rights in Israel in June 1990; individual casework, such as collecting complaints from lawyers and human rights organizations, taking them to the authorities and publicizing the evidence; and efforts to make public the secret part of the Landau report, possibly by filing a suit with the High Court of Justice. This legal submission does not have much chance of success. Israel does not have anything like a constitutional "right to know" or a Freedom of Information Act. But surely there is a political right to know what is being done in the name of the public good. There is no other supposedly democratic country in the world where there exists a secret handbook for interrogators which provides detailed guidelines for bypassing national law and violating the spirit of all international norms and human rights declarations. The material gathered by the committee and other human rights organizations paints a grim picture. The use of prohibited practices—prolonged sleep deprivation, hooding, forced standing with hands and legs bound, prolonged binding in the "banana position," intense beating for days on all parts of the body, etc.—has become routine. Women detainees in particular are subject to sexual harassment and threats. The only cases that break the barrier of secrecy involve false confessions which are later brought to light, and deaths in detention in which the interrogators "go too far" or the detainee is driven to suicide. One example of the former is Ismail Gholu, who in December 1989 was tortured in the Russian Compound to force him to confess to a murder which he had no connection. For as the latter, only one of the five cases of death in detention in the last three years has resulted in a criminal prosecution. Logically, such abuses can square with the secret parameters of the Landau report in only two ways. Either they are within the bounds of the permissible, in which case they should not be, or they lie outside, in which case the responsible Shabak agents should be brought to justice. We cannot know which applies until the secret is exposed. Stanley Cohen is a professor of criminology at the Hebrew University. He is a member of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel. [=]

60475. Collins, Liat. "Briefs: No Evidence Yemenite Children Were Harmed [in investigation of disappearance of 65 of 505 children carried out by Judge Moshe Shalghi]. The Yemenite community maintains the children missing between 1948 and 1954 were stolen and adopted by holocaust survivors."

60476. Committee for a Free Palestine. Lebanon: The Price of Blood: Part 8: The Price of Blood. Pamphlet. Eugene, Ore.: Committee for a Free Palestine, 1976. Against the background of a rising death toll which is estimated to have reached almost ten thousand during the year of conflict in the Lebanon, the most bloody and savage atrocities of the war were inflicted on the defenseless inhabitants of the Karatina district of Beirut when Phalangist gunmen seized the city slumland area. Karantina epitomizes the other face of Lebanon; hidden beyond the skyscraper buildings of the international hotels, multi-national companies and the apartment blocks of the Lebanon’s wealthy, lies the poverty and degradation experienced by the Muslim poor. As the Phalangists seized Karantina, more than two hundred civilians were massacred. Among those were the cold-blooded murder of the Muslims were Martin Meredith and Donald McCullin of The Sunday Times. Donald McCullin recalls: "The first killing I saw I took for a random event. I was running through the alleys with the Phallange forward line. Two men came out of a house with their women and children. The women and kids were driven away. I ran after them to photograph and as I came back I saw the two men falling. They had been shot at point-blank range. "Then in the centre of the ghetto, I saw a man shot in front of a wrecked bus. He was middle-aged, obviously a civilian. the man who shot him had an M-16, and he threatened to kill anyone who took pictures. As he spoke, I saw a woman lying face-down beside the dead, middle-aged man. I took them to be husband and wife—they were close together, and had a few possessions scattered around them. Someone had set the woman's clothes on fire. I began to assume this was part of a pattern."

The following day McCullin returned to Karantina, and his eye-witness account resumes: "As soon as we got into the area, we saw bodies everywhere. Not only men had been massacred, but women as well—though no children as far as I saw. There were bodies hanging half-out of windows, or in the middle of the street. There was a man lying beside his dog, who had been shot with him. In the eleven years I have been covering wars I have never seen so much human carnage. I suppose Martin and I must have seen seventy bodies. And we did not look into houses, or everywhere they could have been." [=]
there will be some technological bias by camera, by the culture itself. So why don't we control this? she wondered.

Issa Bishara, deputy chief editor for the group, told Al-Fajr that although everybody is trying to do their best, two weeks is not sufficient for such training.

"We need more time," Elsomiry agreed. "Although we are working from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., we need one or two more months." [c]


The report was a joint publication of the Israeli branch of Defense of Children International (DCI), a Geneva-based Non-Government Organization, and Israeli Mental Health Workers for the Advancement of Peace (IMUT), Entitled "Palestinian in the Occupied Territories," the study details the human-rights violations perpetrated against children in the occupied territories. These include the killing of 42 children under the age of 16 years since the beginning of the year, health issues, school closures and family reunification.

At the Knesset meeting, Israeli psychologists, an Israeli pediatrician, as well as representatives of DCI described the severe psychological and physical damage suffered by Palestinian children due to the military actions taken by the Israeli government. "Damaging children should ring all the alarm bells in our society," said psychologist Rami Bar-Giora. "If it doesn't we are regressing to other intolerable periods of history. It damages the child who is hurt, and almost certainly, the children that the victim will eventually bear."

The psychologists, members of IMUT, spent one day in the Gaza Strip to witness first-hand the effects of human rights violations which take place on a daily basis, and to talk to Eyad Sarraj, director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program. They reported to the caucus that Palestinian children are suffering from a number of symptoms, including stuttering, bedwetting and anxiety after watching or being victims of violence.

The Israeli pediatrician, who preferred to remain anonymous, asserted that many more children are dying than those cases reported in the press. He claimed that these are not the ones who die directly, but rather indirectly, due to reasons such as the military closure, which prevents most Palestinians from entering Jerusalem to receive necessary medical treatment.

She also related stories of children who were not able to take their dialysis treatment or who could only spend half the necessary time on the dialysis machines. She explained that this is due to the unavailability of such machines in the occupied territories and to the increased amount of time needed to reach Jerusalem because of the current transportation problems and checkpoints. [c]


Leaders of the caucus--Knesset members Benny Temkin and Naomi Chazin (both Meretz) and Yossi Katz (Labor)--said they would raise the issues in the report with Maj. Gen. Danny Rothchild, the Defense Ministry coordinator of activities in the occupied territories. [c]

60480. Cook, Mary C. "Youth Dead After Less Than 24 Hours in Israeli Custody", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly, June 21, 1993. p. 9. Nayef Fdeili died after spending less than 24 hours in Afula police station, four miles south of Nazareth. Arrested 5/29/93, the 22-year-old youth from the city of Tiereh, inside the "green line," was found dead in his cell 5/30/93. According to prison authorities, the youth committed suicide. However, Fdeili's family, suspicious of the circumstances surrounding Nayef's death, requested that the pathologist of their choice perform the autopsy at Abu Kbir Forensic Institute in Tel Aviv. Their request was refused by the Israeli authorities. The autopsy was performed soon after his body was discovered and the youth was buried 5/31/93. "The signs I saw on my son's body force me to accuse the authorities," Hasan Fdeili, the young man's father, cautiously told Al-Fajr in a phone interview. "We saw signs of beatings under the left ear, on the left shoulder, right jaw and lower stomach," he continued. "The results [of the autopsy] haven't been issued; I think they're playing games," the father said, alleging that autopsy reports rarely take more than two weeks to be issued. According to one of the lawyers hired by the family, Onor Avraham, autopsy reports from Abu Kbir Institute usually take two months, although the Fdeili's were told they would be given special treatment. The young Fdeili had a record of criminal activity. As a youngster, he served 51 months for robbing a bank. Another court case was pending against him at the time of death. The family has requested that there be an investigation into the cause of his death, and the case is now in Afula Court, the attorney told Al-Fajr. No hearing date has been set. A committee of lawyers in Tiereh was also formed to investigate the youth's mysterious death. One of the members of the committee, Mazen Da'a, told Al-Fajr that he believes that "Fdeili didn't commit suicide. He was near the police; he didn't have time to make such a decision. Such a decision needs time." Knesset member Hashem Mahameed (Hadash) visited the family just days after Fdeili's death to lend his support. He filed an enquiry with the Israeli Minister of Police, Moshe Shahal, asking for the exact details surrounding Fdeili's death. Mahameed told Al-Fajr that "regardless of what [Fdeili] did or didn't do, I want to investigate this." The MK expects a reply about a month from now. Fdeili, who was employed as a construction worker inside Israel, leaves behind his parents, four brothers, two sisters and many questions. [c]

60481. Cook, Mary C. . "Culture: Palestinian Fashion Helps Israelis Find Their Roots: Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993. p. 11, 15. Seven passengers were needed to fill up the Israeli taxi before it could leave for Tel Aviv. And it wasn't long before the car was full--oddly enough with four passengers from the West Bank including myself.

Feeling slightly uneasy after the recent rash of killings, both Arab and Jew, Lutfi Abu Omar and I set off for a new adventure in Ramat Gan, a suburb of Tel Aviv.

The Abu Omar family has had a shop in the Christian Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem for the past 17 years. Lutfi, the current shopkeeper, specializes in traditional Palestinian dresses and old photographs.

After a young Israeli student from the Shenkar College of Textile Technology and Fashion visited his shop this winter, Abu Omar received an invitation from the head of the Department of Fashion Design at the school to make a presentation about the traditional dresses worn by Palestinian women 60 or more years ago.

When I heard of the invitation, my curiosity took over, and I asked to be included. How would a class of young Israeli students react to a Palestinian shopkeeper teaching them about fashion?

Upon our arrival, we were extended a warm welcome by Ayala Raz, head of the department, and shown to a small auditorium. The students slowly trickled in and settled themselves in the uncomfortable auditorium chairs while Abu Omar prepared for the presentation.

It is forbidden for a Palestinian girl to make a relationship with a strange man, he explained in the beginning of his presentation. In order to tell people about herself, she translated her feelings into embroidery work.

In the past, Palestinian girls began to learn the art of embroidery at the age of five or six. They learned about the patterns and their meanings, as well as the meaning of the colors of thread to be used. Red meant hell; green meant paradise; gold meant personal pride.
Sarit Mondshein, the young Israeli woman who initiated the contacts, served as the model. Mondshein, with her long, dark hair and dark eyes could easily pass a Palestinian. And as she donned each piece of the costume—dress, shawl, face veil and jewelry—she was transformed into a traditional Bedouin woman of the Negev. Even her classmates and teacher were astonished at the transformation.

Pointing at her dress, Abu Omar explained the significance of each section of embroidery work. The zigzag pattern at the bottom of her dress described the relationship they young seamstress had with her parents and grandparents, as well as member of her own generation. The roses meant she had a love for people. [=]

60482. Cook, Mary C. . “Culture: Palestinian Fashion Helps Israelis Find Their Roots: Part 2”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993. p. 11, 15. Previously, men were able to determine a girl’s character by the colors of her dress and the design and colors of the intricate needlework. Today, Palestinian women scarcely pay attention to these old traditions and choose the patterns and thread colors as they like, said Abu Omar.

While our model stood on stage in the dress traditionally sewn by single women, Lutfi brought out another dress: red and blue embroidery on black material. This was an engagement dress. “This dress shows people she’s not available,” he continued. By wearing such a dress, it saves the family and potential suitors from possible embarrassment.

Finally, he pulled out the wedding dress, which was a bright display of colors and patterns, once again on black. According to Abu Omar, this particular dress portrayed a happy woman who was filled with pride.

At the time of her marriage, a young woman used to don the face veil, which enhances her beauty, he explained. And as we saw with Mondshein as she modeled the veil, it intensified her attractiveness while adding an air of mystery.

A face veil is always decorated with coins, Abu Omar continued. If a man was poor, he gave his bride 369 coins to sew on her veil. If he had an average income, he gave her 963 coins, and if he were wealthy, he gave her 9690 or 9630 coins.

According to Islam, God has 99 names. “They like to use denominations of this number as protection against the evil eye,” he pointed out.

Our model was now completely covered; only her hands and eyes showed—a lovely picture in her bright colors and veil.

Such clothing accomplishes three things, said Abu Omar. It makes the woman more beautiful; it shows she is following her religion, Islam; and she gives people some idea about herself.

On a sadder note, a dress for widowed or divorced women was brought out. A large part of the dress, starting from the hem, was covered with blue embroidery.

“It takes her five to six months to finish the bottom part of the dress. During this time, she can decide if she wants to marry again,” Abu Omar explained. This decision she then incorporates into her embroidery on the breastpiece and sleeves of her dress, once again using bright colors and patterns explaining her intentions.

The next dress Mondshein modeled was what is known as a Heaven and Hell dress. “Fellahin [countrymen] and villagers use different kinds of embroidery work from the Bedouins,” Abu Omar said as he pulled out the 120-year-old dress that used to be popular in the Silwan area of Jerusalem. [=]

60483. Cook, Mary C. . “Culture: Palestinian Fashion Helps Israelis Find Their Roots: Part 3”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993. p. 11, 15. Once again he explained that the red stripes of the dress meant hell and the green stripes meant heaven. The breastpiece was done odio in orange which signified that nothing can be perfect except for God. The color was also used to ward off the evil eye.

Abu Omar concluded his presentation explaining that during the time of the British Mandate 65% of traditional costumes disappeared.

“Some of the most important pieces are gone,” he maintained.

The Israeli teacher didn’t find it strange to be asking a Palestinian shopkeeper to her class. She said it was “natural to know about culture and tradition.”

I asked Mondshein the same question. She replied, “We don’t care about Palestinians and Jews, we want to know about the clothes—fashion. We don’t know anything about our roots in Israeli fashion. These are Palestinian dresses; it’s a part of the fashion of Israel because they are part of us, after all. There is no way to differentiate between the people.”

Her friend and classmate, Gili Gur, explained how she and Mondshein had gone to visit Abu Omar’s shop in the Old City. “It was great, very interesting. We didn’t have enough time to ask all the questions we wanted to ask.”

She added that she was sorry she could not visit Jerusalem more often, but she doesn’t feel comfortable there. She explained, “We’re Israeli; they don’t like us. We bought some little things in stores, and they looked at us like this is not our place. They didn’t act like we were in our own country.”

She continued, “I think it shouldn’t be like that; we should go there more. We should speak with them a little bit more and say that we are not enemies. We can live together.”

As for Abu Omar’s motives for giving such presentations, he insists it’s not the business. “Much more important is to prove who we are as a Palestinian nation. If you want people to know who you really are, you have to look for two things that are most important—the culture and tradition.”

He added that the dresses are “one of our papers to prove that we are the owners of the land.”

Why travel all the way to Ramat Gan? “[The Israelis] are my enemy. They occupied my territory, but I have to listen to their side, to their excuse. who knows, maybe I will succeed in changing their minds.

“We have to be close to each other to understand each other.”

What does he tell his children when he comes back from such excursions? “I prove to them that not every Israeli is a fanatic, or a terrorist, or a bad person. Like us, in the Palestinian nation, there are good people and bad people—every society has the same thing.” [=]
elementary and preparatory schools, feeding into the Jordanian system of secondary education. Students who want to complete their secondary education must go to government or private schools, after which they can go to Jordanian universities. Examination results in the UNRWA schools are significantly better than in other schools in the West Bank.

(8) There are three training centres. The Ramallah Women’s Training Centre was the first residential centre of its type in the Arab world. Funded by a private donation, it was closed down for a while because of lack of funding. The centre undertakes teacher training for the elementary cycle, and vocational training. 60% of the places are allotted to inhabitants of the West Bank and 40% to Gazans. The Ramallah Men’s Training Centre undertakes teacher-training for the elementary cycle, again with 60% of the places for West Bank inhabitants and 40% for Gazans. Both centres offer accommodation for those who need it. The Kalandia Training Centre undertakes trade courses and semi-professional/technical courses. The former type are designed for those coming out of preparatory school; the latter for post-secondary level. Courses last one or two years. Again, the 60%/40% quota system operates.

(3.2) Briefing at UNRWA headquarters: The main part of the briefing was taken up with explanations of how the present unrest is affecting UNRWA services. It was stressed to your rapporteur that the violence had now become routine, most not being reported by the media.

(a) Health services: The injuries are in three main categories. Firstly, there are injuries from beatings—bruising and bone fractures. There were stories of patients being beaten inside hospitals. Secondly, there are the effects of tear gas. Gas canisters are imported from the United States, Canada and Austria. They are thrown by hand, shot from guns or dropped by helicopter. Often they are used indoors, in homes schools, clinics and hospitals. Many of the canisters have marked on them: “Not to be used indoors. May cause death.” Tear gas causes not only tears, but confusion, suffocation, convulsions, vomiting and paralysis; it is thought to have a causal connection with bleeding, premature birth and abortions in pregnant women. In one night of trouble in Arrub camp, six abortions occurred. Old people and children are the worst affected by the gas; several babies have died from asphyxiation. The long-term effects are not known. There is also some evidence that gases other than tear gas are being used, given the range of effects, although this might be the result of the excessively high concentration of gas during the clashes.

(b) Relief services: The welfare programme operates on the Western pattern, where counsellors undertake home visits to assess people’s needs. The situation at present prevents this from happening. Occasionally, welfare workers have met with hostility, through the desperation of those they seek to serve. There is also a growing shortage of food in people’s homes, either because they cannot get out to buy it, or because they do not have enough money as a result of the strikes. The UNRWA welfare services have been transformed into emergency services—an “Emergency relief programme”, based on food donations from the EEC, individual countries, organisations and individuals, including Arab Israelis, has been established to attempt to relieve hardship which is inevitably increasing as curfews and other restrictions prevent refugees from going to work and earning.

(c) Education services: West Bank schools (including those in east Jerusalem) were closed from early February 1988 to late May 1988 on the instructions of the Israeli authorities. UNRWA education services on the West Bank were therefore immobilised completely. All children in the camps were affected by this, about 40% of the total camp population.

(3.3) Program in the West Bank: After being fully briefed by the Director of UNRWA operations in the West Bank, it was largely confirmed that the Israeli authorities have cut down UNRWA’s money for education and health services, your rapporteur was taken to camps in Bethlehem, near Hebron, and to a hospital in Jerusalem.

(a) Dheisheh camp: This camp dates from 1948 and now houses 7000 refugees, mostly from the area west of Hebron. It has been a trouble spot since well before the uprising, lying beside the road on which Israeli settlers drive to Hebron. The effect of the current situation in the occupied territories was immediately apparent in a way quite different from what your rapporteur saw in Syria and Jordan. Along the road is a tall wire fence, most of which was put up by the Israeli authorities before December 1987, as a measure against stone throwing from the camp at Israeli cars. Where UNRWA itself had put up a fence against this, the Israelis have put up a second, bigger one. The camp has three main entrances, two of which have been blocked since 8/1987 and 12/1987. This renders garbage collection by the municipality of nearby Bethlehem very difficult, and causes congestion on the one remaining passable road in the camp. The director of the UNRWA camp (a Palestinian) welcomed your rapporteur and explained that the inhabitants felt as though they were living in a cage and were deprived of their fundamental human rights. The first visit was to a supplementary feeding centre, run as part of the health services. Normally, food distribution is restricted to those under 6. Now, it is open to all under 10, and they are permitted to take food away for their families too. The children used to stay to eat, but now they go straight back to the safety of their homes. Children were in the streets, there being no school. Older children were not in evidence, keeping away from army patrols. There were open sewers in the streets, supplementing the system of cesspits. Your rapporteur was told of attacks by the military, which occur more than weekly. There were the remains of road blocks, reconstructed nightly to slow army progress down as warnings are passed around the camp. There are about ten cases of permanent disablement in the Dheisheh camp, some of which are organised to be responsible for this. There were also accounts of attacks by settlers. In 6/1987, armed settlers raided the camp, smashing windows and shooting holes in roof-top water tanks and solar heating systems (common in the area). This has happened more than once, and the army stands by while the trouble continues. Your rapporteur was then shown a sealed house belonging to a man who had served two years of a ten-year sentence. His family, meanwhile, makes do with half the house inaccessible. Finally, a visit was made to the youth activities centre, closed five years ago because it was suspected as a centre of political activism.

(b) Arrub camp: This covers the same area as the Dheisheh camp, but the population is smaller, about 5000. The camp is more isolated from local towns and villages. Two days before the visit, an eleven-day curfew had just been lifted; there had been two two-hour breaks in that time. The UNRWA office telephone had been cut off during the curfew, and there had been no electricity between 5 p.m. and midnight each day. The curfew followed clashes on 2/27/1988, during which two young men were killed, the second and third inhabitants of the camp to have died. The camp has two entrances, one of which was blocked more or less permanently; when the other is blocked there is no access for vehicles to the camp. There were piles of garbage by the road. Pending an agreement with the municipality of nearby Hebron, most rubbish is incinerated at present. In the streets there were UNRWA employees wearing tunics marked with a large “UN”; this is to afford protection following army attacks in which UNRWA employees have been casualties. Arrub camp has a lively youth centre with facilities for basketball, a games room and a library. The young people built it themselves, and it is now run by an autonomous committee. In the latest elections, religious young people took all the places. It was explained that Islam is seen as a positive way of representing Palestinian values and...
had nothing to do with religious fundamentalism. The committee organises community work, for example, helping old people out in the camp. Before departing, a visit was made to the family of one of the deceased. The imam of the mosque spoke with pride of their martyrdom for a just cause, the rights of the Palestinian people. It was emphasised to your rapporteur that the Palestinians were a peace-loving people who respected the rights of property and religion. They said they recognised the rights of the Jewish people and wished them no harm. But they wanted their rights to be respected as well and suggested that the original United Nations partition plan of 1947 should be implemented.

(c) Hebron: The outskirts of the town were totally deserted; a strange sight in the Orient. Debris and litter covered the streets, and all the shops were closed. From the road, a school converted into a detention centre could be seen. Hebron is the only town in the occupied territories with a Jewish settlement in the middle of it; it houses twelve families, Jews prepared to live in the midst of enormous hostility as pioneers claiming the Greater Israel (Eretz Israel). Next to the Arab market-place is a memorial to an Israeli that had once been killed there, and on the other side of the market, overlooking it, a large apartment block is being constructed for more settlers. The settlements, designed to be as close as possible to the site where Abraham settled, are placed in the most provocative positions possible. Your rapporteur visited the huge Herodian edifice over the tomb of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebecca, Leah and Jacob, which is a mosque on Fridays and a synagogue on Saturdays. It was noon on Friday—prayer time; after prayers is often a time of trouble. Soldiers were everywhere, along with some armed settlers who happened to be taking a stroll in the area at the time.

(d) The Maqassed hospital, east Jerusalem: Your rapporteur was greeted by Dr. Hani Abdeen, who gave a clear and sensitive description of the hospital's work and the type of injuries most common at the moment. The Maqassed hospital has one of the best views of Jerusalem outside the city, from on top of the Mount of Olives. It was opened in 1967 and is run like a district general hospital, funded by the Gulf states through the "Islamic Charitable Society". Very acute cases are still referred elsewhere, to Israeli hospitals. Israel has a system of private health care and health care insurance; many of the beds, however, are heavily subsidised by the Arab charities which fund the hospital. There are 26 doctors and about 200 nurses, all of Palestinian origin. Since 12/1987, the staff have been under great strain, both physical and psychological, in response to the large number of casualties and the nature of the injuries. By the time of the visit, they had had about 600 casualties—160 people suffering from gun-shot wounds, a number of severe beatings, and a large number of tear-gas victims—usually coming in only on an outpatient basis. The Maqassed hospital generally only takes more serious cases. Most cases get health care free of charge, 50% paid by the hospital and 50% by UNRWA. Dr. Abdeen emphasised the future problems that the medical services would have to face after the initial emergency is over. There will have to be a major rehabilitation scheme with special premises and a multidisciplinary and highly skilled staff. Some 40 people have been permanently crippled and many more have suffered physical damage with long-term effects. Following the briefing, Dr. Abdeen took your rapporteur to the wards to visit some of the patients and to see X-ray photographs of the effects of M16 bullets. Visits were made to several wards with young men in bed with various limbs in plaster. One young man had been shot twice in the leg with M16 bullets, and then beaten up and his arm broken. In one ward were several paralysed patients. One of these was paralysed from the neck down, having been shot and then run over by a reversing Israeli truck. Kafirs (traditional Palestinian head-dress) adorned the rooms and the pillows, to show that spirits had not been daunted despite the injuries suffered. [=]

60485. Crawford, Myles. "Hebron Simmers," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 6, 1995, p. 3. Hebron has not been quiet since the Taba Accords were signed. Thousands of Israeli settlers opposed to the peace agreements were bused in from their West Bank enclaves to hold a demonstration in the streets of Hebron 9/28/1995. Four cars belonging to Palestinian residents were vandalized and nine Palestinian houses were stoned during the day. The streets of Hebron were deserted and the shops were closed in compliance with a Hamas and Islamic Jihad Movement sponsored strike on 9/28/1995. The Egyptian Ambassador to Israel, Muhammad Basiouni, toured Hebron 10/1/1995. Mayor Mustafa Natshheh accompanied the ambassador. He said that Egypt supports the Palestinian position and demanded that the settlers be moved from the city so that the Israelis could be treated as other Palestinians. He said the people wanted their rights to be respected as well and suggested that the original United Nations partition plan of 1947 should be implemented.

60486. Crawford, Myles. "Palestine and People: Book Review of Prescription for Disability Laws", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, August 18, 1994, p. 14. "The Human Rights of Persons With Disabilities" by Angela Gaff (Al-Haq, 1994) pp. 140. No price stated This publication is a departure for Al-Haq. The Ramallah based human rights organization has published numerous titles addressing the Israeli occupation. This monograph maintains the concern with human rights, but addresses a matter of more universal concern—the rights of persons with disabilities. The disabled population of the occupied territories was substantially increased by the Intifada. The plight of the disabled is the subject of considerable concern among Palestinians. However, Angela Gaff's work shows that there is a legal vacuum which any new Palestinian legislative authority should fill. Gaff is an English solicitor who has worked with Al-Haq for three years. She initiated the Disability Project there. She is a member of the Steering Committee for Women's Justice and Law, and is currently engaged in work on Children's Rights. Gaff's monograph is not an expose about discrimination in Palestinian society, a phenomenon presumed to exist at no more virulent a level than in any other society. It is rather an examination of applicable law, and offers suggestions as to what laws would be progressive. Gaff begins by choosing her definitions from the most aggressive wing of the disability rights movement. The precise definitions of "Impairment," "Disability," and "Handicap" are perhaps most important for what they imply or declare about the causation of these conditions. This is to say that disability can be seen as a construct of attitudes and environmental barriers, and not a function of an individual's limitations. She chooses to posit that the environment is not a norm, but a variable which society should fashion to meet the needs of as many of its citizens as possible. From this conception of the problem flows a thorough plan to restructure society for the benefit of the disabled.

International law regarding the rights of persons with disabilities is surveyed. It is quite progressive, but utterly toothless. Gaff's work shows that there is a legal vacuum which any new Palestinian legislative authority should fill. Gaff is an English solicitor who has worked with Al-Haq for three years. She initiated the Disability Project there. She is a member of the Steering Committee for Women's Justice and Law, and is currently engaged in work on Children's Rights. Gaff's monograph is not an expose about discrimination in Palestinian society, a phenomenon presumed to exist at no more virulent a level than in any other society. It is rather an examination of applicable law, and offers suggestions as to what laws would be progressive. Gaff begins by choosing her definitions from the most aggressive wing of the disability rights movement. The precise definitions of "Impairment," "Disability," and "Handicap" are perhaps most important for what they imply or declare about the causation of these conditions. This is to say that disability can be seen as a construct of attitudes and environmental barriers, and not a function of an individual's limitations. She chooses to posit that the environment is not a norm, but a variable which society should fashion to meet the needs of as many of its citizens as possible. From this conception of the problem flows a thorough plan to restructure society for the benefit of the disabled.
explains the distinction between conventions or covenants signed by nations, and mere declarations or recommendations by United Nations’ organizations. Declarations only suggest standards, covenants are nominally binding but no actual sanctions are available before any forum against a state which contravenes a covenant that it signed. Suffice it to say that a fair bit of human rights protection for persons with disabilities can be extrapolated from those covenants which, in their agglomeration, constitute the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Also Gaff notes that the United Nations’ Declarations on the rights of retarded and disabled persons respectively, as well as three International Labor Organization Recommendations provide extensive details as to how nations might advance “non-discriminatory” societies in which persons with disabilities are assured “equal enjoyment” of access to jobs, education, services, and other things. Gaff explains how the Israelis have neglected the health system of the territories, and how this contravenes the Fourth Geneva Convention which the Israelis refuse to acknowledge as binding or even guiding as respects health care. The rates of the Israeli General Health Insurance program available to inhabitants of the territories are prohibitive for most, and not one rehabilitation center was built by the authorities during the twenty-eight-year occupation. Disability law in Israel is a mixed bag. Israel lacks a comprehensive or consolidated statute on the rights of the disabled. There is no provision specifically forbidding discrimination against the disabled in Israeli law, nor any mechanism for redress against such discrimination (inssofar as a prohibition of it might be construed from various legal sources.)

However, Israeli law does provide for education of the disabled in the “least restrictive environment,” and for their “systematic teaching and treatment.” The Israeli Social Security system is admirably civilized and well-funded. It includes, along with disability pensions, subsidies to help the disabled buy modified vehicles, and allowances to pay for nursing help. There are also laws providing for tax breaks and housing subsidies for persons with disabilities, and a public health system which provides hearing aid and prosthetic devices. The issuance of building licenses are contingent upon agreement to make the buildings accessible to the handicapped. Municipalities can provide vocational rehabilitation if their budgets permit it. Many of these considerable virtues are incorporated in the suggestions for a Palestinian consolidated statute. Gaff’s model includes: 1) A right to damages or reinstatement for discrimination in employment, education or services; 2) A requirement that the Israeli government place on employers that they “reasonably accommodate” disabled employees unless doing so imposes an “undue hardship;” 3) An imperative that Palestinian universities and schools be rendered accessible, and a guarantee of a right to education in the “least restrictive environment” whenever possible; 4) requirements for reserved seating on public transportation, and an aspiration to fund the installation of wheelchair lifts and curb ramps; 5) A Social Security system (like Israel’s); 6) a right to have access to cultural and political events facilitated by sign language interpreters and Braille publications; 7) A right to have the legal system provide “signers” and Braille as well; 8) Grants for adjustments to housing to make it accessible and accessibility conditions for building licenses enforced by monitoring and fines; 9) A campaign to raise awareness to combat the shame families feel which often inhibits the lifestyles they make available to their disabled members; and 10) A vocational rehabilitation system. Gaff’s prescriptions depart from the Israeli model and add features from American law which are more radical. Her goals are clearly laudable. Furthermore, the survey of basically ineffectual international law standards on these matters serve to demonstrate that her position is shared by some respectable company.

However, the “Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990” also requires that employers reasonably accommodate disabled employees, and otherwise make their accommodation by society a matter of right. It is expected to revolutionize the American legal industry. Gaff’s suggestions might have the unfortunate effect of fostering litigation. The American legal system is justly criticized for placing undue emphasis on individual rights as opposed to advancing communal resolutions of problems such as disability. The notion that the disabled should have a right to accommodation which they can enforce against employers should be carefully examined. Palestinians evince genuine concern for their disabled. It might be more fruitful to add incentives to bolster these sentiments, rather than to place the interests of the disabled and their potential employers in conflict, especially in the very communitarian Palestinian context. The most interesting section of this work is all too brief. The question of how disability and discrimination are defined deserves more examination before the Palestinian state embarks on a policy designed to ameliorate the lot of persons with disabilities. Budgetary constraints should also inhibit early efforts, lest a reach that exceeds grasp discredits the efforts. The status of the casualties of the Intifada, however, should surely be used to raise public awareness, and advance a progressive and humane vision of Palestinian society by such a law as this monograph prescribes. [=]
Jackson came to the defense of the Nation of Islam when its New York mosque was stormed by the New York Police, and in 1975 gave Farrakhan seminal political advice. Ironically, the silence of the press on the Nation of Islam, which is characteristically a rather closed community, led Farrakhan's attacks on Jewish leaders to be magnified in the press, while Farrakhan's attacks on Black leaders to be ignored: this distortion by the press made it seem as if Farrakhan focused on Jews while in fact Farrakhan attacked Jews and Blacks almost equally throughout. At the same time, Jackson had his problem with Jews, since Jackson had openly advocated peace between Israel and Palestinians, and peace talks between Israel and the PLO in 9/1979, a viewpoint that Jews vigorously resisted for another generation. In his 1984 presidential campaign, Jackson was wounded constantly by [Israeli-funded] Jewish Defense League goon squads, the Anti-Defamation League (Brnith League) conducted a covert national smear campaign against Jackson as an 'anti-semite,' and the New York Times staged almost daily attacks on the Jackson candidacy. However, typically politically motivated attacks on Black leaders by the White or Jewish press backfire. Then on 1/25/1984, Jackson was reported to call New York Hymietown: this lead to a firestorm of attacks on Jackson, and false charges against Black reporters that they had tried to protect Jackson from the charge (the only reporter who reported on the comment, Milton Coleman, who is Black): a speech by Farrakhan in which he threatened Coleman was edited by MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour to demand Coleman's death; this was followed by a report on ABC's Nightline in which several Farrakhan speeches were edited together to create an even more threatening image. Immediately, the US Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois started an investigation on Farrakhan, but no charges would ever be brought because speeches used in the news media, and upon which the investigation was based, were simply manufactured by the media and were false. Journalists raced to extract derogatory sound bites from Farrakhan: Don Hayer of Chicago-Sun Times would quote Farrakhan as saying: [the creation of Israel was] "an outlaw act," and that Israel had not had peace because 'she will never have any peace structured on injustice, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name'. While this immediately brought denunciations by President Reagan, VP Bush, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, Democratic candidates Walter Mondale and Gary Hart, there is no evidence that Farrakhan's remarks: rather Don Hayer merely fabricated the remarks. Farrakhan did say: They quoted me right on my statements where Israel is concerned. I did say Israel is an outlaw state and those that aided andabetted her coming into existence, taking the land from the Palestinians, that was a criminal act and they are criminals in the sight of Almighty God. That's exactly what I said." However, there was considerable outraging that Farrakhan labeled Israel as an outlaw state and that Farrakhan was accusing the US of war crimes for aiding in the creation of Israel. Finally, on 6/28/1984, Jackson disavowed Farrakhan.

Freed of his role in the national political forum, Farrakhan criticized Jackson for his apologies to Jews noting: It was foreign affairs that brought out fathers into slavery. This was one of the reasons I disapprove of Jesse Jackson apologizing to you. He apologized to you for the Hymie remark. What does he have to apologize for? Must he apologize for his association with his brother? And then you, with your pious, hypocritical self: We'll see if he's gonna do better now. But you know you won't run that game by me, will you? When have the Jews apologized for being involved in the slave trade that caused 100 million Black lives to be lost? When have you apologized? You didn't make any apology for that, did you? Y'all know how to read don't you? You better go read them. They put it all on the Arabs, as though Jews didn't have a part in it. You didn't apologize. You didn't apologize for putting my brothers and sisters to live in housing or apartments, charging them the highest rent for nothing. You didn't apologize for setting up liquor stores, though you don't drink too much yourself, feeding my brothers and sisters alcohol. You don't apologize. You don't apologize for sucking the blood of our poor people [so] that you might live well. You don't apologize for seducing a 19-year-old girl [Vanessa Williams, the first Black Miss America] and making her take off her clothes. You don't apologize. You don't apologize for selling her nude pictures to make a profit for yourself. You don't apologize for destroying the girl and her future for a profit. You don't apologize for your connection with South Africa. You don't apologize.' [TXT]


"Those diaries are cuckoo, let me tell you."—Syndicated columnist Bob Novak.

"His behavior has been despicable."— Eleanor Clift, Newsweek.

"He has no shame at all."—Kate O'Beirne, National Review.

"This guy didn't deserve the charity that he got."—Morton Kondracke, Roll Call.

Those comments, gleaned from two television talk shows, CNN's "Capitol Gang" and NBC's "McLaughlin Group," on 9/9/1995, only a day after Oregon Senator Bob Packwood's tearful announcement that he was resigning "for the good of the Senate," will serve as the political epitaph of one of the most revolting American political figures of this or any other century. Packwood's announcement followed by a day the recommendation of the Senate Ethics Committee that he be expelled and marked the end of an almost successful three-year campaign to head off just such an expulsion motion. It also ended one of the longest, closest and least reported relationships between any member of Congress and Israel's American lobby, dramatically illustrating two facts about that lobby and its congressional supporters. The first fact is that members of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Israel's principal Washington lobby, pledge openly that their support for a candidate will be based not upon questions of character, integrity, party affiliation or religion—but solely upon whether that candidate adheres to AIPAC instructions in voting for foreign aid for Israel and against arms sales to other Middle East countries. AIPAC dramatically redeemed that pledge when, as charges of sexual harassment and corrupt practices engulfed Packwood, his financial support from individual AIPAC donors continued, and Israel's supporters in the media visibly slowed and almost stopped backing Packwood's campaign for his expulsion. The second fact revealed by the drama is that eventually even the unsentimental support of what presidential candidate Pat Buchanan calls "the most powerful lobby in America" could not protect Packwood. It's a lesson worth pondering by some other unsavory congressional figures whose connections to or interests in their own constituents have lessened as their ties to AIPAC have strengthened.

Packwood first was elected to the Senate in 1968 when, at age 36, he was known as the "boy wonder" of Oregon politics. He visited Israel in 1971 and wrote of his first view of Jerusalem, "It was dawn as we flew over in a small plane, and the city glistered golden in the early morning sunlight." (His reference to Israel's "golden domes" in his rambling farewell speech was a reminder to Jewish supporters of the symbolic relationship that began with that trip 24 years earlier.) From that time on he began courting Jewish campaign donations with such AIPAC instructions in voting for foreign aid for Israel and against arms sales to other Middle East countries. AIPAC dramatically redeemed that pledge when, as charges of sexual harassment and corrupt practices engulfed Packwood, his financial support from individual AIPAC donors continued, and Israel's supporters in the media visibly slowed and almost stopped backing Packwood's campaign for his expulsion. The second fact revealed by the drama is that eventually even the unsentimental support of what presidential candidate Pat Buchanan calls "the most powerful lobby in America" could not protect Packwood. It's a lesson worth pondering by some other unsavory congressional figures whose connections to or interests in their own constituents have lessened as their ties to AIPAC have strengthened.
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rely on his good judgment, superb political and legislative skills, energetic leadership and friendship. He has been part of the pro-Israel forces in the Senate since the days of Sens. Jacob Javits (R-NY), Henry 'Scoop' Jackson (D-WA), Hubert Humphrey (DMN) and Clifford Case (R-NJ).

To him it was a matter of 'we' and 'us,' not 'you folks.' "Just how effective such appeals were both for the "Bob Packwood in 1999" committee, which raised $58,290 in 1993, and the Packwood Legal Defense Trust Fund, which collected $279000 in the first nine months of that year, were revealed by some of the names and contributions listed on the defense fund's filings to the Federal Election Committee. Among them were former Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations chairman Lester Pollack, $9,000; former AIPAC chairman Robert H. Asher, $5000; former AIPAC chairman Lawrence Weinberg, $2000; and national capital area pro-Israel activist Stuart E. Eizenstadt, former President Jimmy Carter's domestic policy adviser who currently holds a Clinton administration ambassadorship in Europe, $10. Strangely, throughout the increasingly desperate campaign on his behalf by the lobbyists he alternately served and exploited over the years, Packwood, the compulsive diarist, continued to dictate statements incriminating many of them into his current diaries even as he altered entries in the diaries of previous years which had been subpoenaed by the Senate ethics committee. In the end, Packwood stood virtually alone, deprived of the support of the wife he first betrayed and then divorced, estranged from his two children, abandoned by the lobbyists he so casually implicated, and finally forsaken by the Senate colleagues he had disgraced. Long ago Senator Packwood chose a vanity license plate for his personal automobile to symbolize his loyalty to the most powerful of the special interests upon which he had based his political career. Over the years that symbol evolved into both the personal credo and an unwitting prophasey for this most shameless of senators. It reads, "MASADA." [—]

60490. DC; ITA. Pakistan: Economic News. IMI-930210. District of Columbia: International Trade Administration, February 10, 1993. [This article is derived from a telegraphic report dated 2/10/93, prepared at the American Embassy - Islamabad. It discusses recent economic and commercial developments from Pakistan.]

ANTIBOYCOTT COMPLIANCE: Firms are reminded that the Export Administration amendments of 1977 and Export Administration regulations (15 C.F.R. Part 369) prohibit certain forms of compliance with foreign boycotts, including furnishing information or entering into or implementing agreements. This document or subsequent aspects of this transaction may involve conditions or requirements compliance with which is prohibited. Violators of US antiboycott law are subject to severe penalties including fines, imprisonment and revocation of export license privileges. Firms are further reminded that any United States person receiving a request for the furnishing of information, the entering into or implementation of agreements, or the taking of any other action which furthers or supports restrictive trade practices or boycotts must report such receipt to the Department of Commerce, in accordance with 15 C.F.R. 369.6. Information concerning US antiboycott laws and how to comply with them is available from the Office of Antiboycott Compliance, Room 6098, US Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230, (202) 377-2381 and from the Office of General Counsel, Room 1010, US Department of the Treasury, Washington, D.C. 20220, (202) 568-5525.

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

Subject: Pakistan Economic/Commercial Highlights - 1/1993

Overview: The Finance Minister has Revised Downward His Estimate Of 1992 Gdp Growth To 5.5%. Inflation Has Dropped Back To Single Digits (Annual Average Basis), But Depreciation Of The Rupee Accelerated, As The Trade Deficit Continued To Narrow. On The Political Scene, Tensions With India Persisted In The Aftermath Of The Recent Sectarian Clashes In That Country. On The Other Hand, The Domestic Political Temperature Eased, With The Government And The Opposition Making Overtures To Each Other. Opposition Leader (And Impeachable Nawaz Sharif Foe) Benazir Bhutto Surprised Everyone By Accepting The Chairmanship Of The Foreign Affairs Standing Committee In The Iji-Dominated National Assembly. Other Developments: (a) A "Pm's Award" For Private Exporters Was Established (b) The Government Of Pakistan (Gop) Raised Duty On Palm, Soybean Oils (c) Foreign Firms Seek Joint Venture Partners To Manufacture Spinning Machinery In Pakistan. (d) Usaid Funds Program To Attract Foreign Investment To Pakistan US And Pakistan To Negotiate Pl-480 Agreement 3m Plans Manufacturing Unit In Pakistan (e) Pak Domestic Auto Production Falls Sharply -- But Chrysler, Daewoo Group Plan New Assembly Plants (f) U.S Firm Wins Consultancy Contract For Pnsc (g) Pak Firms To Import Cotton From CiS (h) Kse Registers Depository Company (Para 19)

Macro Overview: Finance Minister Calls Half-Yearly Performance Mixed: (1) In His Pny 1992-93 Mid-Year Review Of The Economy (I.E., For The July-December 1992 Period), Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz Revised Downward The Gop's Estimate Of Gdp Growth For 1992 -- To 5.5% -- Weaker Than 1991's Performance Of 6.4%. He Blamed The Devastating September 1992 Floods And The International Recession For The Downward Revision. Sartaj Said The Federal Budget Deficit Target Ceiling Of 4.8% Of Gdp Will Be Exceeded Because Of The Same Factors Affecting Gdp: Higher Outlays And Weaker-Than-Projected Revenues Associated With The Floods And The World-Wide Growth Recession. However, He Does Not Expect The Gop Will Miss The Deficit Target By Too Wide A Margin. (Comment: Other Observers Are Not So Sanguine. End Comment.) He Noted Continuing Problems On The Revenue Side, With Government Revenues Increasing Only 7.0% In The First Half Of Pny 92-93, Against The Targetted Growth Rate Of 25%. The Minister Added That The Gop Intends To Limit To 15% Monetary Expansion For The Remaining Six Months Of The Current Fiscal Year (I.E., 1-6/30/1993). (2) According To The Finance Minister, The External Sector Has Performed Well In The First Half Of The Current Pakistani Fiscal Year: The Trade Deficit Narrowed By 17% As A Result Of A 12% Increase In Exports And Only A 2.0% Rise In Imports. In Addition, Foreign Exchange Reserves And Remittances From Pakistanis Abroad Were Up 23% And 13% Respectively, During The July-December Period. Sartaj Is Hopeful The Expected Bumper Wheat Crop Will Offset The Losses From The Reduced Cotton Crop, Damaged By Last Fall's Record Floods. (3) On The Political Scene, Tensions Between Pakistan And India Persisted, The Continued Fallout From The Destruction Of The Babri Mosque In India By Hindu Extremists In December. However, Relations Between The Nawaz Sharif Administration And The Main Opposition Party (Ppp), Led By Former Pm Benazir Bhutto, Eased Somewhat Following Bhutto's Acceptance Of A Major Parliamentary Post Offered By The Ruling Party: That Of Chairperson Of The Standing Committee On Foreign Affairs. The Month Also Saw The Unexpected Death Of One Of The Key Players Of The So-Called Power "Troika", As Chief Of Army Staff (Coas) General Asif Nawaz Succeeded To A Heart Attack. He Has Been Replaced By A Relatively Unknown Figure, General Abdul Wahheed. The New Coas Has Pledged To Continue To Support Pakistan's Democratic Institutions.

CPI Inflation Rate Down Slightly: After Entering Double Digits Last Month (10.4%, Annual Average Basis), Inflation, As Measured By The Consumer Price Index, Dropped Back To Single Digits -- 9.9% -- In December. On A Month-To-Month Basis, The Cpi Was Up 0.3% Over The Previous Month.

Trade Deficit Continues To Narrow: Pakistan's Trade Deficit For 7-12/1992 Narrowed To $1249 Million, $259 Million Less Than The Deficit Recorded During The Same Period A Year Ago. Merchandise Exports In The 7-12/1992 Period Were Up 11.6% Over The Same Period Last Year, While Imports Increased Only 2%.

Rupee Depreciates Further: Devaluation Of The Rupee Vis A Vis The US Dollar Accelerated In 1/1993, As It Fell 1.2% (Paisas 60490. DC; ITA. Pakistan: Economic News. IMI-930210. District of Columbia: International Trade Administration, February 10, 1993. [This article is derived from a telegraphic report dated 2/10/93, prepared at the American Embassy - Islamabad. It discusses recent economic and commercial developments from Pakistan.]
Forex Reserves Down Slightly: Pakistan's Foreign Exchange Reserves on January 21 Stood at $846 Million, Equivalent to About Five Weeks Worth of Imports. The Reserves Are Down From $1036 Million a Month Ago.

New Policy Initiatives: PM Announces Export Incentive Awards: To Motivate the Country's Export Sector, the Gop Has Established the Prime Minister's Award for Top Achievers in Six Export Categories. The Award Will Carry a Cash Prize of Rs, 1 Million (About $38,000) and Will Go to Exporters Who Demonstrate: (1) Highest Overall Exports; (2) Highest Exports of Engineered Goods; (3) Best Export Publicity; (4) Highest Unit Value in Textiles; (5) Introduction of New Export Products; and, (6) Highest Exports of Agricultural Products.

Duty on Palm, Soybean Oil Raised: The Pak Economic Coordination Committee (Ecc) Announced January 13 an Increase in Import Duties on Palm and Soybean Oil of, Respectively, Rs 500/Ton and Rs 1,000/Ton. The Ecc Justified the Increase on the Fluctuations in the International Price of These Commodities.

US Aid for Foreign Investment Initiative: The U.S. Agency for International Development (Usaid) Recently Executed a Grant Agreement with the Foreign Investment Advisory Service (Fias) to Support a Gop Program to Attract Foreign Investment to Pakistan. Fias is a Joint Facility of the World Bank, the International Finance Corp., and Miga that Has Collaborated Extensively with Usaid Worldwide. Fias Will Provide Expert Advice and Other Services to the Newly-Established Pak Investment Board (Plb) to Promote and Facilitate Foreign Investment in Pakistan.


Business and Industry Highlights: (1) Joint Venture on Manufacturing of Spinning Machinery: Two Leading Manufacturers of Textile Machinery from Japan and China Are Reportedly Negotiating with Pakistani Manufacturers on a Joint Venture to Produce Spinning Machinery in Pakistan. Toyota Tsusho of Japan and Shanghai Textile Machinery of China Have Supplied One-Third of the Six Million Spindles Now Operating in the Pak Spinning Industry. Competitors from Taiwan and Germany Are Also Vying for the Pak Market, Where Annual Demand is Currently One-Half Million Spindles. (2) 3m to Establish Manufacturing Unit in Karachi: 3m Representatives Recently Visited Pakistan to Begin the Process of Establishing a Small-Scale 3m Manufacturing Unit in Pakistan. 3m Current Exports to Pakistan, But Has No Direct Investment Here. The Plant Will Be Located in Karachi. (3) Daewoo Plan New Assembly Plants: According to Gop Sources, Total Domestic Auto Production Declined Sharpin 1991-92 -- to 99,000 Units. From 140,000 Units a Year Earlier. Most Observers Attribute the Decline to a Fall-Off in Production at State-Owned Plants Slated For Privatization. (4) On the Bright Side of the Auto Picture, Chrysler Representatives Recently Visited Pakistan to Explore the Feasibility of Establishing, as a Joint Venture, a Jeep Assembly Plant in Karachi. If the Project Goes Forward, the Plant Would Initially Produce 2,000 Units Annually, Eventually Increasing Production to 7,000-8,000 Units. (5) At the Same Time, Daewoo Motor Co., an Affiliate of South Korea's Daewoo Group, Will Reportedly Establish an Auto Assembly Plant in the Special Industrial Zone at Port Qasim, Near Karachi. The Group Signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Gop to Establish 24 Industrial Units, Including Textile Make-Ups, Autos, and Engineered Goods. Daewo's 1,600 Cc Taxi Version Is Now Being Imported Under the Prime Minister's Employment Promotion Scheme for the Transport Sector. After Suzuki and Toyota, Daewo's Would Be the Third Largest Auto Assembly Plant in the Country.

US Firm Wins Consultancy Contract for Pnsc: The Gop Has Selected an American Firm, Mercer Management Consulting, to Advise the Gop on the Privatization of Pakistan National Shipping Corp. (Pnsc) and the National Tanker Co. (Ntc), a Subsidiary of Pnsc. Cotton Export Target Unlike To Be Achieved; Industry Seeks Imports from CIS: Punjab Secretary of Agriculture Shazad Pervaiz Has Reportedly Said That the Cotton Export Target of 2.5 Million Bales for FY-92/93 Will Not Be Achieved Because of Production Losses from August's Floods and a Cotton Leaf Virus Attack. According to the All-Pakistan Textile Mills Association (Apmta), Members of Apmta Would Like to Import One Million Bales of Medium Staple Lint Cotton from the Central Asian States Because of Local Shortages.

KSE Registers Depository Company: The Karachi Stock Exchange (Kse) Has Registered the Central Depository Company of Pakistan With the Corporate Law Authority. Once Operating -- in About a Year -- it Will Handle Most Transfers of Shares Electronically and Thereby Substantially Reduce Back-Room Delays. Although Details Are Still Under Negotiation, CitiBank, the International Finance Corp., Kse, and Several Other Institutions Are Likely to Participate in the Firm. Monjo. [s]
6. Requests that Palestinian women in the occupied Palestinian territory be assisted in developing small-scale industry and creating vocational training centres;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to monitor the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the mission of experts [See E/CN.6/1990/10] in order to improve the situation of Palestinian women in the occupied Palestinian territory;

8. Also requests the Secretary-General to continue his investigation of the situation of Palestinian women and children and to report to the Commission on the Status of Women at its thirty-sixth session on the implementation of the recommendations and conclusions contained in the report of the mission of experts.” [12th plenary meeting 5/30/1991.] [=]

60492. DPR. “Economic & Social Council Adopts Three Resolutions and One Decision Relevant to the Question of Palestine: Resolution 1993/15: Situation Of and Assistance to Palestinian Women”, in DPR, July 1993. At its substantive session of 1993 held from 6/28 to 7/30 at Geneva, the Economic & Social Council adopted the following:

"The Economic & Social Council,

Having considered with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the situation of Palestinian women in the occupied territory [E/CN.6/1993/I0:] and previous reports concerning the situation of Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied Palestinian territory,

Recalling the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, in particular paragraph 260 thereof,

Recalling also its resolution 1992/16 of 7/21/1992 and its other relevant resolutions,

Deeply concerned about the additional suffering of women and children living under occupation,

Expressing special concern about the tragic situation of the Palestinian women in the occupied Palestinian territory, which has been dangerously deteriorating at all levels,

Deeply alarmed by the deteriorating condition of Palestinian women and children in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, as a result of the continued Israeli violation of Palestinian human rights and oppressive measures, including collective punishments, curfews, demolition of houses, closure of schools and universities, mass deportation, confiscation of land and settlement activities and denial of family unification, which are illegal and contrary to the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 8/12/1949 [United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 973].

(5) Requests the Secretary-General to assist in and review the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the mission of experts.” [12th plenary meeting 7/8/1993.]

(60493. DPR. “Part 05: Plenary Discussion B: Plenary 3(1): Strengthening Civil and Social Structure”, in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. (76) Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj, Director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, described the situation in Gaza after the implementation of the Cairo Agreement had begun as safer, more secure, and happier. Before, there had been a campaign of terror, Palestinians against Palestinians, in addition to the difficult economic situation, poverty and unemployment. At the same time, he stressed that the occupation had not ended, and that the settlements were still there.

(77) He said that the Palestinian society was basically patriarchal and tribal and had been collectively traumatized. These were important characteristics because they would bear on the future of the Palestinian community, and because they had to do with authority, democracy and leadership. Because of the lack of democracy, Palestinian society had reached a devastating stage.

(78) Palestinian society had developed characteristics of “victim psychology”, which in many ways was a mirror image of the Jews, of the Israelis. Characteristically, the Palestinian community had become helpless and dependent on its aggressor and paradoxically defiant. For centuries, Palestinians had been alienated from the authority and had cultivated many methods of manipulation. But now was a new era in which Palestinians had to identify with the authority, and that had to be learned collectively.

(79) He went on to say that in the past seven years about 88000 Palestinian youths had been jailed and according to the International Red Cross Committee in Gaza, 75% of them had been systematically tortured. About 60000 Palestinian children in Gaza, below the age of 15, were suffering from some emotional problems that were the direct result of trauma at the hands of Israeli soldiers. They needed psychiatric intervention and other forms of therapy, in particular to break the cycle of violence that was being perpetuated from generation to generation.
Figure 60493. Percentage of the 80000 Palestinian Children Jailed in The Gaza Strip Reported By The International Red Cross Committee in Gaza To Have Been 'Systematically Tortured'.

(80) He expressed the view that funding, power and authority should not be centralized in the hands of the Palestinian Authority but should be shared with the Palestinian non-governmental sector. That was not a question of confrontation but rather a question of building a new culture in which NGOs could contribute to the Palestinian Authority as much as the latter could contribute to the democratic experience and development of the country. There would be no building of a Palestinian society without democracy and participation.

(81) Ms. Zahira Ramal, Coordinator for Women's Affairs Technical Committee, aid that NGOs would have an important role to play in the construction of a civil society. She emphasized the importance of construction and development as the Palestinian self-rule government would have the responsibility of proving that the agreements would lead to an improvement in living conditions. She called upon the donor countries and the World Bank to fulfil their promises.

(82) She stressed the importance of building a civil society in an environment that did not motivate such a society. The Authority had to prove to its own people and to the international community that positive and visible changes were taking place concerning human rights and democracy.

(83) She called for the participation of the whole community in fulfilling the need for a quick and sustainable development. That implied that NGOs and the private sector should be encouraged to continue their role in providing services for the Palestinian people. This would contribute to a healthy environment and a constructive competition.

(84) Democratic education was also required. There would be a need to establish organizations whose basic role would be to explain and teach the principles of democracy and the ways of democratic participation and to observe any violation. Various organizations of that kind had emerged recently, women's organization most prominently.

(85) Ms. Kamal called upon the international community and United Nations agencies: to ensure that Governments would keep their promises for support, accelerate the peace process and its implementation; to support the Palestinian NGOs to enable them to perform their tasks; to promote institutional-building; to provide training for the observation of the democratic process in all aspects, especially in the training of women cadres; to support the Palestinian economy and encourage the establishment of relations with counterparts in different countries; and to observe the implementation of the Agreement on the part of Israel. She called upon NGOs to ensure, through peace watch groups, that Israeli activities during the interim period did not endanger the forthcoming negotiations for the final period, especially with regard to settlements and East Jerusalem.

(86) Mr. Norman Cook, Director of Non-Governmental Organizations, Canadian Partnership Branch of CIDA, described the special relationship between the Canadian Government and the Canadian NGO community and stated that in 1994, 27% of all Canadian development aid had been managed effectively by some 400 NGOs; that percentage was likely to grow over the next few years. The trend was towards increased partnerships with the NGO community was growing throughout the donor community and Governments everywhere were coming to recognize the key role of NGOs in securing and advancing democratic development.

(87) Mr. Cook added that the relationship between the NGO community and the Government of Palestine was the product of this work. He emphasized the importance of defining a framework and a strong contractual relationship between NGOs and the Government and engaging in a process of consultation.

(88) Mr. Cook said that NGOs should be able to establish their autonomy vis-à-vis the Government. They should be prepared to share costs and not become overly dependent. That was true not only in Canada, but also in the United States and in the Palestinian territory. It was also important to establish and encourage partnerships with NGOs in developing countries, in order to make better selections and to develop the right criteria for overseas funding.

(89) He pointed out that 27% of Canadians had their origin in developing countries, including a fair number of Arabic-speaking Canadian Muslims and Palestinians. That fact was beginning to be reflected in the membership and funding base of Canadian NGOs interested in the region.

(90) He encouraged the emerging Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian NGOs to work in a consultation process and on the development of an appropriate framework for ensuring a healthy working relationship. Canadian and North American NGOs should be supportive of both the framework and the consultation process. He stressed the importance of issues concerning women and youth for future assistance programmes. [=

60494. DPR. "Part 06: Plenary Discussion B: Plenary 3(2): Development and the UN System: (a) Promoting Human Rights", in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. (91) Ms. Janice Abu-Shakrah, Director of PHRIC, focused her presentation on how NGOs could more effectively use the United Nations system to promote human rights, both in relation to human rights violations under Israeli military occupation and in support of the State-building process that would promote and protect human rights. In particular, she made the following suggestions: (a) To utilize the human rights treaty-monitoring bodies to expose Israeli violations of human rights by producing alternative reports or critical appraisals of Israel's reports to those bodies, e.g., the Committee against Torture, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the Human Rights Committee, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women; (b) To begin to address the legacy of occupation with a view towards achieving corrective justice and restitution for the victims of human right violations through, e.g., the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and the mechanisms dealing with issues like impunity and compensation for gross human rights violations; (c) To explore and utilize the multiple avenues for guidance and technical assistance relevant to issues of self-governance such as development and promotion of a constitutional process, election awareness, human rights training for the police and other civil servants and the development of human rights education programmes in the schools and for the general public and other areas; (d) To utilize the Special Rapporteur and working groups of the Commission on Human Rights on a wide range of issues, not simply as depositories of reports, but as active consultants in exploring ways to direct NGO strategy and to influence policy formation. (92) She described how PHRIC and other NGOs were preparing an alternative report to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, focusing on Israeli forces of forced eviction and the creation of homelessness, against Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. In her view, that use of the human rights mechanisms could also be an effective means for organizing local and international campaigns utilizing the NGO network advocating Palestinian human rights and for empowering NGOs. [=

60495. DPR. "Part 10: Annex I: Statement of Affirmation Issued By The North American Coordinating Committee for NGOs On The Question of Palestine", in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. (1) The American and Canadian organization participating in the Eleventh United Nation North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine reaffirm our commitment to a the Palestinian people in implementing the national and individual right recognized by United Nations resolution 194. These rights include the right to self-determination and to statehood, the right of refugee to return or to be compensated and the right to territory and property confiscated, seized or annexed in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. We affirm as well the right of victims of torture and maltreatment to compensation and to access to effective...
programme aimed at their rehabilitation.

(2) We note with alarm continuing Israeli settlement activity in occupied East Jerusalem and its environs, the continuing confiscation of Palestinian land in the Wet Bank and the continuing use of torture and of other repressive measures by Israel in the occupied Palestinian territory. We further note the grave and deteriorating economic situation in Gaza and the Wet Bank. For the sake of peace and human decency, these issues must be addressed by the international community.

(3) We are hopeful that the establishment of the interim Palestinian self-governing authority in Gaza and Jericho will prove to be an historically significant step toward the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination within the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem. We urge the speedy replacement of the Israeli occupation by that self-governing authority to expedite a process toward a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinian people.

(4) We believe that the interim arrangement established in accordance with the Declaration of Principle requires renewed commitment to moral, political and material support for the Palestinian people. We support the Palestinian people’s effort to establish civil society and democratic institutions in territory till under Israeli control. We look forward to the time the Palestinian people’ right to self-determination is fully exercised, marking the end of Israeli occupation. Until that time, we recognize we must continue to provide humanitarian assistance and other means of support for the human and political right of Palestinian. We will join with Palestinian and Israeli colleagues in effort to end Israeli practices of torture, its establishment of illegal settlements, and its maintenance of these settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem.

(5) We reaffirm our commitment to support and work with those in Israel seeking an end to the occupation and a just and peaceful resolution to the conflict based on the principle of international law, the Charter of the United Nations, and the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination. We further affirm the partnership that has emerged between the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the organized NGO communities in North America and internationally.

(6) We believe that more of our work should now focus on development which empower Palestinian to build civil society within the occupied Palestinian territory. We also believe that we should continue to promote respect for human rights and to support the full implementation of the right to self-determination within the Wet Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. We are especially mindful of the need of Palestinian children who comprise over 50% of the Palestinian population in the occupied Palestinian territory. We are disturbed by the extent to which they have been targeted physically, educationally and emotionally. We are fully aware of the importance of addressing their social need in order to build civil society and establish real peace in Palestine.

(7) Finally, we pledge to develop and expand our networks to offer all possible assistance in helping to achieve these goals. [-]

60496. DPR. “Part 11: Annex II: Workshop Reports: A. Workshop I: Economic Development”, in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. (1) The workshop on “The Palestinian women’ experience in development” combined with the NACC Standing Committee on Mobilizing Women discussion, recognize the importance of the many contribution of Palestinian women living under occupation and in the diaspora, especially their active and participatory role during the intifadah, with the realization that the Israeli occupation continues to exit. It also recognize that the “Palestinian woman” experiences in the struggle for national rights overshadowed the issues of social development and rights.

(2) Reaffirming the belief in and commitment to support Palestinian women’s development in social, cultural and economic sector of her society, and human right monitoring, the workshop and the Standing Committee: (a) Expresses deep concern about the gender-based discrimination and victimization of women under Israeli occupation and in various sectors of Palestinian society; (b) Strongly urge the full participation and representation of Palestinian women in all sectors of Palestinian society which include social, economic, cultural and political decision-making and policy confirmation; (c) Strongly support the development of enhanced working partnerships between women and men in all realms of institution- and infrastructure-building and among North American and international NGO; (d) Urge all United Nation agencies and NGOs to support the protection and development of project that enhance the improvement of Palestinian family Life during the transitional period; (e) Support the development of an NACC Women’ Resource Directory (electronic mail database) which would include the specific area of individual women’ expertise/specialization with the purpose of information sharing and strengthening the development of women’s educational/leadership abilities in all sector of society; (f) Urge NACC and all relevant United Nation agencies to ensure that the World Bank and other donor nation honour their pronouncement to the Palestinian people; (g) Pledge to ensure that an equitable representation of women’s social and national right issues are included in future United Nations and NACC forum on the question of Palestine. [-]

60497. DPR. “Part 12: Annex II: Workshop Reports: A. Workshop I: Economic Development”, in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. (1) The workshop on “The Palestinian women’ experience in development” combined with the NACC Standing Committee on Mobilizing Women discussion, recognize the importance of the many contribution of Palestinian women living under occupation and in the diaspora, especially their active and participatory role during the intifadah, with the realization that the Israeli occupation continues to exit. It also recognize that the “Palestinian woman” experiences in the struggle for national rights overshadowed the issues of social development and rights.

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Follow-up:
(6) Committee Chair Leila Diab disseminated a package of information on the Committee and its proposed projects. Included was a directory of all those who participated in Committee meetings and workshops at Toronto, as well as a copy of the Committee resolution. A sample questionnaire for NGOs interested in inclusion in the women's electronic-mail database was also created. The Committee planned to finalize the questionnaire and to disseminate it in order to gauge interest in the project. [=] 60499. DPR. "Part 17: Annex III: Report of Standing Committees: D. Human Rights and International Law", in Eleventh United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Held in Toronto, Canada 7/6-8/1994. New York: Division for Palestinian Rights, July 8, 1994. [Facilitator: Peter Lems.] (12) During meetings and workshops throughout the Symposium, it was discovered that many people were unaware of the available resources and networks comprised of Palestinian and Israeli human rights organizations. Committee members resolved to produce a resource paper which would enable interested parties to contact producing material both internationally and within Israel-Palestine.

(13) As a follow-up, the NACC Standing Committee on Human Rights and International Law has completed its resource directory for human rights organizations. It is available through the NACC office and through Committee Chair Peter Lems.

(14) Two major themes emerged as pressing human rights issues in the occupied Palestinian territories. First, Committee members outlined a one-year campaign around the status of Jerusalem. The initial step would involve the development of a platform on the ground among Palestinian and Israeli organizations. This platform would then serve as the basis for an alternative report examining Israel's compliance with the covenant of economic, social and cultural rights. The Committee set a specific timeline for these first steps to be taken by 11-12/1994. Once local organizations helped North American NGOs identify important issues, international NGOs working in Jerusalem would be approached for support. Second, an international campaign would begin in 1/1995, and the alternative report would be presented before the Committee in 5/1995, in conjunction with Israel's own report on its compliance with the guidelines of the covenant.

(15) A campaign on behalf of women and children prisoners was also suggested. The campaign would not ignore the thousands of other Palestinian political prisoner, but would highlight the fact that those vulnerable groups had been ignored in the negotiating process. Women prisoners had not been released following the signing at Cairo on 5/4/1994 of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, in accordance with the stipulations regarding prisoner release. [=]


(2) Canadian Autoworkers' Social Justice Fund: Tony Wohlforth, 205 Place Court, Willowdale, ON M2H 3H9 Canada.

(3) Canadian Council of Churches: Robert Assaly, 40 St. Clair Avenue, East Toronto, ON M4T 1M6 Canada.

(4) Centre d'études arabes Pour le développement: Jawad Squalli, 3680 rue Jeanne-Mance, Bureaux 450 Montreal, Quebec H2X 2K5 Canada.

(5) Episcopal Church - USA: Jane Wolfe, 815 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10017 USA.

(6) Methodist Federation for Social Action: Shirley Stevens, 76 Clinton Avenue, Staten Island, NY 10301 USA.

(7) Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation: James Graft, 106 Duplex Avenue, Toronto, ON M5P 2AJ Canada.


(9) Palestine Human Rights Information Center - International; Peter Lems. 4201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 500 Washington, D.C. 20006 USA.

(10) Presbyterian Church - USA: Victor Makari, 100 Witherpoon Street, Rm. 3412, Louisville, KY 40202-1396 USA.

(11) Union of Palestinian American Women: Leila Diab, P.O. Box 2164 Bridgeview, IL 60455 USA.

(12) Union of Palestinian Women Association in North America: Maha Jerad, P.O. Box 29110, Chicago, IL 60629 USA. [=]
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Israel-Palestine

www.ReferenceCorp.net/downloads

(3) Dr. Anis Al-Qaq, Member of the Coordinating Committee for NGO on the Question of Palestine in the occupied Palestinian Territories and Member of various medical and civic organization, including the Dental Association in the West Bank (Chairman in 1985-1990), Palestinian Medical School Committee, and the Executive Committee of Higher Education Council in the Occupied Territories.
(4) Mr. Naseer Aruri, Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts in Dartmouth.
(5) Mr. Aaron Back, staff member of B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, and editor of the B'Tselem Human Rights Report.
(6) Ms. Phyllis Bennis, radio and print journalist based at the United Nations.
(7) Mr. Norman Cook, Director of Non-Governmental Organizations, Canadian Partnership Branch of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).
(8) Mr. Francis Duboi, Senior Programme Officer, Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People of UNDP.
(9) Mr. Mervyn M. Dymally, retired Congressman, United States House of Representatives.
(10) Mr. Larry Ekin, Chairman of the North American Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (NACC) and Director of Outreach for the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Washington DC.
(11) Dr. Eyad Rajab El-Sarraj, Director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme.
(12) Zahira Kamal, Coordinator for Women's Affair Technical Committee, and Project Manager of Women in Development, a programme funded by UNDP.
(14) Mr. William Lee, Chief of the Liaison Office of UNRWA in New York.
(15) Mr. Peter Lems, Director of the Paslehtine Human Rights Information Centre (International).
(16) Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director of the General Assembly and Trusteeship Council Affairs Division of the UN Secretariat.
(17) Mr. Marc Perron, Assistant Deputy Minister, Africa and Middle East Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada, and Chairman of the Multilateral Working Group on Refugees.
(18) Mr. Jawad Sgalli, Chairman of the Board, Centre d'études arabe pour le developpement.
(19) Workshop Moderators and Resource Persons: Janice Abu-Shakrah; Federico Alassia; Robert Essawy; Phyllis Bennis; Aaron Back; Jean Couturier; Leila Diab; Eyad Rajab El Sarraj; Sameh Hassan; Zahira Kamal; Sarah Kaminker; William Lee; Peter Lems; Victor Makari; Nancy Murray; Taleb Salhab; Peter Wirth; Tony Wohlforth; Rhonda Zahnare.

60504. DPR. “Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine is Held In New York From 6/30-7/2/1993”, in DPR, July 1993. The Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine on the theme "Building for Peace and Palestine: Priorities for the Second Decade of the NGO movement", was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6/30 to 7/2/1993 in accordance with General Assembly resolution 46/74 A of 12/11/1992. The Symposium followed the thirty-third United Nations Seminar, which took place on 6/28-29/1993. The Symposium was attended by representatives of 56 NGOs from the United States and Canada, 7 as observers. Also present were a number of governmental and intergovernmental observers as well as representatives of United Nations specialized agencies. H.E. Mr. Alcibiades Hidalgo Basulto (Cuba), Vice Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, chaired the opening and closing sessions of the Symposium. The opening session was addressed by the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, who read out a message from Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Mr. Larry Ekin, Chairman of the North American Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (NACC), served as Moderator of the Symposium. The Rev. Ibrahim Ayad, President of the Palestine Committee for NGOs, addressed the closing session. Five plenaries were established. The first considered the main topic of the Symposium "Building for peace and Palestine: priorities for the second decade of the NGO movement". Statements were made by: Mr. Don Betz, Chairman of the International Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine and Vice-President of University Relations at Northeastern State University, Oklahoma; Mr. Paul Findley, former Member of the United States House of Representatives; and, Mr. Asmi Bishara, Professor of Philosophy at Bir Zeit University. The second plenary was entitled "Rights, resources, refugees: the need for protection". Papers on this subject were presented by Mr. Jonathan Kuttab, a human rights lawyer and Director of the Mandela Institute for Political Prisoners in the West Bank; and, by Mr. Muhammad Hallaj, Director of the Centre for Policy Analysis on Palestine and a Member of the Palestine National Council. At the third plenary, entitled "Ending the occupation: a prelude to peace and security", presentations were made by Ms. Koni Ben Efrat, an Israeli peace activist, a founding member of "Women in Black" and also a member of the editorial staff of Elter/Challenge magazine; Mr. Muhammad Hallaj; and Mr. Atif Kubursi, Professor of Economics at McMaster University, Canada, and adviser on refugee issues to the Arab League and Minister of External Affairs of that country. The fourth plenary heard reports and recommendations from the five workshops of the Symposium and the seven standing committees established by NACC to strengthen NGO coordination and cooperation. Workshops were held on the following topics: Media skills and stereotyping; The Clinton Administration and the United States Congress: assessing the opportunities; Assumption protection: United Nations and the Fourth Geneva Convention; Seeds of a new society: the welfare of women and children; underoccupation; and Refugees and invisible transfers. The standing committees took up the following themes: government and public policy; human rights and international law; material aid and economic development; media and public education; mobilizing religious organizations; mobilizing labour; and mobilizing women's organizations. The fifth plenary, entitled "NGO priorities for the second decade", heard statements from: Mr. Don Betz; s. Mia Adjali, Director of the United Methodist Office for the United Nations; and, Mr. Jim Graft, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Toronto and Vice-Chairman of NACC. The participants elected a new Coordinating Committee for the North American region and charged it with preparing a final report to guide NGO action for the future. The full report of the Symposium will be issued in due course as a special bulletin of the United Nations DPR. [=]
launched in Amman, Jordan, during the Arab Regional Preparatory Conference for the Fourth World Conference on Women on 11/5/1994. Women in a traditional Palestinian society had limited or no access to formal resources, services or political power, according to the report. They were restricted to the private world of their homes and to household-related activities, while men earned income outside the home and made important decisions. With the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, a significant part of the Palestinian population was dispersed as refugees, displaced persons, migrant workers and political exiles. Today, an estimated three million Palestinians live abroad, while only two million live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Women became wage earners, fighters, refugee camp workers and heads of household.

Currently, women head almost 40% of the households in the West Bank. The report identifies three priority areas for action:

1. Governance -- women have had no representation in the local municipal administration and village councils -- the only form of self-government in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. 'Attempts should be made to raise the consciousness of municipal authority representatives and village councils to introduce the mechanisms for responding to women's needs,' says the report. 'The first and foremost policy action regarding the establishment of the Palestinian civil service should be a proclamation that it will be an equal opportunity civil service,' it states.

2. Human Resources Development -- human resource development for women both in vocational and training facilities, tends to focus on skills in traditional areas, including sewing, typing and hairdressing. 'As economic opportunities expand, it is essential that women have access to diversified training,' says the report.

3. Economic Participation -- the economic contribution of Palestinian women is often overlooked because of low economic participation rates and small or no remuneration in the agricultural and service sectors, where women are mostly employed. During reconstruction, 'it is essential that systems being put in place take into account women's economic role and ensure that women are included in the economic rejuvenation.' Credit facilities, which play a role in this process, should be accessible to women. The report calls for partnership between men and women if Palestinians are to succeed in their quest for independence and prosperity. 'History is full of examples demonstrating that, while women actively participate in pre-independence political struggles in various parts of the world, they are often excluded from public life once independence is attained,' says the report. It concludes that Palestinian people and their leaders can either seize the opportunity to build a society based on equal and full partnership or risk losing the vital contributions of one half of the population. At the Crossroads: Challenges and Choices for Palestinian Women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is published in English by UNDP. It is available free from UNDP, Gender-in-Development, Room: DCI-2032, One United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, Tel. (212) 906-5091.[c]

60506. DPR. "UNICEF Executive Board Adopts Resolution Calling For Assistance To Palestinian Children", in DPR, May 1991. At its 1991 regular session, held New York from 4/22-5/3/1991, the Executive Board of UNICEF adopted the following resolution:

1991/15. Assistance to Palestinian children: On the recommendation of the Programme Committee, The Executive Board, Recalling the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1990 and the Declaration and the Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children, and the stipulation therein pertaining to the children living under difficult circumstances, especially those living under occupation, Having studied the report on the programme development in the iddle East and North Africa contained in document E/ICEF/991/10, Taking into consideration the difficult conditions of Palestinian children, Concerned by the deteriorating situation in the region, Affirming the need to intensify assistance to Palestinian children and women, Requests the Executive Director of UNICEF to continue to urgently assess the situation of Palestinian children and women and to provide funds commensurate with the expanding needs of these children and women, and to report to the 1992 session of the Executive Board on implementation." [c]

60507. DPR. "UNRWA Deplores Expulsion of Four Palestinians From Gaza and Offers Them Assistance; Protests To Israeli Authorities Against Mistreatment of Staff", in DPR, May 1991. The following press release was issued by UNRWA on 5/21/1991 (see PAL/1763):

"The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) said today that it was ready to offer assistance to four Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, including two UNRWA staff members, who were expelled to Lebanon by the Israeli authorities on Saturday, 18 May. The UNRWA has deplored the expulsion of the four men, who are all Palestine refugees registered with the agency. Two of them, Hashem Mohammad Dahan and Jamal Abu Halab, are UNRWA employees. The Agency's Field Office in Lebanon is being asked to assist the two staff members, as needed, and to do what it can for the other two men. The four were handed over to the international Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in the Beqaa Valley east of Beirut on Saturday after being expelled by the Israeli army. The UNRWA has reiterated its regret that the Israeli authorities have continued their policy of expelling Palestinians from the occupied territory, which it considers a violation of international obligations. As a humanitarian agency responsible for the welfare of the Palestine refugees, UNRWA said it would do what it could to assist the men and their families." On 5/22/1991, the following press release was issued by UNRWA (see PAL/1764):

"The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has formally protested to the Israeli authorities in the occupied Gaza Strip against two incidents in which two UNRWA international staff members were struck and abused by Israeli border police. The incidents occurred on Friday, 17 May, in the Shaboura quarter of Gaza's Rafah refugee camp when UNRWA staff attempted to intervene with Israeli border police contingents who were mistreating camp residents. In the first incident, an UNRWA international staff member was insulted and pushed and his Palestinian assistant was slapped in the face and briefly detained in a military vehicle. A border guard later pushed the international staff member and struck him in the mouth. The second incident occurred later the same day when another UNRWA international staff member approached a group of border police who were beating three refugees. A border police officer insulted the UNRWA staff member and some of the border guards prodded her with their rifles. In a written protest to the Israeli Civil Administration in Gaza, UNRWA said it was 'very concerned about the increasing number of assaults on its staff by members of the border police.' The Agency said such were 'incompatible with Israel's obligations to facilitate UNRWA's tasks. The UNRWA has asked for an investigation into the latest incidents.' [c]

60508. DPR. "UNRWA Deplores High death Toll in Occupied Territory and Continued Closure of Schools in the West Bank", in Division of Palestinian Rights, April 1989. VIENNA, 20 April (UNRWA) -- The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) which looks after Palestine refugees has deplored the increased toll of civilians killed by security forces in the Israeli-occupied territories over the past week and expressed disappointment that schools in the West Bank are not to be allowed to reopen for at least another month. The Commissioner-General of UNRWA Giorgio Giacomelli, said at his Vienna office today: In the past week, at least 13 Palestinians, including a 13-year old girl and five boys aged between 10-15, have been shot dead by Israeli forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This heavy toll, caused by such incidents as the border-police raid on Nahalin village in which many were killed or wounded by gunfire, represents a marked increase over casualties in the preceding weeks. As a United Nations humanitarian agency, we deplore this loss of life and call for a halt to the use of lethal firepower against civilians young and old. Figures compiled by UNRWA show that 30 Palestinians have been killed and at least 237 wounded by army gunfire since the end of March.
From the beginning of the Palestinian uprising through 15 April, 442 Palestinians were killed and nearly 25000 wounded by the security forces, the furies show.

Schools to Remain Closed: Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities have extended for another month -- through 19 May -- the military orders which have kept virtually all schools in the West Bank closed continuously since 21 January. These include 90 UNRWA-operated schools with 33000 refugee pupils aged 6-15. The only exceptions to the closures are schools lying within Jerusalem municipality, which include eight UNRWA schools for refugees. West Bank schools have been open only sporadically since 2/1988, and have not been allowed to make up time lost in the last school year", Mr. Giacomelli said. "If we cannot reopen before the end of next month and are not allowed to remain open through the summer months, a whole school year will be lost. The UNRWA has repeatedly called for schools to be reopened to allow Palestinian children to exercise their basic right to education. This may also improve the climate in the area. Interim arrangements to enable children in the first three years of school to continue some basic educational home have been barred by the Israeli authorities" (see PAL/1706) [=]


1) To work in partnership with Palestinian women's institutions;
2) To respect the goals, objectives and priorities set by Palestinian women's organizations;
3) To support Palestinian women's programmes;
4) To educate the North American public on the reality and struggles of Palestinian women and confront stereotyping Arab women;
5) To bring about commonalities among women in areas of human rights, violence against women.

Rawia Bishara stressed the need to identify priorities of Palestinian women under occupation such as economic cooperatives, child care centres, while Najat Khellil drew attention to the fact that women's institutions and their objectives change according to the political context in which they work. Ms. Khellil called on NGOs to support women's self-reliance projects that attempt to disengage from the Israeli occupation, such as frozen vegetable factories, health-care services, training agricultural workers and providing support for women's vocational training centres. Rabib Hadi urged NGOs to support Palestinian community survival while aiding long-term projects by helping in family sponsorship programmes, as well as publicizing cases of Palestinian women prisoners and supporting cultural workers; and to pay special attention to women's health by providing medical equipment such as mammography machines to hospitals in occupied territories. [=]

60510. DPR. Ninth United Nations North American NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine. Held in New York, 6/24-26/1992: Part 16: Annex II: Workshop Reports: Workshop 5: Supporting Palestinian Institution Building: Action Proposals (Consensus), DPR, June 26, 1992. (1) Publishing a resource directory that includes all Palestinian women's organizations; (2) Publishing a resource directory that includes North American organizations that work in support of Palestinian women; (3) Organizing specialized fact-finding North American delegations to visit occupied territories and determine needs of Palestinian women, including options of sending professional volunteers, i.e., health care, art, agriculture. (4) Donating books, magazine subscriptions and other relevant literature to women's study centres in occupied Palestine. (5) Increasing media outreach highlighting Palestinian women's reality and concerns. (6) Calling on all United Nations agencies to provide protection for Palestinian community's survival in the occupied territories. (7) Utilizing NACC Fax Tree to alert NGOs about urgent cases of women being tortured. [=]
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Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Other organizations havina received a standing invitation to participate in the session and the work of the General Assembly as observers and maintaining permanent offices at Headquarters: Palestine. [-]

60521. DPR. Ninth United Nations North American Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Thirty-Third United Nations Seminar): Priorities. For United Nations Action: Part 11: Panel II: The United Nations and the Promotion of the Economic Development of the Occupied Palestinian territory, Including Jerusalem: Ms. Lee O'Brien. Held in New York, 6/28-29/1993. DPR, June 29, 1993. (48) Ms. Lee O'Brien, Research Officer in the West Bank for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), focused her presentation on the current situation of the Palestinians in the occupied territory, and the implications of it for development and relief activities. She pointed out that since the closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, patterns of daily life has been overturned. Coming on the heels of the Gulf crisis and its impact on Palestinians, the closure had brought economic disaster by dividing the occupied territory into four isolated regions which were cut off from each other and from Israel, where tens of thousands of Palestinians had previously found jobs and markets. Local and international institutions serving the Palestinians from East Jerusalem, including UNRWA, had found themselves cut off from their clientele. During the first month of the closure the loss of income of those who used to work in Israel had reached an estimated $2.7 million a day.

(49) She continued by saying that the social and economic consequences were already evident in a dramatic decline in purchases of consumer goods, as well as for inputs for industry and agriculture, and a partial return to a barter economy. One immediate concern of UNRWA was the potential effec of a prolonged closure on health conditions, particularly of small children. Medical experts feared a rise in the incidence of growth retardation among children under three years of age. There would be more children suffering from malnutrition and there could be an increase in child deaths. In response to that concern, UNRWA had been carrying out food distribution, not only in refugee camps but also in towns and villages. However, UNRWA's donated food stocks were insufficient to meet the demand that would arise if the closure continued. She emphasized that it was difficult to believe that in the midst of a delicate peace process, UNRWA, which had evolved over the years into a general provider of quasi-governmental services such as education and health care, should once again have to plan for possible relief operations on a huge scale.

(50) Despite a significant expansion of UNRWA services over the past five years, the socio-economic conditions in the occupied territory were rapidly deteriorating, which made UNRWA's services to relieve hardship even more vital. With needs rising so fast as to risk outstripping the resources available, there was a profound sense of unease about the future. Current conditions in the occupied territory called for maintaining a balance between meeting emergency needs for income support, basic needs for education, health and social services, and the ongoing structural needs for hospital care, environmental health and job creation. UNRWA was doing its best to meet rapidly expanding emergency and basic needs while keeping sight of the importance of addressing structural needs for the socio-economic advancement of Palestinians in the occupied territory. [-]

a settlement it would be impossible to end the Arab-Israeli conflict which was the "last residue of the cold war". [=]


60526. DPR. Sixth United Nations European Seminar On The Question of Palestine (Twenty-Eighth United Nations Seminar): Part 11: Panel I: The Intifadah: The Safety and Protection of the Palestinian People In The Occupied Palestinian Territory: Mr. Mikko Lohikoski*. Held in Madrid Spain, 5/27-30/1991. DPR, May 1991. (14) Mr. Mikko Lohikoski (Finland), Chairman of the European Co-ordinating Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine, wondered whether a peace process could be initiated in the aftermath of the Gulf War. In June 1990 though moderation was already giving way to extremism on both sides, it had been unimaginable that such a major financial transactions and access to external markets.

42. The direct relationship between the establishment of new settlements and the eviction of the Arab population posed a threat to the survival of the Palestinian people and undermined the current peace process. One of the most effective means to guarantee the protection of the Palestinian population in Gaza and the West Bank lay in the hands of the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention, particularly under article 1. 43. Mr. Raii Sourani (Palestinian), Director, Gaza Center for Rights and Law warned that international complacency at a time when the human rights situation in the occupied territories was rapidly deteriorating was a serious cause for alarm. The number of Palestinians killed or injured by the Israeli security forces had risen to unprecedented levels during the first year of the Rabin Government. He added that a large number of those killed were minors with more than thirty per cent being under ten years of age. 44. The international community should take steps that would ensure respect for the human rights of the Palestinian people. The High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention must, in accordance with their obligations under Article 1, ensure respect by Israel of its obligations under the Convention as an occupying power. He also observed that after 26 years, Israel was alone in insisting that the Fourth Geneva Convention did not apply to the territories it had occupied since 1967. 45. Israel regarded the Gaza Strip as a labour reservoir and had prevented the development of the infrastructure of the occupied territories by placing restrictions on the freedom of movement of persons and capital and on the use of land including restrictions on financial transactions and access to external markets.

46. He called for the implementation of Security Council resolution 681 (1990) of 12/20/1990 which had requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to monitor and observe the situation of Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation and to report on the first week of 3/1/1991 and every four months thereafter. He then referred to Security Council resolution 799 (1992) of 12/18/1992 which had
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demanded that Israel, the occupying Power, ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied territories of all those who had been deported. The resolution had also requested the dispatch of a representative of the Secretary-General to consult with the Israeli Government in regard to that serious situation and report to the Security Council.

47. Mr. Avigdor Feldman (Israel), a human rights advocate from Israel, called upon the United Nations, as the organizer of the International NGO Meeting, to take upon itself the task of assessing Israel's civil society during the period it had occupied the West Bank and Gaza. He observed that Israel had developed a fascinating dichotomy of the coexistence of a democratic regime alongside an oppressive one under the same administrative and legal authority. In a democratic civil society NGOs were expected to serve as monitors and a buffer that prevented the national deterioration of the society through oppression of others.

48. In light of the continued occupation, he had on occasion entertained doubts regarding the independence of the Israeli legal system, whether it acted as an organ of the state or of the civil society. The courts' proper role was one of shielding the citizen against oppression and arbitrariness of the government.

49. There was no written research on Israeli courts and their decisions regarding the occupied territories. Furthermore, there appeared to be no information available on the holding of Palestinian detainees without trial and whether that action was contrary to international and Israeli law.

50. The failure of Israel's legal system during the occupation was a partial expression of the general failure of its civil society. He expressed the hope that the Palestinian community, which was in the preliminary stages of formulating its own civil society in the occupied territories, would learn from the Israeli experience and create a society that would stand firm against all state oppression.

51. Mr. Mohammed Ali Taha (Israel), Secretary, Association of Arab Writers in Israel, said that the Israeli occupation forces had murdered hundreds of Palestinians since the beginning of the intifadah and thousands of children had become crippled. He reported that according to official Israeli estimates, 1,506 Palestinians had died from the beginning of the intifadah up to 7/1993. In addition, approximately 100,000 had been wounded, although a large number of wounded had never sought medical assistance for fear of being arrested or tortured. Also during that period 426 houses had been demolished and 486 persons deported.

52. Palestinian children were among those who suffered the most in the occupied territories. Nearly 232 children had lost their lives from the beginning of the intifadah until 6/1993 and 38 of them were killed during the first half of 1993. Data provided by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) showed that every fifth male child in the Gaza Strip had been wounded and the total number of children wounded was 227,577. Reports indicated that more than half of them had been wounded as a result of being beaten or shot by Israeli forces.

53. He called for the protection of the Palestinian population from attacks on life and physical safety, from disablement and from physical and psychological torture. He also called for the protection of the right of ownership and the prohibition of the confiscation of property, protection of cultural and religious institutions, protection of the natural resources and the protection and return of antiquities that had been looted.

54. Mr. Hussein Abu Hussein (Israel), an advocate, outlined the history of systematic discrimination by Israel against Arabs living within its borders. He said that the policy of discrimination against Arabs was directly related to the Jewish nature of the State of Israel, and to the way in which the Israeli Constitution had been written. Arabs did not have the right to adequate representation under Israeli law.

55. Israel was a Zionist State built on the ruins of the Palestinian people; in Israel, there were two communities, Jewish and non-Jewish. Jews had national rights, others did not.

56. He said that the international community, through the United Nations system, should undertake measures to encourage Israel to recognize its Arab community as full citizens with legal rights.

57. The upper limit of the solution of the Palestine question proposed by the Arabs was the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel with its 1948 borders.

58. In conclusion, he observed that Arabs in Israel were at times considered strangers, the land of their fathers and forefathers while at other times they were considered to be citizens, albeit of a lower status. He also pondered whether the position of the Arab citizens of Israel would not be better served through population exchanges between Israel and the Palestinian state, whereby the Arab citizens of Israel would be transferred to the Palestinian state and the Jewish settlers in the occupied territories would be returned to Israel.
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People had emphasized mobilization of support for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and peaceful solution to the question of Palestine. 91. In conclusion, he recommended the adoption of an NGO Development Code of Practice (DCOP), as originally proposed by the ECCP-NENGOOT, that could include development strategies, methods, monitoring, documentation and evaluations.

92. Ms. Ruth Cohen (Israel), Member, Association of Women for Peace, said that the Israeli peace movement had been inactive and despondent. Although not in agreement with the negotiating positions in the peace process of the current Israeli coalition Government, the Peace Now movement was obliged to support the Government.

93. She referred to a new group “Gush Hashalom” (the Peace Block) within the Israeli peace movement, which believed in the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, direct negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, withdrawal from all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, withdrawal from South Lebanon and total equality between Jews and Arabs within Israel.

94. She concluded that in her view the Peace Now movement ought to oppose the policies of the Rabin Government as if there were no peacemongering and also be opposed to the Israeli position in the peace negotiations as if there was no Rabin Government.

95. Mr. James Graff (Canada), President, Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation of Canada, said that in 1989, almost every country in the world had voted for a United Nations-sponsored international peace conference on the Middle East. Momentum had grown throughout Europe and among United States allies to free Palestine from 22 years of Israeli colonization and oppression.

96. Since then, the momentum for Palestinian statehood had sustained several shocks, among them, the Gulf crisis and war with its disastrous consequences for Palestinians and for the Palestine Liberation Organization; the initiation of a United States orchestrated peace process biased towards United States and Israeli objectives in the Middle East, and which ignored the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions and principles, while also excluding Europe from any significant role; and the election of a new United States Administration which in Mr. Graff’s view was more sympathetic to the people of Israel than the preceding ones.

97. He observed that the international NGO movement was threatened with dissolution because of the financial crisis that had forced the ICCP office in Geneva to cease functioning.

98. He urged the international community to continue to press for an independent secular, democratic Palestinian state in the occupied territories with Jerusalem as its capital unless the Palestinian community, through its leadership determined otherwise.

99. Furthermore, he did not believe that it was for the NGO movement to decide whether the Palestinians should participate or not in the current peace process. A major focus on promoting government involvement in the development of economic infrastructures in the occupied territories was needed. In addition, special assistance was also required with the educational, social and psychological needs of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Throughout this process the expertise of the various Palestinian technical committees should be fully utilized. [=]
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covensants and resolutions, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the relevant United Nations resolutions, and show that Israel is still pursuing its aggressive schemes and policies, despite the regional and international changes which stress the universality of human rights and their role in making those changes.

Mr. Chairman, Sisters and Brothers. Although the peace negotiations on the Middle East and the Palestinian question, which started in Madrid in 10/1991, are nearing the end of their second year, they have unfortunately reached deadlock. Hence, you are well aware, dear friends, of the importance of delivering the peace process from the critical situation into which they have driven it. The causes of that critical situation consist of the attempt by Israel and, unfortunately, the United States Administration, to alter the bases and terms of reference upon which the peace process has rested since the Madrid Conference, and until the present. There are the initiative of President Bush as well as the two letters of invitation and assurances which provide for the principle of exchanging land for peace and the application of resolutions 242 and 338, that is to say, the withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the holy city of Jerusalem, the guarantee of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people and the guarantee of security for all in the region. The tenth round, however, has reached a dead end. The American Administration has sent two delegations to the region, one headed by Mr. Dennis Ross, and the second by Mr. Christopher, the Secretary of State. We were hoping for a breakthrough which would bring the negotiation process out of that dead end. But the United States Administration has submitted to us a paper which we have refused, because of the way in which that Administration has dealt with the issues raised, such as the exclusion of Jerusalem, the non-inclusion of the issue of settlements, the disagreements over geographical jurisdiction, the treatment of the occupied Palestinian territories and the early handing over of functions in the occupied territories. All that has not facilitated the creation of a climate which would advance the peace process, especially at a time when the economic conditions in the occupied Palestinian territories have been rapidly deteriorating because of the economic blockade and isolation imposed by Israel, as well as the financial blockade imposed on the PLO and the Palestinian people. Here we are embarking upon a new round of negotiations. We have therefore suggested a proposal to break this deadlock. It consists of an effective disengagement on the Palestinian front in Eriha and Gaza, in association with the solution in the rest of the occupied Palestinian territories, including the holy city of Jerusalem. We have also called for a direct dialogue between the PLO and the Israeli Government, as well as the resumption of the dialogue between the PLO and the United States Administration. We are confident that you will continue to undertake your important actions and efforts in standing by our people in their just struggle for the establishment of a just peace through termination of the Israeli occupation, restoration to and exercise by our people of their inalienable national rights and the provision of economic support to our people in order to lift the siege and starvation imposed upon them. I thank you and wish you every success in assuming your noble and humane tasks and in your effective solidarity with our Palestinian people. [ Tunis, 8/18/1993. ]

60530. DPR. Tenth United Nations International NGO Meeting On The Question of Palestine: Part 15: Annex IV: List of Participants and Observers: Participants and Observers: Participant NGOs. Held on 8/25-27/1993, at Austria Center, Vienna, Austria. Fund For The Development Of Technological Education In The Arab Sector Of Israel; Fundacion Argentina Para El Tercer Mundo (FATEM); General Union Of Palestinian Women (GUPW); German-Palestinian Association (Deutsch-Palestaenische Gesellschaft); Greek Committee For International Democratic Solidarity; Instituto De Estudios Polocmos Para America Latina y Africa (IEPALA); International Association Of Democratic Lawyers; International Forum;

International Union Of Students;
International Youth & Student Movement For The United Nations (ISMUN);
Jerusalem Press Services;
Latin American Centre Of Workers (Confederacion Latino Americana De Trabajadores);
Ligue Internationale Pour Les Droits Et La Liberation Des Peuples;
Malaysia-Palestine Solidarity & Friendship Association (Persatuan Seliaikan Dan Persahabatan Malaysia-Palestine);
Medical Aid For Palestinians (MAP-UK);
Medical Aid For Palestine (MAP-Canada);
National Conference Of Black Lawyers (USA);
National Society For Mental Health;
Near East Cultural And Educational Foundation (NECEF). [=]

60531. DPR. Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium On The Question of Palestine: Part 01: Introduction. Held in New York, 6/30-7/2/1993. DPR, July 2, 1993. (1) The Tenth United Nations Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine was held under the auspices of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People at United Nations Headquarters, New York, from 6/30-7/2/1993, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 47/64 A of 12/11/1992. The theme of the Symposium was “Building for peace and Palestine: priorities for the second decade of the NGO movement”. (2) A total of 56 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from Canada and the United States of America, 7 of them as observers, participated in the work of the Symposium. Nine panelists as well as 20 workshop facilitators and resource persons made presentations. The opening and closing meetings were chaired by H.E. Mr. Alcibiades J. Hidalgo Basulto (Cuba), Vice Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The Symposium was moderated by Mr. Larry Ekin, Chairman of the North American Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (NACC). Ms. Colleen McGuire and Ms. Nancy Murray moderated individual panels. The work of the Symposium was organized in five plenary meetings as well as workshops.

(3) At the first plenary, entitled “Building for peace and Palestine: priorities for the second decade of the NGO movements”, presentations were made by Mr. Don Betz, Chairman of the International Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine and Vice-President of University Relations at Northeastern State University, Oklahoma; Mr. Paul Findley, former member of the United States House of Representatives; and, Mr. Asmi Bishara, Professor of Philosophy at Bir Zeit University. (4) At the second plenary, entitled “Rights, resources, refugees: the need for protection”, presentations were made by Mr. Jonathan Kuttab, a human rights lawyer and Director of the Mandela Institute for Political Prisoners in the West Bank, and Mr. Muhammad Hallaj, Director of the Centre for Policy Analysis on Palestine and a member of the Palestinian National Council.

(5) At the third plenary, entitled “Ending the occupation: a prelude to peace and security”, presentations were made by Ms. Roni Ben Efrat, an Israeli peace activist, a founding member of “Women in Black” and also a member of the editorial staff of Etgar/Challenge magazine; Mr. Muhammad Hallaj; and, Mr. Atif Kubursi, Professor of Economics at McMaster University, Canada, and advisor on refugee issues to the Minister of External Affairs of Canada. (6) The fourth plenary heard reports and recommendations from the five workshops of the Symposium and the seven standing committees established by NACC to strengthen NGO coordination and cooperation (see annexes II and III). (7) The fifth plenary entitled “NGO priorities for the second decade”, heard statements from: Mr. Don Betz; Ms. Mia Adjali, Director of the United Methodist Office for the United Nations; and Mr. Jim Graff, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Toronto, Vice Chairman of NACC. [=}
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60532. DPR. Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium On The Question of Palestine: Part 10: Plenary Discussion: Plenary II: Rights, Resources, Refugees: The Need For Protection: Mr. Muhammad Hallaj. Held in New York, 6/30-7/2/1993. DPR, July 2, 1993. (34) Mr. Muhammad Hallaj said that since the beginning of the Madrid peace process, the plight of Palestine refugees had been relegated to the exclusive context of multilateral talks which address regional issues and regional cooperation. To place the refugee issue in such a multilateral context suggests, to Mr. Hallaj, that it might well be proposed at some time that Palestinians be settled outside their own homeland. (35) He said that during the second round of talks, the Israeli delegation had urged that the issue of family unification be deleted from the agenda. The Israeli delegation had not attended the first round when the item had indeed been included and remarked later that had they been there, they would not have allowed its inclusion. (36) In his view, the particular allocation of the refugee subject for discussion during the peace process makes its clear that Israel had not yet reconciled itself to the fact that the refugee question is central to the negotiation process in that while this is a national political question, it has nevertheless a tragic humanitarian component. (37) The Palestinian refugees should not be thought of as people living in camps on the outskirts of towns but instead should be viewed as fragments of a shattered nation. Unfortunately, the tendency to consider their plight as a humanitarian rather than a political issue still persists. (38) Regarding related activities of NGOs, he stressed the importance of public education. He suggested that in the United States, the process of informing the public about the Palestinians might not be as formidable as it appeared. A recent opinion poll had indicated American support for the Palestinians’ right of return to their homeland. [=]

60533. DPR. Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium On The Question of Palestine: Part 25; Annex II: Workshop Reports: Workshop 4: Seeds of a New Society: The Welfare of Women and Children Under Occupation. Held in New York, 6/30-7/2/1993. DPR, July 2, 1993. Goals: (1) To reach out to women’s groups, i.e. denominational women, human rights (women and children), the League of Women’s Voters, to educate and to raise consciousness. (2) To maintain communication between women's groups in a minimal way. (3) Identify other women's groups not specifically interested in Palestinian issues. (4) Appeal to other women’s groups when Palestinian women are the target. Strategy for action: Assist in giving notice of groups coming from Palestine to itinerate North America many NGO groups would keep sponsor events. (5) Participate in the Women’s Directory. (6) Develop a fax tree for this Standing Committee. [=]

60534. DPR. Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium On The Question of Palestine: Part 32; Annex III: Reports of Standing Committees: (v) Mobilizing Women’s Organizations. Held in New York, 6/30-7/2/1993. DPR, July 2, 1993. The objective of this committee is to act as a line with NGOs in North America for the purposes of: (a) Outreach: coordinating and facilitating programmes, special projects and other activities in relation to women’s concerns and issues; (b) Developing educational materials for a future database on Palestinian women and for a resource centre; (c) Monitoring the media regarding negative stereotyped images of Palestinian women; (d) Linkage between Palestinian women inside and outside of Palestine through coordinated action-oriented programmes and delegations; (e) Overseeing the social, cultural and economic needs of Palestinian women, via specific project coordination. [=]


60536. DPR. Tenth United Nations North American Regional NGO Symposium On The Question of Palestine: Part 37; Annex VI: List of Participants and Observers: Participant NGOs: Part 2. Held in New York, 6/30-7/2/1993. DPR, July 2, 1993. Methodist Federation for Social Action; Middle East Fellowship of Southern California; Middle East Justice Network; National Association of Arab-Americans; National Committee for Independent Political Action; National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA - Middle East Office; National Lawyers Guild (Middle East Committee); NECEF (Near East Cultural & Educational Foundation of Canada); Palestine Aid Society; Palestine Human Rights Information Center - International; Palestine Solidarity Committee; Palestinian Federation of Women’s Action Committees; Palestinian Mother & Child Care Society; Partners for Peace; Pax Christi (International); Presbyterian Church-USA; Save the Children Federation; Union of Palestinian American Women; Union of Palestinian Women’s Associations in North America; United Nations Association-USA; Women's International League for Peace & Freedom; World Muslim Congress; World Organization of Jews from Islamic Countries; World Peace Council. [=]
peace activist; a founding member of "Women in Black" and a member of the editorial staff of Etgar/Challaneh magazine; Mr. Don Betz, Chairman of the International Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine and Vice-President of University Relations at Northeastern State University, Oklahoma; Mr. Asmi Bishara, Professor of Philosophy at Bir Zeit University; Mr. Paul Findley, former member of the United States House of Representatives; Mr. Jim Graff, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Toronto and Vice-Chairman of NACC; Mr. Muhammad Hallaj, Director of the Centre for Policy Analysis on Palestine and a member of the Palestine National Council; Mr. Jonathan Kuttab, human rights lawyer and Director of the Mandela Institute for Political Prisoners in the West Bank; Mr. Atif Kubursi, Professor of Economics at McMaster University, Canada, and advisor on refugee issues to the Minister of External Affairs, Canada. [\=]

60538. DPR; UN. United Nations African Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Dakar Senegal, 8/30/1993-9/3/1993: Part 11: Panel I: Towards A Just Solution Of The Question Of Palestine: (A) The Current Situation In The Occupied Palestinian Territory, Including Jerusalem: Dr. Ahmad Yaziji. DPR, November 1993. 18. Dr. Ahmad Yaziji (Palestinian), a medical doctor in Gaza, recalled at the outset that the population density in the Gaza Strip was among the highest in the world, amounting to more than 1800 persons per square kilometre. He emphasized that the demographic explosion had led to a severe deterioration in public health and countless health problems. As a result, clinics received more than 8000 patients per day, for whom proper services could not be provided owing to overcrowding and the lack of diagnostic facilities and medicines. He cited the negligence and indifference of the Israeli authorities to public health in the territories, in addition to the acute shortage of water in many parts of the Strip. The level of salinity and organic matter in the water supply of the Gaza Strip was increasing. Studies had shown that there would be no suitable drinkable water in five years. Outside of refugee camps, sewers leaked into the streets, giving residential areas the appearance of sewerage swamps and posing threats of typhoid and intestinal problems. Waste was left to accumulate in residential areas, around houses and in public squares where it caused countless health problems. Severe environmental pollution was caused by many primitive industries which had been banned in Israel as well as by antiquated vehicles and by the lack of trees. As a consequence the residents of the Gaza Strip were suffering from such problems as high blood pressure and diabetes, as well as from contagious diseases. Diseases caused by parasites were widespread and some 80 per cent of the children were afflicted by worms. Gum and tooth disease was widespread among children. The incidence of asthma was increasing both quantitatively and qualitatively, owing to the frequent exposure to tear gas. Various degrees of malnutrition were also widespread, affecting about 50% of children under five years of age. He pointed out that hospital facilities were insufficient. For example, in the Gaza Strip, there was one hospital bed for every 2000 persons, one doctor for every 1000 persons and one nurse for every 7000 persons. The health insurance scheme was costly and the population lacked the means for enrolment. Hospital equipment and buildings were poorly maintained. Most clinics had only a limited number of rooms, and those were poorly equipped. There was no school medicine except for some basic vaccinations at the beginning of each year. There were no programmes for the elderly or the chronically ill. There were no public mental health programmes. He went on to say that the Israeli military practices had become more violent and deadly during the intifadah. It was estimated that 70% of the persons injured by the army in the Gaza Strip were shot, in violation of international standards, by live ammunition, the kind that exploded in the body. The use of gas grenade and tear-gas against women and children had left babies dead, children blind and had caused miscarriages. In addition, the conditions in the detention camps had left thousands of Palestinians with deterioration of physical and psychological problems. He said that the only solution to the health hardship was the end of the occupation and the transfer of authority to the Palestinian people in a Palestinian State. [\=]

60539. DPR; UN. United Nations African Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Dakar Senegal, 8/30/1993-9/3/1993: Part 13: Panel I: Towards A Just Solution Of The Question Of Palestine: (A) The Current Situation In The Occupied Palestinian Territory, Including Jerusalem: Eitan Felner. DPR, November 1993. 19. Mr. Eitan Felner (Israel), researcher for B’Tselem (the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the occupied territories), said that the preceding year had seen some improvements in the human rights situation in the occupied territories. House demolitions had ceased, procedures for family reunifications had been eased and prison conditions had been partially improved. In other areas, however, the human rights situation had drastically deteriorated. The deportation of 415 Palestinians in 12/1992 without trial or conviction was an example of collective punishment that was prohibited under international law. The closure of the West Bank and Gaza had resulted in many human rights violations. More than 115000 Palestinian workers had no means of supporting their families. Whole areas were effectively isolated from each other. House demolitions in search of wanted persons were another form of collective punishment. He deplored the steep increase in the killing of Palestinian children and held the security forces responsible for it, in particular, their deliberate policy of opening fire in circumstances in which soldiers were not in life-threatening situations. He said that those disturbing statistics prompted B’Tselem to launch its first public campaign to raise awareness and action on the issue, using new strategies to break through the indifference of the Israeli public. He pointed out that the Israeli public had become inured and unresponsive to the deaths of Palestinian children and had developed fixed modes of justification and rationalization to distance themselves from addressing this issue. The campaign's immediate goal - to bring the issue to the forefront of public debate - had been achieved beyond expectations. There was a Knesset debate, television and radio programmes, broad newspaper coverage. The ultimate goal, however, had not been achieved, to enact changes in policy and bring an end to the killing of children. In conclusion he said that an eventual solution should be based on the recognition of the inherent dignity and inalienable rights of every individual, Israeli and Palestinian alike. [\=]

60540. DPR; UN. United Nations African Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Dakar Senegal, 8/30/1993-9/3/1993: Part 23: Panel III: Towards Self-Determination And Statehood: (A) Palestine - Dynamics Of State-Building; Latif Dor. DPR, November 1993. 29. Mr. Latif Dor (Israel), Secretary of the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, emphasized that the basic component for a State-building mechanism was a national and popular consensus on the main objective, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. That consensus was proved by the outbreak of the intifadah. Its persistence to the present showed that despite the enormous economic burden that the Palestinian people did not consent to the exchange of their legitimate national rights for improved living conditions and that they were prepared to bear further sufferings in order to achieve those rights. The intifadah had helped strengthen the mechanism for the building of the State. It had rebuilt the Palestinian society through social and political organization and by the building of social and economic institutions, by the formation of the national leadership and by its universal character. During the intifadah the Palestinian people manifested material sacrifice and cooperation, the revival of the household economy, self-reliance, assistance to families in distress, compliance with the instructions of the national leadership, an increased number of benevolent societies, the reclamation of land following the return of a large number of workers from their jobs inside Israel, a reduction in crime, the inoculation of a spirit of solidarity and social cohesion, and an enhancement of the status of women. Women had participated effectively in all fields and had laid firm foundations for the Palestinian State. He pointed out that another basic component of the mechanism for the building of a State was the human capacities of the Palestinian people. It had highly qualified personnel in all fields and specializations, such as planning, medicine, industry, education, etc., which in time of peace could compete with Israel in economic and social development

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and could reach a peak of productive innovation. He also stressed that the mechanism for building a State required the organization of international sympathy and support, mobilizing international public opinion. He concluded by elaborating on the positions and activities of the peace movement in Israel. His objective was to acquire the support of the Israeli society and to work for two States for two peoples, i.e. an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel. [=]

60544. DS. "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Respect for Human Rights: Section 3: Respect for Political Rights: The Rights of Citizens to Change Their Government", in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994. Report Submitted To The Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, and the Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives, By the Department of State, In Accordance With Sections 116(d) and 520(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended. Joint Committee Print. District of Columbia: GPO. February 1995. Citizens have the right and ability to change their government peacefully, Israel is a parliamentary democracy, with an active multiparty system representing a wide range of political views. Relatively small parties, including those whose primary support is among Israeli Arabs, regularly win seats in the Knesset, or Parliament. Suffrage is universal for adult citizens. Elections are by secret ballot. There are no legal impediments to the participation of women and minorities in government, but they are underrepresented. Eleven women, and 6 Arab and 2 Druze citizens serve in the 120-seat Knesset. Two women are in Cabinet, and 2 Israeli Arabs are deputy ministers. [=]

60546. DS. "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Respect for Human Rights: Section 5: Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Disability, Language or Social Status: Children", in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994. Report Submitted To The Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, and the Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives, By the Department of State, In Accordance With Sections 116(d) and 520(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended. Joint Committee Print. District of Columbia: GPO. February 1995. The Government has a strong commitment to the rights and welfare of children. While there is no pattern of societal abuse against children, the Government has legislated against sexual, physical, and psychological abuse of children and has mandated comprehensive reporting requirements to ensure close attention to the issue. Child prostitution has been reported in isolated cases and has been promptly dealt with by appropriate authorities. The police, educational, and social welfare officials are responsible for monitoring cases of abuse and administering victim treatment programs. Civil rights groups have expressed concern that female genital mutilation continue to be practiced among the Bedouin in the Negev region. It is not known if the practice is common. [=]
women's advocacy groups report that women routinely receive lower wages, are promoted less often, and have fewer career opportunities than their male counterparts. The adjudication of personal status law by religious courts means that women are subject to restrictive interpretations of their rights regarding marriage and divorce (see Section 2.c.). Women are subject to the military draft but may not serve in combat positions. There was heightened concern in 1994 over violence against women. Women's advocacy groups estimate that as many as 40 Druze or Bedouin women may be killed each year by male relatives for 'family honor' offenses. A survey conducted by one women's group indicated that some 200000 women suffer from domestic violence each year, and that 7% of these are battered on a regular basis. A special session of the Knesset was held on 8/31 to discuss violence against women. The Government condemns such violence and has helped to open 6 shelters for battered women and has plans to open several others. According to a 1991 law, a district or magistrate court may prohibit access by violent family members to their property. Women's groups cooperate with legal and social service institutions to provide reports of 2266 cases of rape. [-]

60547. DS. "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Respect for Human Rights: Section 6: Worker Rights: (a) The Right of Association", in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994. Report Submitted To The Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, and the Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives, By the Department of State, In Accordance With Sections 116(d) and 520B(b) Of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended. Joint Committee Print. District of Columbia: GPO, February 1995. Workers may join and establish labor organizations freely. Israeli Arabs may establish their own unions but have not done so. Most unions belong to the General Federation of Labor in Israel, or Histadrut, or to a much smaller rival federation. These organizations are independent of the Government. About 70% of the work force are members of Histadrut's trade unions; still more are covered by Histadrut's social and insurance programs and collective bargaining agreements. Histadrut members democratically elect national and local officers and officials of its affiliated women's organization, Na'amot, from political party lists. Plant or enterprise committee members are elected individually. The right to strike is exercised regularly. Unions must provide 15-days' notice prior to a strike unless otherwise specified in the collective bargaining agreement. However, unauthorized strikes occur. Strike leaders even those organizing illegal strikes -- are protected by law. If essential public services are affected, the Government may appeal to labor courts to order back-to-work orders while the parties continue negotiations. Strikes in 1994 were concentrated in the public sector, and included a 12-strike by the Academics' Union that forced the closure of 3 universities, and 4 days of work stoppages by employees protesting privatization of the national telephone company. Significant work stoppages also took place in the defense industry. Unions are free to affiliate with international organizations. Following the signing of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement in May, representatives from Histadrut and Palestinian trade unions formalized their ongoing dialog. Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip who work in Israel may not join Israeli trade unions or organize their own unions in Israel. Palestinian trade unions in the occupied territories are not permitted to conduct activities in Israel (see Section 6.a. of the annex). However, nonresident workers in the organized sector are entitled to the protection of Histadrut work contracts and grievance procedures. They may join, vote for, and be elected to shop-level workers' committees if their numbers in individual establishments exceed a minimum threshold. Palestinian participation in such committees is minimal. Labor laws apply to Palestinians in East Jerusalem and to the Syrian Druze living on the Golan Heights. [-]

60548. DS. "Near East and North Africa: Israel and the Occupied Territories: Part 04: Respect for Human Rights: Section 1: Respect For The Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from: (c) Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment", in Country Reports On Human Rights Practices For 1993. Report Submitted To The Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, By the Department of State, In Accordance With Sections 116(d) and 502B(b) Of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended. February 1994. Although Israeli laws and administrative regulations prohibit such practices, there are credible reports of abuses of Palestinian detainees. (see the occupied territories report for a discussion of mistreatment of prisoners from the occupied territories incarcerated in detention facilities located in Israel.) Incarceration facilities in Israel and the occupied territories are operated by one of three authorities, the Israeli Prison Service (IPS), the national police, and the Israel Defense Forces. Although the conditions vary greatly among the facilities, all are monitored by various branches of the Israeli Government and members of the Knesset, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and many human rights organizations which have access to the prisons, police jails, and IDF camps. Generally, inmates are not subject to physical abuse by guards, food is adequate, and prisoners receive basic necessities. Security prisoners are subject to a different regime, even in IPS facilities, and as a class they are often denied certain privileges given to prisoners convicted on criminal charges. In general however, the most severe problem in all facilities is overcrowding, even among facilities run by the IPS. IPS prisons conform to general international standards which permit inmates to receive mail, have televisions in their cells, and receive regular visits. Prisoners can receive wages for prison work and benefits for good behavior. Many IPS prisons have religious and drug-free wards and educational and recreational programs. Police detention facilities are intended for short stays prior to trial, but due to chronic overcrowding and slow scheduling for court dates, police detention facilities can become de facto jails for several months. Inmates in these centers frequently are not accorded the same rights and living conditions as prisoners in the regular IPS facilities, and some of these can fall below generally accepted minimum international standards. For example, the Abu Kabir police detention facility in Jaffa has approximately 662 inmates for 466 beds. Prisoners awaiting transfer can be confined for months under these conditions. One US citizen has been confined in a cell with 11 prisoners and 8 beds. He was unable to bathe for over a week. Violence is common in the Abu Kabir facility with weapons made by prisoners from such items as bed legs spoons, and pens. There were also reports of mixing juveniles with adults as well as pretrial offenders with convicted prisoners. Prison conditions in the IDF detention camps, which are limited to male Palestinian security prisoners and are guarded by armed soldiers, do not meet minimum international standards and threaten the health of the inmates. The camps use unheated outdoor tents even in severe weather conditions, mix minors and adult prisoners, restrict family visits, and contain minimal recreational facilities. Poor health care in Ketziot prison has resulted in a petition, filed before the High Court in September by a human rights organization composed of medical professionals, to close the camp unless medical conditions are improved. According to the Government, the petition concerning Ketziot, due to be heard at the end of the year, was postponed to 3/1994. [-]
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a manner disadvantageous to the Palestinians and, to a lesser extent, Kurds. Under Lebanese citizenship law, only Lebanese males may transmit citizenship to their spouses and children. Lebanon refused to admit 419 Palestinians deported by Israel on December 17, 1992. The deportees remained in an ineffective no-man’s land between Israeli and Lebanese controlled territory inside southern Lebanon. The Government turned a blind eye to the supply of relief material to the deportees, despite a ban on such activity. By the end of 1993, all of the deportees had returned to the Israeli-occupied territories except for about 15 deportees who reportedly elected to remain outside the occupied territories to avoid imprisonment. [–]

60554. Daraghmeh, Muhammad. “Nablus Decries Violence”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times. April 14, 1995. p. 2. A 20000-person spontaneous demonstration emerged from the funeral of Ghassan Fursan Aghbar on 4/6/1995. Aghbar, 19, is the sixth Palestinian to die in the Nablus region in the past two months because of personal and tribal confrontations. The demonstration erupted in protest against the rise of violence in the region. Aghbar’s death was the result of jealousy. His cousin had been seen talking to a young woman at An-Najah University several times. Unfortunately, she had a secret admirer, who then warned Aghbar’s cousin to stop speaking to the woman. When Aghbar’s cousin refused to be ordered about, the admirer decided to teach him a lesson, gathered a gang of youths from the Sahali and Olawi families, and went to a shop where they expected to find the cousin. Instead, they found Aghbar. When Aghbar discovered the reason for their visit, a quarrel broke out and Aghbar was stabbed to death. His funeral was held two days later under cover of a mourning strike organized by the Islamic and nationalist factions. The funeral then developed into a full-scale demonstration as participants expressed their frustration with the growing violence in their area and wanted to put a stop to it. As further manifestation of community desire, a delegation of 50 local notables, led by the Islamic-Nationalist Faction Coordinator for Nablus Hussam Hajowi, traveled to Jericho just prior to the funeral to meet with the head of Preventative Security in the West Bank Jibril Rajoub. They discussed the deteriorating situation in Nablus and called on Rajoub to ensure that the perpetrators be punished. Rajoub promised the citizens his full support, saying his men would locate and prosecute the killers. Community leaders are organizing a similar delegation to President Yasser Arafat in the coming weeks. [–]

60555. Dash, Joan. Summoned to Jerusalem: The Life of Henrietta Szold: Part 1 of 2. Jewish Publication Society of America. New York: Harper & Row, 1979. [The author acknowledges the research assistance of the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Henrietta Szold Archives, Hadassah-Palestine, Zionist Archives & Library, Jewish Collection of the New York Public Library, the University of Washington, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and Hadassah.] Henrietta Szold grew up in the household of her father Rabbi Szold: while he was once anti-Zionist, believing that America could be the land where Jews could be free, the discussions he had with the Russian Jewish emigrants of the 1880s convinced him, and young Henrietta, that America had no meaning for the Jews and that Zionism was their destiny. In autumn of 1893, she, with her father and Harry Friedenwald, became members of the Zionist Association of Baltimore, one of the earliest Zionist groups in the United States answering the call of Theodor Herzl (who had embraced Zionism with the promise of all Jews to Christianity); in return for an end to anti-Semitism, leaving Herzl and his organizers the last Jews on Earth (p. 31)). Henrietta worked for a while at the Jewish Publication Society became a federal judge believed that the only real purpose of his role as a judge was to advance Zionism; he would organize a trust that would turn a blind eye to the supply of relief material to the deportees, despite a ban on such activity. By the end of 1993, all of the deportees had returned to the Israeli-occupied territories except for about 15 deportees who reportedly elected to remain outside the occupied territories to avoid imprisonment. [–]

60556. Rajoub promised the citizens his full support, saying his men would locate and prosecute the killers. Community leaders are organizing a similar delegation to President Yasser Arafat in the coming weeks. [–]

Still obsessed with Ginzburg and his “childish” breeder wife, Henrietta became the secretary of FAZ; she began to work in the tiny offices that housed FAZ, the Jewish National Fund and the Yiddish newspaper Dos Yiddishe Folk; at the same time she indexed the first ten volumes of the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. When Mrs. Ginzburg had a child, Szold was hospitalized in Maryland, and required six months of convalescence. In 1911, the network of tiny women’s Zionist groups (Hadassah Study Circles, Daughters of Zion) had dwindled: Henrietta was determined to build a new national Zionist women’s group, with Hadassah as the nucleus (the first chapter would be called Daughters of Zion, Hadassah Chapter); she became chairman [sic] and carried forward the old Hadassah treasury of $19.16. Henrietta decided that the mission of Hadassah would be to bring modern health services to the Jews of Palestine. The hiring of the first two Jewish nurses for Palestine was coupled with the organization of chapters in Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia (1912-1913). The outbreak of WWI would end the nursing project. In 1915, Henrietta got the unexpected support of Julian Mack; the first American Jew to become a federal judge believed that the only real purpose of his role as a judge was to advance Zionism; he would organize a trust that would allow her to devote her work to Zionism fulltime for the rest of her life. The organization of the American Zionist Medical Unit (AZMU) in 1916 required heroic fundraising efforts (with estimated costs of the project rising from $3000, to $30000, to $450000 in 1918) but its deployment was postponed until the British and their Arab allies liberated Palestine. In 1918, the announcement of the Balfour Declaration swelled the FAZ to 120000 dues-paying members; it was reorganized in that same year as
the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA). In Palestine, chafing under the direction of the Zionist Commission, the AZMU organized health services. In 1920, Henrietta moved to Palestine.

Enroute to Palestine, she was electrified by reports that a pogrom was “killing all the Jews” in Jerusalem. Had begun: the Holocaust would claim six Jews [note: six Palestinians also died but are omitted in this report]. In 1920, the Yishuv numbered 64000, or 10% of the population. The uncertain management of the expansion of the Yishuv was in the hands of Jewish Agency. Because of oil, the British in Palestine were anti-semitic: “It was oil. Only oil.” (pp. 144-145) [sic?]. Henrietta always dismisses the concerns of the Palestinians, who feared the destruction of their community by the Jews, by observing, “people do not always want to have good done to them by others”. (p. 147) [sic?] In 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel, a fanatical Zionist, became the British High Commissioner of Palestine: he dedicated himself to creating a Jewish Palestine and he was indifferent to the Palestinians. In what is described as his “determination to do justice to both sides”, he supported unlimited immigration for Jews into Palestine and established Hebrew as an official language; he freed from prison all Jews who had organized anti-Arab riots, including Vladimir Jabotinsky (pp. 156-157); so even handed was he that his galas at Government House were essentially Zionist gatherings. Meanwhile, the loss of a sense of urgency had seen ZOA membership in 1919 fall to 25000, and funds for the expansion of the Yishuv had diminished. In 1921, Wizo came of age: it had told the Muslims and Christians of Palestine that Palestine was no longer theirs and rejected the legitimacy of their communities in Palestine: he would follow that up with a statement that the Jews, and only the Jews, had the right to be in Palestine; at the same time, Jewish terrorist networks were building arms stockpiles and started training. Only riots by Palestinians led Herbert to slow the rate of Jewish immigration (actually only requiring that Jewish immigrants not be impoverished). In 4/1921 Chaim Weizmann came to New York, the “Jewish city”, accompanied by the Zionist Albert Einstein, to establish the $100 million Palestine Foundation Fund, Keren Hayesod, to expand. The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) under Louis Lipsky turned on Hadassah and tried to destroy while keeping its membership of 10000 within ZOA (ZOA had 30000 members including those of Hadassah): he was forced to compromise, which allowed AZMU to remain autonomous of the Zionist Commission. Henrietta returned to the United States in 1923-1926; she helped rebuild Hadassah and raise its membership to 20000; and in 1925 selected the new director of AZMU, now renamed the Hadassah Medical Organization (HMO). When she returned to Palestine, the Jews were 121000 in a population of 800000 (about 15%); the Yishuv had mainly grown through emigration from Poland. By 1927, the Great Depression gripped Palestine: Jewish unemployment was 8000 (that is, negligible), every Zionist organization was deeply in debt, and while few Jewish immigrants were entering Palestine, many Jews were emigrating. She won two portfolios in the Zionist Commission: Health and Education. She immediately turned to reform the school system, which was poorly developed and divided into three mutually hostile ideological camps: Mizrachi, General Zionist and Labor Zionists (Poale Zion); ultimately the International Zionist Executive in Berlin would reject all her educational reforms and even today there are two educational systems in Israel. After the 1926 ZOA convention, its membership declined to 18000 in 1929; at the same time, Hadassah membership grew to 27000 in 1932.

The 1929 Zionist Congress was attended by Henrietta, as well as by Albert Einstein, Leon Blum, Louis Marshall, Felix Warburg, Sir Herbert Samuel and Lord Melchett. In the same year, Palestinians believing that it was the goal of the Jews to conquer Palestine and establish a Jewish state, staged riots that left 133 Jews dead, and 116 Palestinians dead: forever remembered as the worst pogrom against the Jews in the history of Palestine. A British White Paper saw the root of the problem as the unlimited Jewish emigration into Palestine and the unlimited purchase of land by Jews: seen as blood libel, the report led Weizmann to resign as chairman of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). Henrietta responded by becoming a willing conspirator in the development of armed Jewish terrorist groups. In 1931, Henrietta returned to Palestine, after being elected to the Vaad Leumi, the National Assembly of the Jews of Palestine. She continued her work by systematically working the charities of the entire world to win assistance for the pitiful Jews of Palestine, and reaped new revenues from the Palestine Endowment Fund, established by Justice Brandeis and Judge Mack to advance the Jewish conquest of Palestine. [TXT]
remain in Germany; they would be resettled as platoons of 50 on kibbutzim and would work from their first day in Palestine; after two years, they would be allowed to create their own Jews-only settlements. (pp. 240-241, 244) When Henrietta return to Palestine, the Jewish Agency had created the German Bureau; subordinate to it was the Youth Aliya Bureau: she was offered the director of the bureau but she rejected it, still doubting the wisdom of the program. Her first request for 500 certificates was completed with 350, and the young German-Jewish youth came to Palestine through the Youth Aliya, British officials in Palestine allowed Polish Jews to pour into the country without being counted. In 1935, the scale of the Youth Aliya demanded its own offices. In the same year she went to the Zionist Congress in Switzerland, and was offered $100000 over the next two years by Hadassah for the Youth Aliya. After she gave her speech on the Youth Aliya, a speech in which she stated the political purposes: she was right, the whole announcement was to be a form of "emotional blackmail against the rigidity of Great Britain". However, she did make the announcement. The scheme, called the Childrens Aliya, crumbled: granted only 500 certificates for immigration of children who had blood relatives in Palestine, almost half had already fled Germany when transport could be arranged; after some years of fruitless decline, the Childrens Aliya was absorbed into the Youth Aliya. (pp. 273-274) Henrietta refused pleas from Polish Jews to allow them to use some of the certificates she had in hand to evacuate their children, believing German-Jews to be far more important for the Yishuv. Similarly, an incident with Rumanian-Jews (many were overage and had entered with forged passports) led her to end any efforts to transport Rumanian-Jewish children to Palestine. (p. 275) At the same time, far more Jewish children were being brought into Palestine illegally that the Youth Aliya was handling (although once in Palestine the Youth Aliya often absorbed the illegals into its infrastructure); Greeks vessels brought 2400 illegal Austrian-Jewish and Czech-Jewish children in 12/1938 alone. In 1935, the Gestapo assisted the Youth Aliya by supplying exit permits and visas "both invalid"? [7] to Jews who traveled in very large numbers to Palestine in the inadequate ships of the German Danube Steamship Line. (p. 276) But events were moving very quickly now: Hechalutz preparation camps continued to operate in Germany and Austria, but more were opened in Holland, Denmark, Sweden and England. Especially serious was the decision of the British to limit Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75000 in the next five years to prevent the Jewish subjugation of the Palestinians: the author comments, rather illogically, that the Jews were sacrificed for "Arab oil."

The start of the war saw the work of the Youth Aliya shift again: a transport of 31 Zionist youth were moved into Holland, and then to the North Wales Gwyrch Castle of Lord Dundonald, a support of the Orthodox Youth Aliya; a transport of 400 were stranded in Trieste but places were found for them in Yugoslavia; Zionist youth in Prague were moved to Denmark; Zionist youth in Berlin were shipped to Norway and Sweden. Even after the start of the war, Nazi officials allowed the next transport of 347 Zionist youth to Denmark. Nazi authorities informed the Youth Aliya that they would allow all Jewish children in Nazi Germany (and Austria) to go to Palestine, and the British offered her 1000 more certificates that she requested. Moving through closed borders and nations preparing for war, all those for whom there were certificates in the summer of 1939 were moved to Palestine [sic: no number is given]. (pp. 280-281) In 1940-1941 the text seems to indicate that 700 more Zionist youth left Germany for Palestine. (p. 282) The course of the war caused more disruptions: a company of 200 Zionist Polish-Jewish youth, expelled from Germany into the wasteland between the borders had somehow ended up in Lithuania, walking behind the advance of the German army: although there were immigration certificates for them, there was no clear route to Palestine. In 11/1940, the Turkish government granted 733 transit visas for platoons of Zionist youth organized in groups of 50: the first came from Denmark (via Sweden, Finland, USSR which had granted unlimited travel rights for Zionist youth on route to Palestine), Turkey and Syria; later groups came from Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Lithuania.

In Spring 1941, the Youth Aliya flows from Germany dwindled to small groups coming through Turkey. Henrietta reoriented the
introduction she had built to re-educating Oriental Jewish (e.g., Moroccan, Georgian, Yemeni) children. In 1941 Vaad Leumi accepted her plan to used funds from Hadassah (eventually $70000) to improve the quality of life of Jewish children in Palestine. In fall 1942, some 14000 Polish Jews, among the one million Polish Jews deported to Siberian concentration camps by Stalin, straggled into Iran, and made their way to Tehran; Henrietta immediately tried to set up the transport of 600-800 Polish Jewish children in Tehran to Palestine. In 12/1942, the first 700 Polish-Jews in Tehran were moved via Karachi to Palestine on a British troopship. She died in 1943: she never married and had no children.

60557. David, Victoria. "Mothers in Chains: Part 1", in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 32. Victoria David, an Israeli of Yugoslavian origin, was sentenced to three years imprisonment in January, 1990, on security charges. Because she is Jewish, prison authorities insisted on holding her with criminal prisoners in Neve Tirza prison rather than with women political prisoners in Hasharon Prison. David was granted parole and was released on January 6, 1992. In Neve Tirza, she met Itisar Al-Qaq.

When I remember Intisar, I remember a beautiful, smiling, serene young woman. I only came to see her as a tragic heroine after I learned of all she had suffered since her arrest on November 11, 1989. She had been found in the Old City with a molotov cocktail in her bag, and was sentenced to three years in prison.

I met Intisar in August, 1991, when she was transferred to the Neve Tirza Prison for Women Criminal Prisoners where I had already been confined for a year and a half. The two of them Intisar and her small daughter Wattan ("homeland" in Arabic), entered my life like two rays of sunshine. In their congenial presence, I suddenly felt I had a new lease on life.

Everything I learned about Intisar's past, I learned from her stories. Intisar Al-Qaq, age 22, was a student of social work from Silwan (East Jerusalem). At the time of her arrest, she was in her early months of pregnancy. She was held in solitary confinement in the Russian Compound Detention Center, with her hands and feet manacled. Even when examined by a gynecologist, she remained cuffed hand and foot. She was transferred to the Sharon Prison, and was denied examination by a gynecologist for five months. She was also denied access to an eye specialist. She later suffered permanent hearing-loss from this medical neglect.

On June 3, 1990, experiencing strong contractions, she was taken from prison to the hospital with her legs and hands manacled. There, she was literally chained to the bed frame. Her leg shackles were only removed when she was placed on the delivery table. Later, one hand was freed to permit an intravenous infusion, and the other hand remained shackled to the table throughout the delivery. Immediately after the birth, her legs were chained again, this time to the bed. She remained shackled in this manner for the entire three days of her stay in the hospital. Once, when she needed to go to the bathroom, it was discovered that the guard had taken the key home with him. So Intisar had to wait three hours until the key was returned.

Back in prison, both Intisar and her daughter Wattan faced harsh conditions. Their diet was very poor: they lacked sufficient protein, fresh vegetables, and fruits. The prison did not provide such basic needs as diapers, milk, and baby food. The baby was allowed to have only a few toys and was locked in the cell for long hours. In prison, Wattan was beenphotographed only once, by a prison guard. The family was prohibited from taking her picture. During their bi-monthly visits, Intisar's family was not allowed to kiss or hug Wattan, and could only watch the sun set behind the walls of Jerusalem.

Intisar made an effort to locate me immediately after she arrived. When I saw her loving face, I felt that we were old friends. She was very affectionate and kind to me. After a year and a half, deprived of any friendly human communication with inmates, I was pleased to be with her. But at the same time, I was very sorry that she and her daughter were forced to share my agony: being confined with criminal prisoners and drug addicts and dealers. These prisoners harassed and cursed Intisar, calling her a murderess and terrorist-the same way they had been harassing me. Eventually, some of the other prisoners also behaved nicely toward Intisar. But when a Jewish inmate tried to carry Wattan in her arms, the other Jewish women prisoners warned her to keep away from the murderess' daughter. Wattan, who had been used to being showered with love and affection by everyone in the Sharon Prison, was now miserable and bewildered by the atmosphere of hate.

One of the few advantages of Neve Tirza was that visitors could be seen, spoken to, and touched directly without the mesh-wire that existed in the Sharon. However, starting October 25, this omission was rectified; during our visiting hours, a mesh-wire was set up for both of us.

After serving two thirds of her sentence, Intisar requested reduction of her sentence by one third. Because a baby cannot be held in prison after the age of two, a parole would spare the separation of mother and child. The request was rejected on October 11, yet the reasons for the refusal were classified. Her lawyer appealed. The appeal was rejected again, at the second hearing on November 21. Intisar was told that she would soon be taken to the hospital for surgery on her ear. She was also informed that there was nobody who could take care of her baby while she was gone. Lacking any alternative, Intisar gave the baby to her husband to take home. The separation was very difficult for both mother and child. As soon as Wattan was gone, on December 12, Intisar was returned to the Sharon Prison. Since I expected to be released soon, I was glad that at least Intisar was taken back to her friends in the Sharon.

I often remember Intisar and Wattan and the time we spent together. I feel that those months with them healed my soul after a long period of loneliness, and prepared me to leave prison with self-confidence, in a reasonable mental state. But it grieves me to hear of the pain that their separation caused them. Wattan still does not understand her plan to used funds from Hadassah (eventually $70000) to improve the quality of life of Jewish children in Palestine. In fall 1942, some 14000 Polish Jews, among the one million Polish Jews deported to Siberian concentration camps by Stalin, straggled into Iran, and made their way to Tehran; Henrietta immediately tried to set up the transport of 600-800 Polish Jewish children in Tehran to Palestine. In 12/1942, the first 700 Polish-Jews in Tehran were moved via Karachi to Palestine on a British troopship. She died in 1943: she never married and had no children.

60558. David, Victoria. "Mothers in Chains: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 32. The reason behind the transfer of mother and child, was a hunger strike organized by prisoners in the Sharon Prison, protesting the punishment of a fellow prisoner, A'ida Jamhour. A'ida had been beaten for singing songs about wattan; her songs had a dual meaning, referring both to the child and to her homeland. When the guards tried to separate Intisar and Wattan from the group, in order to spray the latter with tear gas, Intisar refused to budge. A'ida was later taken to Neve Tirza Prison and confined in a punishment cell. A few days later, Intisar was also moved to Neve Tirza—to the general wing, where I was already confined.

Like my friend Intisar Al-Qaq, those Palestinian women will never lose their capacity for maternal love.
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The data presented above demonstrates the major facets of the sexual division of labour in Israeli society. The inferior position of women in this division of labour is also reflected in the political power positions which women occupy in Israel. The capacity of women to effect change is circumscribed, too. In spite of the fact that Israel has had a woman Prime Minister there have been no more than two other ministers, and there has never been any appointed the position of deputy minister. Today there is no woman in government. The proportion of women in the Knesset is 8%, higher than many other parliaments, but lower than in previous years. There are few women in local government—one as a head of a local authority, and only one in twenty of local assembly seats. No woman has been mayor. One member of the Supreme Court, and the same number in the county courts, is female; there are none in the labour courts. In the civil service, only 17% of the higher positions are occupied by women, most in the health and welfare ministries; and no woman has become ambassador in the crucial business of external diplomacy. In the political parties, the proportions of women in the higher levels of activity are small; the socialist parties being the more generous (existence of a separate women's organization also affects these figures). In the trade unions only one about ten of representatives are women (in a third there are none), while in the Histradut assembly 14% of delegates are female. Throughout Zionist history women did organise in separate associations within the different streams of the movement. Most of the female members of the Knesset arrived there as a result of being active in those organizations, of which the main ideological role has been to reconcile the inherent conflicts between Zionism and the accomplishment of women's emancipation, and to co-opt women's struggles into the national ones. The lesson that participating in a national struggle does not necessarily lead to women's liberation is one which can be applied to the situation of women in many Third World countries. However, in other respects, Israel is different. In spite of the fact that Israel is situated in the Middle East, presenting itself as a product of a national liberation struggle and is poor in national resources, Israel is no part of the Third World. The flow of economic, political and human resources pouring into it enabled it to undergo a rapid course of development which makes its social and economic structure more similar to the industrialized 'Northern' countries.

The sexual division of labour in Israel has a pattern therefore, which has a lot in common with sexual division in other capitalist societies. Overall women participate less than men in the labour market; have less education; earn less money; have fewer positions of authority, and to a great extent their participation in the labour market is affected by, as well as reflected in, their role in the domestic domain. Some of these divisions are more emphasized than in Western societies as a result of the existence of traditional groups, which impose additional ideological and material blockages to women's employment. Furthermore, the sexual division is affected by other social divisions in Israeli society which cut across it, especially the joint ethnic/class structure which has evolved in Israel since its establishment. The sexual divisions of labour are sharper at the bottom of the class ladder, mainly because women of the higher classes can substitute their domestic duties and child (bearing and) rearing by other women.

However, the sexual division of labour in Zionist Israel cannot be fully understood in those terms. Its dynamics are dictated to a great extent by the specific demands of the Zionist endeavour imposed on women to fulfill their two primary roles: National reproduction; 'Manning' the rear.

Women are bearers of the national collectivity, delineating its boundaries and reproducing it over time, and as such they are controlled, economically and ideologically. But beyond this reproductive role, in Israel they have an acceptable productive one: to fill, in the ever fluctuating (mostly expanding) Zionist endeavour, positions which Israeli men cannot fill, as they are engaged in the economic and political, often military, forefront. One cannot understand the specific dynamics of the sexual division of labour in Israel without taking into account first, that Zionist Israel has been since its conception a war society; and second, that it has been dependent, for economic, political and human power on supplies from the Jewish Diaspora. The amount of pressure and differential emphasis put on Israeli women to fulfill their national reproductive and productive roles have depended a great deal on the state of play in the Zionist endeavour at various stages. In the last few years, probably more than ever before in Zionist history, Israeli women found themselves under pressure to fulfill both their roles at the same time, and more intensely.

These conflicting pressures, together with the ideological echoes from the growing international feminist movement, have brought a creeping awareness to many Israeli women that all is not well, unlike the smugness of ten to fifteen years before. However, feminism is a tiny and condemned minority among Israeli women, at the same time that Zionist women's organizations have been active in bringing legislation for the aim of women's equality (as opposed to women's liberation) which is constructed in such a way as not to challenge any of the constraints which Israeli women find themselves in. The Israeli feminist movement is confused, torn between the few who understand and relate the problems of women's position in Israeli society and the Zionist mode within which it exists, and the majority who refuse to challenge it. It is not coincidental that the 1980 Israeli feminist annual conference exploded around a proposal of some socialist feminists to express solidarity with the struggle of Palestinian women against their oppression, nor that one of the biggest 'feminist' outrages in the last few years have been of women who protested against the release of religious women from service in the army, avoiding their national duty. The clearest expression of the fear Zionism women (as well as men) have for the feminist movement, can be found in an article by a Member of the Knesset, Tamar Eshel, a leader of the Zionist women's organization Na'amat, and a strong lobbyist for women's equality legislation: "We, unlike feminists..."
emphasise the importance of the family cell... we do not think that one can take an ideological goal and apply it blindly without considering the general public... an extreme change as the feminists demand will split up the people at the time where it struggles for its mere existence"... Marsha Friedman the Israeli feminist who quotes this article, rightly points out that the same argument was used in the 1930s to object to giving voting rights to women... Perhaps the blindness is in other eyes. Without examining the basis and shape of Zionism, of which they are such an instrumental part, women will not be able to assert themselves in Israeli society, where both tradition and modernity seem to block women's true equality. [↩]

60561. Davis, Nora Yuval. Israeli Women and Men: Divisions Behind the Unity: Part 1: Introduction. Pamphlet. Change International Reports: Women and Society. London: Calverts Press, N.D. [1990?]. A great deal of myth has been attached to Israel in general and to Israeli women in particular, even though in the last few years alternative interpretations have begun to emerge. The picture of Israel as one great egalitarian Kibbutz, and of Israeli women as smiling girls with an orange-box on one shoulder, and a gun on the other, still persist however. Moreover, many feminists have sought in Israel a positive model of women's liberation, whether from a poster of Golda Meir as a feminist heroine or in women being drafted into the army. An Israeli woman has been thought to represent a model of a woman who has come to occupy an equal place in society by being fully, and equally, involved in the realization of nationalgoals. Examination of the reality reveals a 'very different, if complex, reality. The state of Israel was established in 1948. Set in a corner of south west Asia, Palestine, traditionally revered as the 'original' Jewish homeland—and of significance to both Christianity and Islam, its derivatives—it is primarily a product of the European Zionist movement. Physically perched in the Third World, Israel looks to the West for security and friendship. Although established as an exclusively Jewish state, aiming to gather world Jewry into Palestine, to date less than a quarter of world Jewry actually lives there. The bulk of the present 3.8 million persons migrated to Israel after it was established in 1948 (and a further quarter of a million have left again). The unique history of Israel's social and political formation before date has as great an influence on the status of women as the later years. Continuous external conflict and internal demands for fighting power drew women into military and economic action early on, and still largely determine the relationship of citizen, female and male, to the state. The special relationship between the Jewish religion and the Israeli state in turn still largely determines the legal and social relationships of men and women to one another. The transformation of Israel from a scattering of agricultural settlements into a modern, urban, capitalist welfare state of 7992 square miles (excluding the occupied territories) is the third dimension to women's position in Israel today. [↩]

60562. Davis, Nora Yuval. Israeli Women and Men: Divisions Behind the Unity: Part 1: Production and Reproduction: The Links. Pamphlet. Change International Reports: Women and Society. London: Calverts Press, N.D. [1990?]. The most distinct characteristic of women in the Yishaw was their scarcity. Their ratio to men was 1:2.5 up to 1:5 in the early Kibbutzim and colonizing work brigades. This scarcity was at a time when most Zionist immigrants were young and single, or childless couples, and thus, there was very low ratio of dependents to economically active adults. It was Jewish mothers in the Diaspora who were mostly fulfilling the reproductive function and thereby an unintentional international division of labour was created. Another distinctive characteristic of many of the pioneer women was that they aspired to join the men in realising the Zionists dream by fulfilling jobs which were considered important. As Golda Meir described it: "Rights— they had in abundance; (they struggled) for equality in duties... road construction, hoeing in the fields, house building or guard duties... and not be condemned to kitchen work...". But condemned to kitchen work they usually were. The demographic characteristics of the early Aliyot minimised domestic labour but did not cancel it out altogether and women were allowed to fill jobs in the productive sector only if there were enough other women to fulfill the domestic duties. Ada Maimon in her memoirs described a discussion in one of the early Kibbutzim when one of the men suggested bringing 'non-ideological' ones to the kitchen. There was no suggestion that men might take on any domestic labour duties when women were around to do it, although in the primitive conditions of the time, kitchen work usually involved hard physical labour. There is debate on the extent that this rigidity of the sexual division of labour originated mainly from traditional prejudice or was a result of competition with the local Palestinian population. What is clear, however, is that the collectivization of the Kibbutzim and work brigades developed in order to organise the necessary domestic labour and was effectively and to release more people for the cut-throat competition with the Palestinian laborers on the land. These were more used to the local conditions of labour, and had extended families and villages as supportive networks enabling them to survive as seasonal workers and as cheap labour. Whatever the reasons, the reality was clear. Sistxist attitudes prevalent among the settlers in the collectives were reinforced by the Zionist form of colonization. Kibbutzim and other collectives, numbers of members were men, persistently refused to accept more than a limited number of women—just enough to maintain the necessary services. Some had women only as hired help. The women in Degania—in the early years before this collective became a Kibbutz—were not considered members with equal rights. They were not registered in the annual contract made with the Palestine Office (of the Zionist movement), as were the male members, nor received the monthly salary which the Office paid to the men both in Degania and in neighboring Kineret. When the women demanded to be included in the contract the retort was that 'women work for the men, not for the Palestine Office of the Zionist movement'.

The status of individuals within the group was directly correlated with their earning ability; which, in turn, was measured against the productivity of the Arab male wage labourer. The arbiters were employers, such as the mandatory authorities in public works or Jewish farmers (early settler landowners), who had little or no stake either in the successes of Zionist enterprise or in the achievement of equality of women. The collective fear that 'women's work will cause a defect', induced by the Palestine Office which provided financial support—and shared by women members—was reinforced by the plain fact that women's wages were lower than men's. In consequence, the sexual division of labour found its use in the economic battle, as much as the military, against the local population. The combatant forces at the 'front' were the all-male Jewish collectives, contending with Arab wage laborers. The women formed auxiliary forces in the 'rear' to match the challenge of the Arab extended families. As in the military sphere, women could enter jobs previously filled only by men, but this did not cancel out supposedly natural sexual division of work, nor, in real numbers was it ever more than symbolic. In towns and cities, where the more traditional Jewish population lived, the employment of women was even smaller. Within the pioneer community women's work was concentrated in a very narrow range of occupations, mainly services. A survey from that period (1922) included 2,500 women workers of whom 1,600 were in towns and only 900 in agricultural settlements. The main work places of women were as cooks, in laundries, in kindergartens, in schools, as nurses, as office clerks and as domestic help. This distribution shows a remarkable similarity to the present occupational distribution among Jewish women in Israel. Only 447 women in the 1922 survey worked in the productive sector, of these, only 53 worked in construction. The similarities in patterns of women's employment in the 1920s and in contemporary Israel are, however, very misleading. Not only is the degree and mode of economic production very different in contemporary Israel, but also the social status of women who now fill those jobs would most probably be very different from those who filled them then. Before statehood the economic activity that took place in the
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Jewish sector was basically a primary economy aimed at colonizing the country; it was not yet a capitalist economy, although it followed patterns that were developed in capitalist countries, and with money supplied from them. It was only towards World War II that considerable numbers of people with their own capital migrated to Palestine, and only after the statehood of the large scale immigration of Oriental Jews, that the change occurred. As Swirsky and Bernstein describe, most of the new Oriental Jews received no education or were given cheap, mostly secular or religious schools, which played an integral part in the transformation of the Israeli economy from its primary stage into a capitalist economy. At the same time the class system of the new Israeli society was created, in which Oriental Jews occupied a specific place. As a result of the Oriental immigration, women, as so often happens, were pushed out of the labour market. This process had started already earlier in the economic crisis of the 1940s. The Histadrut (the Jewish Federation of Labour Unions) had passed a resolution that, at a time of unemployment, only one person of each household should work—a seemingly socialist resolution which had a major regressive impact on women’s right to employment. This shift was enhanced by the increase in the more traditional population and the growing number of children. In 1955 only 26.5% of Israeli women had jobs. The trend changed after the mid 1960s when immigration virtually stopped, and by 1979 34.9% of Israeli women were employed. The change over the period was even greater among married women, from 21.7% in 1955 to 38%.

The economic development of Israel in the 50s and 60s involved the expansion of ‘mixed farm’ agriculture, the export of citrus fruit, industrial farming (like cotton), massive building programmes and the development of industries that were mainly labour extensive, like textiles, diamonds, chemicals, metals and minerals. The class structure that emerged from this development involved the following categories: the government initiatory bureaucracy; owners of industrial estates (including Kibbutzim), bankers and ownership groups at whom government financing was directed; a wider stratum of engineers, technicians and skilled workers; a wide stratum of unskilled or semiskilled workers. The first three categories were composed mainly from western Jews—veterans and newcomers—and in the fourth category the Oriental Jews predominated. With the passing of time more Oriental Jews have moved up to the third category and Palestinian workers have become an increasing proportion in the first. The government initiatory bureaucracy had a key role in the development of the Israeli economy. Most of the funds invested in Israel continued to come from outside contributions and loans, mainly from world Jewry. They invested the money both out of Zionist sympathy and to reach the long-term subsidies promised by the government. To a great extent it is valid to call the Israeli economy state capitalist, both because the largest economic enterprises were in the direct ownership of the public sector (the government and the Histadrut) and because major investment in the private sector was controlled and directed by the state. The bourgeoisie that developed mainly after 1967 grew under government patronage. In the aftermath of the 1967 war significant changes were brought to Israel. For the first time Israel directly ruled a great number of Palestinians in the occupied territories who came to be a major economic factor, providing cheap labour in almost all unskilled jobs (and thus transforming Israel to an economy more similar to other colonial societies). This was accompanied by growing power among the bourgeoisie—one of the factors which brought the right wing Likud party to power in 1977. The capitalization of Israel as well as the growing heterogeneity in class and ethnic composition deeply affected the sexual division of labour. The extent to which women now participate in the labour market, and the occupations they choose and fill are highly dependent on class, with education as a major factor, and origin. The gap that exists between the educational level of men and women in Israel influences access to jobs. (This gap is even larger in the non-Jewish population, whose general educational level is lower). This discrepancy concerns not only the duration of study but also its direction. In professional secondary schools, for example, 54% of boys study technical professions but only 7.2% of girls participate in these streams. On the other hand 39% of girls do clerical studies, home economics and/or professional child-care while not a single boy participates in these courses. Differences can be found also among various university courses—there are more men in the natural sciences and more women in humanities. The academic level of girls who go to professional secondary school is lower than that of the boys who choose to go to this type of school. More girls than boys go to academic secondary school (this tendency is specific to the Jewish sector only) and beyond the age of 10 that outnumber boys in academic education. Three out of ten university places are filled by women. The educational factor affects patterns of work, pay and the actual contents of their employment. Generally, those women who are employed are concentrated in occupations which require higher levels of education than those of most men who can be found at the top and the bottom of the range of education. This relates to the fact that women’s ability to participate in the labour market is affected by her level of education, as one measure of her socioeconomic status in a way men’s does not.

Women are engaged in much more part-time work than men. Only 14.8% of the male working population have part-time jobs, in comparison to 40.1% of women workers. These percentages are especially high among those working in services and agricultural (47.8% and 41.8% respectively) but it is also very common in academic circles and among professionals (43.0% and 45.4% respectively). Another significant difference is in their employment status. only 0.9% among women are employers (in comparison to 5.8% of men) and only 4.5% are self-employed (in comparison to 14.1% of men). Only 8% of the managers are women and in general there is an imbalance of power between men and women (an imbalance which is reflected strongly in the political sphere as well). This imbalance also shows itself in the gap that exists between women’s and men’s average salary. Even when comparing income per hours (and thus neutralizing the fact that many women receive only part-time income for part-time jobs) we find that by 1979 an average man received £58.4 per hour and an average woman received £45.8. A Government Report on Equality suggest that the sexual income gap is larger between married women and married men. The gap in income is not uniform in all levels of income It is widest among industrial workers, and the narrowest among managers.

Daphna Izraeli found that 75.1% of Israeli women are engaged in ‘feminine’ occupations and 78.9% of the men are engaged in ‘masculine’ occupations. Only 13.1% among the working population work in jobs which belong to the other sex. Only in one occupational group (academic and scientific) are both women and men represented to the same extent (8.5%-9%). Women are also concentrated in a small number of occupations. Some 43% are concentrated in 28 jobs where they constitute at least 70% of employees, and 22% work in 10 in which they constitute more than 90% of the employees. Most of the ‘feminine’ occupations were extensions of traditional feminine roles in the house (cleaners, nurses, teachers), and there are also areas in which women concentrate in suboccupation (pediatricians among doctors, family sociologists etc). Other ‘feminine’ occupations are those which require patience and delicacy which are thought to be feminine characteristics (like typists and delicate electronics assembly). Clerical work is the largest occupation filled by women. Daphna Izraeli also found that in Israel, as in other countries, the salaries are lower in relation to the educational level required for ‘feminine’ occupations (ie in which there are at least 45% of women among the employees) than in ‘masculine’ professions (in which there are less than 25% of women). The finding is consistent at all educational levels. Thus, although women’s educational standard is expected to be higher to enter the labour market, most of the ‘feminine’ occupations open to them are below the average income. Men in ‘feminine’ jobs also earn less than men in ‘male’ jobs, but the opposite is not true. Women in ‘male’ occupations still usually earn lower income for ‘mixed’ professions in Israel, unlike other countries, have similar characteristics to ‘feminine’ ones.

The participation of Arab women in economic activity is even less, and at still lower occupation levels than both Jewish women (including those of Oriental origin) and Arab men, but their participation is fast growing. The government report mentions that 8.5% of Arab women were employed in 1977, which had grown to 15% by 1979. One
of the major reasons for this growth has been the establishment of workshops, mainly for the garment industry which enables Arab women, who are socially inhibited from leaving their villages, to become gainfully employed. One way in which Arab women do work outside their village is by going in groups led by a Rais to the workplace (be it in agriculture, industry or services—the three main areas where Arab women are employed). Usually Arab women are lowest paid and receive the least work, high wages are reserved to Occidental (western) women (they are primarily bread winners who have the responsibility of keeping their menfolk). Most Arab women, however, work as unpaid ('unproductive') labour in their villages both in their homes and in the family fields, where these still exist. Arab men mostly work outside their villages as skilled and semi-skilled laborers and are concentrated in building, industry and agriculture. The segregated areas of employment are not unrelated to one another. The participation of Jewish women in the service sector releases Jewish males to work in the industrial productive sector; Palestinian women's labour releases Palestinian men to work in certain areas of production; the supportive labour of both Jewish women and Palestinian men allow Jewish men to work in security-related industry, and to spend two months a year (on average) in military service. This presents another manifestation of the basic division of the 'rear' and 'front' pattern. The fact that Palestinian men have come to occupy a place in this system, rigidifying women's 'feminine' occupation, has had its drawbacks from a Zionist point of view, as became apparent in the 1973 war. The prolonged mobilization of most of the male population brought the economy to a standstill which was further aggravated by the inability of the un mobilised women to take over, even temporarily, many of the 'male' occupations due to lack of skills. Since 1973 there has been a growing demand that concerted effort be made by the state to diversify women's occupations so that they can substitute better for men during emergencies. As will be shown regarding the army, the growing strain on human resources may bring about less sexually stereo-typed division of labour and a redefinition of 'rear' and 'front' in the economy.

The involvement of women in paid employment is, as elsewhere, also determined by their marital status and reproductive role. At the time of the Yishav, the main reproducers were the Jewish women in the Diaspora who bore and reared people for immigration to Palestine. Immigrants children, born in Palestine, were known as Sabras (a nickname, derived from the common cacti grown in Israel), mostly worked outside, soft inside...) and were seen as the hope and the future of the Zionist movement—the New Jews, who would grow up without the distorting effects of the Diaspora. Collective childrearing in the Kibbutzim did not mean their neglect, on the contrary, it occupied a central ideological position that combined with traditional emphasis on the family. Numerically, however, they were negligible until the 1940s. In some early Kibbutzim the general assembly had the power to approve whether or not the community could afford children. This changed when the British limited immigration. Ben-Gurion coined the concept of Aliya Pnim, 'internal immigration', that replaced the immigration of Jews from abroad. Women were urged to become mothers in fulfillment of their national role. After the establishment of the state, special financial and honorary rewards were given to mothers of ten children, and at a later stage Natality and Demographic Committees were established in order to encourage women to reproduce. The issue became more important from the late 1960s when Jewish immigrants ceased to be the main childbearers, and special child benefit programmes to encourage a higher rate of birth (3 or more) were accompanied by vigorous propaganda. (Although in the last few years they have lost a lot of their real economic incentive with flooding inflation).

The main motive in encouraging Jewish women to reproduce is to supply enough human power to ensure the continuing superiority of Zionism. Part of the need is merely numerical, producing, what M.P. U. Avnery has called 'A psychology of rabbits'. Golda Meir is known to have said that her sleep was disturbed at night thinking about the Arab babies being born every minute. This does not relate only to the surrounding states, but to the Palestinian minority within Israel, which has one of the highest rates of reproduction in the world. A secret memorandum, 'Handing the Arabs of Israel', submitted to Prime Minister Rabin in 1976, was leaked to the newspaper Al-Hamishmar. Its author, Israel Koenig, Northern District Commissioner for the Ministry of the Interior, and as such in charge of Arab affairs in Galilee, pointed out that 'the rate of natural growth of the Arab population is 5.9% per annum, in comparison with 1.5% for the Jewish population... On this basis, by 1978 the Arabs will constitute 51% of the population in the northern district... Their growth in Galilee is dangerous to our very control over the district...'. The report purported to evaluate, and suggest ways to counteract this threat. One telling proposal was that 'the government should find a way to neutralise the granting of allowances to Arab families with many children, which could be done either by linking it to economic status or by taking (the administration of) these allowances away from the national insurance and transferring them to the Jewish Agency... for Jews only'. The government did find a way: child allowances are given to all the citizens of Israel (as betting a democratic welfare state) but those 'who have had a relative in the Israeli army' get more and the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians are not recruited. The Jewish families which, for various reasons (which include extreme religious orthodoxy), do not have a relative who has served in the army, get added benefits direct from the Jewish Agency. Here, as in many other instances (for example, ownership of land), the dual ruling mechanism of the state and the Jewish Agency help to keep a subtle 'apartheid' system in Israel without seemingly offending the 'universal democratic' functioning of the state. In the same way young Jewish couples get other state help, such as in subsidies for accommodation, which are not available to the Palestinian citizen. However, the issue is more sophisticated. Policy-makers are aware that the supremacy of the Zionist movement over its enemies is very much a function of technological supremacy, as well as of an efficient and committed national, and military, body. This notion is coupled with racist undertones not only towards the Arabs, but also towards the Oriental Jews. The oft quoted Golda Meir exclaimed at the beginning of Russian Jewish immigration to Israel in the 1970s that at last 'real Jews' are coming to Israel again.

Strong ideological pressures act upon Occidental and education, as well as the more religious, to bear children. Israel is a wholly family based society. Perez and Katz quote an international comparative study showing, that taking the three measures of familiarity—rate of marriage, rate of divorce and birth rate—Israel is among the highest in the world. Women of Oriental origin have the higher number of Jewish births (3.2 in comparison with 2.1 of Occidental women), but in general Israeli women have a high number of children, and the rate is rising— in 1977 the average number of children per family in the Jewish population was 1.7, while in 1979 it was 2.4. Mothers of 30-34 years-old have numbers of children (2.9 per family) which are highly atypical in capitalist societies, including those with 13 or more years of schooling. This is unlikely to mean that Israeli women bear children consciously for 'national reasons', but it does reflect a public climate which pressures and approves large numbers of children. Corresponding to this rise in the overall birthrate, less domestic help is available. The second generation of Oriental women, having some educational qualifications, usually prefers other types of jobs. If work in service accounts for half the work performed by Oriental women who migrated to Israel before 1948 and 42.1% of those who arrived before 1954, it now accounts to only 16% of women who were born in Israel of Oriental parents. Satisfactory alternatives to domestic help in child rearing are not available. Most of the Jewish children in Israel have been born by Oriental Jewish mothers. Continent of origin and level of education are the best indicators in predicting the number of children for Israeli women. The same indicators are those which predict women's employment later. Israeli or Occidental in origin with a high level of education, characterize most of the Jewish Israeli women workers. These show that while clerical work seems to be the 'feminine occupation' that cuts across continent of origin, the professions seem to be reserved to Occidental (western) women, and services to the Oriental.

This division of occupations brings us to the issue of
exchangeability. Domestic service by nature is a substitutive female occupation; it releases some women to work outside their home as other women fill their tasks in the home (presupposing also that childcare is solely a female responsibility). The statistics show that the more children the woman has, the less likelihood that she will have domestic help. If she is employed at all, the chances are that she works as a domestic help elsewhere—a part-time job that requires no qualifications. The conditions for full-time employment in the capitalist labour market are contradictory, because of the problem of domestic labour and childcare, unless the community or state supply services. The collectivization of domestic labour in the Kibbutzim supplies such services, but the Kibbutzim contain only 3% of the Israeli population. In towns, the normal pattern is for private domestic help, which poses a long-term problem. There are many contradictory tendencies and constraints on prospects for change. The Government report on the position of Israeli women reports that in 1977 there were 600 full day nurseries which took care of 32000 children, half of whom had priority for social and familial reasons, about one fifth of the children of working mothers. Most of the children of under school age are in 5 hour day nurseries or at home. Young school children also finish primary school at midday, and only 45 schools in Israel have a full study day, with 80% of their pupils from needy families. There is a chronic shortage of afternoon and school holiday centres. Transforming this system to a more satisfactory one would demand investment which is not thought to be available in the present state of the Israeli economy, in the face of the military budget demands. At the same time, the demand for women's labour has been rising, partly in common with other capitalist countries and partly with the development of the technology and microelectronics. However, other factors are more specific to Israel. In the first place, the end of the Jewish mass immigration, which put pressure on women to reproduce children, also put short term pressure on them to occupy places in the labour market. The Palestinian labour force, for political reasons and education cannot supply this reserve. Lastly, during the last decade the number of men (aged 14 and over) in the Israeli civil workforce went down drastically—from 80.1% in 1955 to 63.9% in 1979. Part of this phenomenon is due to the rise in level of education in secondary schools and universities, but part is the growing need of military manpower since 1967. It is not a result of a growing involvement of men in domestic duties. It is a common observation that even in traditional societies many women find that they are required to be 'superwomen': to continue to fulfill all their traditional domestic roles in addition to their new ones in the labour market, and even some other tasks associated with male roles. The pressures put on women in the future may indeed demand their transformation into such beings—unless it breaks them or the system breaks first. [–]

60563. Davis, Nora Yuval. Israeli Women and Men: Divisions Behind the Unity: Part 1: Women as Constituted in Israeli Law: Tradition and Modernity. Pamphlet. Change International Reports: Women and Society. London: Calverts Press, N.D. [1990?]. The juridical arm of the function of women is within the sphere of the family and home, out of which they gain the vote. Interestingly, even after the establishment of the state, Golda Meir was prevented from becoming the Mayor of Tel Aviv, as the religious parties claimed that only men, according to the Halakha (the religious code) can be heads of political bodies. Nowadays a woman has actually accepted her as a Prime Minister with the rationalization that in Israel the Prime Minister is only 'the first among equals'. However, there has never been a female mayor in Israel. The text of the declaration of independence in 1948 rejected discrimination on grounds of sex, along with religious and racial discrimination. This document was later stated by the Israeli Supreme Court to be of declarative value only, and not legally committing. Israel has no written constitution, and instead it was decided that the Knesset should gradually legislate a series of Foundation Laws, which would have the status of secular constitutional law. In 1951 a general secular law (not a Foundation Law) on equal rights for women was passed. It is not coincidental that the female Knesset member who proposed this law eventually abstained from voting, for the text was modified extensively. An amendment had excluded the important section on marriage and divorce from its jurisdiction, keeping them exclusively in the preserve of the Rabbinical Courts.

In 1975, an attempt was made to pass in the Knesset a Foundation Law of women's equality. This proposal failed, and the then Prime Minister, Itzhak Rabin of the Labour Party declared that such a law would never be allowed to pass. Today there is discussion about another proposal for a Foundation Law on civil rights, which should include a clause which secures sex equality. This proposal has more chance of being passed. The difference between these two proposals is that the first would have invalidated any law which contradicted its spirit, whereas the present proposal has a specific clause stating that this law will not invalidate any prior legislation. In other words, the proposed civil rights Foundation Law will, if passed perpetuate any legal inequality which exists now. As such, the acceptance of this Foundation Law would change the present situation in Israel very little. Secular laws which do constitute women as different from men are basically similar to those which are found in Western welfare states. Elizabeth Wilson has already shown that various laws which relate to women in the welfare state of Britain constitute her not as a person, but as a mother, who bears and rears children as future workers and citizens. Hilary Land has shown another dimension: taxation laws, for example, constitute women primarily, not as mothers but as wives—whose income (if any) is perceived basically as a secondary part of the family income. Social benefits are calculated accordingly, reinforcing women's dependent status. In Israeli legislation the position is similar. Even when a law seems to grant special privileges (rather than additional duties) for women, these privileges are based on the global view that the primary function of women is within the sphere of the family and home, out of reach of such law. A typical example is the law of women's labour (1954). This forbids, among other things, nightwork for women. The principle that guided the legislators, according to the lawyer A. Azmon in his (government publication) legal guide, is that 'nightwork might have a damaging physiological effect, especially on women who usually carry the responsibilities of domestic labour and taking care of children'. There is now growing opposition to this law, not so much against the assumption behind it, but because it has been proven that in reality this law blocks women from entering and progressing in careers. It also lacks any practical protective value, as virtually every employer who needs women's work at unsocial hours—in hospitals, on telephone switchboards, or in factories which work in three shifts—can get the necessary exemption. Another clause forbids women from working in certain jobs which are considered dangerous, for example, with certain minerals or dust. The worry is less for the women, than for their reproductive value. Some of the jobs are forbidden only to pregnant women, while others are forbidden to women who are of reproductive age (to 45), regardless of personal plans concerning children This law
does allow special rights to women workers before and after giving birth. Employers are not allowed to fire pregnant women, and they are entitled to leave after birth and during breast-feeding. In addition women are allowed to take unpaid leave after a child's birth for up to a year. No paternity leave or opportunity for parental leave is given.

The national insurance law similarly relates to women as those solely responsible not only for bearing children, but also for rearing them. Women are given a special birth grant, and later receive the children's allowances directly. The national service law releases women from army service once they marry or are pregnant. National insurance for the old-aged and dependent relatives, and income tax relate to women as wives. Married couples are now given the right to enjoy pensions and insurance benefits of their spouses even if they did not pay for themselves, and the tax law applies both to common-law marriage and valid marriage, as long as one of the spouses is not married to someone else. This issue, recognizes persons only as parts of a family rather than as independent human beings. In 1974 and 1976, income tax law was changed to allow women not only to report separately, if they so wish, and also to have the right to look through their income tax files. Previously this was forbidden, because their reports are kept in their husbands' files, and only the person on whose name is on the file was allowed to study its contents. Another controversial law constitutes women not as wives or mothers, but basically as weaker, or more delicate creatures than men: the state service law of 1970 which determines that women must retire at 60, and men at the age of 65 (although the average life-span of women is longer than that of men). Opponents of this law claim that it blocks the progress of women to top positions, usually arrived at in the final years of a career. Only in the civil service do women retire, like men, at the age of 65. A specially interesting clause in the law permits widows and war bereaved parents, who are physically eligible, to continue and work until the age of 70. In addition to this several other secular laws have been passed which attempt to secure the legal equality of women. One deals with equal pay for female and male workers (dating from 1964), which states that male and female workers should receive the same wage for the same work. In 1974 this law was changed so that male and female workers will receive equal pay for work 'which is basically the same'. This addition was necessary, for many occupations became sex-defined (which is especially easy in Hebrew, as every noun and adjective are gender defined). The law of property relations between husbands and wives (1973) requires an equal division between the spouses of a $D$ property acquired during the marriage when it terminates. However, this law does not commit the spouses if they choose to take their case to Rabbinical Courts (which have a parallel authority to the civil courts on these issues). This is an important example where sex equality has been limited for the benefit of traditional religious law, incorporated into state law. The principle of equality in law between men and women applies, unless otherwise specified, to all state laws. These have been developed to emphasise the principle of equality in areas where social reality deviates sharply from it. Thus there does exist an important, but only partial, dimension in Israeli legislation which constitutes women as persons and as equal members of society.

The only area of law where there has been significant change in the law's attitude to women in the last few years, has been related to abortion. For many years abortions were illegal in Israel, although usually nobody was prosecuted. An abortion was therefore dependent on a woman's means. In 1976 a law was passed which allowed women who received the formal agreement of a 3 member committee (composed of two doctors and one social worker, at least one of whom is a woman) to have a legal abortion. The accepted grounds for an abortion were related to the physical health of the mother, the pregnancy being a result of forbidden (incestuous) relationship, or the social-mental position of the woman. When the Likud party came to power (in 1977) it changed the social clause under the pressure from the religious parties, who had made it a condition for signing the coalition agreement. The influence of religious legislation, both in text and practice is demonstrated again.

In 1981 another law was passed, originally inspired by the recommendations of the government committee on the position of women in Israel. The law of equal opportunities in employment has been accepted with disappointment by the same lobby that exerted pressure for its adoption. It lacks 'teeth' to enforce its application, and does not stop the social restrictive privileges of women's work, like forbidding night work for women or giving exclusive maternity leave. Most importantly, it continues the practice that only directly involved, individual workers (rather than pressure groups or trade unions, as in the USA for instance) can complain about discrimination. In the past this has almost totally prevented women from using the law, being afraid of the label 'trouble-maker'. Interestingly enough, those cases which did make it to the courts, which can be counted in single numbers found the judges sympathetic.

The main area in which religious legislation is exercised is that of family law marriage and divorce are dealt with exclusively by the religious courts, and in the other areas, like guardianship of children and property, they have autonomy authority parallel to that of the secular courts. Muslim and Christian courts deal with the non-Jewish citizens of the state, but for reasons of space only the Rabbinical court with authority over the majority Jewish population will be discussed here. The judges in the Rabbinical Courts are civil servants appointed by the president on the recommendation of an appointments committee whose composition and authority are anchored in secular law, and it can be supposed that women can be appointed in future. One of the law of equal rights for women states that women should have equal access to professions regulated by law. Not so one of the qualifications for appointment to judge of the Rabbinical Court is rabbinical ordination, for which, by religious law, any woman, no matter how knowledgeable she may be, is unfit precisely because she is a woman. The religious laws prevent women from appearing as witnesses in Rabbinical courts (in practice, some women have appeared in religious courts other than as marriage witnesses, but their sex can be given as a reason for devaluing their testimony). Women are also prevented from participating in elections of chief rabbis or municipal rabbis, from sitting on religious councils, and from participating in elections to those councils, despite the fact that these bodies are state financed and that these prohibitions have no authority in the secular law. The legal code of the Rabbinical Courts is the orthodox Halacha as summarized in the Shulkan Aruch, crystallised in the seventeenth century but based on an ancient code from the second, if not before. Judaism, being a religion which puts the emphasis on following certain practices than belief in certain dogmas, has instructions and directions to follow every moment of the day. The general attitude of the religious code towards women is that which applies to an inferior being. It includes the equation of women to dogs and pigs, and a daily prayer of the Jewish male rejoices, 'Blessed be thou that did not make me a woman'. It also forbids women to study or lead prayers (an instruction perpetuated by St Paul in Christianity). For a considerable time around women's monthly period they are thought to be impure and sexually untouchable. Religious observation as a matter of personal choice is not our concern here. However, in Israel these religious orientations are devoutly followed by the judges of the courts which have exclusive power in the determination of the Israeli Jewish family, with far reaching implications for the relations between spouses; parents and children; issues like legal representation of children in the family courts; and issues like inheritance. The judges' personal status as members of the Israeli Jewish community is important in determining how they will decide in family matters. Women cannot divorce their husbands unless the latter agrees. A woman cannot divorce her husband unless the latter agrees. The law of equal opportunities in employment has been accepted with disappointment by the same lobby that exerted pressure for its adoption. It lacks 'teeth' to enforce its application, and does not stop the social restrictive privileges of women's work, like forbidding night work for women or giving exclusive maternity leave. Most importantly, it continues the practice that only directly involved, individual workers (rather than pressure groups or trade unions, as in the USA for instance) can complain about discrimination. In the past this has almost totally prevented women from using the law, being afraid of the label 'trouble-maker'. Interestingly enough, those cases which did make it to the courts, which can be counted in single numbers found the judges sympathetic.

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women. These decisions meant the women in the Palmach continued to go out to the front with the men, but their desirable role in the battle was defined as auxiliary, such as nurses, drivers, and signalers. In the later phases of the war, the Palmach began to develop more specialized units for women, such as medical corps and signal corps. By the end of the war, women accounted for about 15% of the Palmach's fighting force.

The question of women in the military continued to be a topic of debate after the establishment of the State of Israel. The 1948 constitution of Israel, which was the provincial constitution at the time, did not explicitly allow women to serve in the military. However, the military commanders were allowed to recruit women for auxiliary roles. Over time, the role of women in the military expanded, with women serving in combat units and taking on roles that were previously limited to men. For example, in the 1970s, women began to serve in elite commando units.

The legal status of women in the military varied depending on the country. In some countries, such as the United States, women were allowed to serve in combat roles, while in others, such as Israel, women were limited to auxiliary roles. The legal status of women in the military continued to evolve over time, with debates continuing about the role of women in the military and the extent of their rights and responsibilities.

In conclusion, the role of women in the military has evolved significantly over time, with women taking on increasingly greater roles in combat and auxiliary roles. The legal status of women in the military has also evolved over time, with debates continuing about the role of women in the military and the extent of their rights and responsibilities.
A totally different military experience was given to the women from the Yishav who volunteered (despite the ambivalence of the Yishav) to the British army during World War II, and served in the units of ATS and WAAFS. This volunteering was within the policy of the Yishuv during the war with the Nazis which was summed up by Ben-Gurion: "We shall fight the war as if there is no White paper, and shall fight the White paper as if there is no war". The 4000 women who volunteered in the British army served as part of the ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service, commonly known as the WAAFS). It was the first time that women from the Yishuv had served in a regular army, and the ATS became to a great extent the model on which women's role in Zahal (the Israeli army) was later shaped. Unlike the Hagana and Palmach, the female roles in women in ATS were clearly defined, organizationally and functionally. Women were separated from the men and organised in units of 50-60, living in special quarters in big army bases from which they used to go out to their daily duties. Women in ATS were kept clearly away from combat roles as well as from the front. They worked as drivers, in offices, stores, hospitals, and communications. As auxiliary forces, they were also partly prohibited from tasks which were open to British women, for example, from acting as registered nurses or doctors, or, for a time, from driving ambulances (even though they were driving 3 ton lorries). Another dimension of female activity in the war was very small in numbers, but highly significant symbolically. A special unit of the Palmach, composed of 25 men and three women, went out on a secret mission for the British, and were parachuted behind the enemy lines in Europe to help in the escape of British war captives and Jewish refugees conquered Europe. Two of the women, Hana Senesh and Havia Reich, and seven men were caught, tortured, and executed. The memory of their heroism became a symbol both of national sacrifice and the equal heroic participation of women from the Yishuv in the war.

The 1948 war, which was the reaction of the Arab world to Israel's declaration of independence, marks the transformation period from the Yishav to statehood. One facet of this was the conversion of the Hagana and the dissenting organizations into a regular army, and of women's role within it. The first stage of the war, about six months, concentrated mainly on controlling roads, which were crucial for transferring supplies and forces to different settlements. During this stage women's participation was the most active. In many cases, they did not stay in the bases or outposts, but fought with the men. Women were in war combat roles as snipers, accompanying convoys, and so forth, but mostly in auxiliary roles as signalers, nurses and so forth. Women in combat were perceived ambivalently, on the one hand they were under constant pressure to prove themselves as good and hard as the men, and on the other hand, even when it was admitted (as was very often the case) that they were as good, they were considered distracting, causing special worries concerning their fate (as women) if captured by the enemy. At a later stage, the army ceased to be voluntary and became a regular standing army, recruited nationally. As the military expanded and the balance of power changed in favour of Israel, the differentiation between the roles of men and women grew wider. An explicit instruction was given to take women away from the front (which still did not mean complete safety, because of the small size of the country, but did decrease their chances of being captured alive by the enemy). The roles of women in the bases and outposts were basically administrative, secretarial, training, cooking, cultural and education (by teaching Hebrew to the new immigrants who had volunteered from abroad to join the fighting forces).

The modern Israeli military combines the services for land, sea and air, and is known as Zahal. Chen, the Women's Corps defined as one of the goal-oriented command units of Zahal, emerged from the debate between those who wanted to adopt the model of the British army, and those who wanted to adopt the model of the Hagana-Palmach. One of the basic disagreements concerned the extent to which women should be kept in separate corps, as they had in the British army, or in mixed ones, as in the Hagana-Palmach. The solution, and its name, was a compromise. It is not coincidental, however, that from the establishment of Chen, until 1970, all the commanding officers were ex-ATS officers. The name first suggested was Auxiliary Women's Corps, but the name Chen, Women's Corps, was finally adopted, both because its initials in Hebrew meant 'charm' (a feminine characteristic, emphasised in the corps) and because dropping the 'Auxiliary' gives it a more egalitarian connotation.

All the women in Zahal formally belong to Chen, but their membership of the corps is more diffuse than the relationship of the men to their units. This is because most of the women in the army are under the command of male officers. They are not sent out to do specific jobs in the army, not as a result of the decisions of Chen, but as a result of manpower decisions taken by General Headquarters and other command units, which are all headed by men. The senior officers of Chen only fill advisory capacities in General Headquarters and the different branches and command units of the army. As Shif and Haber sum up 'the synthesis was crystallized between senior officers (in Chen) as consultants, and junior officers as commanders (in the 1960s)'. The power of command of the junior officers in Chen relates to the two areas exclusively under Chen authority: basic training and jurisdictional authority. Every woman who is recruited to the army undergoes a course of basic training, which usually takes about three weeks. In this course she is trained in physical fitness, usage of personal arms, and given lectures on various topics from Zionism to cosmetics, and most of all, in adjustment to military discipline. Exclusive jurisdictional authority over the women soldiers rest with Chen officers, who alone can judge women accused of any military offence (although most complaints come from the males under whom they are working). In addition, Chen offices in big army bases would usually be responsible for the separate living quarters of the women soldiers (women in Zahal are not allowed to live in places where separate showers and minimal facilities are not available) and for the guard duties of female soldiers. The myth of women's equality in the Israeli army leans heavily on women's military activities during the pre-state period, but even that was largely fiction. During that period the separation of duties according to sex was more fluid, but nevertheless existed, at least for most women who participated in the military activity. The illusion of equality is due to two central facts. When there were no separate female units, divisions were often informal in nature, from Hashomer to the Palmach, an informality which indeed allowed for an easing of both unwritten and declared rules keeping women away from combat activity. The nature of the military struggle before and during the establishment of the state was such that the essential feature, keeping women in the rear and men in the front, could not be fulfilled. For the war took place in territory where people actually lived, so women's guard duty was immediately necessary. Only when the two zones of war separated because the war zone widened, did women's participation at the front become the exception rather than the rule. Flexibility allowing for exceptions virtually disappeared once Zahal was established, due partly to the crucial effect that the British army, as a model of a 'proper' army, had on the build-up of Zahal in general, and Chen in particular. From then on, attributing of jobs by sex began to determine the role which a person would fulfill in the army. This does not necessarily mean that all the military categories are determined exclusively as male or female. During the years, the range of specific tasks women (and men) have carried out in the army has changed with the development of new military techniques and factors, entailing a corresponding change in the overlap of female and male roles. The crucial factor is that each task, at a different point in time, is defined as open to either males and/or females, as a deliberate characteristic of the job description. In spite of the changes in the actual roles, the attribution by sex is not random. One of its crucial determinants is that of the division between front and rear. This distinction is much more important than the combat/non-combat role division. Modern (missile determined) warfare makes the distinction more relevant than ever before. Zahal was defined, from its establishment, as a major state 'melting pot' process where the socialization of the soldiers of various Jewish origins should take place, in order to transform them into the desired model of 'the Israeli'. This process has been aimed mainly at the male soldiers, because females whom the army calculated would need special, intensive care (19% of women in 1976/77) were not recruited at all. Yet the actual educational and welfare work in the army is carried out by women—who come from
higher socio-economic strata than the men. The result is that, while the female officers are usually found in inferior power positions to men who come from similar backgrounds, they appear in power and ‘patronage’ positions over the lower levels of Israeli male soldiers.

Recently a new area of labour has developed in the army. This is delicate industrial work, whether in mechanics or electronics. This type of work, unlike operational tasks, used to be done by men and has become part of the functional ‘rear’ as the front expanded; but, in some of its specializations, it is a new market for labour emerging from technological innovations in sophisticated armaments. As in other countries, in both military and civilian labour markets, women were thought to be suitable to fill these jobs—with the patience and delicacy of touch required. However, this type of labour may also profoundly change the patterns of female participation in the army as (for almost the first time) it involves women in occupations requiring longer training periods, which in turn might affect not only the length of service of women, but also their present dispensability at the front in times of emergency.

Other social divisions in Israeli society which cut across the sexual division persist. Zahal is not a universal microcosm, and are specific to it. In operation, the law of national security service which recruits Israeli men and women to the army refutes the supposed universality of recruitment. The law of 1969 states that every Israeli citizen or permanent resident has to enter the regular army: as a man, between the ages of 18-29, and a woman between 18-26 (unless they are medical doctors or dentists, in which case they can be called up until the age of 38). Nevertheless, in the year 1976/77, only just over half of Jewish women in that age group were recruited, and it seems that the percentage has been smaller since, for legal changes on the procedure of releasing religious women from the service were passed by the conservative Begin government. The 48.5% who were not called to serve in the army can be divided as following: 2% were released for medical reasons; 0.5% for administrative reasons; 18.5% for religious and conscientious objection; 8% married before recruitment age; 0.5% were dead or otherwise unavailable; 19% was unsuitable for personality reasons or education. The proportion of women who are Israeli citizens or permanent residents and who do not serve in the army is even higher if we remember that all non-Jewish women (who constitute about 15% of the female population in Israel proper, within the pre-1967 borders) are not called to serve in the army.

Also most non-Jewish male citizens do not join the army; the few exceptions are those who are members of smaller ethnic minorities with a history of persecution by other Palestinians and considered loyal to the Zionist state. The women of the Druze or the Bedouins are not kept out of the army because they are thought to be security risks, but because, firstly they come from conservative religious backgrounds where it is traditionally believed women should continue to live at home until they marry; and secondly, the army is not interested in female soldiers under a certain educational level (unlike the case of men) which the overwhelming majority of these women do not obtain, even if their families would have been willing to release them for duty. Within the Jewish population, it is again religious-conservative homes and insufficient education, which leave about two-fifths of women outside the ‘universal’ recruitment of women to the army. The majority of these come from families who did not join the voluntary military forces of the Yishuv Those who did were mostly secular, of Ashkenazi (Western or Occidental) origin, and had a secondary school education. Jewish men who were not recruited to the army also come from the same social background, but the proportion who were not recruited overall however, comes to less than one tenth. Israeli law does not recognise ‘conscientious objection’ as legitimate grounds for men to be released from serving in the army. Those very few who insist are usually taken to prison for a while, and then released mostly on ‘medical’ grounds. Extremely religious men have their service in the army postponed as long as they studied in Yeshivot (high religious educational institutes) and often end up avoiding service altogether. By contrast, women are legally recognized in the security service law as eligible for release from service for ‘religious and conscientious reasons’. In order to be released they used to have to appear before a committee and bring two witnesses, to prove that they were religious (ie did not travel on the Sabbath and ate only Kosher food). In the coalition agreement of 1977 (which was later passed as an amendment to the security service law) it was agreed that a ‘genuine declaration’ of ‘religiosity’ would suffice, and the confirmation of a committee was no longer needed. (This step evoked a great deal of opposition especially from non-religious women, who were afraid that their burden, especially in the reserve service, would increase). It is important to emphasize that the release of women on religious grounds was a concession to the religious parties who had objected, to any females in the army for fear of their ‘moral corruption’. Women released from service were originally supposed to work in alternative civil service, but this has never been enforced and only a negligible number volunteer to do so, mainly in hospitals.

The second large category of women who are released from serving in the army are those whom the army decides are ‘qualitatively’ unsuitable. The qualities required include a knowledge of Hebrew, a minimum level of education and a certain level of performance in psychotechnic tests. (Anyone with a criminal record is not recruited to the army either). The release of soldiers on these grounds is much higher among women than men (as men are given, unlike women, an opportunity for complementary education within the army), but the result is that one fifth of women who are recruited are classified as ‘officer’ quality, in contrast to only one tenth of male recruits.

The third category of women released from regular military service are those who have already started to fulfill their reproductive role, women who marry, pregnant women (including those who want to have an abortion) or women with children, are all released even if they are in the middle of their service. Only women in the small professional army are allowed to serve when they have families.

The women whom Zahal does not recruit to the regular army (apart from a small extremely religious Ashkenazi group) mostly come from the ‘Second Israel’; the direct implication being that they should not take part in the process of social integration intended for their men. Zahal is far from being the perfect ‘melting pot’ which Ben-Gurion dreamt it would be. Class and cultural distinctions are well reflected within the internal stratification of the army. However, Zahal does (and before 1973 even more so) invest a lot of resources in order to educate and acculturate the men, for ideological reasons—but also to motivate them for the constant confrontation with Israel’s neighbors, which is rooted in the way both nation, and state were established. Confrontation and the small size of the nation have created a need for a maximum mobility of people in and out of the army under the slogan of ‘there is no alternative’. The demands of the army must be met with human power and investment, creating a strong symbolic identification between the people and the state, with the army as a major mediating mechanism. This close relationship was ‘purest’ in the Yishuv period when the voluntary character was greatest, although Zahal was succeeded in conserving it even with the great changes in population composition. Yet this mediating mechanism is largely between the state and men. Women constitute a minority in the regular army, a smaller minority in the professional army, and they almost take no part in the Reserve. While women do participate in the socialization process as teachers and welfare workers, the process itself is directed towards the men.
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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Clerical-65%

Technical-35%

Figure 60564. Composition of Military Occupational Specialties To Which Women Are Assigned in the Israeli Army (1977-1978 data).

The female roles in Zahal basically belong to the rear. Once rear-front differentiation exists, even when the 'front' is defined as the field of the settlement and the 'rear' as its infrastructure, the front becomes the male domain and the rear the women's. Even the government committee on the position of women in Israel, aspiring to promote more sex equality in the army recommended 'to open all the roles, with the exception of fighting roles in the front, to women's service'. Since the 1948 war, women have not been allowed to remain at the front once an emergency has been declared, and the front actually exists, thus it was stressed by the authorities that the three women soldiers who were killed during the 1967 war met their death by staying at the front, disobeying explicit orders. The rear and the front do not constitute static categories; specific geographical or functional areas; they are redefined in each specific situation. Once the front expands, the rear follows suit and women will be allowed to fulfill tasks which were forbidden to them before, in order to release men to new duties at the front. There is a partial overlap between being at the front and fulfilling combat roles. Face-to-face fighting is both combat and at the front. But the mere use of arms, or driving a tank, is a combat role, although it does not necessarily have to take place at the front. (Thus women in the British airforce in World War II were gunners, but still remained in the rear, while women who train other soldiers to drive tanks fill a combat role, but one which is still a part of the rear functions.) The need for humanresources from within Israel's tiny population in the last few years has opened more combat roles to women, but this opening has not damaged the basic principle of the front-rear sexual division in the army. The length of service of women in Zahal has usually been 18-24 months, which is 4-6 months shorter than that of the men. They are then obliged to serve in the reserve army until they are pregnant, married, or reach the age of 24 (previously 26). At various stages, though, this reserve status was used more in principle than in practice, unless the women had a specifically necessary military skill. Some women do continue to serve in the professional army, but they constitute less than one tenth of its composition and are concentrated usually in the lower ranks. The salaries of female soldiers are identical to those of men at the same rank, as are their welfare benefits (although until recently, there was some discrimination in favour of male soldiers). Out of 850 military categories recognized by Zahal in 1980, women were engaged in only 270 (data from 1977/78 speaks of about 709 categories open to men and 210 to women). About half of these were clerical. According to Ann Blum, the actual proportion of women soldiers who were engaged in clerical duties was 65% while the other 35% were engaged in technical, mechanical and operational duties (Shuly Eshel, though, claims that the percentage of women in the first category is much higher). The overwhelming majority of military tasks in which women are engaged present a mirror image of the roles women mostly occupy in the civilian workforce. A major category of women's work in the army is, as in civilian life, that of office work. Here too, women are found in positions inferior to that of men from the 'mere consultative' character of the few senior women officers, to the common private, or even sergeant secretaries under male authority.

Another aspect of the work of women soldiers dispersed in the different units is suggested by the name of the women's corps—Charm. While the subject of sexual relationships is formally ignored (except in the case of a soldier becoming pregnant and the fact known to the military authorities, when the usual practice is to discharge her from the army), implicit sexual relationships are formally encouraged. A central demand from the women in the army is to 'raise the morale' of the male soldiers and to make the army 'a home from home'. During the basic training of women, they are coached to emphasise their feminine characteristics and their neat appearance and they receive cosmetic guidance to help them in this respect. In the words of Zahal spokesman, 'Chen adds to Zahal the grace and charm which makes it also a medium for humanitarian and social activities'. The emphasis on the feminine essence of the women soldiers immediately puts them in a position of inferiority to the men soldiers, inferring that women are there for the men's sake, to make them happier and make their service more humane. Office work usually expands beyond the duties of typing, filing or telephoning. Only in February 1981 the military attorney came out with a judgement that coffee-making and floor washing are within the legitimate duties of military secretaries. Power relations between the boss and his clerk are often translated into sexual relationships (again, not unlike the civilian life). Here, however, in addition to the common imbalance of power between boss and secretary, the boss has the added strength of his military authority. It is true that in questions of military discipline, women can be judged only before Chen officers, which may sometimes put a brake on the power of the superior officer, but complaints can only come from the boss, and unlike in the civilian labour market, resignations not accepted. However, when women fill jobs in the areas of education and welfare, it also gives them certain ambivalent duties and powers, where their feminine role is like that of a mother, rather than that of wife or mistress. The reason for women's reduced, 'rear' national military function, is that motherhood—reproduction of the future national military force—is perceived as their primary duty. Lesley Haselton quotes M.P. Geela [Geula] Cohen, an ex-member of the dissenting organization, Lehi [Irgun Gang] as saying: 'The Israeli woman is an organic part of the family of the Jewish people and the female constitutes a practical symbol of that. But she is a wife and a mother in Israel, and therefore it is of her nature to be a soldier, a wife of a soldier, a sister of a soldier, a grandmother of a soldier; this is her reserve service. She is continually in military service'.

It is not accidental that the attitude of the State of Israel to widows, parents and orphans of war is very different from that of other nations. Lea Shamgar shows how society perceives in their loss an active national contribution on their part which they gave in their own right. The State, owing them a debt of honour, attempts to reward them, via the Ministry of Security, by attempting to replace their dead relative symbolically and practically. The war widow accepts a salary from the state, with other privileges which do not bear any relation to the income of her husband before death, but are those of a senior government officer.
It used to be a common in Israel to say to a pregnant woman: ‘Congratulations! I see you are going to bring soon a small soldier into the world!… Motherhood—and of boys in particular—is definitely a military role. [–]


The Zionist movement first arose in the context of the problem of European Jewry at the end of 19th century and early 20th, displaced from their traditional places and mode of existence and facing the rise of modern anti-Semitism. It was only one of many solutions to persecution which were suggested during this period (others included immigration to the ‘New World’, Bundism, Communism, orthodoxy and more) and until World War II it constituted only a minority movement. The Zionist movement sought a solution to the ‘Jewish problem’ by accepting the anti-semitic assumption that Jews had no place in European society. This was done in striving to ‘normalise’ the Jewish people by establishing anation-state of their own. The appeal of Zionism at least until the 1930s was mainly to young, single petit-bourgeois people, mostly men, who could afford to leave their families and emigrate to Palestine, and as such was basically a male European colonisatory movement. Unlike other nationalist movements, the Zionist did not organise the people where they lived in order to gain independence and liberate themselves from the colonizers. Instead it mobilised its members to emigrate or to support others to settle in another country and conduct the struggle there. As a result, the Zionist movement developed an international organization, the Jewish Agency, which supplied the economic, political and human resources for its ‘spearhead’ in Palestine, and continued to do so after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. The community that formed in the period before statehood is known as the Yishuv. Although dependent on the rulers of the country (the Ottoman Empire, and from World War I the British Mandate) and influenced by the Arab-Palestinian sector, it developed into a highly autonomous entity which evolved most of the functions of an independent state: political, military, economic, welfare and even tax collection.

Jewish migration to Palestine, especially since the second Aliya (wave of immigration) was very different from that to other parts of the world. Rural Jewish settlements were also established in other places like South America and North Africa, but it was only in Palestine that there was a deliberate attempt to establish an autonomous Jewish society where Jews would fill all positions. Production (especially agricultural) was seen as the crucial factor in transforming the Jewish people into a ‘normal’ one. Jews were to enter occupations which they had been denied for centuries. Jewish colonization was therefore different from other colonial patterns: rather than making exploitative use character, in the essential sense that, it was never the country of its anti-semitic assumption that Jews had no place in European society, and no longer there (having fled, or been expelled during the war), but the character of the Jewish population itself changed dramatically. The immigration from Europe (210,000 in 1949) was then of refugees rather than of ideologues, while the overall majority of newcomers were not from Europe at all but from other countries in Asia and North Africa. People displaced as a traditionally tolerated religious minority (like the Christians) by the widening conflict between Zionism and Arab nationalism. These immigrants, the Oriental (or Sefardi) Jews, often arrived as whole communities rather than as individuals, with a cultural and political background very different from that of the European (Ashkenazi) immigrants. If their immigration was ideologically motivated, it was mostly from vague messianic reasoning rather than secular (or socialist) Zionism, but it has had a profound effect on the social structure within Israel. The dominant political and economic positions remained, mostly, in the hands of those who came in earlier Aliyot, through a careful strategy of control and distribution of those resources that had been allocated by the Zionist movement for the absorption of the immigration. At the same time, Israel was transformed from a primary colonisatory industry into an industrial capitalist one, where the Oriental Jews constituted the majority of the new working class. The Palestinians who had remained in Israel continued to be dispossessed of their lands and were under local military government. Eventually, in the 1960s they began to be integrated into the Israeli economic system, at the bottom of the working hierarchy. After the 1967 war, the Israelis directly ruled a great, and growing, number of Palestinians for the first time. The Palestinians in the occupied territories came to be exploited as a major source of unskilled labour, adding a more colonial flavour to the process of land dispossession which continued. Throughout these transformations, Israel has kept its Zionist character, in the essential sense that, it was never the country of its inhabitants alone, but constituted itself as the state of the Jewish people wherever they are. This is expressed not only in the Law of Return which gives automatic right of citizenship to every Jew, but in the continuation of the dual ruling mechanism of state and international Zionist movement. These continue to control large amounts of funds raised among the Jewish communities abroad and distributed into endeavors of importance inside Israel. One effect, for example, is that Palestinians are legally banned from membership of kibbutzim, because they exist on lands belonging to the Jewish National Fund (often transferred to it from the state which originally confiscated the land from the Palestinians) which asserts in its constitution that only Jews may live and use these lands.

The character of Israel has been also determined by the relationship between the state and the Jewish religion. Zionism has presented itself to a great extent as a modern alternative to the Jewish religion as a mode of Jewish existence. However, the detachment could never be complete. In the traditional Jewish way of life, religion and national culture could not be separated. The Zionist movement needed the Jewish religion to legitimize the claim to Palestine as Jewish land and to secure recognition within world Jewry in order to represent itself as the legitimate representative of the Jewish people inwardly and outwardly (as when the Israeli state claimed compensation in the name of...
of the Jewish people from West Germany for the Holocaust under the Nazi). Moreover in a country which has never had a majority party in its Parliament, the Knesset, the significance of the smaller minority parties is enormous. The most sought after coalition partners for government have been the religious parties which thus wield power disproportionate to their size. The relationship between religion and state has strong symbolic elements (in public ceremonies and monuments) recognition and state funding for religious institutions and places of worship (including salaries), the enforcement of religious practices (kosher food and recognition of the Sabbath), and the autonomous operation of Rabbinical Courts in the area of personal law. For women the relationship between religion and state has had especially far-reaching implications. The one expendable political bargaining point has been equality between the sexes. The special characteristics of Israel as a Zionist State, Jewish exclusivity, immigration, colonization, constant confrontation, incorporation of traditional religious elements as well as the specific ethnic/class formation which took place during the process of the transformation of Israel into a capitalist society—have profoundly influenced the specific development of the sexual division of labour within the Zionist Yishuv and Israel. While many characteristics of this sexual division can be found in other capitalist societies, there exist certain dimensions and emphases which are specific to the Zionist mode. [=]

60566. Dayan, Arie. "The Debate Over Zionism and Racism: An Israeli View", in Journal of Palestine Studies, Spring 1993. pp. 96-105. In 1987, there was outrage in Israel when the UN voted that Zionism is a form of racism; when the UN repealed that declaration in 1991 there was indifference in Israel. Of course, the intervening years had seen Kahane elected to the Knesset, Rehavam Ze'evi in the cabinet (he sole goal is the deportation of all Palestinians from the Occupied Territories). Now in Israel, an Israeli Arab can suddenly find that his taxpayer records have been reassigned to the West Bank, according to some new, secret racial criteria. In almost every aspect of the Israeli government and Israeli services, there are 'Arab departments'. While in Israeli Jews frequently argue it is impossible for Jews to be racists, and that the Holocaust makes it impossible to be racist, others argue that there is no 'vaccination' against immorality. So the Israeli government is systematically forcing all non-Jews from one sector of Jerusalem after another, and is systematically forcing all non-Jews from the Galilee: this is simply racism. While Israel played a key role in drafting the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, by 1966 Israel refused to support the convention, since Israel policy discriminates against non-Jews for the advantage of Jews in every possible manner. Many laws of the avowed 'Jewish state' give special rights to Jews and Jews only: the Law of Return allows only Jews the right to immigrate; only Jewish communities receive certain kinds of government subsidies; and the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Fund are operated only for the benefit of Jews. However, Israeli scholars such as Prof. Yusel Gourani at Tel Aviv University argue that the Judaisation of Galilee, the discrimination of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund are proper and legitimate. By contrast lawyer Avigdor Feldman simply believes that Israel has implemented a full apartheid system in the Occupied Territories: he cites 42 murders of Palestinians by Jewish settlers, noting that in only 3 Jews were ever even charged, with an average sentence of 14 months; by contrast, when a Palestinian kills a Jew, the minimum sentence is 20 years, and the norm is life imprisonment. Jews in Kiryat Arba pay 556 shekels on an income of 4000, while Palestinians in Hebron pay 2174 shekels on an income 4000. Meron Benvenisti simply notes the Occupied Territories have become a vast work camp. Discrimination against Israeli Arab children is systematic: 53% of Arab children live with more than two persons per room (2.8% for Jews); one Arab social worker for 5000 Arab children (1:1500 for Jews); 16.7% of Arabs fail to finish high school (5.5% of Jews), 23.7% of Arab children attend nursery school (53.1% of Jews); 14.8% of premature Arab infants die (8.2% for Jewish babies). Legal discrimination is the basis of the Jewish state, which was founded and factories.

60567. Deeb, Leila; WFS; Women's Feature Service. Press Release: Palestine: Arafat's Challenger Wants To Be His Partner. Women's Feature Service: IGC News Desk, January 12, 1996. 72-year old Sameeha Salameh Khalil has become the first person to run for presidency against Yasser Arafat. She does not believe, though, that she is running against him, but rather for the office of prime minister of the Palestine National Authority. From her perception, Arafat will remain president and chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

The PLO, (the Palestine Parliament in exile which includes the Executive Committee and the Palestine National Council), has been allowed to set up an autonomous government under Israeli occupation. This government will be called the Palestine National Authority. The PLO will remain as a political organization, and the PNA will have its power dissolved into the PNA. Elections for the PNA will take place 1/20/1996. Though Palestinians call this a presidential election, Israelis see it as the election of the president of the legislative council. Altogether, 700 people are running for the 89 available seats in the PNC; 22 are women.

Some people feel that Khalil is too old to run for office, and criticize her lack of plans to back up her proposals. Due to this, even feminists, like Amal Khreisheh, will not vote for her. Khalil says she wants Palestinians to have total sovereignty of the land, but shows no method or plan of how to carrying this out. The General Union of Palestinian Women has tried to get Khalil to run for a different seat, such as in the legislative council, where they believe she will have a better chance of winning and will be able to direct her energies.

A major issue on Khalil's platform regards women. Khalil believes that society should strengthen women's positions by increasing their accessibility to the labor market and higher incomes. She does not want to accept any more vocational training aid from UN organizations, but would rather get materials and capital for income-generating projects. One of Khalil's own income-producing projects for women involves the production of traditional Palestinian embroidery, where fabric and needles are more desired than training.

Though she hasn't received a lot of public support for her political campaign, Khalil believes she will still win. [TEXT]

60568. Deutsch, Yvonne. "Towards a New Feminist Political Culture: Women Must Oppose the Principle of War: Part 1", in Challenge, March-April, 1991. p. 30. Since January 1988, we have been standing in Paris Square in West Jerusalem protesting the occupation. We have exposed ourselves to hostile reactions, taunts of "traitors" and "whores." We stood there every Friday, even at the most difficult times, when Palestinians' despair and helplessness led to outbursts of terrorism against Jews.

And now—war. And now—we are silent.

We have been living under the dark shadow of war for two weeks, an overwhelming experience. It requires all our emotional strength to hold on and to defend our children and loved ones from terror and madness. We are all familiar with the feeling of anxiety and disquiet which seizes us as soon as night falls. No less difficult is the knowledge that a Jerusalemite's experience of this war is deluxe compared to what those in Tel Aviv are going through.

There is not one word in the media that we can identify with. Alienation from the reality created by the rulers of the world and the male establishments is growing deeper. We are exposed to a cynical attitude which are specific to the Zionist mode. [=]
bombardment, and pictures of Palestinians from the territories and the refugee camps in Lebanon, whose world was destroyed by fire Israeli lads.

Once again we feel like innocent victims. The pain of those whose homes were destroyed is my pain too. But I have strong reservations about participating in the "national celebration" of our self-image as victims. I will only join that consensus when I am convinced that the Israeli government is developing a real peace policy which the Arab world is not responding to. Meanwhile, peace activists from the Israeli International Center for Peace in the Middle East are defending the war, and Peace Now has denounced the European peace movements which denounce every war. I am convinced that the terrible experience of destruction and loss should be prevented everywhere and at any cost.

What should we, the women's movement, do?

So far, the only consensus we have reached has been on the issue of opposing the occupation. We must continue this opposition even now, while—under the cover of war and the popularity enjoyed by Israel—a cruel curfew is being imposed on the residents of the territories, destroying their economic and medical infrastructures. People have reached the brink of hunger and have lost their sources of livelihood. The sick do not receive medical treatment and people are crowded together in small rooms for many days, and risk being charged with violating the curfew if they venture into their yards. Now more than ever, we must publicly oppose the atrocities which nurture the existential threat of transfer, on the one hand, and destroy any potential for moderation and coexistence among the Palestinians, on the other. All of us must recognize the fact that Israel has with its own hands pushed the Palestinians into supporting a false messiah, Saddam, and therefore our anger and protest should be directed towards the policy of the Israeli government.[=]

60569. Deutsch, Yvonne. "Towards a New Feminist Political Culture: Women Must Oppose the Principle of War: Part 2," in Challenge, March-April, 1991. p. 25. As a women's peace movement, we must also reach consensus on opposing the rules of the game by which we choose to play. From our personal experience of pain, fear and anxiety, it is our duty, now more than ever, to publicly address the population with a clear message against war. Not only against the current war, but against the use of war, destruction and annihilation to achieve political and economic aims. We must come out with a clear message of opposition to the principle of war.

In addition, we must present an alternative to the ruling political culture by forming a women's political culture—a culture of peace.

Women in Black is more than a forum for political and personal expression, a means to fulfill a personal duty which cleanses the conscience and does nothing else. It must be seen, along with the other women's groups working for peace, as a movement that presents an alternative to existing political frameworks. We have the duty to adhere to values which safeguard life and are loyal to continuity. We must strive to create a culture of peace as a counterbalance to the culture of war. In contrast to the wall of apathy constructed by Israel, we must find ways to integrate into the region in which we have chosen to live. We must connect to the culture of women which exists in this region in the sphere of personal and family life, and which is relegated to a secondary role in history. We must transform it, in the spirit of feminist critique and for our political-cultural needs, into a women's political culture which will carry weight in the decision-making process in society.

Translation: Rayna Moss

Yvonne Deutsch, a social worker, is an organizer of Women in Black in Jerusalem and a founder of Women in Peace.[=]


This article is dedicated to the memory of Lil Moed who worked with us in creating feminist peace activity.

"It is a natural reaction to hate those who have made us suffer. It is also a natural reaction to inflict pain because one has suffered pain, and to justify it ideologically. In this small land both our peoples are stuck in a fatal embrace. I believe that our finding peace is potentially for the greater unfolding of life. In order to fulfill this potential, we all need to become more fully human which, to me, means activating our capacity to understand the suffering of others through our own, and to transform pain into healing." [A quote from an open letter (Jerusalem Post 1/14/88) to Bashir Khayri, who was deported by the Israeli authorities in 1/1988.]-Dalia Landau.

In 1/1988, a month after the outbreak of the Intifada, the Palestinian uprising, ten women, long time leftist activists against the occupation and in favour of solidarity with the Palestinian people, held a demonstration against the occupation, dressed in black, in a central Jerusalem square. Within a few weeks additional groups, of what is known today as "Women in Black," organized themselves throughout the country. At the same time in Tel-Aviv a group of feminist women activists organized slide shows in a central street of the city which showed the army's brutality against the Palestinians in the territories. The exposure to the realities of the occupation was important then, when information still did not flow at all to the media. [The Israeli government periodically closes off the territories to press coverage, as it did then and did again during the Gulf War, until the end of 4/1991.]

During that year several women's peace groups were established and at the end of the year, after a Feminist Response on the Occupation conference, in order to become a meaningful force in Israeli society, a nationwide coalition--"Women and Peace" was formed. [Women in Black, Shani--Israel Women against Occupation, women for women Political Prisoners-Jerusalem, Peace Quilt Project, Democratic Womens Movement, WILPF. Women to Women, Women for Coexistence and independent women.]

In12/1989, within "1990: Time for Peace" women--Israelis, both Jewish and Palestinian, Palestinian women from the territories, European and American women, and women from the Palestinian Diaspora--held a conference and peace march from West Jerusalem to East Jerusalem. They demanded an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They spoke out in favour of respect for human rights and a two-state solution--Israeli and Palestinian--and called on the Israeli Government to negotiate for peace with the PLO, the Palestinian people's representative. [The Israeli part of this event was organized by women and Peace.] This was a very big success and raised many expectations and hopes for a change in Israeli society.

During the third year of the Intifada (1990) Israeli women [From the Women and Peace coalition together with Reshet--Israel Women Peace Net.] were working together with Palestinian women [From three Palestinian womens committees; Federation of Palestinian Womens Action Committees; Union of Palestinian Working Committee; Womens Committees for Social Work.] for a joint political event that was to take place at the end of the year. The event was intended to be a political breakthrough creating alternative ways of trying to reach a solution to the conflict between the two peoples.

Zionism and the establishment of Israel as a Jewish state is regarded by many Jews as the political solution to the Jewish problem of suffering from persecutions. It became especially urgent after the Holocaust when Palestine, later Israel, became the homeland of many Jewish refugees. The ideal was to create a new Jew which would be the antithesis of the weak and helpless Jew of the Diaspora. In the process of shaping a common national sentiment and identity the Jewish people did not succeed at merging into the region nor becoming an integral part of it. The Jewish historical lack of existential security, combined with the history of the establishment of the state and the Arab reaction to it, made the Israeli Jews develop, again, a ghetto mentality. We did not succeed in freeing ourselves from the Jewish-outside-fearful mentality and no matter how strong we are in terms of military strength, we still hold an
internal self-image of weakness. Today we are occupiers and aggressors but we feel as though we are occupied. This state of mind and psychology of the people, which is very well used by the politicians, makes it difficult to undertake protest activity against Israeli military actions, against the oppression of the Palestinian people, and to hold solidarity actions with them.

With the Intifada, one could see a sizable awakening in the scope of the solidarity activity and it was no longer the sole patrimony of marginal avant-garde groups. The majority of the activity was carried out by women, be it in the "mixed" groups where they had an important organizational role, or in the women's groups which were set up in the first two years of the Intifada. There are precedents for this political phenomenon of women's groups involved in peace activity--beyond simply the women's issues. For example during the War in Lebanon in 1982, a group of feminist women organized protests against the war. [Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon.] This development is part and parcel of a worldwide development of women's activities in favour of peace.

We can clearly see the influence of feminist consciousness which creates a new and critical definition of military. This influence was possible in Israel partly because of an increasing lack of confidence in the army that started after the 1973 war [in 1973 Israel was taken by surprise by the Egyptian and Syrian attack; confidence in the army's capacity to defend the State was questioned, the myth of the all capable army was shattered and this created a crisis in Israeli society.] and came to a peak in the war in Lebanon, which was regarded as a war of choice. [In Zionist history, Israel goes to war only when it has no choice because of the Arab states; in this case this dubious apologia could not be used.] Since the late seventies and the early eighties we have also witnessed the beginning of a new personal and cultural preoccupation with the Holocaust. [The breakdown of the Israeli heroism made it possible to deal with the emotional meaning of being the victims of the Holocaust.] The emotional aspects of dealing with mourning and loss create the potential to relinquish the need for compensation. The inconsistency between the inner self image of a weak and persecuted person on the one hand, and military power on the other hand causes the army to have, apart from the role of defense in a war situation, a further destructive role of compensating for the feelings of helplessness, weakness and vulnerability. The military becomes a symbol of the Jew's independence, a source of national pride and the main source for acquiring status in the Israeli society.

Five years after the creation of the first feminist women's peace group with the advent of the Intifada, a meaningful Israeli women's peace movement was developing. There are many explanations for this phenomenon but I will mention only two of them:

1. The main reason is to be found in our marginality and in our being outsiders. We are the "other" with respect to all that involves the army. This grants us our relative freedom to express our views since we are not to be found in the midst of the conflict of the men who "shoot and cry." [An expression which criticizes people who take an active part in the oppression of the Palestinians, yet feel that they have to justify their actions by expressing their personal hardship when applying those same oppressive acts.] That certainly also facilitated the development of a relationship with the Palestinian women who know that we do not take an active part in the oppression of the Palestinian struggle and that we are involved in peace activity.

2. The Intifada clearly uncovered the army's role as an oppressing force and as destroying the false but still believed image of the enlightened occupier. It strengthened the scepticism with respect to the morality of the army and brought to the fore the fact that we can no longer ignore the Palestinian problem.

Gates and barriers were opened and women of different nationalities, religious, class, professional and personal identities met and spoke peace. The meetings were moving and of a special quality and strength. During the Peace 3/1991 even the sceptics among us were overwhelmed by the power of the experience and the discovery of the special strength of women when they work together. However during the mutual process of discovery there were many signs of lack of trust and suspicion.

Our lack of existential security created a significant barrier in the process of bringing together the two peoples and this was apparent in the meetings between the Israeli and Palestinian women. Many women, even among those who protested against the occupation, have difficulty in feeling solidarity with Palestinian women or with the Palestinian people. The Palestinian men's gestures of satisfaction, upon seeing the deportees who were deported from a day's work in Israel caused confusion among the Israeli women. On the one hand they found themselves isolated by their own society and, on the other hand, they were recipients of encouragement from the Palestinian society. It is a difficult experience since the main reason for their protest is concern over the quality of Jewish society. Those same women found it difficult to relate to a Palestinian woman who recounted the horror of the deportees, who were deported because of political activity. The initial response was one of identification with the official military explanation, accepting and believing an anonymous response which is "ours" rather than believing that same woman who was recounting the story of her deported husband. "Clearly, they did something against the security of the State, otherwise they would not be deported.

Experiencing the increasing lack of faith in the military authorities is a painful process because we all were brought up on the myth of the defending and moral army. Women can say that they would have liked to be pacifists and at the same time recount with pride that their son is serving in one of the elite units of the army. To belong to the army means to belong to the people and State. And for many of us, being ex-refugees, or immigrants, it is difficult to undergo the process of cutting the umbilical cord with the Israeli society. It is difficult to discover that the feeling of belonging within us is no longer as significant as it was, and that perhaps for the building of a different and peaceful future we must also seek other sources to root our feeling of belonging.

The process of political and feminist consciousness raising and change of attitudes is linked to a painful process of questioning existential problems of self-determination, belonging, alienation, womanhood, manhood, the attitude toward the army, war, peace, justice, violence, and nationalism. These questions of beliefs, values and identities were open to the women, in varying degrees, according to personal security and self-identity, and according to our age and social class.

Political activity at the time of crisis of identity and values combined with active emotional dealing with those issues represents the oneness of the political and personal. We raised in the public consciousness subjects of emotional and political significance, and this is in line with our belief in the destructive effect of the split between the personal and the political, a split which enables the existence of the evil within us. Aside from raising the subjects of women's role in peace making and the influence of occupation on women's lives, we also raised subjects like racism, prejudice and fear as obstacles to peace. [For that reason and as women, we also must discuss our attitudes towards the army both on a personal and public level. This is one of the most difficult subjects to deal with and we had--so far--not dared to discuss it publicely."

Within this maze and confusion there are among us those who have a vision of creating a political culture of women--and we have to commit ourselves to a culture of peace.

Culture, or political culture, cannot be created out of a vacuum. It must have links with those aspects of the women's culture—that exist in the private sphere and the backyard of history—which are relevant for creating a peace culture. We have the role of exploring that culture of women and adjusting it to our political and cultural needs, while creating changes according to feminist criticism.

For example, in the ancient Jewish literature, written towards the end of the fifth century [Lamentations Rabba, which is a text of lamenting that was read and preached on the day of mourning for the fall of the temple. I was introduced to the story by Galith Hasan-Rokem.], we can find the following story: "Rabbi Shimeon ben Lakish said: God may be likened to a king who had two sons. He became enraged against the first of them, took a stick and thrashed him so that he writhed in agony
and died—and the father then began to lament over him. He later became enraged at the second son took a stick and thrashed him so that he writhed in agony and died; and the father then exclaimed: "No longer have I the strength to lament over them, so call for the mourning women and let them also lament over them."

One can see a dichotomy in the response of men versus women in the face of loss and an unbearable, traumatic reality. Men tend to have anger that leads them to kill, while women are more capable of containing these emotions. The lament may contain protest, but we do not see here the outrage of the women in response to the terrible killings."

"Women in Black" has been the most significant protest movement since the beginning of the Intifada. In 6/1990 there were 30 different vigils all over the country. The choice (consciously or not) of the black dress can be interpreted in different ways according to the cultural context. According to the above mentioned story, and also in western culture, it is connected to mourning and lament. [Dalia Sachs brought my attention to the fact that in some cultures black is a symbol of strength.] But it must be pointed out that in our case, as women in black, we not only mourn over the killings, but we express our anger and protest about the occupation while connecting it to the meaning of violence and killing in concrete daily life. In the need to create a feminist political culture with which we can identify, and in the transformation of the role of the lamenting women to the Israeli culture at the end of the 20th century, we do not satisfy ourselves with the role of lamenting and containing the pain but instead seek ways to influence the grass-roots level and the political system as a whole. We do not settle for the social role of lamenting and of accepting the madness of killing. We do not accept the existence of a women's culture in the backyard of history, and are struggling for a change in which our world vision will be of political significance in the decision making. [According to anthropological research, in hunting and gathering societies there existed separate social organisations for men and women, but the men would not envisage going to war without first receiving the women's explicit agreement.]

In the different women's organizations, in the meetings and dialogues that have developed among women there can be potential for the building of solidarity and sisterhood among women.

Some of us see the occupation and the national conflict as delaying the advancement of the women's struggle in their society. However, a peaceful political solution is not only seen as a stage along the road toward cooperation between Israeli, Palestinian and Arab women, it is also one way of dealing with the role of women in our societies. The hope is that the joint experience between Israeli and Palestinian women will develop trust among the women of the area and will eventually lead to the development of a sense of common gender identity that will have a significant influence for social change in the region. We also hope that we, the women, will find the way to deal with the challenge of creating a peaceful life in the area. Today the national identification of both sides does not let us challenge publicly every issue that should—like the essence of war and armed struggle—be discussed for the purpose of creating a Women's Peace Culture. It does not let us work together on women's issues. A political solution to the national conflict is only a step that will free us from the restrictions of this reality. Hopefully, it will enable Palestinian, Israeli and Arab women to commit ourselves to non-violence, which is crucial in creating peace culture.

Following the crisis in the Gulf and the disappointment of many Israelis in the Palestinian reaction of supporting Saddam Hussein, the Israeli peace movement lived through a crisis, and the level of activity was lowered. At the same time, and also in view of the general feeling of helplessness regarding the political developments in Israel in particular and in the Middle East in general, the number of women in black vigils grew smaller. The political developments in the area also played a significant role in the development of the relationship between Israeli and Palestinian women. After long months of common political work, we not only failed in organizing a common political event for 12/1990, but our relationships also almost reached a dead end. A year after “1990—Time for Peace”, the world leaders started a war. We found ourselves prisoners of a war that is not ours. The culture of war—or militarism—had its victory over the culture of peace.

In days of war, because of the direct threat on Israeli, most of the women found it difficult to continue standing in the open expressing opposition to the occupation. In Jerusalem and Tel Aviv some of the women returned to the vigil only after three weeks had passed. During the war, more than ever, we had to go to the streets with our message, not only against this specific war but against all war, against the principle of war and destruction. During this time of war many of us had to spend more time with our small children. We tried to keep our sanity in the microcosms of our families and protect our children and ourselves from the terrible fear. We lived under the fear of destruction and were exposed day and night, through the media, to the terrible war which was used as a legitimate means to achieve political and economic goals. We had to take out to the public sphere the alienation, the disgust, the fear, the anguish and the effort to develop a culture of peace within our homes.

Since the war, the Palestinian people are going through new measures of oppression under the Israeli occupation. In effect the Israeli government has created two large ghettos for the Palestinians, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Exit from the territories is by special permit only; on the whole only those Palestinian workers who are essential to the functioning of the Israeli economy are issued such permits. And the territories have no adequate economic infrastructure to cope with the influx of labour, this being due to a deliberate colonialist policy over the past 24 years.

The Israeli peace movement (including the women's movement) still has not recovered from its crisis and there is a clear regression in the scope of the activities. Today (5/1991), only 11 vigils continue to stand every week and many women feel burnt out and helpless. During the last three years we have dedicated our political activity in Israeli society to changing attitudes among Israeli women. Now apart from continuing this trend, some of us think that political change will occur only under international economic and cultural pressure.

We are also looking for ways to continue our political relationships with the Palestinian women. In the middle of the month, an Israeli, Palestinian and International women's peace conference was held in Geneva. [This conference was postponed from 12/1990 to 5/1991.] But there is a strong feeling that in many respects we are in regression compared with the near past.

For the creation of peace culture inside the Israeli society we must deal both emotionally and politically, with painful basic issues, which the Israeli-Jewish society tends to repress, and which are connected with the establishment of the Jewish state. The exposure of the truth, as well as learning to deal with it, has to be a main issue in creating a culture which is supposed to be in touch with the needs of the peoples of the whole region.

The Israeli society should be aware of the price Palestinians paid, and are still paying, for the self-determination of the Jews. In the process of consciousness-raising concerning the meaning of the establishment of the Jewish state for the Palestinians, and their view of it as the catastrophe of '48, we must become aware of the fact that on the basis of this historical development, we have the duty to create a culture of peace in the area. It is not the right of "bleeding heart liberals," but the duty of a people whose self-determination brought destruction and pain upon others.

As mentioned above, the creation of the Israeli identity, as a contrast to the Jewish diaspora identity which was seen as humiliated and helpless, did not succeed in freeing us from our self image as weak and persecuted. The continuation of having an inner image of being persecuted and humiliated, while at the same time developing a militaristic culture, creating a feeling of belonging to the society on the basis of army service, and viewing the army as a "holy" institution, is a danger to our society's mental and social health. The army is not perceived by Jewish Israelis as a necessary evil in a reality of danger or war, but as an institution with political, social and economic power, which defines social values and priorities and forms the main origin of status and belonging in Israeli society.

In the present political situation, in which even western societies argue for the need of values of peace but have not yet chosen to...
stop the reliance upon weapons, it is difficult to put forward a unilateral demand of destruction of all weapons and the investment of military resources in social development, although in the utopian political view this should be the attitude. It should very clearly be the ideological-cultural demand of the women working for peace, social justice and freedom. But it should be emphasized that women from the so-called developed countries should have the main responsibility for it.

It's in the 40 years of its existence, Israel has not succeeded in integrating itself in the region, and has contributed to the creation of alienation and hate between itself and the Arab peoples. It estranged itself to the development needs of the Arab peoples and the third world, and allied with the western world, which relies on economic exploitation of the "third" world. In creating an alternative culture of women, we must ally ourselves with the need of the peoples, in particular with the women's needs in the area in which we live. We must break the alienation and ignorance and get in touch with Arab feminist women and women's culture which is often hidden behind the veil.

It is a grave mistake of Israeli feminism to rely only on western feminism, which suits our personal self-determination needs. We, the women with feminist consciousness, must get in touch with Arab feminism and strive to create a feminism which will grow out of the region and which will develop itself from the women's culture existing here, and which will be suitable to the needs of women in the Middle East. We must stop turning our backs on the region in which we are living and we must break the wall of estrangement which helps the hate towards us grow. Our loyalty should be to the eastern region in which we are living, and we, the women, must be the bridge between west and east or between north and south.

I wish to express my thanks to Sherna Berger Gluck for her useful remarks and to Andre Rosenthal for the translation of the article into English.

This article is from Walking the Red Line, Israelis in Search of Justice for Palestine, edited by Deena Hurwitz, forthcoming from New Society Publishers (Philadelphia, PA and Santa Cruz, CA).

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Bernadette Devlin-McAliskey is a long time Irish activist and former Member of Parliament for Northern Ireland. This speech was made in England in 10/1991, at a meeting on "Women, War and Resistance--Ireland and the Middle East."

I like being called a community activist. I think it's a very important title actually. I'm going to stick with that one. It very much reflects the difficulty that we face when we are asked, what are our roles?

"Community activist" I think is a great word because it covers a multitude of sins and all our activities. My personal role in coming here is one example. Sometimes I just look at myself, knowing the plane's leaving and knowing the hundred and fifty things that have to be done before you get wherever you are going. Some of them include wondrously exciting things for conferences, like getting a copy into a paper if you're writing an article, but they also include making sure that your son's P.E. kit is washed, dried and in his bag because he's going to forget to take it to school if you're not there. Ordinary things like that.

It also includes a fear, a fear that all of us have in the back of our minds: fear when we're away from home. You don't know what's happening at home and you may not be away for a very long time, but you don't know who will be living when you get back home. You know what's happening, in that general term; you know the struggle goes on. You know that while you're away, people's houses are being raided, that somebody is being arrested. In the back of your mind is a belief that somebody's going to ring and leave a message to say that you personally have to go home. It may not be your child, it may not be your son, it may not be your husband, it may not be your sister, but it's going to be somebody's.

In the midst of that, with your hundred and fifty different jobs, when somebody asks you what you're doing, it's very hard to define--for the purposes of discussions and discussions and discussions and discussions--what you are. When people say 'what do you do in Ireland?', I can only say that I live in it. My life does not divide into compartments in terms of radical, active, trade union, revolutionary, pacifist or whatever kind of aspect of women's struggle I'm supposed to be involved in.

It is my life. It is the life of all the women here on this platform. In many ways at a certain level it's the life of all women; just all women struggling in any society to survive. But I think when you put your finger on it, if we're going to work together as women, to build coalitions, build networks and links whereby our power and unity can have effect, then I think we have to be very clear about a number of things.

Same War, Different Strategy: There are differences between all of us. So let's talk about some of you down there. And I think the first difference that has to be understood is that while we are all women together with a common struggle, some of us are women in countries which are exploited by imperialism and some of you are in the countries which are the imperialist exploiters. This makes a very fundamental difference in your experience and history and our experience and history. It makes a crucial difference, I think, in our conceptions of peace and war.

Like all the other women up here, I don't know peace: I've never seen it. My mother never saw it, my grandmother never saw it. It is a commodity that has never been available in Ireland. So I don't know what peace is. Just as city children who have never been to the country cannot claim to describe things that are outside their experience.

So when people talk to me about peace, I have to be very clear about it. I have to be very clear about what it is you're asking for. I know what struggle is. I know sometimes I think that life for us in Ireland has possibly been one long funeral over the past twenty years. When somebody comes along and asks me about 'Is there not a nonviolent way of dealing with this question?', I get very angry. I feel like hitting them with a violent punch in the face. I want to say that in a very sisterly way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad way of course; I'm not going hit anybody, but it instantly produces that in me, you know? These are words that are used, and somehow or another this question--that it has to be peace because it's popular in the broad
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personally, but I think it's important to remember that there is a difference between us.

We are women of oppressed countries and when we talk to our sisters in struggle and to women in the oppressing country, when we talk about coming together to deal with war--which we all hate--to deal with building a better society which is not dependent upon aggression, it has to be clearly understood that it is not acceptable that we get a position half way between us, and you; where we can meet and be women together and do 'sisterly' things...

It has to be on our turf and I'm not saying that in any kind of sectarian or divisive way. If we are dealing with the reality of war, if we are dealing with the reality of oppression and how it affects women then I do not want to hear in workshops or anywhere else--because my patience has run out with it--I do not want to hear people telling me how one of the best things women could do is refuse to fight in the war, or that women could spearhead passive resistance to war.

If I choose because of the history of my own culture to behave in a certain way, don't tell me you know a better way of doing it. I am capable of learning for myself and I am capable of choosing for myself: If I want to dress in the manner of my culture or yours, that is my decision. And while you're at it, don't make an issue about whether my war, or my position is right or wrong.

You can do it, I think that's right. That is a luxury you have here in the city of London; it is a luxury you can undertake in the city of the oppressor but it is not luxury or token for us. It is not a luxury or token for any of our people to light candles in the streets of Belfast for peace because we have more important things to do and we cannot take the risk of someone shooting the flame out of the candle while we're holding it.

So the option of adopting that position is simply not open to us. If we want to talk about how women deal with war, trying to advise women in a war how they can avoid being in that war should not be in the picture. We can't avoid war; we're born into it. [Reprinted with permission of Peoples Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, CA 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.] [=]

60572. Dickie, Peter. "Israel Breaks Promises on Prisoner Release," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 13, 1995, p. 1. According to Israeli sources, 882 Palestinian prisoners have now been released. Of those, 507 were political prisoners. The rest are non-political criminals. Sufian Abu Zaydeh, a member of the Palestinian negotiating team, commented, "We had agreed that the files of ordinary criminals should be handed over to the Palestinian police so that they could decide who would stay in prison and who would be released. The Israelis have acted independently." Issa Qaraqe', President of the Palestinian Prisoners Association, echoed this sense of betrayal: "The Israelis have simply broken their promises." He explained that while no exact numbers had been specified in the second agreement, the criteria for release had been very clearly spelled out and agreed upon. All women prisoners should have been released during the first stage, but the Israelis had reneged on this promise. Qaraqe' continued, "The Israeli side is interpreting the criteria as it likes." The agreement contained nothing about the signing of papers submitting political activity or expressing support for the peace process. Although the Israelis have dropped their insistence on the latter clause of the oath, they are still demanding that prisoners renounce violence by presenting them with a paper containing the former clause. According to Qaraqe', no prisoner so far has agreed to sign. The Mandela Institute also condemned the requirement to sign the oath as a violation of human rights. The women prisoners have shown solidarity by refusing to accept their release without the inclusion of the four women denied amnesty by Israeli President Ezer Weizman. It has been reported that the four demanded death sentences so their compatriots could be released. [=]

60573. Dickie, Peter. "No Prisoner Release Before November," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 6, 1995, p. 1. Palestinian women prisoners are still waiting for their release. According to the Oslo Two Accords, signed in Washington 9/28/1995, all women prisoners were to be freed, without exception. Since then Ezer Weizman, the Israeli President, has told Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that "I will not issue an amnesty to those prisoners who killed Jews." Weizman was referring specifically to three Palestinian women prisoners Abeer Al-Weheidi, Rula Abu Daho and Mai Al-Ghussein. All are serving life imprisonment. According to the president to issue an amnesty to the prisoners of the Jews the Israelis could comply with the Accords. Realizing the difficulty of persuading Weizman to revoke his veto, Rabin settled for agreeing to resolve the problem in a Knesset session on 10/5/1995. But according to Abdel Khader Al-Khatib of the Palestinian Prisoners' Society, Rabin has since made a deal with General Ilan Biran, Commander of Central Division, that the ultimate decision on the three will rest with the General, since the women were originally tried and convicted in military courts. This deal was, moreover, qualified by Muhammed Abdel Hamid, Director-General of Press Affairs at the Palestinian Ministry of Information, who informed "The Jerusalem Times" that the Israelis may be considering an exchange deal, whereby, Israeli prisoners who had been involved in killing Palestinians would be released in exchange for three women involved in killing Israelis. While the Palestinian National Authority rejects the idea of linking the two issues, and argues this move by the Israelis would undermine Israeli criminal law, the Palestinian National Authority would not, ultimately, rule out such discussions. The agreement on prisoner release made in Tabia was that over a period of three to six months, a total of three thousand prisoners would be released in several phases, beginning with women. However, there were several restrictive conditions insisted upon by the Israeli side. To begin with, a proportion of the total would consist of ordinary criminals, rather than those imprisoned for political reasons, and were thus the crux of the matter.

The releases, Abdel Hamid explained, would take place in two stages. Yet the first stage was dependent upon a further condition: it would include the women, but would not begin until the beginning of the implementation of redeployment. When asked when that would be, Abdel Hamid replied, "Sometime in November." The second stage of releases should take place before the elections. The final condition insisted upon by the Israelis was that not a single prisoner who had taken part in a "military operation" would be eligible for inclusion in the first batch of three thousand releases. Their cases would not be discussed until after the elections, but before the commencement of the final round of talks, and possibly earlier. A new point of contention has, however, emerged. According to Abdel Hamid, any prisoner involved in a military operation since Oslo, that is, any Palestinian accused of killing an Israeli since September of 1993, is also excluded from the above list. The Israelis are not willing to negotiate at all on the release of such prisoners. Neither are they willing to consider the release of Sheikh Ahmad Yasser, the spiritual leader and founder of Hamas. As to the question of the release of those Arab pan-nationalists held in Israeli custody--mostly from Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Yemen--no decision has as yet been reached, though there was hope that some eleven to sixteen Iraqis might soon be freed. If they can't return to Iraq," said Abdel Hamid, "the Palestinian National Authority would welcome them here." [=]


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In their mythologized personal-institutional memory, JDL members characterize the early period of the movement (1968-1969) as a period of heroism in the absence of fame. By 1969, members recall that every effort of the JDL was accompanied by vast media attention; after 1969 the JDL’s handling of the media was so sure that it could craft media campaigns into clearly designed "events".

The JDL was established in spring 1968 by a tiny group of Orthodox Jews to confront: (1) "crime in the streets", (2) "black anti-Semitism"; (4) “liberal do-nothing city government”, and (4) "changing neighborhoods". The undisputed leader of the JDL was Rabbi Meir Kahane (Executive Director of Center for Political Studies, associate editor of Jewish Press, member of Brit Trumpeldor and on the National ExecutiveBoard of Bnai Akiva; worked as Michael King with Rabbi Joseph Churba (rabbi and professor at US Air University at Maxwell AFB in Alabama) as ‘researchers’ under contract with the Air Force to fight the antiwar movement through their July Fourth Movement), although Bertram Zweibon (General Counsel, and president of Progressive Republican Club, chancellor of Knights of Pythias, member of board of Alumni Association of Emanuel Brotherhood at Midtown YMHA, and active delegate to National Council of Young Israel), and Morton Delinsky were also important at the beginning. Even as the JDL grew its members expressed a sense of marginality to the traditional Jewish establishment: Bnai Brith (founded 1845), the Anti-Defamation League (founded by Bnai Brith in 1913), the American Jewish Committee (founded 1906), American Jewish Congress (founded 1918), the Federation of Jewish Charities (founded 1917). The JDL founders (middle-aged and lower-class) and members shared disdain for the "establishment Jew", and would later establish the basis for the new goal of becoming the “natural guardians of the Jewish world”; naturally, JDL women accepted their role as inferior servitors of the JDL male race-exemplars.

The JDL first jelled during the New York City teachers’ strike, when the proto-JDL rallied to fight the attempt of the school system to bring more Black teachers in the teach Black students: actually, the role of the JDL was rather small in the actual dispute, but its first strident fight against "anti-semitism" was magnified in the retelling. The actual point of contention was the dismissal of 19 personnel, almost all Jews, who opposed a Ocean Hill-Brownsville school decentralization project. The JDL insisted that "decentralization" was a camoflage for anti-semitism, since it would replace a "merit system" in which the superior Jews would inevitably dominate, with a system based on the inherently anti-semitic premise that children of some non-Jewish ethnic group might benefit in any way from having teachers of their own ethnic group. The JDL articulated its response to this menace to the Jewish Blood/Jewish race by concluding that "the non-Jew eternally rejected the Jew but the Jew had become weak; the Jew had accepted the role of patsy and weakening." Later, this ideology would be extended beyond Blood, when the JDL became Zionist, by adding the demand for the "Land" of Palestine to become the race-home of Israel: thus, the concept of the Jew as the hated and persecuted victim race (many JDL members joined in fear of programs sweeping America) would become transformed into the ideology of the "New Jew" built on the unity of Blood and Land.

In 1970-1971, the JDL gathered international prominence for its anti-Soviet terrorism, an institutional transformation that further mythologized the early years.

By Fall 1968, the JDL listed over 1000 members; by the end of 1969 the JDL had 6000 members. The JDL formed chapters throughout New York City and many chapters were set up outside the city. The peak membership reported was 15000 in 1972, worldwide. Growth of the organization was ad hoc, and although there was some effort to formalize the organization, little of it was implemented. The JDL spawned a number of splinter groups (in Boston chapter head Marvin Antelman broke away and set up the Jewish Survivalist Legion), campus chapters, units in Canada, France, England and Belgium and an international headquarters in Israel. The JDL remade itself into a youth movement by 1970, and had summer camps in the Catskills in which JDL members studied weapons and anti-semitism.

The growing campaign of JDL terrorist attacks on Soviet facilities in New York, coupled with a surge in Zionist activism among Soviet Jews, led to an international campaign in support of the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, championed by the JDL (along with its front group, Student Activists for Soviet Jews), with protests in New York, Rome, Tel Aviv and Washington DC. In 6/1970, 30 JDL members were arrested for attacking the Amtorg offices in New York; in 11/1970 pistol-wielding JDL members in Montreal and an 11/1971 there was attacks on Intourist and Aeroflot and a Soviet cultural center; one JDL member was arrested for planning to hijack and Arab airliner; Dr. M.T. Mehdi of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations was attacked. In every case, telephone called claimed the attacks and chanted JDL slogans; JDL spokesman endorsed the terrorist attacks but stated that there would be further such attacks. In 1972 JDL members attacked a Soviet mission with sniper fire, and a JDL bombing of the Sol Hurok Enterprise and Columbia Artists (which booked Soviet performers) led a dozen injuries and one death. Kahane immediately began to shift the JDL from a US-based movement to an Israeli-based organization in which aliyah was the central element of its ideology, replacing he now obsolete call to "stay and fight". In late summer 1971, the JDL opened its International Office in Jerusalem, and Revisionism was embraced (Revisionism was an anti-socialist Zionist movement that was explicitly modeled on Italian fascism). This new alignment followed a long period of symbiotic growth and development of JDL and Betar chapters in the United States, and represented a new rejection of the Jewish Establishment, now seen as including the American Jewish Committee, Synagogue Council of America, and World Zionist Organization. In 1972, the JDL undertook its first event in Israel, a march, joined by many young Jews (including many from Kiryat Arba) demanding Jewish settlement in the heart of Hebron. Although failing to establish a JDL school in Jerusalem, due to financing problems, JDL training courses in anti-semitism were established there. In autumn 1972, Kahane founded the Haligta Party, but failed to win a Knesset seat in the 12/1973 election. [Jewish Identity Center, Jewish Identity Movement]

member of the Chaya was the scholar, or race ideologist whose purpose was to call on people to renounce their Americanism. The scholar of the Chaya was very consciously contrasted to the degenerate intelligence programs of the Anti-Defamation League or the American Jewish Committee. However, the structure of the Chaya squad made organization and coordination difficult, especially since JDL members were often contemptuous of bureaucratization. This did, however, promote further institutionalization of the JDL (fostering the movement in 1971-1972 "toward valorized collectivity"), and the transition to focusing on Chaya radically shifted the focus of each JDL member on making the individual decision to emigrate to Israel. Ultimately many JDL members would emigrate to Israel. With Kahane in Israel, the JDL members would re-characterize themselves as individual fighters; this would be emphasized by a motto at the JDL Identity Center: "Meir Kahane cannot be silenced for we are all Meir Kahane". JDL women's groups, one of the many sub-groups that emerged in the early 1970s, were restricted to "female projects". [Jewish Identity Center, Jewish Identity Movement]

60576. Donnelly, John. "Manhunt Frees Abandoned Wives From 'Anchors'," in Arizona Daily Star, November 20, 1995, No. A1, A10. Rabbi Shlomo Klein has emerged as the top manhunter in Israel in his pursuit of Jewish husbands who refuse to give their former wives the right to remarry. Under Jewish law, such women are termed 'anchored' since they are unable to marry again, and are unable to bear legitimate children. In one holy episode, Rabbi Klein identified a missing husband in Florida: he arranged for a Jewish prostitute to seduce and seek marriage with the man, and demand that he divorce as a precondition for marriage: once the divorce was made the prostitute disappeared, but the former wife was freed. He has stalked Jewish husbands from Australia, to France, from India to New York City, to the rainforests of South America, disguised as a Catholic priest, an Arab, or a newspaper boy. As an official of Israel, the rabbi has access to not only the court and police records of Israel, but of all other police agencies worldwide. [TXT]

60577. Downs, Jere. "Their New Life On The West Bank Is Worlds Away From the United States; They Were Raised As Arabs In America; Now They Are Americans Living On The West Bank", in Seattle Times, May 12, 1996, p. A3. [TXT] The Rasheed family, after decades of saving, returned from Washington state to build a villa on the West bank. The transition for their three daughters was especially difficult. They settled in Deir Dibwan, a village of 8000, mainly Palestinian-Americans; some 30000 Palestinian-Americans now live on the West Bank. One adjustment has been getting used to the arrogance and brutality of Jewish settlers, who routinely threaten non-Jews (the girls once had to jump into a ditch to escape a crazed, automatic rifle armed Jewish settler). As American girls, they never believed their parents' description of Israeli brutality, since American news programs on television always played down Israeli violence toward Palestinians. [TXT]

60578. Drew, Christopher. "How Donor With Asian Ties Knitted Access and Success", in New York Times, February 22, 1997, pp. A1, A8. Johnny Chien Chuen Chung (born in Taiwan, now an American citizen) has donated $391000 to the Democratic National Committee since mid-1994. His firm, Automated Intelligent Systems Inc. gave $91000 in 1994, $175000 in 1995, and $125000 in 1996. His photograph with Bill and Hillary Clinton grace billboards throughout Beijing for the beer company he represents. Chung has set up an import-export company with the beer executive Chen Shizeng. The campaign contributions come from the $3 million in consulting fees Chung has received in the last three years, his lawyer Brian A. Sun notes. Chung was very active in fundraisers, including a $25000 a plate fundraising dinner at the home of Steven Spielberg (Chung paid $125000 for five people at that party); Chung donated $20000 at a party-fundraiser for Clinton hosted by Lew Wasserman on behalf of his client Leung Chush-fat, a Hong Kong businessman. Chung also worked for Hong Kong real estate developer Li Jing Wei. Chung started to give contributions after meeting John Huang, but states that Huang never solicited money from him.

Answer: At this stage we are only preparing ourselves. Preparation is also important. We have no intentions of doing anything if we feel that there is no national consensus in support of the action. More importantly, we need the agreement of the rabbis. Without this we cannot move. Permission can be given verbally or nonverbally. We don't need an explicit word.
Question: In the event of withdrawal, will there be an attack against soldiers?
Answer: We are fighting so that there won't be any withdrawal. I am not willing to speak of withdrawal, even as a possibility. With the help of God, everyone will understand eventually that such language is only harmful. But if you are referring to our cell, we are doing everything possible to avoid arriving at that day. I also don't believe that Rabin will evacuate settlements. Rather, his method will be to undermine their foundation from a socio-economic and public perspective, to choke them. And after autonomy there will no longer be any Jews in Judea, Samaria, [sic] or the Gaza Strip. Then the Arabs will be able to establish their terror state without any problems. [=

Answer: Think what you want to think. The delegation members have a lot of enemies, not just from our side. And as you know, every difference in opinion among the Arabs ends at the point of a gun. It is obvious to all of us that the delegation does not represent the Palestinians. Their representatives are Hams; they are the ones who rule the streets. The whole story of the delegation is the imagination of the government, the Americans, and the PLO.
Question: Do all the members of the Palestinian delegation appear on your hit list?
Answer: Both the members of the delegation as well as activists from other movements. We can make the original attack, after which they'll continue all by themselves. No one will cry over the reciprocal destruction of Palestinians, just like no one gets upset about the killing of a collaborator. After they have finished killing each other, we will be able to find worthy partners for real negotiations for peace and living together.
Question: Can you elaborate on those people who are on your hit list?
Answer: First of all, we are not necessarily talking about killing anyone. An attempt on someone's life is enough for people to get the hint. There are a lot of people, and obviously we won't be able to get to all of them, and there is no need for it. We have to attack the ones who are the most prominent among them. I am not aware as to the direction of the other teams. As far as my team goes, at the beginning we considered going after Zahira Kamal, of the Democratic Front, or Hanan Ashrawi, but for the time being, she has a low preference and so we are working on something else now.
Question: Did you give up Ashrawi for any particular reason?
Answer: The truth is that from the very beginning we didn't feel comfortable with the idea of attacking a woman. This feeling became stronger after we followed her around for a while. Suddenly the target is

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Palestinian Weekly, June 21, 1993. p. 15. Question: What do you have on Ashrawi?
Answer: This is the fruit of tailings which lasted for a number of weeks, between large intervals. I know, for example, which car she travels in, how many windows she has in her house, and even the color of her front door. In this type of work it is important to become familiar with the habits of the suspect; i.e., who are the people surrounding him?

Question: And what is your impression of her?
Answer: Surprisingly, she seems to me to be quite sociable, in contrast to the image which she demonstrates on television. She has a lot of friends going in and out of her house. During the first time that we tailed her, we sat and waited near her house for a long time. Nothing happened. Later on we realized that she hadn't even been in the country. During the next tailing period, we waited for half an hour, and then she came out. It was the first time that I saw her in flesh and blood, and to tell the truth, I was really excited. I remember that there was a mist on the lens of the binoculars from all the perspiration.

Question: And you didn't have any confrontations with her security people?
Answer: What security people? We never saw them at all. . . .

[=]

Answer: The press makes me laugh when it comes to this issue. Every week there is another article about settlers buying guns illegally. This is nonsense. Every settler has a license and can get a gun. And most of them have. Others get weapons from the army.

Question: But if you are planning to carry out an attack without leaving a trace, the only way is to get illegal weapons that aren't registered in your names.
Answer: Look, none of us has any dealings with criminals who sell stolen weapons. We don't know any, and we aren't interested in being in contact with such people. Today they sell to you, tomorrow they sell to the Arabs. Aside from this, anyone who tries to buy weapons from a criminal will be quickly caught by the Shabak, because every criminal will eventually get caught. And we know about the kind of deals the Shabak makes with them. They are the last ones to keep a secret. . . .

Question: Tell me about your armed training.
Answer: For years this control was enforced by the hermetic closure of the Arab educational system. There were many instances in which qualified young people who were suspected of certain political activity or involvement were not hired as teachers. (Even now it is unclear where 25 percent of Arab 3-year-olds attend kindergarten, as opposed to 96 percent of Jewish children of the same age. The situation is only exacerbated by the shortage of teachers and the poor physical condition of the schools. The significance of this bleak picture is no longer in doubt.

Yet only part of the problem can be described in terms of figures and statistics. It is important to remember that there are additional, no less important problems afflicting Arab education. The educational system in the Arab sector is a primary means for state control over the Arab population. The control exercised is ideological and educational in character and is enforced through "intellectual terrorism" (as defined by the late Dr. Sami Mari). The basic motivation for this control is an intense suspicion, lack of trust, and refusal to accept the capability of Arabs in Israel to make their own decisions as to the content and quality of their children's education. For many years this "intellectual terrorism" consisted of creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation so as to discourage free expression by teachers whose opinions did not coincide with those of the mainstream Israeli establishment.

The objectives of Arab education, which even now remain poorly defined by the state, are designed to answer the needs of the Jewish majority at the expense of the Arab minority. The Ministry of Education's underlying policy regarding educational content is intended to enforce control to keep the Arabs loyal to mainstream Zionist ideology (and not merely to the State of Israel from a security perspective), and to impede any expression of Arab national identity.

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60584. Eady, Elias. "Working On Both Fronts: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 20. The principle function of most of the key figures responsible for Arab education is the perpetuation of state control and prevention of change or new initiatives. The need for such control reflects the underlying suspicion and security considerations which prevail in the Ministry of Education, which envisions the granting of independence to Arabs in educational matters as a danger to state security.

However, the employment of control and repression is not confined to the establishment. The educational approach within the Arab family and school (in ways quite unrelated to the establishment) is also one of control and repression. When the time comes that we, Arabs in Israel, want to define our educational objectives, we will need to ask ourselves just what type of person we envisage as the product of our educational system. Our society remains highly authoritarian in character and is unreceptive to self criticism. Teachers, parents,
The desired change can be brought about by working on both fronts at once: struggling against the establishment’s discrimination and control over the Arab educational system, and at the same time, working for change in our own norms of self-directed control and repression.

Translation: Howard Shippin.

60585.
Eady, Elias. "Working On Both Fronts: Part 3", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 39. In short, liberation from the state policy of control is a precondition for change, but is insufficient in itself, as internal societal substitutes can easily appear and accomplish the same task.

60586.
Efrat, Roni Ben. "Mothers' School Opens In Majd al-Krum: Never Too Late to Learn: Part 1", in Challenge, May-June 1993. p. 30. As I am speaking with Fatmeh, neighbors arrive. Among them are Amneh and Itaf, both of whom have registered for the school, and Najia, who is learning to read and write in another course. “When I finish my course, I will join yours,” she says proudly. A lively discussion develops. Fatmeh says that most mothers of poor students will not admit to their children’s weaknesses. “I am not ashamed,” she says. “What good will I do my child by denying his problem?”

The women have many complaints about their children’s education. Amneh finished four years of school. Her four children are poor students. They go to school “as laborers go to work,” she says. They sit in class and come home without learning anything, just doing time. “The teachers work with the good pupils and neglect the poor ones,” Fatmeh adds. “From year to year the gap grows, and the children just lose all interest and flunk. There’s no bigger delight than being proud of one’s children,” she continues. “And why do I have to boast of my learned brother, or brother-in-law? I want at last to be proud of myself!”

“So, we’ll see you in school within a couple of hours?” I ask Fatmeh. “So soon!” she exclaims, and rushes back to her dough.

Dawlat Khataileh, a mother of five children, aged 3 to 16, is 32 years old. She left school when she was 13. Her mother was ill, and Dawlat, being the eldest daughter, was the obvious victim of the situation. No one told her to leave school, but seeing as she was absent every two days to help with the housework, she did not see much point in continuing. "I just felt that this was what I was expected to do,” says Dawlat. Asma, her 14-year-old daughter, expresses what can only be understood as the views of a new generation: "Mom should have persisted. She shouldn't have given up." Dawlat is one of the lucky women in the Mothers’ School. Both her husband and children support the idea.

Issam, a teacher volunteering for the educational committee of the Mothers’ School, spoke to me about the high drop-out rate among schoolgirls: “They tend to blame themselves and say that they didn’t like school. But the truth is that in the old days, school was a horrifying and tormenting experience. Children were beaten if they didn’t know the answers. They usually didn’t understand the lessons because the material was totally irrelevant to their lives. Compounded with the economic hardships and lack of awareness from the parents, drop-out was not viewed as such a bad alternative.”

60587.
Efrat, Roni Ben. "Mothers' School Opens In Majd al-Krum: Never Too Late to Learn: Part 2", in Challenge, May-June 1993. p. 30. The desired change can be brought about by working on both fronts at once: struggling against the establishment’s discrimination and control over the Arab educational system, and at the same time, working for change in our own norms of self-directed control and repression.

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1992, the organizations began to discuss ways in which to overcome the low level of achievement in public schools while simultaneously involving the family and community in the issue. The educational committee from the Al-Baqa center started to prepare the groundwork on two levels. Following the results of the national survey, the committee sought to develop a curriculum that would upgrade the poor results in mathematics and reading comprehension. Through surveys distributed among the children, it became clear that there was a direct correlation between the parents’ educational level and the achievements of their children. From this finding, the committee developed the idea of training mothers to help their children. According to the concept, mothers who lacked sufficient schooling would be given the opportunity to return to school and become actively involved in molding their children’s future. The Mothers’ School was designed to include study of mathematics and reading comprehension, twice a week for a total of six hours, with instruction by professional teachers in the area. An additional enrichment program was planned to include monthly lectures, open to the community, on issues of education (learning and behavioral problems, the role of the parent vis-a-vis the school, etc.), and bimonthly educational field-trips related to different educational endeavors (such as Haifa University, Women’s Study Centers).
they must make a change which isnothing less than a revolution. Suddenly it wasn't only the responsibility of the children and the school but also that of the mothers themselves. Mothers who were open to the idea organized house meetings. Discussions were very lively, although many fears were raised. "At my age, going to school again?" "How will I get all my housework done?" "Won't people talk behind my back, hinting that it's something else I'm looking for?" "After all the effort, can I be of real help? Why does my son need an education if the only job opportunities he is offered in Israel are manual labor?" Discussions went on for nine months until the first group of 20 women registered, and suitable teachers were found.

On April 24, a modest celebration was held in Al-Baqra Center in honor of the opening of the school. Guests included the mothers who had registered, their husbands, and people concerned with education. Speeches were made, a play was performed, and the project was explained and praised. But, today, after the celebration, the hard work has begun. At one o'clock, fourteen women actually left their homes and house chores, all carrying a pencil and two notebooks (one for Reading Comprehension and the other for Mathematics) and sat on the benches, elbows on the tables. I recognized Dawlat, Anneh, and Itaf among them. Fatmeh was missing. Perhaps it was her bread.

1. Statistics regarding education in the Arab and Jewish sectors provided by the Arab Follow-up Committee on Education.

2. The Al-Baqra center, established in Majd al-Krum in the summer of 1992, sponsors activities related to Palestinian culture and serves as a community center with a progressive orientation.[=]

60589. Efrat, Roni Ben. "Rehumanizing the Expellees: 45 Days in a Tent: Part 4", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 8. Every evening the tent became an open forum. Serious questions were asked while sweet tea was passed around in disposable plastic cups. Should there be an appeal to the High Court of Justice? Should the Palestinians make their return to the peace talks conditional on the expulsion issue? People expressed their disappointment with the Rabin government and debated whether the Arab parties ought to withdraw their support. These evenings were attended by a broad spectrum of personalities, including Arab members of the Knesset, heads of Arab municipal councils, representatives of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, laborers who arrived from their villages after a day's work, rabbis, Jewish peace activists, and students.

A small generator-powered black and white television was turned on for all news programs and political features. The camp was granted media coverage during its activities.

In addition to demolishing stereotypes and suspicions on both sides, the tent became an address for all citizens who wanted to express their protest against the expulsions. A continuous stream of peace organizations and residents of Arab villages have arrived at the tent, bearing fruit, cakes, and food. Each evening a volunteer from "Women in Black" has arrived with a steaming pot of soup. The tent visitors' book was quickly filled with meditations, comments, and words of gratitude from the visitors. Many activists from Meretz have visited the tent and registered their opposition to the position of their representatives. One of them wrote: "As a member of the Citizen's Rights Movement (Ratz), I am dismayed to be in the midst of such dark times for which my party is partly to blame. Be brave and strong and know that most of the members of the Citizen's Rights Movement support your struggle."[=]

60590. Efrat, Roni Ben. "Rehumanizing the Expellees: 45 Days in a Tent: Part 5", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 9. The camp's around-the-clock activities (practically on Rabin's doorstep) and icy conditions were not so different from those experienced by the expellees themselves. They represented an act of solidarity and a challenge to Rabin's declaration that "I have no compassion in my heart for the members of Hamas in Marj al-Zohar." It is probable that Rabin's rigidity on this humanitarian issue caused the first crack in his wall of support. As television coverage from the expulsion camp continued, both Israelis and the world learned more about these "terrorists" who had been blindedfold and dumped onto an arid hilltop between Lebanese territory and the Security Zone. It was revealed that many of them were teachers, internationally known lecturers, doctors, merchants, and religious leaders, including the Imam of the al-Aqsa Mosque (the third holiest site in Islam).

Religious members of AJCAD, including the Rabbis for Human Rights and Christian clerics, contributed to the easing of the anti-Islamic delirium. In a joint meeting of clergymen, which was held in the tent after the Muslim Friday prayers, they formulated a common declaration, demanding that the expellees be returned.

The most effective way of breaking down barriers of ignorance was for members of the expellees' families to appeal to the public directly. On January 20, AJCAD declared a women's day of solidarity with wives of the expellees. Jewish and Arab women's organizations from Israel and the Occupied Territories were invited to participate. The mere appearance in West Jerusalem of some fifty wives from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, dressed in traditional clothes, helped to explode the image of terror and recalcitrance which has been affixed to Hamas. In a striking show of solidarity, hundreds of women streamed into the protest camp from villages in Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev. It was a sea of white scarves. For many of the women, this was the first demonstration in their lives. Emotions were stirred when Ghada Jarar, wife of expelled religious scholar Bassam Jarar, appealed to the wives to be strong and weep when they are alone, not before their children. A week later, children of the expellees were invited to the tent to draw pictures for their fathers. About one hundred and fifty children came. For most of them, this was their first time in Israel. They sat shyly on the ground outside the tents, hesitant before the blank pages. With all the television cameras and Jewish activists distributing paper and crayons, how could they draw freely? But when they were asked to write their fathers' names on the page, the atmosphere changed. Thinking of their fathers, who would receive the drawings, enthusiasm blossomed. Many asked for another sheet to draw for an uncle, who was also an expellee, or for a neighborhood child who couldn't come to the event. The colors of red, green and black (the colors of the Palestinian flag) were in high demand and images of the tent and the Koran were prominent. Many women discreetly added messages for their husbands.[=]
little enthusiasm: “Right or wrong, the PLO is what we’ve got, and we’ll support it.”

A blasphemous thought enters my mind: in whose hands does the fate of the Palestinians lie? - in those of the current PLO leadership, or in the hands of these bullet-scarred young men?

Translated by Stephen Langfur.[\]

60592. Efrat, Roni Ben. “Women Must Become a Political Force: Dr. Galit Hasan-Rokem - a founder of Women’s Network for Peace”, in Challenge, May, 1990, pp. 20-21. Last May a number of political academic and feminist women were invited to a women’s Conference in Brussels. Among those invited were MK Shulamit Aloni, Yael Dayan, MK Nava Arad, Prof. Galia Golan, Prof. Naomi Hazan and Rachael Oustrovitch. The organizer of the conference, Simone Susskind, also invited prominent Palestinian women, leaders of women’s organizations in the Occupied Territories and independent Palestinian women.

Although the discussions did not result in total agreement, far-reaching understanding was achieved, enunciated in a number of clauses which make up what later came to be known as the Brussels Document. As a result of the conference a new women’s movement emerged in Israel the Women’s Network for Peace (WNP), which led to a new level of cooperation between Palestinian women’s organizations and a sector of Israeli women close to the establishment. I spoke with Galit Hasan-Rokem, one of the founders of WNP.

Galit Hasan-Rokem is a poetess and a lecturer in the department of Hebrew literature at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. One of her latest poems is titled What Are You Thinking Of There, Maha Nassar. It was written while one of the leaders of the women’s organizations in the West Bank was imprisoned in the Russian Compound detention center in Jerusalem. It is hardly likely that Galit Hasan-Rokem would have written a poem like this before the intifada, and difficult to imagine that she would have immersed herself in such intensive political activity had there been no intifada.

“Like many radical women, my name could be found in countless petitions. I would also participate in demonstrations, but no more than that. I reached practical political activity only after the intifada: first in Women in Black, then Lecturers Against Occupation, and finally the Women’s Network.

“I began to develop an awareness that there was an urgent need for the situation to be changed. I looked for a framework which would not be marginal, which would be able to reach broader groups. If I had looked for a framework which suited my exact views, I would have found myself active in an extremely limited group.”

Addressing women inside the Israeli establishment on the active, because they didn’t have a framework suitable to their social situation WNP has focused on what may be called changing positions. Positions change at every meeting, every visit, every personal acquaintance with the violation of human rights and every personal contact with human suffering. Not that there was no access to such information before the intifada, but during the past two years, Israeli society has become ripe for absorbing the information.

“Peeking into the composition of the WNP, into the salons in which they meet, does raise several questions. Is it possible that the only thing that has changed is that today, being in the network is “in”? Perhaps what has happened is that many women previously hesitated to become active, because they didn’t have a framework suitable to their social background, and now the network offers them such a framework? Possibly. But this is not a sufficient answer. One must still answer the question: what has happened that Israeli women, who formerly would never have met or exchanged one word with a Palestinian woman, will now get into an Arab taxi and travel to a refugee camp in Gaza? Why was this not legitimate yesterday, and the few women who did it were called ‘Arab lovers’, while today it is acceptable."

One possible explanation, according to Rokem is the change in the attitude of the Palestinian National Council in Algeri (November 1988). “It is impossible to ignore the fact that the PLO representative in Cairo denounced the sabotage of the Israeli tourist bus on the way to Cairo. That is one side of the coin. Another contributory factor is the tiredness of wars combined with intensified longings for peace in Israeli society.

Another factor is the cooperation with the Palestinian women, and their readiness to work with us the way they do, their immense devotion towards developing dialogue and understanding between the two peoples. They are signalling to the Israeli women who come to the meetings, that it is really important to the Palestinians, and by that they strengthen the repudiation of the Israelis.

We have relations with Palestinian women who represent most walks of their people. For them, as well as for us, it is very important that there should be similar representation on our side. The aspiration for symmetric representation rises especially because we are
speaking about political action for an aim which is both shared and the most dear to us - peace".

A certain tone of urgency is evident in her speech when she analyses the political changes which are taking place in Palestinian society: "The feeling is that if the political change they have gone through during the intifada will not bear fruit, the implications could be very severe. However", she adds with a smile both mischievous and confident, "I believe that there will be a political solution within the next few years. The moderation of the Palestinians' positions, the forming of a more representative and organized peace force within the Israeli establishment, along with international pressure, will begin to have an effect.[=]


Miriam Mari is the Arab woman most often interviewed in the Israeli press. This fact was a little discouraging to me. In my interview, I wanted to explore subjects with her which lay far beyond the boundaries established by the commercial Israeli press for anyone who is not exactly "one of us;" here she would probably be defined as a true natural wonder (the woman who 'did it') or as someone's wife.

Our conversation lasted for three and a half hours, and it was far from anything I had anticipated. When Mari described scenes from her childhood, she did so with pain and pride. When she referred to the present regime in Israel and to the subject of education, which is closest to her heart, she spoke with rage, mixed with a determination to struggle for change. When we discussed the status of Arab women in Israel, she exhibited an understanding and sensitivity beyond any I have ever experienced. When I entered the "Dar el Tifel el Arabi," a spacious Arab-style building on the border between old and new Acre, I found Miriam Mari busy arranging packages of books which had just arrived from the publishing house. They were part of an educational series for children about Ramadan which included poetry, stories, games and descriptions of customs. This series was born in their center, which devotes effort to creating materials that will appeal to Arab children, using their own language, their colors, and the smells from their mother's kitchen. This brought me to my first question. [=]

60594. Efrat, Roni Ben. Interview: "Building a Class of Women Leaders: Interview with Miriam Mari, Part 2", in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 19. Question: Miriam, you describe yourself as an educator, and you say that education is inseparable from politics. What do you mean by that? Answer: When we speak of education in its formal sense, we refer to its policies, its philosophy, its objectives, and to the way it shapes the character of an entire generation, for the present and the future. This is a very politically-oriented task. Every society has its own idea of where it wants to go. It is not by chance that every country has numerous teams of experts who sit and think and plan and check every word and every letter down to the last detail. It is correct to say that when a country designs the education system for its younger generation, a harmony usually prevails between the goals of the state and the curricula which it formulates for its students. But, in the case of a national minority, the matter becomes much more sensitive. The education which an Arab child receives in the state of Israel is not an "Arab education" but rather "an education for Arabs." In essence, these are two entirely different things. Education for Arabs is education which seeks to impress upon Arab children the idea that they are a minority. This is an education which has been deprived of its cultural content. It impedes the thinking of the student and empties words of their meanings. What Arab children learn is not relevant to their lives, either in a national context or simply as human beings.

For example, I read the following sentence in a Hebrew-language textbook for fifth-grade Arab children: "A young Bedouin woman fell in love with an Arab, and that caused her death." In one short sentence we have already determined that a Bedouin is not an Arab; the terrible threat has already been conveyed to all young girls; and Arab society has in fact been divided up into sects: Christian, Arab, Bedouin, Druze, etc. I ask myself, does such a text for fifth-grade children exist by chance? It should be noted that this book was written by Arabs - to show that Arabs, too, can adopt an attitude that serves the interests of the Jewish majority. Essentially, this is what I call education for Arabs. [=]

60595. Efrat, Roni Ben. Interview: "Building a Class of Women Leaders: Interview with Miriam Mari, Part 3", in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 19-20. The Arab history which we were taught dealt with the period before Islam, the Jahiliya, and with the Islamic era. We liked the Islamic period very much, because it was familiar to us; the names and stories were familiar; it touched us. But Arab history ended with the establishment of the state. Here begins the history of the land of Israel, and we could never understand what this place was. Did it belong to us? To them? Everything was one big enigma. The Palestinian issue simply did not exist. As a child, I recall an incident in school when were asked to fill out questionnaires stating our father's country of origin. I wrote that my father was born in Palestine. They returned the form - it was really frightening - and demanded that I write that my father was born in Israel. But he was born at the end of the last century, before Israel existed! It was clearly a political matter, but I didn't understand politics. For me it was simply a matter of logic.

And that was the atmosphere in which we lived. We grew up during the period of the military government (imposed on the Arab population between 1948 and 1966, ed.) We lived in the shadow of some abstract, distant super-government. It controlled our lives, and we were not even allowed to express what was our own truth. Parents were afraid, and teachers were even more afraid. This government was thought of as something very foreign and cruel, with many eyes to observe our deeds and our thoughts. Until 1965, we weren't even allowed to live outside the ancient walls of the old city of Acre. Beginning at a certain hour, we were under curfew; we were in a kind of ghetto. This is how it was and those of my generation grew up. And today, when I look at myself and at some of my friends, I see us as a minority which has succeeded, despite everything, in emerging out of the shell in which we have been placed and distancing ourselves from the message conveyed to us, both overtly and implicitly, that without the goodwill of the government we would not be able to bring an end to our passivity. We are some of the few who dared to test the theories against the reality and to draw the necessary conclusions.[=]

60596. Efrat, Roni Ben. Interview: "Building a Class of Women Leaders: Interview with Miriam Mari, Part 4", in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 20. Question: Is the "Dar el Tifel el Arabi" one of these conclusions? Answer: (bursting into laughter) Here you've caught me redhanded. Yes, I can proudly say that this center was established by women who have arrived at an awareness of the distorted education system and have tried to accomplish two things at the same time: to say, yes, it is possible to do things alone, it is possible to do them differently.

Developing self-confidence is not sufficient; it is necessary to impose upon our children an educational content which will be relevant for them. I always tell our women educators that the children constitute half of the present and all of the future, so we have a heavy responsibility. We are working to create a generation of self-aware and self-confident female Arab kindergarten educators. That is the only way they will be able to convey to the children a confidence in basic human values - in the respect towards the unique identity of every Arab society in particular. We do not foster chauvinism, but we certainly do seek out the best qualities of Arab culture, those same qualities which have been completely eliminated from Arab education. The Ministry of Education is not happy with the direction we are taking, but we are not willing to waste our energy on futile struggles with them. We realize that the Ministry's recognition of our curricula is important and can enable us to act more freely, but the recognition and appreciation of our own society for our programs is even more important to us. Our response to this need is our
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Three centers for training kindergarten teachers, in Acre, Ar’ara, and Jaffa. [=]

60597. Efrat, Roni Ben. Interview: “Building a Class of Women Leaders: Interview with Miriam Mari, Part 5”, in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 20. Question: In your studies, you claim that in the decades since the Naqba [This term, meaning holocaust in Arabic, is usually described as the result of the 1948 war.] the Arab woman in both the city and the village has secluded herself, adopting a very conservative way of life. By so doing, she has strengthened the authority of the men, who were forced to confront the newly established Zionist regime. Can the withdrawal of these women be considered a form of protest? Today, in retrospect, how do you regard the results of their reaction?

Answer: It was more a natural response to what was happening in the aftermath of the Zionist occupation than a conscious political act. In 1948, we were faced suddenly with a foreign element which was unfamiliar to us. We Arab women were afraid of it and didn't know how to relate to it, so we isolated ourselves from it. The veil (hijab) was an example of this reaction. Many women who did not cover themselves with the hijab before 1948 have since begun to wear it. This process of strengthening both the family unit and male authority also sprang from the new reality imposed on Arab society. Families were divided and scattered; mothers were unable to be with their children; entire families were broken up. My family is one example. My father stayed here, and my mother and all the children went to Lebanon. Afterwards, when my father received permission to bring us back, my two brothers who were over sixteen were not allowed to return with us. They became refugees because they were young men. [=]

60598. Efrat, Roni Ben. Interview: “Building a Class of Women Leaders: Interview with Miriam Mari, Part 8”, in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 21. Question: To what extent is the Arab sector model of a women’s organization influenced by the model of organized women in the Jewish sector? And what are your feelings regarding the need for an Arab women’s movement in Israel?

Answer: Certainly, the various groups are directly influenced by what they see around them. I wouldn't like to speculate as to whether this phenomenon is positive or negative. I can only say that from my experience, if the influence does not undergo modifications, the result will be terrible. Our groups will become simply imitations and will not evolve in ways which suit our needs. I am not ashamed to admit that our organization, the Acre Arab Women’s Association, has undergone a similar process. Our group began to take shape in 1975. I returned from a stay in the United States, my whole way of working influenced by what I had seen and learned: concepts of self-realization and methods of lecturing. In Acre, we women would sit in discussion groups for hours, even though this was completely foreign to our tradition. It was total imitation. But through our mistakes, we understood and rectified the situation.

As for the need to unite all the groups of Arab women, to bring all the various groups together as one coordinated unit, that is unquestionably important. I am convinced that a moment will come when all our attempts to change the situation and provide answers to our problems will consolidate us into one force. We should never forget that a complete sentence consists first of letters and only later of words. [=]


Answer: This is a very difficult question to answer. I am drawn to Scheherazade, the mythical heroine of “A Thousand and One Nights.” The stories she tells the king are actually tales of confrontation between the weak and the strong. At first, notice is paid to the stories she tells the king. But suddenly, attention turns to the personality behind the stories, her astounding character, her ability to survive, her prowess in confronting the forces of tyranny. She overturns her relations with the king. The situation changes from one in which she is dependent upon him to one in which he becomes dependent upon her and her stories. He is captivated by her inner beauty, her imagination, her sagacity. As I see it, this symbolizes female inner strength, the creativity of women, their ability to survive, and their unique way of dealing with situations without violence. [Translation: Elana Wesley] [=]


Abortion is legal in Israel under certain circumstances: if the physical or psychological health of the mother is in question; if the mother is not married; or if she is under 17 or over 40 years old. Under pressure from conservative forces, the Knesset eliminated a provision admitting “social distress” (e.g. economic hardship) as a legal justification for abortion in 1978. Groups such as Na'amit, the Histradrut women's organization, are now worried that the recent erosion of abortion rights in the US will be taken as a kind of precedent, encouraging ultra-Orthodox forces in Israel to push for additional restrictions on the availability of abortion. As it is, legal abortions must be approved by a committee including a doctor and a social worker; it is now being proposed that the committee should include a religious authority. Although the Jewish Halacha defines life as beginning when the fetus is actually born, Orthodox policy is against abortion at all stages of pregnancy.

Women with enough money can get (illegal) abortions in private clinics; the cost is about half of an average monthly salary. The less affluent are dependent on the committee process, and frequently must lie in order to get approval. Women are not prosecuted for illegal abortions (although doctors are, if an abortion causes injury or death). Within the Arabic population, women who have abortions are socially persecuted.

Neither the problem of "unwanted children" nor the issue of "quality of life" are much discussed; the general feeling is that childbearing should be encouraged because "we need soldiers for the army." Adoption is regulated by government authorities. While contraception is generally available, it is not encouraged by the government. Contact: The Israel Feminist Movement, 82 Ben Yehuda St., P.O. Box 33041, Tel-Aviv, Israel 61330. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.] [=]

60602. Elharar, Yitzhak. Photograph: "Indian Orphans Find a Home [Malyankar orphans, aged 10 to 19, were brought to Israel from Pali, India by American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, where they were met by their aunt].", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, September 17, 1994. p. 5.[TXT]

60603. Emery, Lulu Dubini. "Letters to the Editor: Save Mount David", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 24, 1995, p. 5. I found it disheartening to read in your 1/6/1995 issue about the possible closure of the Mount of David Crippled Children's Hospital in Bethlehem because of lack of funds ("Donor fatigue hits hospital.") This institution has given hope and strength to many children whose lives would otherwise have been confined to a wheelchair, if they could afford one. What I find more disappointing is the squabbling that continues regarding who is going to run the place. Unfortunately, all this bickering is taking a big toll on the children who as usual are the victims. Even if this predicament is solved, there is a larger on-going problem that needs to be addressed. It
is frightening to think about what is happening to innocent children born with congenital deformation or those who acquire the crippling disease of poliomyelitis because of the lack of vaccination. Some children develop these abnormalities because their mothers failed to receive prenatal care during their pregnancy. What I find encouraging is that a good number of these cases could be prevented if the health care system in Palestine invested in a full-scale program of health education and disease prevention. Preventive care is a right that should be mandated for every pregnant woman as early as six to eight weeks into her pregnancy. Proper nutrition, hygiene, social and psychological counseling, and detection of certain blood and heredity diseases could all be dealt with at early stages. Pregnant mothers, especially those in distant villages, should be brought to the prenatal clinic for early follow-up care. They might be enticed to come to the clinics by being offered extra nutritional foods: milk, cheese or other high nourishment determined by their initial assessment. Another way of making the visit more appealing would be to issue coupons that could be redeemed at specified grocery stores contracted by the health ministry with the agreement that these coupons be used strictly for nutritional foods recommended by a dietician.

Mothers should be convinced of the importance of prenatal follow ups by showing them printed or videotaped educational materials. They should be encouraged to have annual checkups after delivery to prevent uterine and breast cancer and other avoidable diseases. Caring for the baby should start while the baby is still in his or her mother's womb and should continue through childhood. Babies and children should have periodic well-baby checkups starting from two weeks and to continue at intervals of every two months for the first year when the intervals may vary depending on the needs of the child. Follow ups on the child's immunizations schedule would go up to the time of kindergarten. Numerous physical and mental retardation could be corrected if detected early. Thousands of dollars could be saved rather than spending it on handicapped children. Needless to say, the outcome corrected if detected early. Thousands of dollars could be saved rather than spending it on handicapped children. Needless to say, the outcome could be a healthier society. The health department should work in concert with the school system to make it mandatory for a child to have physical checkups, including dental care, screening for tuberculosis and a health assessment prior to starting kindergarten. I would highly recommend that a school nurse be assigned to every school. The nurse's duties would be to maintain a healthy population among school children. The school nurse would assist the doctor during his or her periodic visits to the school as part of the non-going health maintenance of the school children. The nurse would access the psychological needs of the children and initiate referrals as needed. Again, children and parents should be rewarded for compliance of the physical, dental and immunization follow up appointments. The types of rewards would be limited only by the ingenuity of the case provider. Not only should parents and children be rewarded, but also the clinics and the schools themselves. There would be acknowledgement of those staffs showing statistics of high compliance rates. Needless to say the biggest reward of all is to have a healthier and happier society.

In my humble opinion, I can't see how we can fill the classrooms with children and educational materials if many of them are unhealthy and unable to attend in the first place. How are we to expect adults to show up at work and perform up to standards if they are unhealthy? We need to start somewhere, with the little ones. They are the future, so let's make it brighter for them. As the Arabic proverb goes, "He who has health, has hope, has everything." [Lulu Dibuni Emery, a graduate of Friends Girls School in Ramallah and the Jordan School of Nursing in Amman, is a registered nurse in the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health Services]. [x]

60604. Epstein, Mendel, Rabbi. "Chained: The Agunah Saga: Welcoming a New Era With a New Attitude", in Jewish Press (New York), June 14, 1996, p. 8. The new government in Israel is like a new marriage, and advice for both Netanyahus' government and a new married couple is the same: (1) have a dress code (if housewives want to be respected they should dress like businesswomen); (2) control your rhetoric, calling settlers ‘dzeukin’ (insects) is not helpful; (3) institute education that will teach the civic virtues that will lead to the welcoming of Moshiacl. Yet, Israelis are being asked to forgive Arab terrorist Jew Killers. Mr. Rabin should study the decorum of Jacqueline Kennedy after the assassination of her husband; she is free to leave Israel. [TXT]
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world and by struggling together against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, and for a world of parity, equality and a world free from exploitation and all forms of oppression. [=]

60606. Eslim, Abdul Latif. "From the River to the Sea—We've Got It Covered: Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Reporting from Palestine", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, March 24, 1995. p. 9. [Abdul Latif Eslim, a member of the Palestinian National Authority, described building our own television network, and every Palestinian should take pride in our accomplishments. In the past, we could not give an accurate portrayal of Palestinian life as there was no Arab television willing to reflect a genuine image. Whether the image of the Palestinian was distorted willingly or reluctantly, it hurt us. How can we now start to abolish millions of images of Palestinians that were formulated in the minds of people all over the world? The mission is difficult and the resources limited. However, we are determined to do it with our newly born, independent television. We have collected all kinds of Palestinian documentaries and films, some dating from the beginning of the century, in order to choose the programs that suit the current political situation. We realize that our new television network needs help. Therefore, we have signed agreements with various Arab television companies to provide us with programs, documentaries and films. We are keen to have films and documentaries with a cultural character. We are blessed with a professional staff capable of running Palestinian television successfully. Many went to European and Arab countries to undergo intensive courses. There were also some courses here in Palestine. We made an agreement with the American Cable News Network to let us broadcast weekly two minute news summaries from Palestine. We will report about events in the occupied territories to the American public. We are interested in participating in all Arab and international festivals. Our attendance at the Second Arab Television Festival held recently in Cairo was to get acquainted with various television broadcasting methods of farming gave rise to a strengthening of the merchant class. This was accompanied by an influx of European Jewish settlers that brought with them capitalist means and aspirations. Thousands of landless peasants were forced to migrate, looking for work and shelter in the cities.[=]

60608. Espśnioly, Nabila. "Palestinian Women In Israel: Changes and Challenges: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 29. The proletarianization of the peasant class disrupted traditional extended-family structures. Dependence of the landless peasant family on wage labor increased, resulting in a strengthening of the nuclear family and a decline in the importance of the hamula. For the first time, Palestinian women became social/political activists and established charitable societies in the major cities; Haifa, Acre, Jaffa, Nablus, and Jerusalem. In 1929, after years of local activity, they convened the first women's conference. During this period, women from among the poorest classes were involved in various forms of militant struggle, especially during the revolution of 1936-37, yet mainly on an individual rather than an organized basis.

The increasing participation of women in public activities was cut short by the 1948 war which destroyed the social fabric of the Palestinian people, scattering them among the Arab countries and throughout the world. More than 480 villages were totally destroyed and 75 percent of the Palestinian population (750,000) fled or were forced to leave, becoming refugees. The 150,000 Palestinians who remained in Israel (40,000 of whom were turned into refugees in their own land) were forced to overcome the upheaval and survive under new circumstances. Thus began a process of great change. During the first eighteen years (1948-1966), Palestinians in Israel lived under a military government, undergoing further proletarianization and impoverishment. Palestinians were forced to leave their scattered family, and segregrated from Jews through the military laws which controlled every aspect of their daily lives. Large-scale land confiscation left the majority of the Palestinians without the basic means of subsistence.

Palestinian families struggled to survive under the new circumstances. Many men took jobs in the Jewish factories, thus constituting the cheap labor reservoir of the Israeli economy. Regarded with suspicion by Israeli society as a whole, oppressed in the work place, controlled 24 hours a day by the military government, their land snatched from under their feet, and unrecognized as a people with national rights, Palestinian men felt threatened and powerless. For many men, their response was a heightened adherence to the concept of 'ard (family honor). In the new threatening circumstances, Palestinian men found home to be the only realm in which they felt secure, and their family, especially its female members, to be the only domain in which they could exercise control.[=]

60609. Espśnioly, Nabila. "Palestinian Women In Israel: Changes and Challenges: Part 3", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 30. The difficulties Palestinian women experienced at home were further exacerbated by the hardships suffered under the military government, such as restriction of movement; here women were the most severely affected. Palestinian women lost the mobility hard work had earned them in previous generations. Owing both to societal pressures and military orders, women were forced to stay at home and were not able to participate in family economic production; the only domain that remained for them to play a role was the domestic sphere in which men asserted their power. Thus the role of former peasant women shifted its focus from an agricultural, productive role in society to a reproductive role.
within the family. This new role for women is clearly reflected in the fact that only one women’s organization, the Democratic Women’s Movement, was established during this period, organizing Jewish and Palestinian women within Israel around political issues dealing with peace and equality. (All the charitable societies which had existed since 1905 then vanished.)

Palestinians barely had time to adjust to the change brought about by the abrogation of the military government when they were faced with the 1967 war, bringing with it an increased demand for Israeli products and increased employment opportunities for women as well as men. This process led to a change in the status of women. If we add to it the renewed contacts with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and the impact of the Palestinian national movement and the struggle against the occupation, the result was women’s growing awareness of nationality and class-based discrimination against them, with a subsequent increase in political activity.

This increase in activity has been manifested in the increased participation of women in the labor market, the rise in their level of education, as well as their more active role in wider social and political life, especially after 1976. This enhanced awareness led to the creation of new women’s organizations, both local and national. Most of the national women’s organizations that were created were affiliated with political parties and were not fully independent women’s movements. On the local level, women’s organizations largely functioned as charitable bodies, thus continuing the bourgeois approach of offering help rather than organizing women to struggle for their rights.

In the nineties, we, Palestinians in Israel, are witnessing the beginning of new forms of women’s activism and organization which exist side by side with more traditional organizations. Palestinian women in Israel are trying to find ways in which to organize independently as women and tackle issues specific to women; they are no longer satisfied with their secondary role as the female counterpart of overwhelmingly male-dominated political organizations. In meeting this challenge, they are encountering the rise of fundamentalism and the ongoing societal conservatism which leads to gender discrimination at home, in the work place, and in the political sphere. This new generation of women activists includes mainly young, educated women who are promoting a new approach within the Palestinian society: i.e. women working together and independently on women’s issues. Such women’s organizations are struggling towards self-definition. Some, while clearly articulating their feminist orientations, still operate within structures which reflect the hierarchical systems they are working to change.[8]

60610. Espanioly, Nabila. “Palestinian Women In Israel: Changes and Challenges: Part 4”, in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 30. This presence of both traditional and “modern” women’s organizations reflects the changing and diversified consciousness among Palestinian women. While they may differ on the definitions and priorities they assign for the challenges facing Palestinian women in Israel today, they together face, along with men, the task of preserving their Palestinian identity in Israeli society, while at the same time struggling to be treated equally as Israelis. These seemingly conflicting dynamics make the situation of Palestinians in Israel unique.

Facing and dealing with this complexity is the main challenge for Palestinian women in Israel today. On the personal and social level, some of these challenges are similar to those facing many women in the world: the need for a new division of roles in the family; women’s difficult double burden of full-time jobs both in the home and outside; and the need for new systems of child care. Women must understand that the myth of the “superwoman,” both working outside the home and having sole responsibility for household and children, is impossible to achieve and that it functions to prevent women’s development and to obstruct their career. Palestinian women also need to protect their social achievements such as the right to education, marriage at a suitable age, and marriage to partners of their choice. Unfortunately, Palestinian society in Israel is witnessing a growth in the number of young brides.

Many Palestinian women who can’t handle the double burden leave their jobs or take half-time positions, especially after marriage. A disproportionate number of women work in unskilled labor, such as the textile industry, in small unorganized workshops in inhuman conditions, earning less than the minimum wage. Rural women, who are usually categorized as housewives, constitute some 80 percent of the seasonal labor pool. Although only 7 percent of the Palestinians in Israel are working in agriculture, 80 percent of these are women.[9]

60611. Espanioly, Nabila. “Palestinian Women In Israel: Changes and Challenges: Part 5”, in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 30. Palestinian women are, for the first time, breaking social taboos and speaking out about physical, sexual, and psychological violence against them in the family, including incest and rape. The concept that there is no rape and incest in this society is erroneous. Of course, in order to change prevailing societal attitudes and refrain from blindly copying western feminist models, there is a need to address and consider the cultural specifics of the problem.

Beyond the personal and social sphere, women should be encouraged to participate in political action - to make the leap from self-realization in the personal sphere to realization in the political and public domain, overcoming societal norms and attitudes. Thus far, women have begun participating in political activities and organizations, but largely passively. Participation at the more active level of decision-making has been very limited. Without making this transition, women will neither be able to further nor to maintain their achievements in the personal/social sphere.

Many of these political challenges are, of course, common to all Palestinians in Israel, both women and men, namely the effort to obtain recognition for Palestinian self-determination in an independent state alongside Israel. The other major objective of struggle, in many ways complementary to the first, is to obtain equal rights as citizens of Israel without losing Palestinian identity.

Palestinian women in Israel need to create new feminist models for conflict resolution, based on mutual understanding and respect, for the good of both men and women. And part of this struggle reflects common goals for both Jews and Palestinians in Israel, who should be encouraged to work together to achieve their objectives. Finding the correct balance between women’s struggle against male domination and conservatism on one hand, and the struggle against the discrimination and oppression of Palestinians both in Israel and in the Occupied Territories on the other, is the interrelated dual challenge facing Palestinian women in Israel today. [Nabila Espanioly is a clinical psychologist and the coordinator of Al-Tufula Pedagogical Center Nazareth Nurseries Institute.[10]

60612. Farah, Jaafer. “A Co-existence Organization Struggles To Continue: Two Neighborhoods for Two Peoples: Part 1”, in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 28. During the last five years, Shutafut (Partnership)[1], in cooperation with other organizations[2], has coordinated a summer camp in Haifa for young Jewish and Arab children. Yet this may have been the program’s last summer in operation. Shutafut may be forced to shut down due to a lack of financial support - a problem which is not simply incidental to the program’s status as a Jewish/Arab co-existence project.

In previous years, the camp met in The French Carmel, a middle class Jewish neighborhood on the outskirts of Haifa. Yet during this past summer the program was moved to Hadar in central Haifa. Because Hadar is one of Haifa’s few mixed neighborhoods, sponsors of the program considered it a more suitable location. The move was made in order to resolve the problem that arose during previous summers; after the children returned to their uni-national neighborhoods, there was little opportunity to nurture the connections established during camp. By moving the camp, it was hoped that the children would continue meeting together throughout the year, not just within the framework of the program.

Most of the children who play together on the street or in the summer camp do not know that it only recently that Hadar has become a mixed neighborhood. Indeed, most of the Arab and Jewish parents of Shutafut campers would prefer to live apart. However, because very few
new buildings are currently under construction in Arab neighborhoods and because many of the older buildings in these areas have been destroyed or condemned, young Arab couples have been forced to seek housing outside their traditional neighborhoods. Hadar was thus a very appealing choice, due to the decline in rental or purchase prices in the neighborhood and its close proximity to the city center.

Most of Hadar's Jewish residents seemed to resent this encroachment but did so silently, not through active animosity towards their new neighbors. Yet Arab and Jewish children playing together in the local school playgrounds and in backyards around the apartment houses brought the new reality home to the parents. According to Amir Mahoul, coordinator of the Shutafut Program, one indication of this progress was the fact that most Jewish and Arab families on the Hadar agreed to send their child to the Shutafut summer camp last summer.

Outside of Hadar, more and more schools and neighborhoods that were once mixed now have uni-national populations. For example, the Kriyat Eliezer High School was at one time an integrated school, but demographic changes took place in the early 80s. Eli-Motanai, the demographic make-up of Kriyat Eliezer changed. Once a mixed population, the Halissa neighborhood is quickly becoming entirely Arab. And Wadi Nisnas has long since lost its Jewish residents.[=]

60613. Farah, Jaaafar. "A Co-existence Organization Struggles To Continue: Two Neighborhoods for Two Peoples: Part 2", in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 28. Most of those families who move out of Haifa's few remaining mixed neighborhoods do so because of the low level of community services which the Municipality provides. According to the neighborhood committee of Halissa, one of these mixed neighborhoods, the Municipality is reluctant to make improvements in the neighborhood even when residents pave the way with their own efforts. Several years ago, for example, the Committee organized a neighborhood campaign to help build a playground, to barricade dangerous buildings, and to clean up the streets and yards. When the Haifa Municipality refused to assist in any fashion, the Committee turned to the Nazareth Municipality, 25 miles away, from whom they received all the equipment and supplies they needed.

The spokesperson for the Haifa Municipality recalled this incident but claimed that "the residents asked to use the equipment on the Sabbath which violates the feelings of those who are religious." However, even this response pales in comparison with other statements made by other Municipal officials. In a recent newspaper article Mosche Statman, Assistant Mayor of Haifa in charge of education, contended: "Arabs must not be permitted to live in Jewish neighborhoods. Morally, it is better that Jews lose some money in order to sell their houses to a Jew and not to an Arab." These remarks are especially striking in the city that prides itself on being the symbol of coexistence between Jews and Arabs. Statman urged the government to set up a special agency charged with purchasing vacated homes before they are sold to Arabs. The Assistant Mayor's statements not only caused a furor but led to the cessation of municipal coalition talks with Ratz. Statman later denied making these remarks.

The changes in population taking place in Hadar have been followed for some time by researchers at the University of Haifa. In 1980 Professor Banuch Kipnis reported that between 1972 and 1983 its Jewish population declined by 17 percent. Twenty-five percent of the remaining Jewish population were retired citizens. Since 1986 there has been a steady increase in the number of young Arab families who live in Hadar.

The Haifa Municipality responded to the Kipnis report by granting a 100 percent exemption from city taxes in the first year for a young couple living in Hadar and a 50 percent reduction in their second year. Yet this policy was only implemented when hundreds of Russian immigrant couples began to rent or purchase apartments in the neighborhood and was clearly not intended to benefit the area's original tenants. Hadar quickly and dramatically changed into a heterogeneous neighborhood - young and elderly people alike, Arab families, and Jews of both European and Middle Eastern origins. Today, passers-by can hear Hebrew, Arabic, and Russian spoken when walking down any of Hadar's streets.

The Municipality was unprepared for the rapid demographic changes taking place in Hadar. In the words of Devorah Kalkin, co-director of Shutafut: "This neighborhood has practically no playgrounds for children or youth. No one assists the residents in obtaining jobs, nor is there a neighborhood committee. We are trying to fill this vacuum by assisting the residents to organize themselves to live together."[=]

60614. Farah, Jaaafar. "A Co-existence Organization Struggles To Continue: Two Neighborhoods for Two Peoples: Part 3", in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 29. Established in Haifa over twenty years ago, Shutafut has a long history of working for coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel. The organization began its work by conducting meetings between Jewish and Arab students and teachers. Yet over the last few years, Shutafut has concentrated its efforts on community work in the mixed neighborhoods in Acre and in Haifa's Halissa and Hadar neighborhoods. As funds decreased and as demographic changes took place in Hadar, Shutafut redirected its activities to serve the needs of the area's older Jews, newly married Arab couples, and Russian immigrants.

Shutafut is providing an alternative form of community assistance. The summer camp is but one such service. There is also a youth club where adolescents and adults can hear lectures about cultural and political topics. Courses in Hebrew have been attended by over 350 Russian immigrant adults. And every afternoon Shutafut's four rooms are filled with children playing in the game center or participating in art classes.

During the Gulf War, Shutafut reopened its doors long before the area's schools. Since it was not safe to remain for an extended period at the Shutafut Center, Hawla Abu Bakra, an educator and activist, initiated the idea of constructing kits for children with games and other educational activities. Some 1800 kits were distributed to Hadar's Jewish and Arab children. After the war the children continued to come to Shutafut for after-school activities. A committee of parents initiated art, photography, yoga, Arabic, and Hebrew courses for children, youth, and adults.

Given the growing trend towards separation between Jews and Arabs, the primary challenge that Shutafut has taken upon itself is to create positive experiences in coexistence. One would expect that the Municipality would support the efforts of Shutafut, but until now it has provided little or no help. Indeed, if the residents of Hadar had their own funds, they would pay for a portion of the costs of the organization's activities. But given that most of the Russian immigrant and Arab families have limited resources, Shutafut must provide these services on its own.

Under the Likud Administration, the Ministry of Education did not support Shutafut's activities, claiming budget shortages. The Haifa Municipality has also refused to provide support despite the surrogate services that Shutafut provides. The New Israel Fund (NIF), which has been a primary supporter of Shutafut during the last few years, has also recently rejected its request for aid on the grounds that NIF is only able to support organizations for a limited number of years.

Shutafut's Board of Directors is working hard to obtain funding from the government and from foundations abroad. If monies are not forthcoming by January, however, the Municipality may achieve what some argue it is seeking - the closure, due to lack of funds, of one of the oldest organizations in Haifa committed to coexistence.

1. Attorney Rali Zreik and Dr. Devorah Kalkin of the School of Education at the University of Haifa are co-leaders of Shutafut. The organization currently has approximately 200 Jewish and Arab members.

2. Leo Baecck and The Israel Beautification Society. [Translation: Peter Lemish] J'aafar Farah is a journalist who writes for the Haifa weekly newspaper "KoBo."[=]
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the Zionist invaders and the size of the huge destruction and losses, as well as the great material damages they inflicted on the South, its people, its land and the signs of life in it. These are the facts and figures about the aggression, but they are only preliminary figures, since they do not include the damages and losses in the regions which Israel handed over after its so-called withdrawal to fascist gangs, those regions where UN troops have not entered until now. Hence, these figures cannot be considered compromising a comprehensive a report that encompasses all the results left over by the war which Israel launched against people, houses, schools, places of worship, villages, towns, fields and plantations. In spite of that, they gave a clear picture of the Zionist terrorism which was exercised in the South. What do these facts say? The invaders manifested their racist, fascist hatred against peaceful civilians. It can be said they killed in their air raids, in the shelling of their tanks and in their collective massacres civilians only. They left behind more than one thousand bodies [Reuter News Agency quoted the International Red Cross, giving the figure of 1000 killed, but a UN report on 3/19/1978, four days after the war started, gave the figure 700 killed until then.], most of which were bodies of old people, children and women. A large number of these victims were not killed by air raids or shelling, but directly by invading soldiers. In the town of Al-Khiyam alone, they killed more than 50 persons including old men and women in one massacre. In the massacre of Adloun, perpetrated by a seaborne Israeli commando unit in an area not reached by the military invasion, 17 southern refugees, mostly women and girls, were killed, in addition to children whose ages ranged between a year and a half and 13 years. In Rashaya el-Fokhar, they entered a church and perpetrated inside it a massacre against the inhabitants who took refuge there away from the barbarism of the invaders.... In the village of Abbasiya alone, they destroyed the houses over their inhabitants, killing 140 persons. If these "samples" of atrocities give a picture of Zionist fascism, they indicate on the other hand the failure of the aggressors to meet face to face the fighters who resisted their invasion with courage. So they resorted instead to the killing of innocent people. These "samples" also reveal Israel's aims in forcing the largest number of the inhabitants of the South to emigrate, and in uprooting them from their land and villages. In the course of organized killing and terrorism, Israel committed a very large number of premeditated crimes, not only during the military operations, but after the ceasefire, and even after the UN troops took up in positions in the occupied areas. Most of the acts of torture and kidnappings to which the inhabitants in the occupied villages were subjected had taken place after the lapse of a few days on the occupation of those villages. Testimony to this is what happened in the villages of Ain Be'al, Bazourieh, Barashit, Nakoura, Bint Jbeil, Kuleia, Jibnin and others - where kidnappings took place, ending mostly in assassinations and barbaric torture inside Israeli jails. Most of the operations, in which houses were blown up and plantations burned, took place at intervals that followed the aggression. In Bazourieh, for instance, scores of houses were blown up after the lapse of eight days of the entry of Israeli troops to the village. The same case applies to Abbassiya, where 150 houses were blown up. After more than one month of their invasion, the Israelis were burning fields and plantations in Rashaya el-Fokhar and Khoraybe with their phosphorus bombs. The same things happened in Ibl el-Saki.

The thefts and acts of looting directly committed by the Israelis are but evidence of Zionist "civilization." Those acts took such wide proportions that even the Israeli news media could not keep silent on them. And in their attempt to minimize these scandals, "Haartz" newspaper published in Tel Aviv says, "The Israeli soldiers looted moderately... they only stole whatever their pockets and sacks could take, such as transistor radios, small valuables and old relics.... As to big thefts," Haarts says, "they were committed by unruly and undisciplined elements from the rear units." So the front units were for killing and massacres, and the rear units were for theft and looting. In the case of scores of trucks loaded with stolen goods and with "big" thefts, there were some that belonged to high ranking officers of the Israeli army. The "scooched earth" policy applied by Israel in the areas of the occupied South was clearly demonstrated by: complete disappearance of villages from geographical existence, and the elimination of all their landmarks, such as Ghandourieh, Abbassiya, Izziyeh, Kantara, Deir Hanna, Bayyada and others. - complete and premeditated destruction of more than 2500 houses and partial destruction of more than 6200 houses. - complete destruction of more than 50 schools, and damaging and looting of all the schools in other villages that fell into the enemy's hands. - damaging and putting out of operation 10 hospitals and medical centers, including the comprehensive hospitals which existed in the undeveloped South, which was always disregarded by the Lebanese State. - destruction of olive presses and fuel stations and other installations, especially water and electricity networks. In the several villages, the invaders closed down artesian wells after looting their motors in addition to water pipes. - destruction and looting of more than 20 places of worship, including churches, mosques and (Shiite) Husseiniyas. In the course of this policy, Israel undertook to change the landmarks of South Lebanon, graphically and from the inhabitants' point of view, either by constructing military roads for its vehicles on the remains of obliterated villages, or by building airports for its military helicopters, or by setting up emplacements for its artillery and military bases in place of trees and plantations.

The losses which the Israeli invasion caused to the agricultural wealth of the South exceeds, according to preliminary estimates and figures, one billion Lebanese pounds. For in addition to damaging tens of thousands of dunums of cultivated land and to damaging and destroying more than 15000 olive, almond, fig, orange and banana trees, the invading troops bulldozed and destroyed large areas of cultivable land in a way that made the land quite unusable. These results which the Israeli invasion made a point of achieving, including the emigration and dispersal of more than 27000 refugees, reveal Israel's final objectives in turning the South into an uninhabited region, making it lose its national identity in order to facilitate Israeli expansionist ambitions. In the following pages, there are statements and figures about the losses and damages based on an investigation made by a mission from the Lebanese "An Nidaa" newspaper that visited the South, on a report by the Higher Relief Committee (set up by the Lebanese government in 1975to relieve and help the victims of the Lebanese civil war), on a report by the UN Office for Refugee Affairs, and also on certain statements and figures released by the International Red Cross Committee in Lebanon. [1]

60616. Farhat, Albert [compiler]; Saleh, Hanna [compiler]. Sun Rises from the South: The Israeli Aggression Against South Lebanon, Facts and Testimony: Testimony. Beirut, 1978. p. 16-17, 22-23. Munira Saleh, a refugee from Hani: "A woman, in her seventh month of pregnancy, was killed with a bayonet piercing her stomach. And an old man was burned after he was wrapped in blankets." ("An Nidaa" newspaper, 3/22/1978) Hassan, a 12-year old boy from Bint Jbeil: "I saw our house on fire and my comrade in school dying in front of me. I ran away without taking anything with me. I left behind my books and my toys, my bed and my desk." ("L'Orient-Le Jour" newspaper, interviewed by Desiree Alki, 4/12/1978) David Hirst, correspondent of the "Guardian" newspaper writes: "...Israeli soldiers were talking to me and to my colleague of the United Press and the 'Voice of America' softly and gently. Then they became criminal and vicious when they saw one villager shaking. It seems that to the Israelis everyone is a disguised terrorist. The officer in charge of the soldiers asked us, 'Were there any civilians killed during the shelling?' So we pointed our fingers towards a village under whose debris an old woman was lying. We answered him that only civilians had been killed; all who had been killed were civilians." Captain Ouzi Dayan, relative of the Israeli Foreign Minister, replied when he heard our story, 'I don't like to tell you this, but I was the one who gave the order to shell the school,' and he pointed to a Centurion tank and said, "This is the tank which shelled from a distance of 1200 meters." (David Hirst in a report from the village of Hedatha to the "Guardian") Khalil Abu Zeid, a refugee from Zawtar: "The planes were shelling Taybeh and after that we could only see thick clouds of smoke covering the sky of the region. My son was looking after our three cows, and the enemy rained on him with 500 mm automatic fire. He was
saved as if by miracle. The enemy also directed its fire against children running in the village’s square. I saw with my own eyes 5 civilian cars running on the Alman road northwards. Israeli planes chased them and fired their shells at them, killing all their 40 passengers.” ("As Safir" newspaper, 3/25/1978)

Youssef Saadeh, Mukhtar (headman) of Ibl el-Saki, says, "What can I say as you can see they have left nothing. They broke down the school and pulled the church. The old woman lies in finding the time to destroy more dunums) and dug trenches around the village (also about 10 dunums). In any case, whatever we do we still support the joint forces and are proud of them.... But why did they destroy the school...this is the teacher standing here. Ask him how the school was." The school teacher said, "The school was one of the best government schools in the region, and had 325 students enrolled. Its large library was looted and not a single book left in it... This is a shame." The Mukhtar then began speaking again: "We lost 20000 olive trees...what a loss! The age of every tree was not less than 50 years and some of the trees were 400 years old. The more the olive tree gets older the more fruit it bears." ("An Nida" newspaper, 5/21/1978) "Aziz Hawi from Sarifa (15 years) said, "The Israelis were throwing down ‘reservoirs’ which would explode. They threw down pens and exploding toys. When Kamal el-Din, who is of my age, picked up a toy, shining like gold, it exploded in his hands, and he was killed in his leg and eyes. Hussein Awad was also hit and had a broken leg. So was Ali Eid (10 years) and his condition is grave." (Testimony received by Zahra Mirl of "An Nida" newspaper, 3/20/1978)

The correspondent of "An Nahar" newspaper Sa'id Meallawi: "Rashaya el-Fokhar was subjected to a total annihilation attempt. Neither the people, nor the church or houses or trees were saved. What the airforce’s shells forgot, the Israeli bulldozers remembered, and wiped out the towns landmarks. There is no road to Rashaya and anyone going there should infiltrate. Mountainous paths are not easy to cross. Anyone entering Rashaa would have to pass along the cemetery path where the dead bodies’ smell spreads, and where some bodies appear wrapped in blankets. They are thought to belong to the victims of the church shelling two days before the occupation. After that, you see a destroyed jeep left over by the Israelis near the fountain at the entrance of the town. You see the traces of the battles and the remains of artillery shells and certain roadblocks.... The asphalted road is filled with debris, while commercial stores and even complete streets have disappeared. Even churches were looted and shelled and electricity poles stretched on the street far away from their positions." ("An Nahar" newspaper, 4/17/1978)

Suleiman Sheddis says, "In Ibl el-Saki there are 300 houses, 90 of which have become uninhabitable. Most of them have brick roofs; 100 houses were either mined or blown up, and the rest destroyed. Ibl el-Saki used to yield a yearly crop of 100 oil Kantars. The olives and the oil are gone, and 3 artisan wells are out of use." ("An Nida" newspaper, 5/21/1978) Wafika Hammoud told us, "They were not satisfied with destroying, but they bulldozed the ruins. They want to hide the traces of their crimes. We lost four killed. Three of my nephews were taken away to Israel, and we know nothing about them." ("An Nida" newspaper, 4/25/1978) Weizmann's testimony: Eizer Weizmann, the Israeli Defense Minister, told Knesset members of the Halkoud bloc during a heated session on 3/21/1978, in the wake of the criticism directed against the failure of this war: "The war in South Lebanon developed in a way from the town of Bint Jebeil said,"I was surprised. I didn't know it was under the deris after their house fell on them. The Israeli shelling from river course. This took place in the presence of the UN troops. (Report from Jamila Hussein in Hasbaya to "An Nida," 5/27/1978) Massoud Jarada (75 years, Rashaya el-Fokhar, said, "On the morning of 3/15/1978, the Israeli attack began. I went out with my wife and the town's inhabitants to take refuge in the church, hoping Israel would not shell places of worship. What happened was that the shelling was concentrated on the church - where the people took refuge. The shelling was fierce, and the people started running out of the church. The Israeli tanks and armored vehicles who stayed in there were the aged people. "After the shelling ceased, the search for the lost persons began. I could not find my wife. On that sad day many people died, and we found their bodies inside the church and outside it. My wife's body was found burned inside the church." ("An Nida" newspaper, 5/17/1978, interview made by Diab Kursali) The priest Marouni, in the Maronite bishopric in Tyre, said, "The attack was very fierce. There are still persons of the Mufid family under the debris after their house fell on them. The Israeli shelling from gunboats was also directed against the nuns’ schools of St. Joseph and the Bishara Church...." ("An Nida" newspaper, 3/23/1978, interview made by Ahmed Mantash) Zainab Kansou (11 years) said, "Israel drove us away from our houses after she destroyed half of them with her planes. I don't like her at all. When the bomb was falling I would open my mouth in order not to die from the pressure. Until now, the buzz of planes is still in my ears." ("An Nida" newspaper, 3/22/1978) A woman refugee from the town of Bint Jebel said,"I was surprised. I didn't know it was the war until the paratroopers landed in the streets of the village. They killed my husband and my brother without my knowing how. I didn't see them. The tanks in the streets ordered the inhabitants to come out of their houses with their hands up. They did. But Khodor did not heed the order and ran towards his house. A tank followed him and ordered him to come out with his hands up. Khodor came out with his hands behind his back. The tank fired its gun at him and Khodor fell at the doorstep of his house. Later, masked men came to search the men and their bodies for signs showing they had participated in fighting against the Zionists. Afterwards, bullets started raining, I do not know who among the men died." ("An Nida" newspaper, 3/28/1978) [1] 60617. Farraj, Hamdi. "Grandmothers Star in 'Nana'". in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, August 18, 1995, p. 13. Four female directors from the lot of land near their house. She made her cupbard a coffin for the bones. Poor mother of Darwish, she buried Darwish who was torn up in pieces." (Interview made by Alawi Sobh, "An Nida" newspaper, 3/29/1978) Engineers say that mines are not always the worst problem. They are usually of the type directed against groups, and they are planted in areas that become occupied and in places where they may be seen. They are usually of the type to destroy military vehicles and weapons. However, they explode. Israeli troops planted around 5000 or 6000 mines of the ‘mice-trap’ type, and 2000 of them were rendered ineffective. "The real problem is the presence of a number of rockets, shells and cluster bombs spread at random in the different parts of the region. French engineers have already exploded 2889 cluster bombs, 856 rockets and shells, and defused 2172 mines. Engineers say there are still enough unexploded mines and shells that would make a whole unit busy for several years." ("An Nahar" newspaper, 7/6/1978, from the "weekly report of the UN troops command in Lebanon about the work of the French engineering unit specialized in finding and defusing mines and planted bombs in the regions of Juwyaya, Qhandouriyeh, Arzoun, and Hadathehhra") Hajj Abdel Hassan Wafa, Mukhtar of Bazounia, said, "Israel came with her missiles and planes, and the shelling of the town went on for three and one-third hours.... When they occupied the southern part of the town, large numbers of tanks and armored vehicles entered. We had never seen such a thing before. The Israelis began searching the houses, putting everything in disorder.... Eight days after their entry into the town, they blew up 10 houses, looted commercial stores and stole 40 chairs from the Husseiniya." ("An Nida" newspaper, 5/21/1978) The fire which Israeli occupation forces caused by firing phosphorus bombs at the forests and plantations of Rashaya el-Fokhar was extended to the plantations of Ibl el-Saki, Khiyam and the Hasbani river course. This took place in the presence of the UN troops. (Report from Jamila Hussein in Hasbaya to "An Nida," 5/27/1978)
The Palestine Police arrested him. Although the woman, Vivian Dalou, was detained in Jericho after a female friend, who had been married to an oil worker, was arrested. If he is found innocent and after a Jericho merchant signed a $3000 deceleration, the defendant is released without explanation on 9/12/1994 without ever appearing before a court. Despite this he has been told his file with the Palestinian authorities remains open and the issue unresolved. However, no trial date has been set and legal action is still pending. [=

06019. Franji, Imad; Juma, Talat. “Rafah Border Town With a Historic Role”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 8, 1995, p. 8. The historic city of Rafah is Palestine's southern gateway to the world. Invaders who attacked Egypt from the north, or Palestine from the south, were usually met at Rafah. Today, Rafah is a city with a population of more than one hundred and twenty thousand refugees living in camps in an area of less than fourteen square kilometers. According to Pharaonic documents from the year sixteen hundred BC, Rafah was considered part of Gaza. It was a main station on the way to the coastal road during the period of increasing Egyptian influence inside Palestine after the Hyksos were defeated by the Pharaohs. Rafah was later the point separating Egypt from Greater Syria. Throughout history it had vital strategic importance to many civilizations. Geographically, Rafah is located in the southwestern corner of Palestine. South of the city is the Egyptian-Palestinian border. West is the Mediterranean Sea. North is Khan Yunis. East is the Green Line that separates Gaza from the 1948 borders of Palestine. The width of the city from this border to the sea is eight kilometers. 60% of Rafah’s inhabitants live in camps. The best known camps of Rafah are Al-Shabara and Al-Hogab. The Shabara camp of Rafah is the most heavily populated sector of the city. It has a population of forty thousand—the most densely populated refugee camp in the world. The rest of the refugees are scattered throughout the new Rafah neighborhoods of Tel As-Sultan—population 15000, located on the coastal area beside the Israeli settlements. It was built in 1974 to absorb the increase in population. It has a few schools, two clinics, two doctors and public services. Another quarter was built in the mid-seventies on the previous location of the Brazilian Brigade of the United Nations' forces which had the task of securing the ceasefire line. The quarter known as Al-Brazil currently has a population of 10000. Despite the increase in population, there are only four clinics and no hospital. Half the clinics are administered by UNRWA. Currently, UNRWA is building a hospital east of Rafah and Khan Yunis city near the Muraj district. The hospital will have three hundred and twenty beds and is being financed by the European Community. Abdul Hadi Dahier, the head of Rafah Municipality has declared that Rafah needs another hospital inside the city.

Rafah does not have any post-secondary educational institutions, except for two vocational training centers which belong to UNRWA and a women's workshop. “This is as a result of the Israeli occupation and their refusal to build any institution or college for higher studies,” Dahier said. Sports clubs are the domain of charitable societies. The Phoenician Educational Center was recently built after the arrival of the Palestinian Authority. Economic and commercial activity has been decelerating. Factors behind this are the decrease in available agricultural land and in manufacturing capacity. Only small-scale factories exist in Rafah, unlike the rest of the Gaza Strip where there are many food producing factories. Rafah's economy boomed when Sinai was occupied by Israel. Rafah was a market for inexpensive Egyptian goods. From there, these were distributed to the rest of the Palestinian
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 territories. Like other Gazans, Rafah laborers have worked inside the Green Line. Ever since Israel decreased the numbers of labor permits, Rafah's economy has been suffocating. Agriculturally, Rafah still has a large area of agricultural land on which citrus fruits, vegetables, olives and almonds grow. But due to the shortage of housing space, agricultural land was used to build new housing districts, especially in the eastern part of the city. Currently, on the eastern side of the city an airport has been built on seven thousand acres of agricultural land. New, successful agricultural products were introduced in Rafah. Flowers are now exported to Israel, Europe and Russia. This has reduced citrus production, previously the leading agricultural product. Rafah has many humanitarian institutions that provide different social services to the inhabitants, such as the Islamic society, the As-Salah Islamic society, the Young Muslim Men and Women's society, which provides services to orphans and families of the martyrs. The Rafah Charitable Society contributes various social services to the needy.

Rafah has a wide range of mosques. Islamic historians described Rafah as a city with abundant mosques and a large market. Currently, there are more than fifty mosques scattered in between the camps. The most prominent are Al-Awda, Al-Huda, and Bilal Ben Rabah mosque. Mosques played a major role during the Palestinian Intifada. Many confrontations with the Israelis during the Intifada occurred in the areas surrounding the mosques. Christians in Rafah are a minority, and there are no churches. Yet it is believed that a church from 1484 and have never been able to return. Palestinians moved to Bak’a since it was empty and land was cheap; there were still hyenas there. The city had a mixture of peoples, with Christian and Muslim Arabs, and Jewish communities strictly segregated. Jews never stopped at Palestinian stores, even though Palestinians stopped at Jewish stores. She lived for two months in a new home, before it was seized to become part of the Jewish settlement of Biker Haim; the Jewish owned Egged Co. bus went past her door but Palestinians were not allowed to ride on it. The partition of Palestine by the UN was immediately followed by Jewish attacks on the Palestinian neighbors: many families were butchered in their sleep by Jewish bombing attacks. Hearing of the massacre in Deir Yassin, she and her husband fled to Bethlehem, then returned to the Old City. Her relatives, all from Jerusalem, can oly visit the city of their with Israeli permission.

The Canada Camp inhabitants suffered as a result of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Accord. Due to where the border was set between Egypt and Israel, the camp was divided--half in the occupied territories and the other half in Egypt. Later, in 1989, the Egyptian and Israel governments agreed that thirty-five families a year would get compensation of eight thousand and five hundred dollars and a piece of land in Tel As-Sultan quarter. The compensation was later increased to twelve thousand, but in 1992 both the compensation and the return of the refugees was halted. The Palestinian Authority has agreed with the Canadian government to finance the repatriation of the returnees. This year seventy families hve returned to their homes. Currently, two hundred and fifty families out of five hundred and seventeen have returned. The Swedish village, located on the shore in the far southwest of Gaza lacks basic services. There is no electricity, water, road, or educational institution. It was built by the Swedish Government in 1964. It has a population of nine hundred--mostly fishermen who lived in caves on the seashore. The village is remote from other Palestinian locations, but is surrounded by the Rafah settlements. It cannot build new buildings or rebuild because this is prohibited by the Israelis. Rafah Crossing, the only crossing from Gaza to Egypt, is open twenty-four hours a day for Israelis, Palestinians and foreigners. The Rafah Municipality is administered by a city council. Abdul Hadi Dahier, the head of the council said, “The Rafah Municipality has organized a series of projects and studies, but we are awaiting finances for implementation.” He added that PECDAAR had begun building roads, sidewalks and parks. The Rafah Municipality cooperates with European municipalities and through the Med training group it has been possible for municipal employees to attend computer training programs so that computerization of the municipality’s administrative apparatus can be implemented. [2]


60621. Freij, Jamileh; Vitullo, Anita. "Jerusalem and the PeaceAgenda: Profiles: Growing Up in Jerusalem: Two Women's Stories: Jamileh Freij and Majda Batsh", in Middle East Report, May-June 1993, pp. 15-17. [Jamileh Freij was born in 1930 in Bak’a, West Jerusalem; her family had lived for 15 generations in the Old City before building in West Jerusalem; yet they were refugees in 1948 and have never been able to return.] Palestinians moved to Bak’a since it was empty and land was cheap; there were still hyenas there. The city had a mixture of peoples, with Christian and Muslim Arabs, and Jewish communities strictly segregated. Jews never stopped at Palestinian stores, even though Palestinians stopped at Jewish stores. She lived for two months in a new home, before it was seized to become part of the Jewish settlement of Biker Haim; the Jewish owned Egged Co. bus went past her door but Palestinians were not allowed to ride on it. The partition of Palestine by the UN was immediately followed by Jewish attacks on the Palestinian neighbors: many families were butchered in their sleep by Jewish bombing attacks. Hearing of the massacre in Deir Yassin, she and her husband fled to Bethlehem, then returned to the Old City. Her relatives, all from Jerusalem, can oly visit the city of their with Israeli permission.

60622. Frisby, Michael K.; Kunz, Phil; Simpson, Glenn R. “Green Giant: How Clintonites Built Fundraising Machine of Breadth and Power; Two Boston Donors End Up With Presidential Access and a Deal With HUD; Meetings in the Ward Room”, in Wall Street Journal, February 7, 1997, pp. A1, A6. Boston businessmen Alan Leventhal and Fried Siegel met with Pres. Bill Clinton in a scheme to become owners of HUD's energy efficiency program: they reasoned, correctly, that Clinton would sell their firm Energy Capital Partners the $200 million HUD program and they were right. They collected $3 million for Clinton, and Leventhal and his family personally paid in $185000. In return, Energy Capital Partners was granted an absolute monopoly on the program (with all money to be put up by the Federal National Mortgage Association); in a precedent breaking move, HUD regulations detail the monopoly in federal regulations and grant the monopoly by name to Energy Capital Partners and Siegel. In buying the program through Clinton's good offices, the two had routine access to the White House, enjoying coffees in the White House, and romping through diplomatic events such as the 1993 signing of the peace agreement between Rabin and Arafat, and state dinners for Russian Pres. Yeltsin and South Korean Pres. Kim Young Sam. Siegel and Leventhal deny that there was any connection between their cash payment to Clinton and the unprecedented monopoly on HUD energy conservation programs.

Former Deputy White House Chief of Staff Harold Ickes notes that there was no particular oversight on who was able to buy access to an educational institution. It was built by the Swedish government in 1964. It has a population of nine hundred--mostly fishermen who lived in caves on the seashore. The village is remote from other Palestinian locations, but is surrounded by the Rafah settlements. It cannot build new buildings or rebuild because this is forbidden by the Israelis. Rafah Crossing, the only crossing from Gaza to Egypt, is open twenty-four hours a day for Israelis, Palestinians and foreigners. The Rafah Municipality is administered by a city council. Abdul Hadi Dahier, the head of the council said, “The Rafah Municipality has organized a series of projects and studies, but we are awaiting finances for implementation.” He added that PECDAAR had begun building roads, sidewalks and parks. The Rafah Municipality cooperates with European municipalities and through the Med training group it has been possible for municipal employees to attend computer training programs so that computerization of the municipality’s administrative apparatus can be implemented. [2]
marketing, the number of major DNC donors rose from 3500 in 1994 to 33000 in 1996 (Mark Middleton added 2000 names alone). The White House fundraising database would grow to 300000 names (the database included the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign's National Finance Board list and the Democratic National Leadership's list of financial supporters). Typical of the blending of responsibilities was Huang's simultaneous dual role as DNC fundraiser and official of the Commerce Department (raising $15000 while at DC in the summer of 1995). Huang was a ruthless milking of Johnny Chung: his frequent visits to the White House, driven by his 'crush' on Hillary, became so numerous (ultimately about 50) that even the DNC balked: so Hillary's office arranged his visits and maintained their steady bilking of the man, netting a total of $300000 in campaign contributions from him. Finally, Chung's lack of agreement. This includes passages such as, "Moreover, the debt now essentially illiterate. Maj. Elie Shazar, spokeswoman for the Israeli military government office in the West Bank village of Salfit over to the Palestinian office arranged his visits and maintained their steady bilking of the man, among the issues that will be debated at the conference. Among the speakers at the conference will be Hanan Ashrawi of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights who will address the opening plenary session; Cheryl Carolus of the African National Congress who will join a session on Approaches to Governance; and Hillary Clinton who is scheduled to address the session titled Strategies for the Future. Participation from the US is expected to number 5000. The official US government delegation, headed by UN Representative Madeleine Albright, has been posturing as a leading defender of human and women's rights in the world. [...]" 60624. Geilman, Barton. "Orthodox Jews Go Beyond Splitting Hairs Over Wigs", in Seattle Times, May 19, 1995. p. A3. For six months there has been an intense national campaign in Israel against wigs, which as seen as a sign of wantonness in women. The controversy revolves over the question of whether a woman can wear a wig to cover her 'naked hair' in public. While the ultraorthodox Gur Hasidic sect believes wigs do cover a woman's nakedness, other ultraorthodox firebombed and burned the wig shop run by a woman member of the Gur Hasidic. There is a broad alliance against the satanic wigs, ranging from Ashkenazi groups like theModestians to the 'most distinguished living Sephardic rabbi'. Head coverings are required for women in order to display their sexual purity and to avoid 'tempting men' at times when women are ritually unclean. As one message on a wall in the segregated ultraorthodox Jewish neighborhood reads: 'When the Messiah comes, the first thing he will do is eliminate the wig. A woman who wears a wig is preparing herself for hell'. [TXT] 60625. Ghazali, Said. "300 Palestinians Released; Delays, Confusion Mark Initial Hours of West Bank Pact", in Seattle Times, October 1, 1995. p. A9. Israel released 300 political prisoners and handed one military government office in the West Bank village of Safliit over to the PLO. The releases were confused by delays, and the Israeli refusal to release four women political prisoners, despite a clause in the agreement that all female detainees are to be released. Some released prisoners, such as Sami Zahran who served seven years for possession of a weapon, stated that they did not consider their signing of a oath that prevents them from ever using violence, even in self-defense, to be valid. [TXT] 60626. Ghazali, Said. "Palestinians Face Crumbling School System; Rebellious Students Must Work With Old, Outdated Materials", in Seattle Times, September 1, 1994. p. A16. The new school year in Gaza Strip and the West Bank (still under partial occupation) will be the first school year in 27 years in which Palestinians have had control of the education of their children. However, under Israeli control, the education infrastructure was destroyed: schools are crumbling and obsolete; textbooks (when surviving) are outdated, being as old as 30 years; and the entire school system for 600000 has virtually no computers. In addition, a whole generation was shut out of the schools by Israeli Army infrastructure was destroyed: schools are crumbling and obsolete; textbooks (when surviving) are outdated, being as old as 30 years; and the entire school system for 600000 has virtually no computers. In addition, a whole generation was shut out of the schools by Israeli Army
Seattle Times, September 1, 1994, p. A16. The new school year in Gaza Strip and the West Bank (still under partial occupation) will be the first school year in 27 years in which Palestinians have had control of the education of their children. However, under Israeli control, the education infrastructure was destroyed: schools are crumbling and obsolete; textbooks (when surviving) are outdated, being as old as 30 years; and the entire school system for 600,000 has virtually no computers. In addition, there is a refusal of Druze students to participate in the schools by Israeli school closures and by demonstrations: a whole generation of Palestinians is now essentially illiterate. Maj. Elie Shazar, spokeswoman for the Israeli army, that controlled the schools for a generation stated that the Israelis had no responsibility for the condition of the schools. [TEXT]

60629. Ghusayni, Hafez S. Letter: “Tragic Incident In Israel Is Not Typical of All Druze Peoples”, in San Diego Union-Tribune, December 29, 1995, p. B13. [Escondido] I am outraged after reading an Associated Press story, ‘A Matter of Honor: Druze Justice’ in the 12/25/1995 Union-Tribune about a woman slain by her brother at Daliat al-Karmel, Israel. The article casts the Druze as backward, old-fashioned and savage people who continue to resist change in our modern times. This is unfounded, untrue and represents irresponsible and provocative reporting. There are Druze communities all over the world, including the United States and San Diego. Among our women are doctors, lawyers, engineers, business people and government officials; several of them are married to non-Druze. To categorically highlight as Druze justice the attitude towards the sacred values of the people of Israel and toward people who continue to resist change in our modern times. This is Rabbis of the United States & Canada, June 14, 1996. p. 81. Honorable Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister of Israel, Jerusalem: Our best wishes and warm congratulations on your being elected prime minister. May you lead the State for many years to come and guide it to a true peace. We hope that your election will bring about a historical change in the attitude towards the sacred values of the people of Israel and toward peace in our Holy Land. We expect your Honor to make all efforts to lead
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the state within the framework of the observance of the holy Torah, and the sanctity and purity of Israel, and not to accept Reform or Conservative marriages, or Reform or Conservative conversions. While we pray from the depths to the Guardian of Israel that He watch over our borders and annul the counsel of our enemies who plot to annihilate and destroy-Heaven forbid-the people of G-d, we have to warn and sound the alarm against any attempt to desecrate our diadem, the holy Sabbath, the crown that adorns the nation of Israel from the time it became a holy nation thousands of years ago. Also, to stand guard against autopsies, to watch over Kashrut, and more. We pray that you pursue in your endeavor and close with a prayer to G-d that he reveal His spirit from heaven and spread wings of peace over our Holy Land and may we merit everlasting redemption. [Rabbi Zvi Meir Ginzberg] (=)


The campaign had begun 7/11/93 and was to last through 8/19/93. “Now the main problem in terms of human rights is related to the situation in Lebanon. We also feel that right now that is what all the Israeli public and international media is concerned about,” said campaign leader Eitan Felher.

In condemnation of the disregard for open-fire regulations and the unprecedented number of Palestinian children killed from 12/9/92 to 6/8/93, BTselem had organized several actions, most important of which was a discussion in the Knesset 7/22/93 among members of Meretz, Labor, Hadash, the Arab Democratic Party and the Likud.

No agreement was reached by the groups. Felher told Al-Fajr, “It is not enough that people discuss. In the end, there must be some concrete steps.”

“The main purpose of the campaign - changing the policy so that the killing will be stopped - has not been achieved yet,” he noted.

He explained that the activities will resume when the situation in Lebanon calms down. [=]

60634. Glausiusz, Josie. “The Undivided and Eternal Capital, Part 3”, in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 13. What does “peace” mean to Adnan al-Afandi, a Palestinian construction worker from Dheishe refugee camp who, just two weeks before Jerusalem Day, stabbed two youths in Jerusalem’s Mahane Yehuda market with a kitchen knife? What does it mean to Bella Freund, an ultra-orthodox mother of eight, who protected him from being beaten to death by a lynching mob? After stabbing the two youths, who were lightly injured, al Afandi was set upon by the merchants of the market, who beat, kicked, and cursed him until Freund used her own body to shield him from the attacks of the crowd, who screamed at her, calling her a “leftist” and a “whore.” The daughter of Holocaust survivors, she later explained that she hated violence and felt that she had to take a stand. “I knew that if I didn’t cover him they would Lynch him. . . I just had to prevent any bloodshed.”

Jerusalem Day, 1992. All over the city, Jewish youth are marching. From Silwan, “City of David,” settlers pour into the Old City, flags in their hands, guns slung over their shoulders. From the Rabbi Kook Yeshiva, bleeding ground for a generation of right-wing religious nationalists, Bnei Akiva youth parade down to the Western Wall, singing and dancing. From sites outside the city, new immigrants, many of them Ethiopian, walk “in the footsteps of the fighters” towards the City Walls.

Thousands of Jewish teenagers march past the Damascus Gate, dressed in blue and white, each with a blue and white flag, standing directly in front of them, triumphant, seeing no evidence of an Arab East Jerusalem, no culture, no religion, no people, other than their own. [=]

60635. Glausiusz, Josie. “The Undivided and Eternal Capital, Part 4”, in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 13. Jerusalem Day, 1992. Tens of thousands of young people are gathered at the Western Wall Plaza, transforming it into a vast political rallying ground. All the nationalist parties are here, each faction with its own banner and slogan. Moledet (Homeland) is here: “There’s Only One Homeland,” as is Hategiya (Renaissance): “There’s a Trustworthy Right,” the National Religious Party: “Right On Your Side,” the Likud (Unity): “One Big Likud Against All the Left,” and the the ubiquitous Victims of Arab Terror. One factor unites them all: they carry the same bluer than blue, whiter than white flag. There are other banners: “Expulsion of Incliners = Security,” and “Prepare for the Coming of the Messiah.” Helicopters circle overhead, as border police sitting astride the Western Wall train their binoculars on the crowd. In vain does a harassed official appeal to the throng to remove their political banners, claiming that “this event has taken place for five years’ running, without any whiff of politics.” . . . He is universally ignored.

Jerusalem Day, 1992. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, addressing the delirious, chanting crowd at the Western Wall, declares, “One is Jerusalem, our eternal capital, and it will never again be the capital of a foreign nation.” Jerusalem is unified, but for whom? [=]


4/22/92: Zakaria Qabilan (23) from Khan Yunis (Gaza) was shot dead by undercover soldiers in an armed clash.

5/8/92: Ahmad Aboushi (14) was shot dead by soldiers in Jenin.

Fatmeh al-Khawaja (70) from Sheikh Radwan neighborhood (Gaza City) died after inhaling tear gas which had seeped into her home following clashes with the army in the neighborhood.

4/29/92: Khalil Khamaysheh (18) from Yamoun (Jenin Area) was shot and killed by the army after it was claimed that he had pointed a gun at soldiers.

Jawad Rahal (25) from Arrabeh (Jenin Area) was shot and killed by the army.

5/2/92: Anton Shoumali (22) from Beit Sahour, was shot dead by border police after they claimed that he had attempted to attack a border policeman.

5/3/92: Majed Nahal (14) from Jabalya Camp (Gaza) died of wounds incurred during confrontations with the army on 4/30/92.

5/4/92: Basem Awwad (17) from Deir al-Balah (Gaza) was shot dead by the army.

5/5/92: Zakaria Mustah Allah (44) from the Shajâ'yeh Quarter of Gaza City, died of injuries sustained after he was shot by soldiers.

Ahmad Barakat (25) a detainee in Ansar III, was shot dead by the army. It was claimed that he had attacked a prison guard.

5/6/92: The entire Occupied Territories were sealed off for two days as Israel marked the 44th anniversary of the establishment of the State.

5/8/92: Mahmoud Al-Shalaldeh (23) from Sallam village was shot dead by an Israeli soldier.

It is not enough that people discuss. In the end, there must be some concrete steps.”
permit. 
5/13/92: Bilal Ghanem (20) was shot dead by undercover soldiers in Imateen Village (Nablus). Hanadi Abdallah, a six-year-old girl from Imateen Village (Nablus) was hospitalized after being severely beaten on the legs by soldiers.
5/14/92: four soldiers severely beat Tawfiq Badarna (50), the Principal of Ya’abad Boys’ Secondary School (Jenin), after he attempted to stop soldiers from beating a student.
5/16/92: Israeli settlers from Ariel Settlement uprooted eleven olive trees from Kifel Kharris Village (Nablus).
5/17/92: Khail Abu Tayhem (23) from Rafah Refugee Camp (Gaza) died of gunshot wounds sustained on 4/1/92, when soldiers pursued youths and opened fire in a crowded market.
350 olive trees in Skakah Village (Nablus) were uprooted in order to expand Ariel Settlement. The trees belonged to the sons of the late Hassan Al.
5/19/92: 60 settlers rampaged through Hussan Village (Bethlehem) throwing stones, shouting “Death to Arabs,” and firing into the air.
5/22/92: Mahmud al-Barghouti (18) from Beit Rima (Ramallah) was shot dead by soldiers who opened fire without warning from a military jeep.
5/23/92: Settlers cut down 20 grapevines belonging to Othman Al-Jibari (70) in Wadi Al-Ghus near Kiryat Arba settlement.
5/24/92: Yassir al-Hasanat, Marwan al-Zayjih, and a member of the Qandeel family were killed, and another serious injured in armed clashes with soldiers in the Sabrah neighborhood of Gaza City.
5/25/92: Ahmad Abu Rihan (19) from Deir al-Balah (Gaza) was shot after he stabbed dead Rabbi Biran from Kfar Darom. In the wake of the attack, curfew were imposed on Deir al-Balah and surrounding villages, and settlers carried out revenge attacks on a school and set fire to greenhouses in Deir al-Balah. The entire Gaza Strip was sealed off by military authorities. [=]

60638. Glausiusz, Josie; Feinberg, Michael. “Sixty Days in the Occupied Territories, 4/15/92-6/15/92, Part 3”, in Challenge, July-August, 1992, p. 2. 5/25/92: The Israeli military sealed the family home of Fu’ad Amran in Nussereit refugee camp (Gaza), after he stabbed an Israeli girl, Helene Rapp, in Bat Yam two days before. Twelve people were displaced.
5/27/92: Najiyeh Zakarneh (60) from Qabatiya (Jenin) was shot dead by soldiers who were chasing youths through Jenin market.
During confrontations in Rafah City (Gaza) soldiers shot Ahmad al-Liawayi (10) in his back. He was taken to Nasser Hospital in critical condition.
5/28/92: Hani Arqawi (24), and Omar Hassan (25), from al-Yamoun, were shot dead by an undercover unit in an apparent mistake. The two were known to collaborate with the Israeli authorities.
5/29/92: Ahmed Addawi (34) from Khuras Village (Hebron) was in critical condition after two Israelis threw an object at his car, causing a collision with another vehicle.
5/31/92: The city of Jerusalem was closed to Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as Israelis celebrated Jerusalem Day.
6/3/92: Israeli authorities bulldozed 110 dunums of land, planted with olive trees and vegetable crops, in Dura (Hebron District). The land belongs to Khalil Arafah (70) and Kamal Arafah (68).
6/4/92: Hawad Howabrah (24) from Arroub Refugee Camp (Bethlehem) was shot dead in Bethlehem’s Manger Square after stabbing an Israeli soldier there.
6/5/92: Israeli authorities uprooted 300 olive trees in Beit Urr al-Tahata (Ramallah) on the pretense that the trees were planted on “state land.” The trees belong to Mahmoud Saleiman.
6/6/92: Israeli authorities fenced off 70 dunums of land, planted with hundreds of almond and olive trees in al-Mouruj (Tulkarem). The Qa’dan family, who owns the land, were notified the same day.
6/7/93: Mohammad al-Zamara’a (25), Mohammad Amjad (18) and Rashed Shaheen (19) were shot and injured at a military checkpoint near Halhoul, after soldiers stopped and asked them for their identity cards.
6/9/92: Tawfiq Ali Sbeihat (45) from Rumaneh Village (Jenin) was shot dead when he opened a window to investigate noises outside the house. His family suspects that he was killed by an undercover unit, who mistook him for a member of the Black Panthers.

Israeli authorities confiscated 94 dunums of land in Beit Urr al-Foqaq (Ramallah), near Horon Settlement. [=]


The words of Dr. Ruchama Marton, a Tel-Aviv psychiatrist and chairperson of the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, which she established five years ago. “Tomorrow I am going to Nablus and I feel very protected and secure. Maybe I am repressing something, perhaps. But I think that we all, that is, all of those Israeli women who are involved in human rights work in the territories, feel a thousand times more secure than the soldiers who are wandering around there in fear, with guns and shields mounted on their jeeps.”

Dr. Marton is one of the handful of Israeli women who go into the West Bank and Gaza Strip on a regular basis, in spite of the danger that it involves. “The passage from here to there is like travelling from one continent to another,” says Marton.

Dr. Ruchama Marton, 50, mother of one son and one daughter, lives in a private house in the suburbs of Tel Aviv. For many years she worked as a psychiatrist in various hospitals throughout the country. She now has a private practice. She had been involved in a variety of left-wing groups but had never visited the territories and always maintained a separation between her political and professional life.

In her opinion, her involvement as a physician in the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians is not political but rather the preservation of the laws of humanity and the provision of reasonable medical assistance. “When the Intifada began, we heard all sorts of rumors, and I wanted to know what was really happening,” Marton relates. [=]

60640. Golan, Smadar. “Israeli Scene: Working with Physicians for Peace, Part 2”, in Al-Fair Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993, p. 11. “The decision to enter the Strip and see these things from up-close also stemmed from my personal acquaintance with Haidar Abdul Shafi, who today is head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, and one of the best physicians in Gaza. I recruited a few friends in the profession, physicians specializing in various fields, and in 1/88 we went down to Gaza. Up until that point I had been in Gaza very few times, and I certainly had never been in any of the hospitals in the city. We went into Shifa Hospital and the sights were very shocking. It is a very small hospital, filthy, with very meager medical equipment... the helplessness of the professional staff... and a horrible stench. Men and women, young boys and girls - children were practically on top of one another: terrible overcrowding, with entire families in the corridors in a state of hysteria. We saw endless lines of people with broken arms and legs, and gunshot wounds.

“We left the hospital in a state of shock. On the way back, a sort of group dynamic developed. ... Among all what was said, an opinion arose to the effect that we, as physicians, can and need to continue to be active in the preservation of basic human rights - at least on a medical level. So, after many evenings spent sitting by the telephone and dialing colleges, about 100 physicians were gathered together, after about two months, and we founded the association.”

The association’s agenda includes the struggle to guarantee reasonable medical treatment for the residents of the territories, to secure tolerable work conditions for Palestine physicians, and the struggle for humanitarian health conditions for prisoners and detainees.

In her meetings with people in the medical professions and leaders in the territories, Marton tried to impress upon them the
importance of establishing a system for providing mental health care. "In every home there will be someone who returns home from prison, and he is going to have problems with his/her partner, and his/her parents, and they will need to be provided with suitable professional assistance."

"After those laws, they really began to change their method, and were prepared to consider the establishment of centers for mental health, but they were only concerned with women and children. A little more time passed and they were ready to admit that the men also had problems." [=

60641. Golan, Smadar. "Israeli Scene: Working with Physicians for Peace, Part 3", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 11. Marton says that the Gaza Community Mental Health Program has been active for more than a year. The center was established by Dr. Eyad Sarraj, a psychiatrist who participated in the establishment of the association. "He gathered money from abroad and set up a serious clinic. For the time being, it is almost the only center, which provides residents in the territories with treatment for mental problems. The Civil Administration doesn't think that there is a need to contribute one penny to the subject.

"In the West Bank there is only one hospital for the mentally ill, but it is small and dreadful, and only the most serious cases are hospitalized there."

Question: How open are the Palestinians to discussing their problems with you?

Answer: It took some time, but I acquired many friends among the residents of the territories, and I can talk with them just like I talk with people in Tel Aviv.

"I don't do psychiatric work in the territories. If I am asked to provide psychiatric aid then it is usually in the form of first aid: if someone can't fall asleep at night, I can give them a relaxant, and if someone is in a state of anxious panic, I can give him some medication to lower the level of anxiety.

Question: In addition to the health problems, have you witnessed such aspects of life as free or leisure time?

Answer: Those are two words that they [Palestinians] do without: "leisure" and "free" time. In Gaza, in addition to the present closure, there has been a [nightly] curfew in place for many years.

What are we talking about here? About a cafe? Theater? A lecture? Spending time with friends? Forget about it. Day after day, week after week, month after month, there's no involvement in culture, both for security and political reasons.

[This article was originally published in Olam ha-Ishah on July-August 1993 as "Walking Between Stones and Rubber Bullets"]; [=

60642. Goldberg, Nicholas. "Identity Vexes Israel, Jews Living Elsewhere; Yesterday The Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States & Canada Said The Reform and Conservative Branches "Are Not Judaism At All! Who is a Jew?", in Seattle Times, April 1, 1997, p. A3. The question of "Who is a Jew?" remains bitterly contested, with many inter-racial couples in Israel, still facing the stigma of having their race noted as "Christian" in their state-issued racial identity papers. One husband, sons and brothers being imprisoned, wounded or killed, for inter-racial couples in Israel, still facing the stigma of having their race husbands; the effects, economic and psychological, on families of these violations - the effect on families of deportation of women have been deported as political activists and none during the Intifada; no women have been killed by Israeli death squads; of deaths by army gunfire (including death squad killings, B'Tselem lists 49 women out of 749 people, as of 4/3/91; out of some 14000 or more Palestinian political prisoners, WOFPP estimates that some 50-60 will be women; UNRWA estimates that only a small percentage of the 50000 injuries it has documented since the Intifada began are to women. The indirect effects of these violations commonly emerge as part of Israeli strategies for expansion; Palestinians appear in this context simply as obstacles. For this reason it is extremely hard to effect these violations simply by pointing to the suffering they cause and the illegality of that suffering. Without either changing the largest goals of the group in power or exercising sufficient restraining force upon those goals it is impossible to relieve the suffering of the victims. This problem also exists with regard to collective measures where the suppression of protest is seen as a "necessary" element in maintaining existing power relations or where collective measures are imposed without regard to actual resistance activities.

Within the Israeli-Palestinian context, targeted violations are not the most significant feature of women's oppression. Few women have been deported as political activists and none during the Intifada. Some women have been killed by Israeli death squads; of deaths by army gunfire (including death squad killings, B’Tselem lists 49 women out of 749 people, as of 4/3/91; out of some 14000 or more Palestinian political prisoners, WOFPP estimates that some 50-60 will be women; UNRWA estimates that only a small percentage of the 50000 injuries it has documented since the Intifada began are to women. The indirect effects of these violations commonly emerge as part of Israeli strategies for expansion; Palestinians appear in this context simply as obstacles. For this reason it is extremely hard to effect these violations simply by pointing to the suffering they cause and the illegality of that suffering. Without either changing the largest goals of the group in power or exercising sufficient restraining force upon those goals it is impossible to relieve the suffering of the victims. This problem also exists with regard to collective measures where the suppression of protest is seen as a "necessary" element in maintaining existing power relations or where collective measures are imposed without regard to actual resistance activities.

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effective in those contexts. Many violations in the second and third groups occur within homes or with regard to homes. In a society where women largely remain at home, this means that the greatest burden of these violations falls upon them, not only with regard to the importance of the violations to them but also because they are responsible for mediating the effects of the violation on the whole family.

During curfew, for example, the heaviest burden falls upon the women, who often mediate between the officers, who resent being forced to remain in the home and retain the final authority in it, and the children, whose frustrations, lack of understanding and real needs must all be dealt with. Even the best relationships, under conditions of relative lack of hardship, suffer intolerable strain. For poor families, under crowded conditions, with shortages of food, water, cigarettes and even soap, life can be a literal hell. In remote areas people, especially children and the elderly, can die from lack of access to essential medical care. In Rafaat village, near Tulkarm, for example, eight people, five of them infants under 12 months old, died during the Gulf war curfew. One 3-year-old girl with meningitis was finally given permission, after a two-day delay, to reach the hospital in Nablus, but died there. Conditions under curfew vary depending upon the location (city, village, refugee camp); the size of the family; the number of people in it; the adult-to-child ratio; the availability of food (including powdered milk for babies); the access to medical treatment; the relationships with neighbors; the long-term concerns with unemployment and lack of money; the general relationships among people; and the presence or fear of soldiers. Except for the shortages of essentials, the climate of terror (especially in refugee camps and crowded, poor areas of cities) and the direct fear of soldiers entering (which, one person in the Old City of Nablus suggested, may sometimes be welcome as a distraction from the boredom, frustration and quarreling), women’s experience of curfew is bounded by what is going on within the household: by the need to take care of her husband, children and extended family; to manage what resources are available; to mediate quarrels; and to maintain order and cleanliness. The climate of terror pervades everything but itself becomes invisible. What exists are the details of ordinary life, lived under extraordinary circumstances. Women are called upon to compensate at the family level for an assault directed against the community itself.

House demolitions belong to both the second and third categories of violation, depending partly upon the reason given for the demolition. According to PHRIC almost 1800 Palestinian homes had been destroyed or sealed between the beginning of the Intifada, 12/9/87, and 11/30/90. Slightly over one-third of them were destroyed or sealed as collective measures against families whose sons (usually) had been involved in resistance activities. The rest, except for three destroyed by settlers and some 70 destroyed in the process of destroying other homes, were destroyed because they were built without licenses. Living conditions for families whose homes have been destroyed can be expected to deteriorate dramatically. Many people live in tents afterwards, sometimes for years, with no running water, electricity or privacy. Furniture and clothing are often lost along with the house. They are often not waterproof. Even where families move in with relatives it is normally under very crowded conditions, producing stress for both families. "We simply don't know how to talk about these things," said one woman, a member of an activist family whose home had been destroyed in 1988. The home had been built, stone by stone over a period of years, by a brother released from prison in 1983. When the house was destroyed the young woman was not at home; she had gone to pay condolences in Ya'abad village, near Jenin, following the death-squad killing of unionist Ahmad al-Kilani there. She was watching the Hebrew news on television when she saw her mother screaming. The house was being destroyed as collective punishment for a brother who had been arrested. The brother had a small apartment on the roof. At 2:00 a.m. hundreds of soldiers surrounded the house, woke the family and told them to remove their furniture. The family refused to take furniture. The mother was unable to walk from shock and was forced to crawl out of the house. Outside she sat on the ground and screamed uncontrollably. The father was unable to speak for days after the demolition.

A sister-in-law, the wife of the brother who built the house, refused to leave and demanded that the house be demolished over her. Although she was visibly pregnant, soldiers hit her on the stomach to force her to leave; finally they dragged her outside with her husband, tied them both up with rope and left a soldier with a gun pointed at them while they demolished the house. Years later the mother has not recovered. She has frequent periods where she wanders aimlessly in the streets talking to herself. Intense reactions to the demolitions of houses, even years later, are not uncommon. Many people report that they have been unable to sleep for months or normally for years following demolitions (curfew and house demolition fieldwork in coordination with the Palestinian Federation of Women’s Action Committees, General Secretary Zahira Kamal). The 24 years of Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip have witnessed steady deterioration in the human rights situation, deterioration accelerated by the Intifada and now by the Gulf war and its aftermath. For women, this deterioration has been most strongly marked by the increase of violations in the second and third categories, violations which are not responses to direct acts of resistance but are grounded in the larger political relationships between the two communities. In this sense there can be no significant improvement in Palestinian women’s human rights situation without some form of national liberation.

This does not mean that work on these issues can be suspended in favor of work on political transformation. To begin with, a major function of human rights work is to expose the necessity for changes in power relations by revealing the cost of political and ideological systems to the people who pay the price for them. Work on these issues is thus work on this transformation. Second, political transformation will not necessarily have a positive effect on the human rights situation unless it is directed to do so. The violations themselves must be made a center of focus if essential social transformation is to accompany liberation. Third, human rights are not a relative concept. They are by definition what all human beings, without exception, are entitled to expect from whatever social and political environment they find themselves in. Work on them cannot fairly be suspended in favor of any other kind of work. Fourth, and most important, human rights are considered absolute not only because they represent the minimum conditions for habitable human existence but also because they represent the minimum conditions for the development of human life and human conscience. People maturing in and adapting to the current Palestinian human rights situation cannot be expected to understand what life in an ordinary or human environment entails. This is a potentially very dangerous situation. The violations which affect women most strongly are at the center of these issues, particularly at the issues of development and personality formation. Work on these violations and issues is an urgent human rights task. Note: Beth Goldring is codirector of Sanabel Press Services, Jerusalem. This article is condensed from a longer article which will appear in a forthcoming book from the Institute for Arab Women’s Studies, Washington, D.C. [↩]

60644. Gomez, Berta. "Palestinian Women Seek to Enhance Gains Made During Intifada", in Bilad-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), May 6, 1994, p. 9. Palestinian women’s groups have succeeded in placing their concerns on the agenda of the broader Palestinian leadership but are far from realizing their goals, believes one scholar.

"The voices of Palestinian women are increasingly being heard," Joost Hilterman, project director of Middle East Watch, said during an 4/22/1994 lecture at the Middle East Institute in Washington, DC.

"There is clearly a new discourse" among Palestinians, and their national leadership is beginning to recognize "that women’s issues simply can’t be wished away," he said. "But it is still at the level of discourse. It is not on the level of concrete gains—yet.

Palestinian feminists are wary of the so-called "Algeria syndrome," in which women, who were once encouraged to participate in revolutionary activity, are pressured to resume their traditional roles
following independence, he said. "This syndrome remains very real today for the Palestinians."

Palestinian women are thus drafting new laws governing divorce, inheritance, domestic abuse and sexual harassment, in the hope that those amendments will be accepted by the Palestinian authority that will govern the West Bank and Gaza Strip following the Israeli military withdrawal, he said.

Hilterman, the author of a 1991 book titled "Behind the Intifada: Labor and Women's Movements in the Occupied Territories," said he had not done on-site research in the occupied territories since 1990.

Consequently, his lecture focused on the history of the Palestinian women's movement beginning with its inception in the 1920s as an offshoot of the Palestinian national movement.

In the early years, the activists were usually the wives of prominent Palestinian nationalists, and the two movements were "entirely intertwined," Hilterman said.

He argued that while women benefited from their association with the broader nationalist movement, their concerns were generally subordinated to the overriding national agenda: "The modern women's movement has not entirely shaken off [its] past as an essentially elitist movement that remains closely linked - and to some extent dependent - on the Palestinian national movement."

Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, the movement grew as women activists began to mobilize grass roots support. "Since the 1970s, there has been an attempt both from the bottom up and from the top down to mobilize the so-called masses of the population," Hilterman said.

The movement also benefited from women's growing access to education and employment opportunities, and from the fact that women were highly visible combatants in the Intifada, the stone-throwing movement against the Israeli military authority in the occupied territories which began four years ago.

"Women were basically running the street affairs" during the Palestinian Uprising, and this activism gave the women's movement "a legitimacy and a profile" that it had previously lacked, Hilterman noted.

Those trends were reinforced by the emergence of women like Hanan Ashrawi, the former spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East talks. As one of the most visible participants in the peace process, she quickly became a symbol of the modern Palestinian woman. Other women as such Zahira Kamal and Su'ad Ameri, made names for themselves as members of the "technical committees" that are planning the functions of the new Palestinian authority.

"They have gained some political power and some political space for themselves...and maybe opened the doors for others to follow," Hilterman said of Ashrawi, Kamal and Ameri. [-]

60645. Gonzales, Mike. Nicaragua: Revolution Under Siege: Postscript: 2/1985: There are Elections...and Elections. Chicago, Ill.: International Socialist Organization; London: Bookmarks, June 1985. On 11/4/1984 free elections were held in Nicaragua for the first time in history. They were held under intense external pressure, but were generally acknowledged to be open and honest: 85% of the Nicaraguan electorate voted. Two days later less than half that percentage of the voters in the US gave Ronald Reagan his second term as president. The Nicaraguan elections were given little attention in the popular press. Yet the day after the US election the 'discovery' of a supposed shipment of Russian arms to the Nicaraguan port of Corinto was given banner headlines throughout the world. As a news story it proved highly suspect [Spokespersons for the Pentagon and the CIA later acknowledged that the Russian and Bulgarian ships rumoured to be carrying MiG fighters (an allegation later disproved) had been constantly monitored for three months before the sudden announcement to the press a few days after the Nicaraguan elections].—but it gave a clear indication of future US attitudes to Nicaragua. In the run-up to the elections, Reagan had made great play of his commitment to 'democracy in the region. Early in 1983, a new organisation entitled the 'Democratic Community' was set up under US auspices by the military governments of Guatemala and El Salvador, supported by the government of Honduras—again effectively controlled by the military. The Democratic Community was a short-lived and transparent device, intended to provide a democratic facade for a military operation in Central America. The elections of 1984 in Guatemala and El Salvador served a similar function. They were intended for the eyes of voters in the US, on the one hand, and to preempt the elections that had been announced in Nicaragua on the other. In both Guatemala and El Salvador lists of opposition candidates were published alleging death threats to them and their families. In Guatemala the election of General Mejia ensured the continuation in power of a military caste which had ruled since the mid-1950s. Report after report, by Amnesty International among others, had shown the military regime guilty of the hideous and sustained torture of its political opponents. US arms sales to Guatemala had been suspended in 1979, after a group of peasant protesters had been burned alive on military orders in the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City. Nonetheless the Guatemalans continued to receive their arms, through Israel and South Africa. Before the elections, Reagan had nominated a paid lobbyist for the Guatemalan military, Richard Stone, as his special envoy for Central America. Now the elections provided sufficient evidence for the renewal of US relations with Guatemala—with as its backdrop a pompous public debate in the Guatemalan Congress between the military government and its loyal opposition, an extreme right-wing coalition led by Mario Sandoval, an acknowledged racist and admirer of Adolf Hitler. The presidential elections in El Salvador were in many ways a more important test. For four years a mass resistance movement, the FDR-FMLN, had been able to present their candidacy, for fear of its being posthumous. Whatever his political label, Duarte, as presidential candidate. The reasons were many—and none involved rejection of the violence and extremism proudly and publicly sustained by d'Abuisson.

Unlike other Christian Democrats elsewhere in Latin America, Duarte was prepared to denounce the Nicaraguans, claiming they were responsible for the resistance in El Salvador. In elections which, as all observers agreed, were characterised by the terrifying of the population, open corruption and large-scale abstention in the areas controlled by the resistance, Duarte was elected president. No opposition candidate to the left of Duarte had been able to present their candidacy, for fear of its being posthumous. Whatever his political label, however, Duarte's programme was familiar. Despite his well-publicised meetings with the leaders of the FDR-FMLN, he prosecuted the war against them with the same vigour as his predecessors. US aid to his government, raised on the grounds of Duarte's new democracy, was controlled some 40% of the country. Despite massive US financial and material aid to the Salvadoran military, which included the training of more than 15000 special 'counter-insurgency' troops, the resistance was still able to inflict major defeats on the Salvadoran armed forces. One reason for this was that the Salvadoran government did not have political control over the army. This lay with the extreme right-wing Arena Party and its leader Roberto d'Abuisson—the organisation that had gunned down Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980. Likewise members of the paramilitary Treasury police had murdered four US runs returning to missionary work in El Salvador. The US therefore favoured the ex-mayor of the capital and Christian Democrat, Napoleon Duarte, as presidential candidate. The reasons were many—and none involved rejection of the violence and extremism proudly and publicly sustained by d'Abuisson.
democratic. Just before the vote he announced his sudden conversion to the cause of the Contras! In calling elections, conducting them democratically, and allowing universal participation, the Sandinista government had called the US government's bluff. Despite Reagan's efforts to prove the elections illegitimate, the fact is that the results gave overwhelming victory to the FSLN. [The election results were: FSLN 66.9% of the vote; Democratic Conservatives (PCD) 13.9%; independent candidates (PLI) 9.7%; Sandinista Revolutionaries (PPSC) 5.7%; Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN) 1.5%; Pro-Moscow Communist Party (PSN) 1.3%; revolutionary left (MAP) 1.0%. Assembly seats: FSLN 61; PLI 14; PL; PPSC 2; PSN 2; MAP 2. Of the 1.5 million registered voters, 1.2 million cast their votes.] Both in the presidency and in the Assembly. If Reagan denounced the poll, it was because the wrong side won.

Yet it was clear that US policy-makers recognised from the outset that the FSLN would win an overwhelming victory, and that there was no internal political alternative that could win mass support away from the Sandinistas. On the other hand, it was also clear that the Contras had failed to achieve their promised short-term objective of creating a 'liberated area' in Zelaya province, in the north of Nicaragua. The Contras remained divided between the forces around Eden Pastora, based in Costa Rica, and the remnants of Somozas National Guard, operating out of Honduras. They enjoyed massive direct US Government and CIA support, as well as the protection of a Honduran army swollen by the 5000 US soldiers involved in what has come to seem a permanent military manoeuvre called 'Big Pine'. But the Contras had succeeded in causing havoc along the northern border, terrorising the frontier population and forcing the Sandinistas into enormous expenditure to defend the border against their attacks. In the long term, this was their objective anyway: to use the threat of invasion, incursions into Nicaraguan territory, sabotage against crops and machinery, as the spearhead of economic attrition. There can be no doubt that the elections were a propaganda victory for the Sandinistas. At that level, they were less a mark of progress towards socialist democracy than a plebiscite, successfully demonstrating the scale of support for the FSLN. This was obviously important if Nicaragua was to retain the support of some of the more liberal regimes in Europe and Latin America, support which was so important to Sandinista eyes. But by late 1984 these 'progressive' regimes were already fading in their support. The realises of world economic recession and the powerful disciplines of the world market had already turned the attention of the Mitterrand government in France towards its own austerity programme, while the Spanish government of Felipe Gonzalez also began to distance itself from the Central American arena. Spain was prepared to send only a low-level diplomat to attend the inauguration of Daniel Ortega as president of Nicaragua in 1985, despite official Nicaraguan protests. The only national leader who did attend was Fidel Castro of Cuba. Yet for all the concessions made by the Sandinistas, the elections did nothing to redress the economic or social costs imposed by the activities of the Contras, nor to win more active economic or military aid from outside Nicaragua. Both directly and indirectly the elections and the concessions that accompanied them were an expensive gesture. This was, then, one more drain on the Nicaraguan economy, but not by any means the greatest. The government acknowledged, for instance, that the cost of Contra activity during 1984 was well over a thousand lives, a billion dollars damage to sabotaged installations, a severe impact on all areas of production, and a probable shortfall of around 25% in anticipated national production levels. More important, a growing proportion of the national budget was now devoted to defence. The government itself estimated this at 25% of government spending, while other observers suggested the figure was far higher. [See, for example, Peter Pringle writing in The Observer (London, 3/2/1985) p. 13.]

60646. Goodstein, Laura. "PM Benjamin Nyeanyahu Wows His Closest Friends", in Manchester Guardian Weekly, July 21, 1996, p. 13. Netanyahu's rally in New York with his Jewish supporters exemplified the 'nutty' for Netanyahu that has enraptured New York City. He arrived to meet with the leaders of the powerful Reform and Conservative Jews, who "stand by the choice of the Israeli electorate" despite current difficulties with the zeal of the Orthodox in Israel. Selling 3200 seats at the Sheraton New York. Hotel almost immediately, Michael Miller, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council gloved: "I've never seen anything like this in my professional career. In three business days it was sold out". The 1.5 million Jews in Greater New York are the largest concentration of Jews in the world outside Israel: while few have any real knowledge in Israel, they are fierce and unscrupulous zealots in the Israeli-Zionist cause. Judy Balint of the extremist right-wing, anti-peace Coalition for Jewish Concerns-AMCHA applauded his 'apolitical' approach to emphasizing Jewish racial solidarity. As Netanyahau noted: "The great task of Zionism today is to reinforce Jewish identity" and he urged the indoctrination of hundreds of thousands of Jewish youth worldwide in Zionism and Israelism. Netanyahau demanded that all of Jerusalem be a Jews-only city. Such rhetoric left David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee noting that Netanyahau was a "statesman... with intellectual vigor and good humor". The speech at the Sheraton followed a meeting with the heads of 400 Jewish organizations. [TXT]

60647. Gordon, Evelyn. "Briefs: Equality Before the Divorce Law [Knesset Law Committee has said sanctions for refusing to divorce should apply to both sexes, while reviewing a bill allowing rabbinical courts to sanction husbands.], in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 3, 1994. p. 4. [TXT]

60648. Gordon, Evelyn. "Briefs: Female Police Unit to Arrest Women [Police Minister Moshe Shahal will set up a women's unit for arresting women, following charges of police brutality by Kiryat Arba resident Anat Cohen who charges that when arrested for videotaping brutality she was not allowed to take her nursing baby, was abused, and had force used against her sons.], in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 29, 1994, p. 2. [TXT]

60649. Gordon, Evelyn. "Court: Backers of Shas Deal Must Defend Pact", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 22, 1994. p. 5. The High Court of Justice has given Shas, Labor, Rabin and Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair 14 days to explain why a deal that calls for a blanket agreement for legislative changes to keep the religious status quo is not illegal. The agreement was challenged by Tsomet, the Movement for Quality Government in Israel, Amatai-Citizens for Good Government, attorney Ze'ev Welner, Conservative and Reform movements and SHIN.

60650. Gordon, Evelyn. "Court: Gov't Must Defend Stand on Surrogate Motherhood", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, November 26, 1994, p. 24. The High Court of Justice has given the government 45 days to defend its stand that surrogate motherhood should be illegal. The action is in response to a lawsuit filed by 25 couples who cannot have children. They are represented by Amnon Ben-Dror.

60651. Gordon, Evelyn. "Family Courts to Be Set Up", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 3, 1994, p. 5. A new bill will set up family courts to deal with marriage, divorce, abuse, and child issues. The courts are the idea of Justice Minister David Liba'i and Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar.


On 12/9/93, around 11 pm Mahmoud Ibrahim Satri died in the Nasser Government Hospital in Khan Yunis. Mahmoud was not yet three months old. One month earlier, on 11/11/93, Salman Abu Kashef died in the Nasser Government Children's Hospital in Gaza City. Salman was three months old. The death of these two infants is appalling, especially considering the fact that a relatively simple operation could have saved their lives, an operation that could not be performed in the Gaza Strip but could have been done in an Israeli
Meanwhile, the infant was hospitalized in the Nasser Government Children's Hospital and a week later, on 11/8/93, permission was granted for referral to an Israeli hospital. A few hours earlier, Salman Abu Kashef had died.[=] 60653. Gordon, Neve, "Gaza: The Deaths of Three Babies: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April, 1994. pp. 19-20. Unlike Salman Abu Kashef and Mahmoud Satri, the case of Sami Abu Ajweh was brought to the attention of PHR while he was still alive. Sami, the eighth child of Mustafa and Najah Abu Ajweh, was born on 8/26/93. For years the Civil Administration health insurance had been deducted from Mustafa's salary. This insurance is supposed to guarantee comprehensive medical treatment for all members of the family. Thus, when Sami was one month old and suffered from continuous diarrhea (up to twenty times a day) and loss of weight, he was hospitalized in the Nasser Government Children's Hospital in Gaza City at no additional cost to his family. The doctors diagnosed his condition as a general failure to thrive.

After 45 days in the hospital, during which his situation failed to improve, Sami's father asked the attending doctor, Dr. Sami Abu Dalfa, to refer the child to an Israeli hospital. However, Dr. Dalfa refused to give him the necessary referral, stating that it would damage his credibility to send a baby with diarrhea to an Israeli hospital. Not knowing what to do, Mustafa asked a neighbor for advice. The neighbor suggested that he take the infant to the Augusta Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem.

Sami was hospitalized in the Augusta Victoria Hospital for one week, and then for one more week in another Palestinian hospital, Maqassed, also in East Jerusalem. At Maqassed the family had to pay for the hospitalization. Doctors in both hospitals could not diagnose the cause of the baby's ailment and decided to refer him to the Israeli Hospital in Ein Karem, West Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the infant's condition continued to deteriorate, and he developed an infection in his eye. After a few days he lost the sight in his left eye.

With letters of referral from both Augusta Victoria and Maqassed Hospitals, Mustafa returned to the Nasser Government Children's Hospital. There, after he managed to convince the head of the children's department and the director of the hospital to sign the referral papers, the Civil Administration finally gave him the letter ensuring financial responsibility for hospitalization in Israel, in accordance with his government medical insurance policy.

The commitment was for one week (11/19/93-11/26/93), but by the middle of the week, on November 23, the doctor in Hadassah Hospital determined that the infant would not be ready to be released since his condition was still precarious. The Civil Administration refused to accept financial liability for continuing hospitalization in Hadassah. A month later, on December 22, Sami was released from Hadassah Hospital after his condition had been stabilized and he had begun to gain weight. A bill for 18,000 sheqels was sent from Hadassah to the Abu Ajweh family.

In the matter of payment, the Civil Administration in Gaza has responded to pressure from PHR and paid the bill. But on 1/12/94 the infant was again hospitalized in the Nasser Government Children's Hospital due to diarrhea and weight loss. Again the hospital doctors and the civil authorities refused to refer him to an Israeli hospital. On January 21 did the civil authorities accede to PHR's demands and transfer the child to Hadassah Ein Karem, and then only after his weight had dropped from 4.5 to 3.25 kilograms in ten days. The child was cared for in the pediatrics department, and on January 26, when his medical condition had stabilized and he had begun to gain weight, he was released, with an appointment for a checkup scheduled for February 8.

As the date of the appointment approached, Dr. Muhammad Arafat of the Nasser Government Children's Hospital refused to give the father referral forms for Hadassah Hospital. On February 9, Sami was hospitalized for the third time in the Nasser Government Children's Hospital and within a number of days his weight dropped from 4.5 to 3.5 kilograms. He was now six months old! Again, Dr. Dalfa stubbornly refused to refer him to an Israeli hospital. On February 13, PHR turned to the Civil Administration for the third time, demanding that the infant be referred to an Israeli hospital, and the referral was forthcoming.

At the same time, PHR called Dr. Rajda Shawa, the director of...
the Nasser Government Children's Hospital, and asked her to sign the referral papers. Dr. Shawa refused to sign the referral papers "because the Civil Administration did not have the funds." PHR explained to Dr. Shawa that according to the Fourth Geneva Convention the occupying regime is responsible for the health of the population under occupation and that financial considerations were irrelevant. Only on February 15 did the doctors at the Nasser Government Children's Hospital sign the referral papers and send them to the Civil Administration. The referral was, however, delayed because Dr. Lebanon was absent.

At this point PHR asked Knesset member Naomi Chazan to intervene on behalf of the infant. Chazan called the head of the Civil Administration, Brigadier General Dubi Gazit, and within an hour received a promise that Sami would be transferred to an Israeli hospital. The infant was not transferred. This time, the pretence was that Hadassah Hospital did not have vacant beds. Although the Sha'arey Tzedek Hospital in Jerusalem agreed to hospitalize the child, the doctors at the Nasser Government Children's Hospital and the Civil Administration claimed that the referral papers were good only for Hadassah. The following day, Thursday, February 17, Sami died at 7:00 pm.

The Israeli role in the deaths of these infants does not alleviate responsibility from the Palestinian doctors involved. The doctors displayed faulty medical and ethical judgement and failed to show responsible concern for the distress of the infants. Their medical neglect was such as to constitute criminal negligence and was a violation of the Hippocratic oath. But the practices of Palestinian doctors is an issue which Palestinians themselves need to confront, particularly with autonomy imminent.

As the occupying power, the State of Israel is directly responsible for the death of these infants as stated in the Fourth Geneva Convention. The question of which patient is referred to an Israeli hospital and which is treated in Gaza, often meaning who will live and who will die, is a question which Israeli occupation has dictated. The Israeli authorities pass the immediate weight of judgement onto Palestinian doctors by making their jobs under Civil Administration Health Officer Dr. Lebanon contingent on the arbitrary guideline, "Cardiological and oncological problems yes, cleft palate no." The decisions of Palestinian doctors are directed by the Israeli occupation.

Responsibility for these infants' deaths also rests with the Israeli public. During twenty-six years of occupation, Israel has obstructed the development of the health system in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In the course of this period the number of hospital beds has declined from two per thousand residents to one bed per thousand, while in Israel the number of beds is now six per thousand. The health budget per person in Israel is approximately 500 dollars per year, while in the territories it is between 18-23 dollars.

It is not by chance that doctors cannot perform an operation to repair a cleft palate or obstructive jaundice in the Gaza Strip. In Israel, Europe and North America these operations are considered relatively routine; in the Gaza Strip whole spheres of medicine such as oncology, hematology, pediatric cardiology, and problems resulting from metabolic disorders are still either nonexistent or else function only partially and inadequately, and are dependent on experts and medical equipment in Israel.

The deaths of these three infants are an apocalyptic forecast for the health system in the Gaza Strip with the inception of autonomy. The health system, one of the first institutions to be handed over to the Palestinian authorities, will still be completely dependent on Israeli medicine. Nonetheless, the Israeli government may take the opportunity to divest itself of any responsibility for the health of inhabitants of the territories. In an instant, the historic obligation of the State of Israel for the hundreds of thousands of lives under its jurisdiction would be erased, and the profound injustices perpetrated during 26 years of occupation will only continue.

For Israel to do this would not only be criminal and unjust, but would widen the gap between the two peoples. Therefore, the government of Israel must support and assist the autonomy government in setting up the Palestinian health system until it is able to function independently, not only because it is the right thing to do and a legal responsibility, but also because only thus, through the healing of the Palestinian health system, can a bridge be constructed between the two peoples. Translated by Elana Wesley. [ ]

60654. Gowing, Nik. "Hate, Hate, Hate, Hate: Palestinian Hate", in MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, December 17, 1983. This poor quality does not detract from the lucid and poignant description of the plight of Israeli soldiers forced to kill Palestinian children every day. The report on Gaza stated over and over again that the Palestinians are filled with hate, while Israelis are filled with infinite benevolence. At one point the voice over stated 'hate, hate, hate, hate' (while showing videos of crowds of impoverished Palestinians) to emphasize that Palestinians are filled with a sub-human and causeless hatred. The reporter stated that the Gaza economy is undeveloped when it was conquered in 1967, blaming all economic problems on Palestinians and their hate. The report stated that Gaza needs Israeli employment and hence Gaza must be an economic colony of Israel forever. The report described the necessity for Israelis to oppose Hamas terrorism, while showing video footage of Israeli soldiers machine gunning Arabs and hunting down children. Gaza is described as 'ghastliness' incarnate, which the news story indicates is a product of mindless Palestinian hate for a benevolent and compassionate Israel. As Nik Gowing charted in monotone: hate, hate, hate, hate. [Report purchased by MacNeil/Lehrer from ITN] [TXT]

60655. Green Party (Canada); Green Party (British Columbia). OFFICIAL POLICY of the Green Party of British Columbia and the Green Party of Canada in British Columbia. Adopted by the Green Party Political Association of British Columbia in General Meeting 1985-1994: Part 09: Federally Focused Policies: Foreign Affairs. Vancouver: Green Party (Canada); Green Party (British Columbia), 1994. Foreign Aid: POLICY CONVENTION, 1990: (a) Whereas, globally, many societies and the bioregions in which they live face major problems such as over population, limited financial resources, poor health and nutrition, severe pollution, oppression, lack of education, environmental destruction; and (b) Whereas the Greens policies and philosophies on human rights, ecology, economics, environment, development, government, population, health, and education are directed to all persons on a global scale; and (c) Whereas it is the desire of the Greens to have all persons and bioregions on a global scale enjoy the same quality of life that we desire for ourselves and our own bioregions; (1) Resolved that the Greens strive to provide, wherever possible, feasible, and appropriate, educational materials, technical, social, and economic expertise, financial and material resource s to societies or local communities in need of assistance to overcome the above mentioned problems which would allow them to live a good quality, environmentally sound lifestyle; and (2) Further Resolved that all expenditures of time, resources, and finances be in effective in achieving worth while goals and be carefully monitored to ensure maximum benefit; and (3) Further resolved that all expenditures of time, resources, and finances be in keeping with the policies and goals of the Greens; and (4) Further resolved that all expenditures of time, resources, and finances be in keeping with the needs and stated desires of those receiving the assistance.

East Timor Policy: (a) Whereas East Timor was invaded by Indonesia on 12/7/1975; and (b) Whereas 250000 East Timorese (one third of the population) have been killed since 1975; and (c) Whereas the United Nations general assembly has called for the removal of Indonesia from East Timor; (1) Be it resolved that the B.C. Greens support the removal of Indonesia from East Timor; (2) Further be it resolved that the B.C. Greens support self determination for East Timor; (3) Further be it resolved that the B.C. Greens support a moratorium on aid, arms sales and investment beneficial to the Indonesian government until its withdrawal required by the treaty [sic: the Israeli abrogation of the treaty was unilateral and dictated only by Israeli goals] and poignantly described the plight of Israeli soldiers forced to kill Palestinian children every day. The report on Gaza stated over and over again that the Palestinians are filled with hate, while Israelis are filled with infinite benevolence. At one point the voice over stated 'hate, hate, hate, hate' (while showing videos of crowds of impoverished Palestinians) to emphasize that Palestinians are filled with a sub-human and causeless hatred. The reporter stated that the Gaza economy is undeveloped when it was conquered in 1967, blaming all economic problems on Palestinians and their hate. The report stated that Gaza needs Israeli employment and hence Gaza must be an economic colony of Israel forever. The report described the necessity for Israelis to oppose Hamas terrorism, while showing video footage of Israeli soldiers machine gunning Arabs and hunting down children. Gaza is described as 'ghastliness' incarnate, which the news story indicates is a product of mindless Palestinian hate for a benevolent and compassionate Israel. As Nik Gowing charted in monotone: hate, hate, hate, hate. [Report purchased by MacNeil/Lehrer from ITN] [TXT]
Burma/Myanmar Policy: (a) Whereas the brutal dictatorship of Ne Win began in Burma in 1962; and (b) Whereas the current State Law & Order Restoration Council (SLORC) government is practicing a "scorched earth" war against the Burmese minorities; and (c) Whereas over 500,000 Burmese have been forcibly relocated, 30,000 have become political prisoners, and tens of thousands have been killed and tortured in the last three years; and (d) Whereas Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy (NLD) won over 80% of the vote and 392 of 485 seats in the National Assembly in the May 1990 multiparty elections, (1) Be it resolved that the Greens call for SLORC to resign as the Burmese government and d allow for the peaceful transfer of power to the democratically elected NLD; and (2) Further resolved that the Greens support economic sanctions against Burma until SLORC transfers power to the NLD.

Tibet Policy: (a) Whereas Tibet was invaded by the People's Republic of China in 1950; and (b) Whereas more than 1.2 million Tibetans have died between 1950-1983 under Chinese military rule; and (c) Whereas Tibetan Buddhism has been repressed and over 6000 monasteries and temples pillaged and destroyed; and (d) Whereas Tibet was an independent nation after 1912; (1) Be it resolved that the Greens recognize Tibet as an independent state. [ed-The Green Party has no position on Palestinian human rights.] [=]


On January 13, 1991, the distribution of defense kits to Israeli citizens was extended to residents of rural localities, including towns and villages in the Occupied Territories, who had not been included in the initial distribution. There were said to be another 173,000 kits available in army storerooms for the Palestinian population of 1.7 million, but these were of the type suitable only for adults over the age of 15. None for children, none for babies; in any case, none were given out. After four weeks of Iraqi missile attacks and in a state of uncertainty about the future direction of the Gulf war, the vast majority of Palestinians still have no protection. As of the week of February 10, about 60,000 of the available kits had been distributed, according to the army.

What happened? Were we taken by surprise—either by the war or by the existence of the Palestinian civilians under our protection? Israel has, in fact, been preparing for the possibility of chemical attack for more than 20 years (Michal Sela, Davar, February 10, 1991). Between 1970 and 1987, a special levy for the purchase of gas masks was imposed, through the National Insurance payments, on Israelis and Palestinians from the Occupied Territories registered to work in Israel. Four years ago, the Civil Defense authorities announced that there were 4.5 million gas masks in Israeli storerooms in case of an emergency. At that time, the co-ordinator of the Civil Administration, in answer to a reporter's question, stated that there were no gas masks for the Palestinian population. When asked the same question after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and after sufficient time to correct the oversight, a similar answer was given: We are responsible for the security of the inhabitants of the territories and we will take care of this in the future...

The hospitals (in the West Bank) have been prepared to treat casualties.

During the period of tense preparations in Israel that followed the invasion, while the citizens of Israel were wrapping their houses in plastic and trying out their masks, the army spokesperson came up with a variety of responses to the same question: negligible chances of a missile attack in the Occupied Territories; the danger of shabab using the masks against tear gas during demonstrations; the impossibility of fair distribution if there weren't enough masks to go around.

When the army finally gave in to the political pressure of the settlers and distributed masks to Jews in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the excuses were thin. On January 13, 1991, attorney Lynda Brayer, representing a private petitioner from Bethlehem, moved the High Court of Justice to order the distribution of defense kits to all inhabitants of the territories. On January 14, the court ordered the state to immediately distribute the 173,000 available kits to adults living in the belt around Jerusalem and in areas close to the Green Line. The court further told the state to make every effort to procure kits for all inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including the special kits for children, and to distribute them as soon as they were received.[=]
Palestinians are not only lacking masks. Those who get masks do not even get the full kit provided to Israelis, which also contains powder for mustard gas and syringes of atropine for nerve gas. It took 12 years of preparation to ready these kits for the Israeli population, Zach admitted, and after all, the government only started preparing for the Palestinians five months ago. However, he failed to explain how it is that, without 12 years' advance notice and without collecting any special levy, there were enough masks with all the necessary contents and including those for children and babies—for every Russian immigrant who had landed in Israel until now, and for every tourist in an Israeli hotel.

In addition to contributions of gas masks from various foreign philanthropic groups, the leaders of the European Community have made it known to Israel that they have a surplus of masks, 2 million in Switzerland alone, available at a low price. Israel has preferred not to take notice of this offer, and, when questioned, Zach stated that foreign masks were often “not of high enough quality.” According to the Association of Israeli Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, who have been active on this issue, there is no way of verifying whether even those gas masks which were received as donations from abroad ever left the army storerooms in which they were deposited.

There really are many explanations. But you only have to ask your neighbor to hear the real explanation, which a senior army official gave, off the record, to some foreign journalists: “The Arabs don't deserve gas masks. Certainly since their support of Saddam Hussein they don't!” Such is the final status of moral development in Israel.[=]

60659. Green, Judith. “Murder in Beit Sahour: Investigation Calls Settler Killing of 14-year-old ‘Premeditated’: Part 1”, in Challenge, March-April, 1991, p. 26. Another family tragedy was played out recently in the West Bank town of Beit Sahour, another Palestinian child killed “by mistake” by an Israeli civilian, another attempt to disregard the testimony of eyewitnesses who happen to be Palestinian in favor of the version given by the suspect himself, supported by vague and second-hand statements by neighbors from his settlement. Because of the close personal relations which have developed between Beit Sahour and Israeli peace activists, an on-site investigation of the incident was conducted by a team which included Israeli lawyers, the team's findings, accompanied by signed affidavits, were presented to the military coordinator for the West Bank, Gen. Dan Rothchild, and the government's legal advisor, Yosef Harish. Perhaps the investigation and its implications are behind the unusual attention paid to the incident on Israel's television news, which presented slightly different accounts of the event every night for a week Following are excerpts from the report submitted by the peace activists.

In fact there has been an increase in incidents in which settlers injure residents in the territories, while exploiting the standing orders of the army and local authorities in order to camouflage their crimes. These same settlers are using weapons—given to them by the army for self-defense—to carry out acts of vengeance and punishment on the residents, without any relation to the actual level of danger at the time. It is superfluous to say that the investigation of the circumstances of each incident of shooting on the part of the settlers is by nature complicated and difficult for the security forces.

It is our impression that the settlers specifically exploit periods of increased security tension, with the full awareness that it will be difficult for the military authorities to carry out their investigation during such periods, and thus they will be able to avoid their criminal responsibility. Moreover, even when an incident of shooting is investigated, and the criminal nature of the incident is revealed, the authorities exhibit great tolerance toward the settlers, beginning with a definition of the crime which goes easy on the perpetrators, and including “package deals” which offer absurd punishments. The entire process serves the goals of the settlers—at least the extremists among them, whose approach is that the more the situation deteriorates, the better.

On February 18, 1991, at 6:35 p.m., 14-year-old Salam Muslah, the only son of his parents and the oldest of five children, was shot inside his house in Beit Sahour. At the time of the writing of this report (on February 22, 1991), the police had succeeded in arresting a man, a Jewish settler from Tekoa, as a suspect in the crime. Various reports, the source of which is unclear, were published in the media concerning the event, suggesting that the shooting took place against the backdrop of an attack on the assailant by residents of the area, or at least of the blocking of the road with stones.[=]

60660. Green, Judith. “Murder in Beit Sahour: Investigation Calls Settler Killing of 14-year-old ‘Premeditated’: Part 2”, in Challenge, March-April, 1991, p. 26. The undersigned visited the scene of the crime on February 21, 1991, looked over the house of the victim and its environs, and spoke with eyewitnesses to the event. The testimonies were cross-checked with the evidence in the field (signs of shooting, the location of the shooting and the injury) and with the information provided by a doctor who was present at the autopsy. All the evidence and the testimonies fit together well and point toward a firm and trustworthy account of the chain of circumstances. The incident itself began when the assailant was travelling from Jerusalem to Tekoa settlement along a back road. Right after the intersection with Beit Sahour, the assailant came upon several medium-sized stones strewn across the road. Since the stones were placed near the intersection, which in itself required slowing down, there was not—and was not expected to be—any direct collision with the stones.

Surrounding the place where the stones lay—to a distance of 50-70 meters—lies an open field on which it would be easy to discern figures, if there were any. In addition, the area is lit by a large security street lamp. All the witnesses state clearly that there were no other people present at the time of the incident, other than the assailant, and that there was no stone-throwing... This version is supported by the fact that there were no signs of the vehicle having been struck, and that the driver got out of his car immediately after stopping.

The driver stopped his car beside the stones lying on the street (about 5-6 in number), got out of the car, fired two shots in the air, and then removed the stones with his foot. After clearing the way, he leaned his gun on the car and fired directly toward the houses to the north. First he shot at the water tanks and porch of the house next to that of the victim, and afterward he fired at the lit window of the victim's house. It was reasonable to suppose that it was possible to see the people in the house from the outside.

The shooting was a single round (about 6 bullets), and that it was aimed at a specific target is clear, both from the position of the assailant when he fired, and from the resulting hits (except the first two shots, which were fired in the air). It is also absolutely clear that, at the time of the shooting, the assailant was not being attacked with stones, since the whole surrounding area was empty (among other factors, curfew had already been in force for two hours). The houses are quite far off and beyond the striking distance of stone-throwers. Even if the assailant had mistakenly thought that stones were being thrown at him, certainly after firing in the air and clearing the road of stones, he could no longer have honestly thought that he was being attacked. From this moment on, the assailant obviously and without doubt acted in such a way as to damage property and people, deliberately and illegally...

After the shooting was over, he got back into his car and started to drive slowly in the direction of Tekoa... As far as the undersigned know, he filed no report of this shooting or of any other incident; in fact, he attempted to cover up his part in the event. It is reasonable to assume that the shouts of the family after the shooting, which summoned all of the neighbors within a radius of 200 meters to the house of the victim, were within earshot of the assailant.[=]
women and in the brain of the victim) and shells...

In spite of promises made by high-ranking officers to the family members of the victim and to public figures, and despite the readiness of the family—quite unusual in the territories—to allow an autopsy and formal burial of the victim, the family was only allowed to hold a sparsely attended funeral (limited to 20 people) after midnight. The breaking of this promise and the aforementioned limitations were seen by the family as insulting, and caused great anguish and bitterness. By the family as insulting, and caused great anguish and bitterness. The family—quite unusual in the territories—to allow an autopsy and formal burial of the victim, the family was only allowed to hold a sparsely attended funeral (limited to 20 people) after midnight. The breaking of this promise and the aforementioned limitations were seen by the family as insulting, and caused great anguish and bitterness.

We are apparently faced with an event of a criminal and cruel nature, in which an armed assailant deliberately fired in the direction of a house that was well lit and full of people, without being threatened by any kind of danger and, in fact, for no reason. If the supposition is correct, which seems most probable in the face of the event, that at the time of the shooting, the assailant saw the people within the house, one cannot avoid charging him with premeditated murder. In any case, we are talking at least about manslaughter...

Compiled and translated by Judith Green [=]

60662. Greenberg, Joel. "As Settlements Grow, Palestinians Talk of Coming Explosion", in New York Times, November 15, 1996, p. A6. Israelis continue to absorb more Palestinian lands in the West Bank, with massive government funding pouring bulldozers into expansion of Jews-only settlements such as Qiryat Sefer. The acceleration at that settlement set off a series of protests by Palestinians that led Israeli soldiers to machine gun unarmed Palestinian protesters, killing one. Atallah Amira. Amira was summarily executed for holding up a sign that stated "No Peace With Settlements". Throughout the West Bank, the acceleration of the expansion of Jews-only settlements has created deep discontent among the powerless Palestinians. In 9/1996, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai authorized 1800 new Jews-only apartments in Qiryat Sefer. Subsequently, 2000 additional housing units in Jews-only settlements have been authorized by the Ministry of Defense. The government has also authorized the long stalled privatization through sale of 3000 apartments. Amira's wife, eight months pregnant notes: "We are not afraid, and we will keep on fighting. Even if they kill us by the hundreds we won't budge." [TEXT]

60663. Greenberg, Joel. "For Gazan Intissar Al-Wazir, her Return Breeds Hope", in New York Times, August 4, 1994, p. A5. Wazir has returned to Jericho after 30 years in exile: she is the widow of Khalil Abu Wazir (Abu Jihad), a PLO leader who was murdered by an Israeli death squad. Mrs. Wazir has been named Minister of Social Affairs; she notes that she was the first woman to join Fatah, in 1959. She stated having a monotheistic religion with its own sacred scripture, laws, ceremonies, squad. Mrs. Wazir has been named Minister of Social Affairs; she notes that she was the first woman to join Fatah, in 1959. She stated having a monotheistic religion with its own sacred scripture, laws, ceremonies, and even its own calendar. It is not a sect, as many people believe, and the community comprises of about five million members in more than 230 countries and dependent territories. According to the information published by the office of public information in Haifa, where the Baha’is are headquartered, the central theme of the founder of their faith, Bahá’u’lláh’s message is that there is one single race and that the day has come for its unification into a global society. Bahá’u’lláh wrote that the “Earth is but one country and mankind its citizens.” When their founder came to Haifa, he revealed the “Tablet of the Carmel” from the slopes of the Carmel, and from that time the mountain became the site of its headquarters. In 4/1987, new plans were unveiled to build nine monumental terraces from the foot of Mount Carmel leading up to the Shrine of the Bab and another series of nine similar terraces leading down from the ridge of the mountain. According to their Deputy Secretary General, Murray R. Smith, who sent me information via the excellent technology of the fax, only four residential buildings on Baha’i property will be demolished, among which is Renno’s.

“They are defacing an important part of Haifa and disfiguring an important part of the Palestinian character,” said Renno. According to Renno, the houses belong to Palestinian refugees who left in haste in 1948, and since the issue of Palestinian refugees has not been discussed yet in the peace negotiations, such houses should not be touched. Renno believes that the Bahá’ís are changing the course of history.

60664. Greenberg, Joel. "Israeli Court Gives Childless Wife Right to Embryos, Citing the Claims of Maternity", in New York Times, September 13, 1996, p. A6. In a "landmark decision" the Israeli Supreme Court upheld the absolute right of a Jewish woman to be pregnant. An estranged wife won the right to have frozen embryos implanted against her husband's wishes since the imperative to reproduce supercedes any ephemeral individual right. Judge Sala Dorner wrote: "A woman's right to be a parent prevails over the husband's right to not be a parent. Askenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Meir Lau applauded the breeding imperative, noting: "...the court even had pity on the egg. The right to excellent technology of the fax, only four residential buildings on Baha’i property will be demolished, among which is Renno’s.

60665. Habash, Dalia. "Ancestral Homes Pulled Down for Baha'i Gardens", in Al-Diwan-Jerusalem Times, April 14, 1995, p. 8. The Israeli government has come up with some pretty good excuses in the past few decades of the occupation to justify house demolitions. We have come to accept many of them, often for the mere fact that if we did take the Israeli government to court, we would definitely lose, because they hold the law in their hands. Many see their life savings crumble in front of their eyes in just two minues. These are just some of the different methods of harassment used by the Israeli state. The only way Palestinians can highlight their losses is through media coverage. 1948 was a disaster for the Palestinians, and this is how it is referred to in the annals of history. That year, over 450 Palestinian villages were systematically destroyed by the Israeli Zionist movement and resulted in mass migrations of Palestinian refugees either in their own land, or in other people's lands. Many led to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and other countries, and resided in refugee camps, thanks to UNRWA and other foreign institutions! According to Nicola Issa of Haifa Municipality, in 1948 Haifa's Palestinian population numbered about 3300. Today, there are between 28000 to 30000 Palestinians in Haifa - 10% of whom are original Haifa residents, the rest Palestinians who fled to Haifa after their homes were destroyed or confiscated by the Israelis, thus becoming refugees in their own land. But what happened to the houses that were not demolished, many in the big cities of Haifa, Jerusalem and Jaffa? Who took them and lived in them? Many were taken by Israeli contracting companies which were created to oversee property belonging to 1948 Palestinians. They often destroyed any land and house documents which proved that the houses belonged to Palestinians. Others were rented out to Israelis who came to settle in Arab houses. Many Palestinians returning from the diaspora found out that their houses had been occupied by Israelis - thus destroying the beautiful memories the original inhabitants had while they were living in the diaspora.

This happened to one man, who lived on memories of his ancestral home in Haifa cherished by his parents and grandparents. Before coming to Jerusalem in 1994, Samer Renno met a woman in Washington, DC, who told him that she had lived in his grandfather's house. In mid-4/1995, Renno came to Jerusalem, and aided by directions from the woman, and a map drawn by his father, he set off for Haifa, in the hope of finding his grandfather's house - the house the Rennos fled 46 years earlier, as the Israelis were coming in. He found the house and knocked on the door. It was answered by a foreigner who claimed to be a Baha'i volunteer. So Renno, like many other Palestinians, found the house in which his ancestors lived, but inhabited now by foreign volunteers who had no claim to the land of Palestine, let alone houses. A couple of months ago, Renno found out that his grandfather's house was slated for demolition in early 4/1995. Why? Because the Baha’i, who now claim they bought the house, had plans for Mount Carmel, at the bottom of which the house lies. The Baha’i faith is a monotheistic religion with its own sacred scripture, laws, ceremonies, and even its own calendar. It is not a sect, as many people believe, and the community comprises of about five million members in more than 230 countries and dependent territories. According to the information published by the office of public information in Haifa, where the Baha’is are headquartered, the central theme of the founder of their faith, Bahá’u’lláh’s message is that there is one single race and that the day has come for its unification into a global society. Bahá’u’lláh wrote that the “Earth is but one country and mankind its citizens.” When their founder came to Haifa, he revealed the “Tablet of the Carmel” from the slopes of the Carmel, and from that time the mountain became the site of its headquarters. In 4/1987, new plans were unveiled to build nine monumental terraces from the foot of Mount Carmel leading up to the Shrine of the Bab and another series of nine similar terraces leading down from the ridge of the mountain. According to their Deputy Secretary General, Murray R. Smith, who sent me information via the excellent technology of the fax, only four residential buildings on Baha’i property will be demolished, among which is Renno’s.
accepted," Renno said a day after coming back from Haifa, having seen his grandfather's house taken apart piece by piece by Baha'i workers. The Baha'i have used all means possible to secretly acquire the Palestinian properties. The temptation of large sums of money led a few Palestinian owners, tenants, as well as Israeli owners, to sell their properties. Similar measures are also being implemented in cities and towns inside the "green line." Renno says it is the responsibility of the Palestinians in Haifa to stand up to the Baha'i actions and protect the properties from destruction. "The houses belong in most cases to '48 refugees, therefore, it is the nationalist responsibility of those that remained in Haifa to safeguard the memories of those Palestinians until their return becomes a reality," reiterated Renno. As for the Haifa Municipality, it is not included in the plans, but they have full information about the details. For them, somebody other than themselves are foeking up the money to beautify their city and attract more tourists in return, thus booming their economy. It is claimed that about $250 million will be spent on Baha'i projects, so why would the Haifa Municipality complain? On the contrary, Issa said that they are facilitating the project. In the same breath, Issa, a Palestinian from Haifa, said that the project will destroy the Arab existence in Haifa. Even though Issa is a member of the municipality, he and the Christian Orthodox community in Haifa have been trying to acquire land adjacent to Baha'i land to build a Christian Orthodox church. But just because it is so close to the Baha'i land, and even though the money to buy the land, the mayor or the Arab police directing traffic, superseding the traffic light and rendering the change of colors meaningless. The driver clearly notices that the traffic lights are not functional and that the movement of traffic from all sides is interconnected. For those that have not been up-to-date with the latest news, try to buy the jerricans in the car - one for water, in case the car heats up, and the other for gas, if you did not make it to the gas station on the way and thought that the gas in your tank would take you all the way to Jericho and back. A thermos of coffee to keep you awake while you are waiting for the traffic to clear up to grant you passage to Jerusalem would help. I do not recommend playing cards or backgammon, because there is not enough space. The Americans invented this great game called Trivial Pursuit, a challenging question-answer game, which might keep the kids not only entertained but also informed. For the record - it takes exactly seven minutes, including stops at the traffic lights, to drive from Beil Hanina to Jerusalem in the middle of the day. When the police overrule the lights, it takes between 45 minutes to an hour. [-]

60666. Habash, Dalia. "Driven Mad by Traffic Apartheid," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 25, 1994. p. 13. In most countries in the world, the issue of discrimination is rarely brought up when discussing traffic jams. But not in this country! Here these issues are interconnected as those commuting to and from Jerusalem every morning know too well. Let me explain what I and hundreds of other commuters face every morning. First, those of us who live beyond the roadblock in Beit Hanina, north of the city, have to wait in line to get our identity cards checked. Many people drive their children to school, who can consequently see their elders humiliated daily by soldiers not yet old enough to shave. After a long wait at the roadblock, the driver shifts into first and zooms toward Jerusalem, only to hit the traffic jam in the next community, Shuafat. There, the wait seems endless. Parents and kids alike start nagging, foul language spills forth from the mouths of otherwise cautious and conscientious parents. For those not familiar with curses in Arabic, suffice it to say that it is much more dramatic than in English. The line of cars advances one meter every 10 minutes. By the time the driver reaches the first traffic light in Shuafat, at the beginning of the French Hill, the honking starts. One can clearly see a member of the Israeli police directing traffic, superseding the traffic light and rendering the change of colors meaningless. The driver clearly notices that the traffic cop allows more cars through the junction from the settlement road of Ma'ale Adumim, Pisga Zeve and Neve Yacov. It is not a matter of 10 or 12 extra cars, but more like 300. The traffic director does not care if the law, but of course, it still has to be approved by all sides - including the Arab existence in Haifa. Even though Issa is a member of the municipality, he and the Christian Orthodox community in Haifa have been trying to acquire land adjacent to Baha'i land to build a Christian Orthodox church. But just because it is so close to the Baha'i land, and even though the money to buy the land, the mayor or the Arab police directing traffic, superseding the traffic light and rendering the change of colors meaningless. The driver clearly notices that the traffic lights are not functional and that the movement of traffic from all sides is interconnected. For those that have not been up-to-date with the latest news, try to buy the jerricans in the car - one for water, in case the car heats up, and the other for gas, if you did not make it to the gas station on the way and thought that the gas in your tank would take you all the way to Jericho and back. A thermos of coffee to keep you awake while you are waiting for the traffic to clear up to grant you passage to Jerusalem would help. I do not recommend playing cards or backgammon, because there is not enough space. The Americans invented this great game called Trivial Pursuit, a challenging question-answer game, which might keep the kids not only entertained but also informed. For the record - it takes exactly seven minutes, including stops at the traffic lights, to drive from Beil Hanina to Jerusalem in the middle of the day. When the police overrule the lights, it takes between 45 minutes to an hour. [-]

60667. Habash, Dalia. "Elections--Is There a Deadline?", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, March 24, 1995. p. 7. Elections. We are all hearing about them, and they were supposed to take place in November of last year. But like everything else in the Middle East, things take time, and everything seems to get postponed "until further notice." But what are elections? Who can vote? Who can run? Where can people register to vote? All of these questions are running through people's minds, but there is no one to give them a clear answer. Actually, no one will be able to give the people a clear and definite answer until the election law is finalized. Members of the EU are currently working with the Palestinian Electoral Commission in Jericho to put the final touches on this election law, but of course, it still has to be approved by all sides - including Israel. However, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs has already begun awareness workshops in the Gaza Strip and West Bank to give the people an idea about the electoral process and what they can do in preparation for the eventuality of elections. NDI, based in Washington, D.C., opened its office in East Jerusalem last February. Its work is mainly concentrated around elections in newly formed democratic countries. Its aim is to promote, strengthen and maintain democratic institutes in practice. NDI does not strengthen any individual political party, and it makes its services accessible to everyone. In November, NDI carried out a two-week pilot program on the electoral process for women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. According to NDI Program Coordinator for Women's Affairs Midaela McDermott, the second phase is designed to be a year-long program
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
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where NDI would begin work with the women it has returning from the first phase. This phase, which has not yet begun, is designed to target about fifty women a month (twenty-five from the Gaza Strip and twenty-five from the West Bank) who could attend the series of workshops given by international women on specific aspects connected with elections; these women in turn would reach out into the community to increase awareness among about 5,000 women a month. As part of the first phase, in November, NDI brought over four women to the US from Egypt, Romania, Poland and the US to provide general information to Palestinian women on how to become involved in elections and politics. McDermott said that about two hundred women attended the session held in Gaza, Hebron and Nablus. After talking to the women and receiving their evaluations, McDermott found that women were interested in workshops in two main areas: one, how women can prepare themselves and other women for candidacy, and specific steps they could take in the absence of an election deadline; and two, how women could convince other sheltered women about the importance of registering and having the right to vote, and also providing them with information on the electoral process. This phase continued in March when NDI held another series of workshops in the same two areas, and invited two of the international women to return for them. Natalia Barboro, a political party organizer from Poland, and Karen Woodall, a community organizer from the US, as well as Hellen Ellis, an elected councilor in the UK who joined the two, presented the workshops to the women. Two sessions were held in the Gaza Strip, one for university students and the other for professional women. On the first day of the workshops, about fifty university students attended from the two main universities in Gaza -- Al-Azhar and the Islamic University. The second day was devoted to professionals, many of whom are active in various women’s committees. Each workshop was divided into two sessions. The first was on how to organize women to convince other women to register and vote, and how to identify an issue and raise an awareness campaign for the purpose of pressuring candidates or elected decision makers. The second session was on how women can prepare themselves and others to become involved and run as candidates. In Gaza, all the women came out with positive comments, and many were ready to start their own election campaigns. Participants also got a nice surprise when Saeb Erekat, head of the Palestinian Electoral Commission, came in from a meeting in the next room to distribute their certificates to them. In Hebron, the workshop was held at Al-Rahma College for women, and was opened with a welcoming speech by Ismail Shabbaneh, head of the college’s board of trustees.

He stated that women in Palestine in particular and in the world in general have struggled hard in order to achieve and affirm their identity and obtain their rights. “The women in Palestine has achieved indisputable success and progress in the political and social realms in the last few years, and at this college we help them to attain that,” Shabbaneh said. McDermott thanked Shabbaneh and the staff at the college for housing participants and participating in the workshops. She said that it was a great opportunity to participate in the first elections. The workshop in Hebron was attended by 12th grade high school students, university, college students and professionals. According to one of the women, the workshops are very beneficial, and she hopes that they will continue. The NDI workshops were not run in the traditional manner of internationals coming to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, convinced that they alone knew everything and came only to teach the Palestinian women their way. On the contrary, the internationals arriving for the program came just to share their personal experiences from their own countries with Palestinian women. After all Palestinian women have a long history of involvement in the political process, and do not need to be told or taught how to become politically involved. Some of the Palestinian women have been active in elections in their committees or universities, so it is on the governmental level that they need to become adequately oriented. “I get as much as they do from these workshops,” said Woodall. “It is very important for women to hear that there are others in the world going through the same struggles as they are,” she continued. Woodall conducted the Awareness and Convincing Workshop with Ellis, while the one on becoming candidates and election campaigns was run by Barbara. [–]

15: Osama Hamid (25) from Tufah, Gaza, and Husam Baqari (20) from Sheikh Radwan, Gaza, died from IDF-inflicted gunshot wounds.
16: Ashraf Khalil (18) from Jabalia Refugee Camp, Gaza, died from gunshot wounds sustained when he attempted to attack an IDF soldier with an ax.
22: Ellyahu Levin (25) and Meir Mendelovitch (32) from Bnei Brak, Tel Aviv, were shot dead by Palestinians near Betunia. They were driving to the Ofra settlement, north west of Ramallah.
24: 16-year-old Nihad Ibrahim Abu Hjejeh, from Istia village, died in Maqassed Hospital from IDF-inflicted gunshot wounds he received two years ago.
Ahmad Muhammnad Qawqas (19) from Beit Ummar died from gunshot wounds after special forces shot him during demonstrations marking the three year anniversary of the death of Jamal Adi.
25: Lt. Col. Meir Mints (36), commander of the special units for hunting“wantedpersons,” was fatally wounded in a military jeep by gunshots sustained during a Hamas ambush in Gaza. He was the highest ranking officer killed in the Occupied Territories since the outbreak of the Intifada.[–]

3: Abbas Khader Saiid (18) of the Jabalia Refugee Camp died from gunshot wounds sustained during a confrontation with special forces. Farid Asha’rawi (17) and Fadel Rihan (17), both from Jabalia, were shot dead by IDF soldiers in separate incidents after throwing stones.
5: Iyad Abdul Karim Hinnawi (20) was shot dead by soldiers after throwing stones.
6: Imad Abdul Kallab (20), a university student from the Gaza Strip, was shot dead after stabbing and lightly wounding a soldier, Ilan Gabai, in French Hill, Jerusalem. Kallab stabbed the soldier, stole his machine gun and fled toward Shu’afat Refugee Camp. He was killed during an IDF pursuit.
14: Amjad Shubaneh (20), Farid Al-Ju’beh (22), Amjad Abu Khalaf (20) and Muhammad Saile Saleh (22) from Hebron were killed after being pursued by IDF troops. The four Hamas members were hiding in a house which the IDF blew up using Lau missiles and explosives. The pursuit started after the four shot at soldiers, wounding one, in front of the Islamic College in Hebron. A curfew was imposed on Hebron.
Gregori Feizi (38), from Ashkelon, was stabbed to death in a garage at the Erez roadblock by Muhammad Antar Salem (22), a member of Hamas from the Rimal neighborhood in Gaza, who was then shot dead by IDF soldiers.
19: Muhammad Husam Fanun (20) from Hebron died at Hadassah Hospital-Ein Kareem after being shot in the head the day before by IDF troops. He was in a mourning procession for the 4 martyrs killed on January 14.
Ayyoub Muhammad Al-Qaq (15) from Mezaria Nubani near Ramallah was killed by Israeli troops during clashes in Ramallah. He was about to throw a Molotov Cocktail.
21: Moshe Baker (60) was stabbed to death in Tel Aviv by three Palestinians from Khan Yunis who worked in his orchard. The three were arrested at the Erez Roadblock in the Gaza Strip.
30: Hisham Robin Saqa (22) was killed by an explosion, the cause of which remains unknown, in his house in the Askar Refugee Camp near Nablus. Three others were wounded. [–]

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2: 11-year-old Iman Yusef Qarshali was seriously wounded when she was shot in the face by a border policeman. They were firing at a car full of young men which they had been pursuing.

Offer Grinboim, Igor Shreivman and Haim Shak from the Kiryat Arba settlement were seriously wounded by gunshots while driving home.

3: Salim Muafi (24), a Fatah Hawks leader from the Shabura Refugee Camp, the Gaza Strip, was killed during an armed clash with IDF soldiers.

5: Khairi Abdel Jabbar Hamdan (27) from Bal’a village, Tulkarem, died from gunshot wounds sustained when soldiers hred at him from a helicopter as he was walking in the mountains. According to the villagers, Hamdan was mentally retarded. The IDF claims he was wanted and pursued by soldiers after refusing to stop his car.

12-year-old Adnan Souri of Jabalia Refugee Camp was shot dead by IDF soldiers during clashes in the camp.

10: Ilan Sudri (23), a taxi driver from Yishvivyah, the Negev, was kidnapped and killed by members of the Islamic Jihad near Ashkelon.

Naftali Sahar (74) from Rehovot was killed in his orchard when a Palestinian worker attacked him with a heavy object.

13: Noam Cohen (28), a General Security Services (GSS) officer, was shot dead when his car was ambushed by members of Hamas in Betunia, near Ramallah. Two GSS staff were wounded.

14: Fares Abu Thakar (17), from Rafah and a member of the PFLP militant wing, the Red Eagles, died in hospital from gunshot wounds he received during a clash with undercover units.

22 Palestinians were killed, including two 16 years old or younger.

8 Israelis were killed, including one GSS agent and one soldier

Compiled by Dalia Habash from the Arab and Hebrew press.[=]
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60674. Hamad, Haitham. "Arabs, Israelis Skirmish in Hebron; Clashes Between Palestinians and Jewish Settlers Are a Painful Reminder That Hebron Is the Main Obstacle In the Way of an Israeli-PLO Agreement On Expanding Autonomy on the West Bank," in Seattle Times, September 13, 1995, p. A8. After Jews from the Beit-Haddassah attacked the Kurtuba Elementary School for Girls in Hebron, the Israeli army attacked Palestinian villages with rubber bullets and manned the rear of the city, imposed a curfew on Palestinians. Eleven Palestinian infants and toddlers were overcome by the tear-gas when the Israeli army attacks a Palestinian daycare center with chemical weapons. Israel demands the right to control the city of 120,000 Palestinians so as to insure the illegal settlement of 450 Jewish militants in the heart of the Palestinian city. The clash developed as a Jewish Israeli woman entered the playground to seize and destroy a Palestinian flag. When she was resisted, a gang of automatic rifle armed Jewish men of the Kach terrorist cult stormed the school: eight Palestinian girl students aged 5-7 were hospitalized from the clash [only Jews are allowed by Israel to have arms]. Jewish settlers vowed the extermination of Palestinians in the city, calling mass-murderer Baruch Goldstein a 'Saint'. [TXT]

60675. Hamlin, William. "1948 Abu Shusha Massacre Uncovered", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, March 24, 1995, p. 2. Two researchers, Fahum Shalabi and Nauf Yacoub, from the Birzeit Center for Research and Documentation of Palestinian Society have produced documentary evidence that in May 1948, Jewish troops destroyed the village of Abu Shusha near Ramle, murdered sixty villagers and expelled all of the survivors. The report, based on testimonies of former village residents now living in various refugee camps, and Israeli records are especially timely because the issue of Palestinian refugees is currently under discussion in the peace talks. Israel has repeatedly denied that it ever used violence against Palestinians during the 1948 war which led to the creation of the state of Israel, claiming they left voluntarily. This argument is used to justify their refusal to classify the Palestinian victims of the 1948 war as refugees with the right of return. The village was first attacked 5/14/48, one day before the British Mandate officially ended. Seventy villagers armed with rifles put up resistance, but the Jewish units succeeded in taking the village. The surviving men were expelled, but the women hid in three nearby caves and remained there for several days. Their hiding places were exposed when one of their number was arrested while searching for food, and forced to lead the invaders to the other women.

Once discovered, the women set about burying the dead. Sixty bodies of male villagers, strewn throughout the village, were buried in a few large trenches. The Birzeit researchers have documented the names, ages, and burial places of the dead. The researchers were told that the Israeli troops later expelled the women from the village. On 5/20/1948, the women were ordered out of their houses and gathered in the village square. They were faced by two lines of Israeli soldiers who told them to walk east, out of the village. After the expulsion of all the residents, the village was demolished. Ruins were visible until 1978, when the area was cleared of rubble and forested. Researcher Shalabi said that many residents of refugee camps have similar stories to tell. He hypothesized that, like a select number of other villages, Abu Shusha was chosen for extermination as a warning and deterrent to surrounding villages. [=]"
Psychological thing, because I think women have had enough—maybe it's genetic memory—or being told that they're not up to scratch where men are concerned. I think that a woman has a subconscious drive to excel." During the early years of her career, she had some problems with "...men [who] were very uncomfortable with a young female university graduate who they thought was competing with them." "For a long time, I didn't realize what was happening behind my back," she said. "I grew up in a family in which we were told there was a difference and that men or boys were better than women or girls"—an attitude "not very common, but [which] exists, especially in Palestine." "I think circumstances...have forced Palestinian women to be more in the middle of things. Even in peasant society, women have participated in everything, particularly the Intifada—I don't have to go over all that. Women had to come to the forefront. And I hope now with the Palestinian state that women will have equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal duties," she said. [=]

60677. Harb, Shuruq Ahmad. "Palestine and People: Notes from a Palestinian Girl," in Blandi-Jerusalem Times, September 22, 1995, p. 14. Shuruq Ahmad Harb was in the eighth grade when she wrote this letter to the "Journal of Women in Culture and Society" at Chicago University. The editors of this magazine had asked her to write because they wanted their readers to hear from a Palestinian girl. Shuruq is now fifteen years old, she lives in Ramallah and is in the tenth grade at the Friends School. "The Jerusalem Times" interviewed Shuruq, who said, "I wrote this letter two years ago. I felt that I needed to write to express my feelings, and I wrote that letter in order to breathe. Writing is one of my hobbies. I also like riding my bicycle, drawing and having adventures. I like challenging boys and proving to them that we (girls) can do everything. My ambition is to be a woman who will enter a field in which no Palestinian woman has made a mark." As any girl does, I always thought about my future, I thought of being a lawyer, a president, and the wife of a handsome man. I thought it was easy to make your dream come true, but today, I feel it is hard. Not only because being a teenager is hard, but because I feel that other teenagers and I have to think about the future of our country. I feel that we must grow up in order to finish something important—something we might not want to do, but that is our job to finish. This is the way things happen here and all over the world. Our parents give us their thoughts, their prejudices, and their goals so we can complete them. When I think about the last seven years, I think about all the people I have met. I look to them for answers to my questions, but then I realize that I am not the only person here who wants to know how things are arranged. Time passes quickly, but our designs last forever. They last for our children's children. These few sentences may give you an idea of what I am going to write. I want you to understand more than a couple of words; I believe that the life of every human being is important, but I want to know how people waste something important if I am created to give and to love people.

Today when I think about all the things, lots of questions come to mind: What do people mean when they say words like peace, hope, love, and happiness? How do people think about each other? What is the purpose of producing a new generation if it is only going to continue the war and the destruction that the former generations have begun? If the purpose of living is only to destroy, I would rather be dead, but I think God it is not. My people have always had a goal and a good reason for living. We always hoped to have our own state by any means necessary. Today, peace is the way to achieve our independence. The word peace meant a lot to me before today. To me it meant love, to share, and to live comfortably with other people. Today, I feel peace is different. I feel it is just a process to end a political problem. To those who might disagree with me, I ask: Up to now, how many problems have been solved by applying the political meaning of the word peace? None! Why? It is because of the way we use things. We use each other. We use weapons. We use things with beautiful meanings—but we use them all to achieve our goals by destroying any other meaning. Tell me how many times have you slept satisfied with what you have done? Maybe a few times, but tell me: Do you want your children to sleep in the same way? If not, then give your children the right to love each other instead of the obligation to hate each other. You might hate your enemy, but you love your children. So make peace for them, for the future, instead of making peace to achieve your goal in the present. My situation is not very different from that of other teenagers. I look around me and I see how hard life is here. I want to scream to make all the politicians see what I see. All I can see is fear among the people. They do not know what is happening or what is going to happen. We used to know what was happening because we were told everything, and everything came from us. I do not know why exactly but I feel that Palestinian teenagers are trying to create something new—something to help us fight our fears.

What we want is for Palestinians to be one body as we were before, and that is what we are working on. This is our goal. It may be the same as our parents' goal, but it is different at the same time. They were looking for independence as the state of Palestine, but we are looking for independence as the people of Palestine. We are looking for the things Palestinians have in common. These things will pull us together because they are related to our past and dreams. When we can put all these common things together, then we will think about the future—a future that gives us all our rights as Palestinians. If we could change the present, we would be happy. Unfortunately, we cannot, but we know that the future is in our hands. It could be the way we want if we work together and forget the sexual, religious and racial differences among us. Palestinian girls think about sexual differences as a problem. They know that someday they will grow up to be women, and they also know that Palestinian women worked hard and gave a lot during the Intifada, and that they were respected for it. They also rose in our society as active members. We girls today respect this, but we still think that the Palestinian woman has only worked as a mother and not as a woman. What I mean by that is that we want our society to know and understand that we can be more than mothers. We can do what men do if we are given the chance. We have minds and ideas which can help build our country when it is beginning a new life. What we want to be is more than an organization that calls for women's rights. We want the best for every Palestinian girl. We want to participate more in our society, and that's why we want to be educated so we can face life depending on ourselves. To make this available to every Palestinian girl, we must work together. We must make each girl believe in herself and in her rights. Our mothers worked a lot to make things easier for us. They always gave us a push forward. Years before, things were different, but our mothers coped with the difficulties of life and made a beginning for Palestinian women. Today, things have changed, but the goal of making Palestinian women the best they can be is still there for us to work on. I really believe in my mother and the other women who worked so hard. I think that if they had given a chance, they would have done more.

I see in my society a few strong women who deserve to be respected, not because of how they look, but because of what they are. These women encourage and influence girls of my age. Having them among us strengthens my belief in myself. However, the problem is that there is no place to go to. There is no place in which to hang out. This problem particularly affects young girls who eventually have no knowledge of life except for being at home cooking and keeping the household. How can we meet with other people or communicate with the outside world? If it were in my hands, I would fill this place with clubs and activities for young girls, but unfortunately, it is not. All that I can do right now is to try to prepare myself to make a difference for my children. Our situation is but one of many, but you and others could help end these difficult situations by making others see the fact and by telling them that there is no rest for you or for others if war, hatred, racism, hunger, and illness exist on earth. We want peace and you want peace, but let's work together to make real peace. [=] 221

60678. Harwood, John. "Political Treadmill: For California Sen, Dianne Feinstein, Fund Raising Becomes Overwhelming Burden; It Consumes Feinstein's Time and Forces Her to Rely On Special Interests; The Campaign As Corporation," in Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1994, pp. A1, A5. For her re-election campaign, Dianne Feinstein must plan on raising $22000 per day; she will need an estimated $10 million for her re-election campaign in California (in the last election, her TV
advertising budget was $700000 per week). She has already spent more than $30 million in elections, including her failed gubernatorial bid in California. Her projected revenues make her election campaign among the 5% of largest US corporations: leaving her to dubbed ironically Feinstein Inc. Feinstein's likely opponent, GOP Rep. Michael Huffington, is seen as a serious challenge due to his personal fortune of $75 million. Feinstein, whose husband has a $50 million real estate empire in California, accuses Huffman of trying to buy the election with his wealth, even though she used her family wealth to obtain a critical $3 million in loans in her 1991-1992 election. Feinstein's intense fundraising effort is run by Priscilla Burton (with a $1200000 annual salary), apotropaic of Alan Cranston fundraiser Joy Jacobson. Feinstein sets aside Friday for cold-calling for money and races around the country to raise money: within days of winning her Senate seat, she raised $500000 at south Florida luncheons hosted by pro-Israel activist, businessman Monte Friedkin. Similarly, her campaign manager Duane Garett held a quick reception that raised $100000, and even admission to her birthday raised her $300000. Using her status as a woman to raise money, she received $500000 from the Hollywood Women's PAC (including Roseanne Arnold who gave $1000) and has tapped Walt Disney Co. executive Kate Bartolo for $100000 from her network of friends: Emily's List will back her financially, after providing her with $500000 in 1992 (using a bundling technique that Feinstein has advocated banning). Lobbyists Cassidy & Associates raised $10000 for Feinstein at a breakfast; California agribusiness threw a $500000 fundraiser for her in Modesto to gain her favorable attention (Terres Unsoeld, daughter of Rep. Jolene Unsoeld (D, Wash), notes there is a fine line between influence peddling and taking money in return for a key vote.) [TXT]


The emphasis on gimmicks does not start in the classroom. Student: What position of power are you talking about, maximizing the disadvantages.

I also frequently discovered that the criterion for the success, or failure, of a seminar is the amount of fun the students have had. Therefore, if the students report a "fun" day, which included gimmicks way if we had been the physician...

Doors of schools were thrown open to the many democracy loving bodies and human rights conscious students, who would act as tutors and be well paid for their dedicated and thankless work. Teachers within the formal school structure were free to leave their pupils during the education sessions for democracy to enjoy a leisurely cup of tea or coffee in the unexpected intermission - by courtesy of school associations.

Although I am no novice in this field, I am frequently surprised by the indifference of teachers and the nonchallenge of educators towards the educational procedures in the classrooms. Since these activities are condensed into one day with four to six lessons, many teachers try to impress their pupils that the really important things lessons and examinations - are being replaced by a much less serious happening.

I also frequently discovered that the criterion for the success, or failure, of a seminar is the amount of fun the students have had. Therefore, if the students report a "fun" day, which included gimmicks and games, the chances of being again invited to the same school are much better.

I do not know whether one can expect students to absorb new values or new points of view during the course of a one-day seminar, or even to discuss and assess the issues presented to them. However, it is rare to encounter a team which regards that as a measure of success or failure.

The emphasis on gimmicks does not start in the classroom. The marketing - obtaining the school's agreement (and budget) for education for democracy becomes more difficult from year to year. The school's position is that Meir Kahane is no longer a member of Knesset; the issue has become somewhat banal, and "just between you and me, there is a leftist-political element in your education for democracy".

We reply that there is no such thing, no way; after all, we are all veterans in the halls of the Ministry of Education and adapt ourselves to the current 'central issue' this year, it may be the Hebrew language, next year it may be absorption of immigrants.

Then when they ask about the connection between education for democracy and the Hebrew language, and we reply that in fact we do not have much to do with Hebrew, but language and politics go very well together, and that there are subjects, such as identifying demagoguery, propaganda and methods of news reporting which are closely tied to democracy, while we silently thank providence for not making the central issue Yiddish literature.

And when the green light is finally given and we arrive in a classroom to implement project Democracy, the following scenario, which was actually enacted in a prestigious Jerusalem school, may take place:

Place: a classroom.

Cast: 20 raucous students, a tutor who knows none of the students, a teacher not present, but who will perhaps come in during the course of the session.

Action: After introductions have been made all round, there is a role play. In the game, a career-mad physician is required to convince a terminally-ill patient that he should undergo new treatment. The treatment which entails considerable danger, might save the patient's life, but is equally likely to exacerbate his condition. As the physician is primarily motivated to promote the treatment which he has developed, he plays down the aggravated danger to the patient and avoids mentioning them as much as possible. While he does not actually blatantly lie, the physician does not consider it his duty to tell the whole truth.

The rules of the game require that he convince the patient with the use of as few sentences as possible. Obviously, the patient does not realize that he is being manipulated, because he is concerned only with being cured.

One student plays the role of the physician and the others are patients. They have to indicate to what extent they have been convinced to undergo the new treatment. The educator stops the game periodically after the physician has uttered a few sentences, to enable the class to examine what has been said.

Almost all of the 'patients' are 'convinced' or tend to be convinced by the physician. But after all the facts have been revealed, the 'patients' find that they have been misled. They claim that had they known all of the details they would not have been convinced, at least not so easily. [=]


Educator: Well, you are probably angry with the physician for having misled you.

Student: Why should we be angry with him?

Educator: Because you relied on him to guide you in what to do for your benefit, and he not only failed to tell you the whole truth, but used you to promote his personal interests. You were merely a tool...

Student: I think each one of us would have acted in the same way if we had been the physician...

Educator: What do you mean, in the same way?

Student: I mean emphasizing the advantages of his offer and minimizing the disadvantages.

Educator: Meaning that the truth and the patient's interests, which are one and the same thing, are of least importance? Would you agree to anyone in a position of power exploiting that power to promote only his interests? What about the truth? Is that not important?

Student: What position of power are you talking about,
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anyway?

Educator: The physician's knowledge and being in a position to offer help to another person constitutes the basis of his power. The power comes from the patients' willingness to assign their lot to an authority, rather than depend on their own judgement, on the assumption that their interests are identical.

Student: But what choice do we have? Do you want us not to rely on physicians?

Educator: I would like you to first rely on yourselves; to be aware that only you can be your own judge. Certainly, a physician's duty is to leave the final decision to you, after all possible alternatives have been presented to you.

Student: Besides, physicians are prohibited from lying, because they took the Archimedes oath.

Student: Hippocratic.

Educator: The game is just an example. The exclusive authority which we willingly give to physicians about what is done to our bodies is nothing compared with what we willingly offer politicians and retired generals about what is done to our lives.

Uproar, shouts, one voice is heard: If everyone decides for themselves there will be anarchy.

Student: Aren't politicians part of the people?

Student (excitedly): And if someone, let's say Rabin or Sharon, was in the army, does that make him incompetent? They know better than you or me what war is and what has to be done!

Educator: But what if you are in favour of peace, if you believe that knowing how to fight is not your first choice in a list of characteristics for the ideal politician? Remember that what enabled the physician to fabricate was that he was in possession of important data and you were not.

Student: But why should politicians or senior military officers lie, or not present the whole picture?

Educator: Why not?

Student: I don't understand how politicians and members of the government can lie. They are not like the physician, who studied for many years and know many things that I don't.

Student: That's nonsense. They have all kinds of facts and data from satellites, the Mossad, the Foreign Ministry, secret committees, and at each government session they get a report from the Chief of Staff. So it's obvious that they can conceal information or not give the public the whole truth, if it does not suit their ideology.

Educator: Although you appear to be saying contradictory things, you are both right. The government can lie because there is a kind of consensus that military data is relevant only for formulating society's path. However, in my view, that data should serve - not determine - our values and interests, our needs and wishes. We know what is good for us as much as the greatest military expert.

Student: I also think that WE should determine our strategies and leave only the tactics to the "experts". Besides, there is something which I believe is called the 'public's right to know'.

Student, turning angrily to educator: Are we talking about democracy or making leftist propaganda?

Calls: That's right! that's right!

Educator: Alright, who will volunteer to promote rightwing propaganda?

Angry student: Before you start talking about rights and before you gang up on senior officers, it is important to remember that not only WE live here, but the ARABS also! Are Arabs entitled to rights? If we give them rights will they stop hating us? I do not think that it is good to lie, but the public does not have to know everything. In my view, anything that can help security is the truth. You talk about "interests", "needs", "wishes", but I think that all of these are included in Zionism.

Educator: Our subject is, on one hand, the falseness in presenting a partial picture of reality. On the other hand, the game demonstrated the tendency to blindly depend on "authorities", who in turn rely on knowledge presented to them. Thus we delegate to them immense power which comes at the expense of judgement and responsibility which we could and should have assumed ourselves. The answer is that the connotation of democracy is participation by human beings in determining society's path, values and lifestyle. That, at any rate, is how I interpret democracy. The PERSON is an aim, not a means. If we allow a handful of security people to determine our path, especially in the light of controversy regarding the term "security", we will establish a form of aristocracy.

Angry student: You intentionally ignore the fact that there are Arabs here who want to destroy us. With all due respect to democracy, this is not Holland!

Educator: You do not understand, because in your view democracy is merely a form of political procedure, having nothing to do with the spectrum of society. I am trying to indicate a much broader view of democracy...

The bell rings.

The students raise weary eyes. They had been told there would be games, but someone forgot to tell them that there would also be discussion. From looking at them, it is obvious that the the past 50 minutes were very difficult for them.

The annual hour devoted to learning all about democracy is over. See you next year.[=]

60681. Hilal, Rashid. "Women call for equal opportunity", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 1. A Women's rights march was held in Ramallah Jan. 3. A number of women candidates in the elections for the Legislative Council including Hanan Ashrawi and Zahira Kamal. The demonstrators called for equal opportunities for men and women in the coming Palestinian Legislative Council. Their slogans read, "Women rights are human rights," and "No democracy without treating women equally." Islah Jad, a member of the Women Issues Team and a lecturer at Birzeit University, said the 22 women candidates represent a relatively small percentage out of the overall total of 700 candidates. "It is not logical that women are half the population, to have only a 2-3% in the Legislative Council," she said. The demonstration, which was permitted by the Palestinian police, was transformed into a festival at the Friend's School where more than 11 candidates gave speeches. Participants agreed women played an essential role during the Intifada and that they will be the backbone of the future Palestinian state. Hassan Abu Libdeh, head of the Palestinian Center for Census and Statistics and a member of the Election Center Commission, said the number of women voters exceeded that of men in Jerusalem, Ramallah and Tulkarm. Rawya Shawwa, a Palestinian journalist and writer from Gaza standing as an independent candidate, said her electoral program is embodied in her writing: "Some candidates invite voters to lunch at their houses while others give donations to charitable societies in an attempt to guarantee the people's votes." [=]

60682. Hoagland, Jim. "Arafat Game: Win By Losing", in Arizona Daily Star, January 8, 1994. p. A17. Jim Hoagland advances a remarkable analysis on Palestinian-Israeli diplomatic relations based on the racial inferiority of Palestinians. He argues that Yasser Arafat has spent his political life winning with losing hands, since 'weakness can be an asset for the Legis-

Educator: The game is just an example. The exclusive be games, but someone forgot to tell them that there would also be discussion. From looking at them, it is obvious that the the past 50 minutes were very difficult for them.

The annual hour devoted to learning all about democracy is over. See you next year.[=]
wearing a black skirt and a black blouse. Are you a Woman in Black or someone dressed in black who just happens to pass by? Are you one of those women who wears black every Friday and protests against the occupation, or are you an anonymous Jerusalemite hurrying to a nearby supermarket, and only chance has brought you to this square at this particular hour? Maybe you wore your black skirt by sheer chance, you were really planning to wear your colorful trousers, but a splash from your morning cup of coffee stained them? You seem to be in a hurry. You also look a bit worried. Perhaps there will be a long queues in the supermarket and you really only need two small things - Chinese frozen peas and homogenized milk. Would you like to know why it is important for you to stand with us, at this place, for one hour?

It is 13:05. Ten women are already standing by the stone, carved with the words France Square. In spite of its official name, Jerusalemites have been calling it Women in Black Square for a long time. The woman standing beside you is Genya. She is now 80 years old. Genya usually sits in the shade during the hours when the heat is at its worst. But on Fridays she wears a wide brimmed hat and stands on the low stone edge which surrounds the square, holding a black hand-shaped sign with the white words No to occupation glued onto it. Motorists much younger than her pass by and curse her. There she stands, an elderly woman in the square, silently expressing a moral political stance and a red-necked taxi driver is shouting at her - "You should be screwed, all of you, one by one."

Fourteen-year-old Yaël stands beside Genya. She is among the youngest and most persistent at the vigil. Yaël has already become accustomed to obscene expressions from passing drivers and even harassment from her contemporaries - who shout and throw empty cans, eggs, fruit and garbage from windows of passing busses at the women standing in silent dignity.

Genya, Yaël, Aviva, Gila, Hagar, Nechama, Polly, Hila and another hundred women who stand here today express protest, disgust, anxiety and shock at the occupation and its fruits. Each one experienced a personal moment when the decision to join the Women in Black vigil matured in her heart - in a bus or at a social event, or watching television.

One woman became a Woman in Black when she discovered that she didn't have the courage to defend an Arab in a city bus. Another joined after a close friend of her son's committed suicide. She linked the suicide to the complicated and ambivalent attitude of her son's age-group regarding service in the army.

There was an item in the newspaper today about sixty babies in a refugee camp in Gaza being injured by inhaling gas that "was discharged" from a hand grenade thrown by an Israeli officer into an UNRWA clinic where babies are vaccinated. People to stop talking about "giving back" territory, proposing instead the "Golda Meir" (4). Moshe definitely scored a maximum Golda by urging "We are all Skolnick" to its alleged rightful owners," he complains "you will be asked to prove to the complicated and ambivalent attitude of her son's age-group regarding service in the army.

During the first vigils, the support you will feel coming from the lungs of infants gives you the shivers. Perhaps that's your moment of joining other women, who through various experiences, have become sisters in the struggle against the occupation. Perhaps you, too, will become a Woman in Black every Friday and stand in the square, with the Women in Black.
pick her up on that one. Sounds like a cue for a joke: an Efrat settler dies and goes to heaven and meets 200,000 Arabs... Suggestions for a happy conclusion on a postcard please. [=]

60686. Holub, Alexander S. Letter: “Humanity’s Dark Side and Monotheism”, in Chronicle of Higher Education, August 15, 1997, pp. B10, B11. Dr. Regina Schwartz is touching on an aspect of humanity’s dark side. There appears to be a pseudo-religious cult, in which authority, the “chosen” are then free to take advantage of anyone who refuses to belong or who is offensive. Phrases like “Manifest Destiny” and “I was only following orders” are often heard from the “chosen”. Throughout history, Judeo-Christian monotheism has promoted an ethnocentric deity who demands an absolute allegiance— or else. This you do not find in other monotheistic religious philosophies (e.g., Zoroastrianism). But we must remember that it is man who creates the gods and invents the rules by which those gods control the believers. [=]

60687. Holy Land Christian Mission. “Notice of The Holy Land Christian Mission”, in Bilad-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995. p. 9. Due to the seizure of our properties and the appointment of a committee by the Palestinian National Authority to run the daily affairs of our Children’s Home and Mount of David Hospital in Bethlehem, the Holy Land Christian Mission is no longer responsible for the children, patients, employees, payroll and bills associated with the operation of the Mount of David Hospital or the Holy Land Christian Mission complex in Bethlehem. Dr. Thiab Ayyoush, Mr. Badral-Qawasmi and Ms. Diana Mubarak have assumed full responsibility for the operation of our Hospital and Children’s Home, and all requests for service, payment of bills, and any other amounts claimed must be addressed to them. The Holy Land Christian Mission will not be responsible for any obligations, debts, contracts or liabilities incurred, assumed or created by the Palestinian National Authority or the above-identified individuals or any agents of any of them, regardless of whether they claim to be acting in the name of, or on behalf of the Holy Land Christian Mission or Mount of David Hospital. The Holy Land Christian Mission has not authorized, and does not approve of their seizure of its property, and taking over of its operations, and is not responsible for their actions. [=]

60688. Holy Land Christian Mission. “Press Release of The Holy Land Christian Mission, Kansas City, MO, USA, 1/18/1995”, in Bilad-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995. p. 9. The Holy Land Christian Mission is an American charitable organization, dedicated to improving the lives of needy children and poor people around the world. At the end of 1994, we were supporting 20 different projects in 10 countries overseas, benefiting literally hundreds of thousands of children and their families. One of our projects is located in Bethlehem in the West Bank. Holy Land Christian Mission programs in Bethlehem include a wide range of activities: a children’s home and school, aid and assistance to widows, to children and their families in their homes and medical treatment at our Hospital. The Holy Land Christian Mission has previously announced that, because of the high cost of operating its hospital and because of dwindling donor support for its Bethlehem activities, it was going to have to close its hospital. However, the Palestinian National Authority has seized our hospital and all our other assets - in addition to taking over the daily to day running of our operations in Bethlehem. We are therefore unable to directly provide any further medical care for the patients who were being treated, but we are going to make arrangement for their treatment at other hospitals, despite these difficulties. Arrangements will be made for payment to the parents, for essential follow-up medical treatment, required to finish any procedures currently underway. It is obviously a very serious matter that the Palestinian National Authority can seize the properties of an American charitable society, merely by signing an administrative order. There has been no due process of law, and no legal process has been followed. There is no basis in law for this kind of action. The parents of the children will be encouraged to choose the hospitals and doctors that they wish to utilize for such treatment. The Holy Land Christian Mission will be providing funds to pay for essential orthopedic treatments for these patients, assuming that there are no further improper efforts to prevent us from aiding the children. While for years we have subsidized the Bethlehem operations from other funds and other programs, we cannot continue to do so. We decided to close our hospital, so that we could maintain our other charitable activities at a sustainable level, and continue to benefit thousands of Palestinians, but we do not know what effect this unauthorized and illegal seizure will have on our other programs in the West Bank. [=]


Mr. Chairman, I am here as an immigration attorney from New York from that is now a three-attorney firm; and I became involved in the Golden Venture representation from the beginning; and I handled quite a few cases during the pre-appellate aspect of the cases with the immigration judges.

Up until that time, one could say I specialized in this area. I probably handled about 1 to 200 other Chinese cases for persons who fled China based on the Chinese coercive population control policy.

As I tried to assist my clients in obtaining their statements, they asked me for predictions on what might happen to them. Based on my experiences, I made certain predictions on whether they would be eligible for parole, whether their claims amounted to asylum under our laws and policies.

And unfortunately all of the predictions were contradicted by what became a very rapid and furious change in policy right at the time of the Golden Venture.

The clients were in various locations, and the attorneys who handled these aspects of the cases administratively spent weeks locating the clients who were hired by relatives in New York City and other places to represent them. We could not find them.

The hearings were expedited. [here were characterizations in the press of the reasons why they came here. The reasons we heard were that they were coming for economic reasons. I had heard from employees of INS that the women were being brought here for prostitution.

I do not know who invented these stories, but there wasnothing really to support that in anything that developed later.

The harsh treatment continued up until today. As you can see, the proposed witnesses are not with us. And this is a continuing aSPeCi of the harsh treatment that they have been receiving.

In a letter which was addressed to the Honorable Chairman, INS explains why they are not being brought here today. There are two
reasons outlined which I have had just a moment to review. Enforcement concerns. Basically, INS is concerned that if they bring the people here to testify it would delay their departure from the US.

Well, they have been here for 2 years and are likely to be here for a while longer. I cannot even guess at what percentage we are at resolution of this matter.

Second, and what I am a little confused about is they are saying that if they are brought here that we would be creating an asylum claim where none otherwise exists, because if they were to testify here, they would receive further harsh treatment in China from the government by means of reprisals.

This seems completely irrational. I think this is the most publicized immigration case probably in the history of the country.

When I tell people who do not know me very well that I am an immigration lawyer, they ask me if I have worked on the Golden Venture. If they know nothing else about immigration, they know about the Golden Venture.

Second, if by bringing these four individuals here we really are creating an asylum claim, what is the harm in that? I think the government has failed to express why that would not be in the interest of the US to have them here, even if it means creating another asylum claim.

And that has been the policy that I cannot fully understand the meaning of:

I thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. I thank you for your testimony.

And the subcommittee will stand in recess until these couple of votes have been concluded.

Mr. HYDE. Before the gentleman --

Mr. SMITH. I would be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HYDE [continuing.] Does that, I would like to ask the last gentleman who -- I do not see your name there.

Mr. BURGESS. John Burgess.

Mr. HYDE. Oh, Mr. Burgess. Do you do immigration work generally?

Mr. BURGESS. Actually, I have been kind of a country lawyer the last few years.

Mr. HYDE. Well, the gentleman who just testified -- I do not see your name either.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Wilson.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Wilson, do you do immigration work in New York?

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. HYDE. Is it your information that a Jewish person from Russia who gets an exit visa to Israel but prefers to come to the US does get to come to the US by way of Vienna and Rome and then to the US and is admitted as a refugee by virtue of the fact that they are of the Jewish faith and it is presumed, ergo, they are persecuted in Russia?

That is my understanding of the scenario. Is that your understanding?

Mr. WILSON. Well, I have handled only two such cases and neither of them had arrived via Israel. However, if they are admitted as refugees, I would imagine that --

Mr. HYDE. No, they do not go to Israel. In Vienna they are asked where they want to go, and a third of them, I guess, go to Israel and two-thirds come here.

I asked one of these refugees in Rome why they -- since they asked to go to Israel -- why they did not go to Israel, and they said, "Well, there's a war on there." They wanted to come here.

I am just trying to make a point that if you are Jewish and you are from Russia, where you would be persecuted because of your religion, there is no problem getting classified as a refugee and coming into the country.

But if you are Chinese and they are coercing abortions out of you, nobody wants to talk to you or see you or hear you. Or, God forbid, publicly put your story on the record. That might give you a claim for asylum.
of the loot. Many of these children skip school, do drugs, and are seeking a way to make a fast buck. According to a young man named Hamad, one day last week a group of pickpockets cornered a tourist in Via Dolorosa at around 7 p.m., threatened him with a knife, and stole his money. According to Hamad, the same group attacked a nun the next day. They forcefully dragged her into an alley, breaking her hand. When merchants complain to the police, they are told an arrest can be made only if the thief is caught with his hands in the tourist's pocket. All agreed that this phenomenon is giving the city a bad reputation and frightens tourists away. Many believe that the failure of the police to collar the pickpockets is no accident, since it paralyzes the tourist trade and affects the Holy City negatively. [=]

60694. Iskafi, Ibtsam. "Palestine and People: African Muslims in Jerusalem", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, May 5, 1995. p. 14. There are over 300 Muslims living in the Old City who are descendants of African immigrants. Most of them, according to the community's muhtkar Muhammed Jeddah, belong to one Arab Islamic tribe, the Salamaat. The tribe is originally from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on the Red Sea. Later, the Salamaat migrated to Chad and the Sudan. Its members, however, never lost touch with Mecca and paid frequent visits to the holy city. In more recent times, following their pilgrimages to Mecca, the tribe would visit Jerusalem to pray at Al-Aqsa Mosque. They began to settle in the Old City, arriving in three main waves: the first at the end of the nineteenth century; the second in 1935; and later in 1948. Having settled in Jerusalem, they soon acquired the local customs, while they kept older traditions that continue to distinguish them from other Palestinians. One tradition is the communal meals they hold twice a month during which a sheep is slaughtered. They also meet once a month to discuss community problems. The tribe presently lives near Al-Aqsa Mosque compound in a neighborhood still known among local residents as the Slaves Quarter. African Muslims, descendants of tribes from Chad, Nigeria and Senegal, also make their home in Jerusalem. They speak Arabic at home and among friends and relatives, although the elderly speak with a noticeable African accent. Many members of the community have participated in the national struggle. Notable African-descended Palestinians include the head of Palestinian policemen, Fatima Birnawi, and journalist Ali Jiddeh. [=]

60695. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 43: Chapter Seven: Economic Development and the Provision of Public Services: (a) Israeli Practice in the Region. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. While thus having the power to control the local economy rigorously and to prohibit or restrict commercial ties with Jordan, Israel has nevertheless preferred to pursue a liberal policy in this respect, and has both removed the tax and customs barriers between itself and the Region, and facilitated continuing commercial relations with Jordan, and via Jordan with other Arab countries, by means of the "open bridges" policy [For the "open bridges" policy, see p.86]. As a result of this policy there is general freedom of movement for people and merchandise [For freedom of movement, see pp.84 et seq.], commercial and other economic business with Israel, and unrestricted passage of goods from the Region to Israel. The policy of facilitating contacts between Israel and the Region has of necessity involved problems in matters in which there is a difference in the two economies, for example in agriculture and the water system. Israel has been anxious to reduce unemployment by enabling residents of the Region to find work in Israel and by setting up training centres for instruction in such fields as building, carpentry, metalwork, handicrafts, and bookkeeping. There is also a variety of courses for women, including needlework, embroidery and beauty culture. Every year some 3500 persons are awarded certificates by these training centres, thus improving their opportunities for regular employment. Accordingly, the unemployment rate has declined from 13% in 1968 to 3% today, which is in fact less than the prevailing rate in Israel. This policy has also led to a significant increase in per capita income, a rise in real terms by 11%. Private demand has

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riven by 9% and the Gross National Product has risen since 1967 by an annual average of 13% [The data and statistics appearing in this and other chapters are based on "Coordination of Government Operations in Judea, Samaria, Gaza District, Sinai, Golan Heights: A Thirteen-Year Survey (1967-1980)" published on 1/1/1981]. Appreciable improvements have also been made in education. In 1979-1980, the military government provided funds for the upkeep of 942 out of a total of 1320 educational institutions, the others being privately maintained. Since 1967, 26 vocational training centres, previously non-existent in the Region, have been set up in 19 towns. Similarly, the four higher education institutions have been established. The number of educational institutions has increased by a third, and whereas the population has increased only by about 20%, the number of pupils has gone up by 80%. Agriculture in Israel is subject to strict control and supervision through, inter alia, production quotas, marketing and export boards and regulated national haulage, all of which is intended to ensure stable markets, maintain prices and avoid gluts. Producers in the Region wishing to export their produce to Israel, and from Israel to other countries, are therefore required to conform to the Israeli system of controls, including the conditions and quotas affecting Israeli farmers [See further p.62.].

The military government took steps to set up an infrastructure of such services as water and electricity supplies which, before 1967, did not exist in many parts of the Region. Thus, prior to the commencement of the intifadah, there was no national or regional electricity grid, except in the concession area served by the Jerusalem District Electricity Co. Water supplies were dependent on local pumping stations, which generally did not meet the requirements. The economic advancement and consequent rise in the standard of living from 1967 onwards led to an increasing demand for water and electricity in places which had not had them hitherto. For example, a number of towns and villages in the Region were connected to the Israeli electric grid. They included Kalkilya, Tulkarem, Hebron, Faroun, Bala-Zita, Dir el Jessin, Anbata, Nir Shams, Bet-Omar and the Baraka Hospital. In addition, work has almost been completed on the "Electrify Samaria" project, which is designed to make electricity available throughout the Region. Similarly, waterworks, reservoirs, pipe-lines and roads have been constructed throughout the Region. [=]

60696. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-Isreal National Section; International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 55: Chapter Eight: Security Measures: (c) Demolition and Sealing-Up of Houses. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention explicitly envisages the possibility of houses being demolished for security reasons, stating: "Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other authorities, or to public, social or co-operative organisations is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations."

Picquet sheds light on the last clause of this article [Picquet, p.302.]: "The prohibition of destruction of property situated in occupied territory is subject to an important reservation: it does not apply in cases where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations." The occupying forces may therefore undertake the total or partial destruction of certain private or public property in the occupied territory when imperative military requirements so demand." Furthermore, it will be for the Occupying Power to judge the importance of such military requirements. "Imperative military requirements" have been further defined as follows [M. Shamgar, op. cit., p.274.]: "Military requirements can be of two kinds: on the one hand, there is the necessity to destroy the physical base for military action when persons are discovered committing hostile military acts, and, in this respect, a house from which a grenade is thrown is a military base, not different from a bunker in other parts of the world. On the other hand, there is the necessity to create effective military reaction. The measure under discussion is of utmost deterrent importance, especially in a country where capital punishment is not used against terrorists who kill women and children." [See also Alan Dershowitz' contribution at a Symposium on Human Rights, 1 YHR, (1971), pp. 361, 376-378.]

Under the Regulations, houses may be demolished, in certain circumstances, for reasons of security. Regulation 118(1) of the Regulations provides that: "A Military Commander may by order direct the forfeiture to the Government ... of any house, structure or land from which he has reason to believe that any firearm has been illegally discharged, or any bomb, grenade or explosive or incendiary article illegally thrown, detonated, exploded or otherwise discharged, or of any house, structure or land situated in any area, town, village, quarter or street the inhabitants or some of the inhabitants of which he is satisfied have committed or attempted to commit or abetted the commission or have been accessories after the fact to the commission of any offence against these Regulations involving violence or intimidation or any Military Court offence; and when any house, structure or land is forfeited as aforesaid, the Military Commander may destroy the house or the structure or anything in or on the house, the structure or the land." [=]

60697. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-Isreal National Section; International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 62: Chapter Nine: Basic Freedoms: Freedom of Assembly; Israeli Practice in the Region. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. The Regional Commander, in Order No. 101 concerning the Prohibition of Incitement and Hostile Propaganda of 1967 (C.P. & O., Vol. 6, p.337.), did not prohibit assemblies or demonstrations but made them conditional on obtaining an appropriate permit from the military government. This is the accepted practice in many states which fully respect civil and political rights. If from the application it is clear that the assembly or demonstration will cause incitement or hostile propaganda, the permit is withheld. Following are some examples of political demonstrations that were permitted during 1979-1980 [The total number of political assemblies or demonstrations permitted in the period from 11/11/1979 to 7/31/1980 was 24.]:

11/14/1979: demonstration at the Freres Bethlehem University calling for the release of Bassam Shak’a, -Mayor of Nablus. 12/19/1979: political assembly of mayors at Bir Zeit University. 12/21/1979: mass demonstration of 3000 people against the requisition of land at Belt Amar. 12/24/1979: demonstration of solidarity with Bir Zeit University at Al Najah National University, in which Bassam Shak’a and 1000 people participated.

2/17/1980: conference at Nablus in which mayors, heads of local councils, and representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, trade unions, professional associations, women’s organizations, charitable organisations, educational institutions and centres, participated. 3/25/1980: demonstration at Bir Zeit University in protest against the decision of the Israeli Cabinet regarding settlements in Hebron and the closing of Abu Dis College. [=]

60698. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-Isreal National Section; International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 75: Chapter Nine: Basic Freedoms: Freedom of Assembly. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. With respect to the duty to carry identity cards, the permit is withheld. Following are some examples of political assemblies or demonstrations that were permitted during 1979-1980 [The total number of political assemblies or demonstrations permitted in the period from 11/11/1979 to 7/31/1980 was 24.]:

11/14/1979: demonstration at the Freres Bethlehem University calling for the release of Bassam Shak’a, -Mayor of Nablus. 12/19/1979: political assembly of mayors at Bir Zeit University. 12/21/1979: mass demonstration of 3000 people against the requisition of land at Belt Amar. 12/24/1979: demonstration of solidarity with Bir Zeit University at Al Najah National University, in which Bassam Shak’a and 1000 people participated.

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60699. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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Israel National Section: International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 78: Chapter Ten: Election to Local Authorities: The Local Jordanian Law. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. Under the local Jordanian law [Town Municipalities Law, No. 29 of 1955. The Jordanian Official Gazette, No. 1225, 1st May, 1955.], the term of office of a municipal council is 4-5 years [Article 8(1).], and it is left to the discretion of the Minister of Interior to fix the number of council members, as long as there are no less than seven and no more than twelve. [Article 7.] The right to vote is granted by Jordanian law only to males over the age of twenty-one who have resided within the municipal area for at least one year and have paid local taxes of more than a specified amount [Article 12.]. Women are denied the franchise and the right to be elected. Under Jordanian law the Council of Ministers appoints the mayor, on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior [Article 34.]. As the Minister has the power [Article 27.] to appoint two additional members to a municipal council (with the same rights as elected members), and the Council of Ministers may dismiss the mayor if the “welfare of the municipality so requires” [Article 34., such decision being final and non-appealable], the Jordanian Government was able to appoint anyone as mayor even though he had neither been elected nor otherwise won local support. [±]

60700. Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section; International Commission of Jurists. The Rule of Law In The Areas Administered By Israel: Part 79: Chapter Ten: Election to Local Authorities: The Position Since 6/1967. Tel Aviv: International Commission of Jurists-Israel National Section, 1981. Under Jordanian law, municipal elections were due to be held within four months of 6/1967. However, in the interest of maintaining public order, the Regional Commander extended the terms of office of the municipal authorities pending further notice. [Order concerning the Extension of Term of Office of the Administrations of Local Authorities, No. 80 of 1967, C.P. & O., No. 6, p.200.] Elections to the municipal councils in the Region were first held in 1972 [In accordance with the Order concerning Municipal Elections, No. 454 of 1971, C.P. & O., No. 19, p.l099.] and again, with a wider electorate, in 1976.

Until the elections in 1972, the local Jordanian law was left in force, save only for the following two changes: (a) the powers previously held by the Jordanian administrative authorities were transferred to the Regional Commander [Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law, No. 194 of 1967, C.P. & O., No. 10 of 25th February, 1968, p.384; Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law (Amendment No. 1), No. 236 of 1968, C.P. & O., No. 12 of 16th June, 1968p,482, and Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law (Amendment No. 2), No. 312 of 1969, C.P. & O., No. 18 of 18th May, 1969, p.636.]; (b) the powers of the local municipal authorities were extended. [Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law (Amendment No. 3), No. 331 of 1969, C.P. & O., No. 19 of 20th October, 1969, p.667, and Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law (Amendment No. 4), No. 394 of 1970, C.P. & O., No. 23 of 30th August, 1970, p.816.]

No appointments were made by the Regional Commander to the local councils. On the contrary, provision was made for the councils to continue in office even with less than the legal number of members prescribed. [Section 3 of the Order concerning the Extension of Term of Office of the Administrations of Local Authorities, op. cit. See footnote 11 above.] Following the elections of 1972-1976, the military government continued its policy of non-intervention, allowing the elected councils to appoint mayors from among their number and confirming such appointments. The military government also refrained from nominating additional council members. However, certain amendments were made in the local Jordanian law in the interests of the welfare of the local population. Thus, in 1975, the Regional Commander extended the franchise to women [Order concerning the Town Municipalities Law (Amendment No. 9), No. 627 of 1975, C.P. & O., No. 36 of 1st September, 1976, p.54.], who voted for the first time in the elections of 1976. Further amendments were introduced with a view to assisting the development of the local municipalities in the Region and improving their services. Amongst other things, the municipalities were empowered to issue bye-laws, so as to enable them to run their own affairs more effectively. Following the Camp David Accords, negotiations have been taking place in order to reach an agreement granting full autonomy to the residents of the Region and the Gaza District. As these negotiations are still in progress, it was decided to postpone the municipal elections due to be held in 1980, and to hold them after an autonomy agreement has been signed. While recent occurrences may ignite a response. In the Israeli case it is this century’s persecutions and annihilation of half our number added to centuries of recurrent persecutions which struck at our two and a half thousand years of praying to be back in this land from which we were expelled, prayers which gave us a Diaspora identity which in itself has helped us to build here what we have. Together these historical facts have brought modern Israel into conflict with you Palestinians, and have dispersed you as we have recollected here from our dispersion. It is tragic that our tragedy should have caused displacement and suffering to you. We are both caught up in a situation which fits the classical Hegelian definition of tragedy—that of two rights which are in conflict.

We Israelis have to take responsibility for the no small part which is ours in respect to the degree and extent of the trauma which we have inflicted on you. But speaking as a Western trained professional expert who has been astonished and appalled by the extent and degree of what I perceive as women and child abuse in your society, which I have been told is traditional practice and widespread, in your case clearly the substrate to your reactions to our presence and what we have done to you or been provoked into inflicting, is the background culturally accepted traditional treatment of women and of all children in your own society. This is something which you take so for granted that you probably will find it hard to accept as a factor in your reactions at all. There are many of your own well trained professionals tend to overlook this situation publicly, but I doubt they would deny it in their informed professional private capacities. Violence against your own children is there in your educational and disciplinary habits, as it is throughout the Middle East and many other places. Israel’s parliament recently legislated against the beating of women and children in line with recommendations made by EPOCH-End Physical Punishment of Children worldwide. While still plenty of this kind of violence is rampant in our society, including that directed against many of you, we are trying to increase awareness that hitting people is wrong--and children are people too. We have reviewed our law on the rights of parents and other cares, including educationalists, to punish children and have prohibited physical punishment (including smacking, slapping, spanking, caning, etc.) and other humiliating treatment both in schools and in the home. This kind of legislation is something your future government will have to consider, for there is no hope for a future in which personal private violence and lack of respect for children and women are common practice within a society. Violence begets violence. Somehow you and we have to put an end to violence, however outraged we may feel and be as a result of all manner of violations and traumas inflicted by both sides.

For we do and have to go on living side by side and together, whether or not we like the situation and each other, or even ourselves. There can be no recovery, no future which contains ongoing violence. And despite the political situations which cannot be ignored, it is our child-rearing practices, the way in which we behave with each other in our homes who will less will determine our future and our survival or not in this region. The people, Palestinian and Israeli, will survive, or not, together. We will face the same environmental disasters if we do not join in trying to prevent or deal with them, be they in the field of ecology or the next earthquake which can strike our region at any time. Palestinians
have to realize that in any war against Israel, any future war in which chemical or atomic weapons may be used, the fallout will be no less on either side, and the disaster will be for both. Future war is unthinkable given the extent of potential regional demise which could so easily be brought about. We know that for suicidal Hamas and Islamic Jihad fanatics it is not this life which counts but their belief in what they expect in the next life. If other Palestinians care about survival, life, and in building a future for their children, then, like Israelis, they must realize that our people's futures and present lives are inextricably intertwined and are dependent on regional peace. Our real enemies are shared ones--ourselves, those who threaten to wreak damage on this region or threaten Israel's ongoing existence and so also that of the Palestinians' overpopulation in what is already one of the most densely populated regions in the world, one with limited resources, environmental catastrophe, and commonly accepted practice which does not respect the human rights of other human beings who include women and children. We each have to overcome our sense of outrage and, whether or not we like the situation ourselves, or each other, we have to get on with the task of getting Israel accepted as an integral and permanent part of the Middle East. Palestinians should be the natural mediators and brokers of this situation even under the present circumstances where they are still struggling to define themselves and are beset with a myriad of other pressing personal problems. We are totally interdependent whether or not we want to be, and we cannot alter this state. No war is already an improved situation, but until there is a real interdependence amongst peoples at all levels, until Israelis are freely accepted as regional inhabitants and partners, until there is full peace, co-operation and collaboration, both peoples will remain threatened at a far more dangerous level than any level of danger which Israel presence, actions and reactions has posed to Palestinians to date. Doctor Judith Issroff is a social, child and family psychiatrist and a psychoanalyst. She is founder of the Israeli Association for Social Change & Solution of Conflicts. [6]

60702. Issroff, Judith. "Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 16, 1994, p. 13. [Judith Issroff, a psychoanalyst, social and family psychiatrist.] The Guernica Institute in San Sebastian, Spain hosted the Second European Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution in October. With the exception of three Lebanese, two Turks and two Israelis, the Middle East was not represented. A valuable two-day pre-conference series of workshops were devoted to exposing conflict resolution trainers to each others' methods and techniques of dealing with such topics as classroom mediation and nonviolent conflict resolution in a number of settings. The concentration of experience and the collective international and multi-disciplinary grappling with the most difficult issues concerning conflict in many spheres and areas was intense. Among the topics dealt with were the role and responsibility of the media in exacerbating, quieting or as a means of helping resolve conflicts; prejudice reduction training; psychological aspects of conflicts; leadership strategies such as emotional control or expression of anger; and the place of public forums, theater, religious leadership, networks and schools. Most conflicts can be changed once dialogue rather than debate occur. For this reason, different models were presented as ways to analyze conflict situations. By determining which of the factors of the pillars of belief might be tackled, effective and often novel ways are found to weaken and to undermine the existing institutionalized structure of the conflict. Vivid examples from a number of troubled spots of this world illustrated the presentations. The effect was empowering and positive, rather than reinforcing feelings of helplessness and hopelessness about entrenched conflicts, such that exist in the local situation.

One media contribution which aroused much interest and is potentially of great value in the local and regional context, and ought to be made use of by educators, were Pablo Ariel's short cartoons. These simple finger paintings depict differences, intolerance, violence, peace and conflict. These thought provoking and nonverbal videotapes are readily available here for use in a number of situations, such as classrooms, and women's or awareness groups of all ages. What they evoke by the way of reaction depends on the viewers, and the way in which the subsequent discussion is led. Networking and resource facilities were also set up during the conference which included access to tried and tested educational materials. Various organizations have agreed to sponsor training techniques for trainers in mediation and conflict resolution techniques who work in pairs--Palestinian and Israeli--through the Israeli Association for Social Health & the Solution of Conflicts. [6]

60703. Izenberg, Dan. "IDF Exempts 17% of Eligible Men", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 3, 1994. p. 5. 17% of men have been exempted from the IDF for medical reasons, living abroad, and being Yeshiva students, a 5% rise from 1974. The number of women released has dropped.

60704. Jaafry, Kamal. "'Taking What Is Rightfully Ours': Interview with Mohammad Zeidan: Part 3", in Challenge, March-April 1993. p. 5. Q: When Rabin was elected, he promised the heads of the Arab Local Councils that he would improve the conditions of their towns to equal those of Jewish towns. What happened to these promises? A: The government seems to be looking favorably on the issue of equality for Palestinian citizens in Israel. There is hope of some improvement in development budgets for Arab local councils. There are also hopes that more Arab citizens will be hired for work in government offices. To be honest, this positive atmosphere is not necessarily due to Rabin. The commitment to grant us equality started under Shamir. It was the result of the struggles we waged, after having reached an unbearable situation of total disregard and neglect. We are now more aware of our rights and will not be deceived by empty promises and lies. In August 1991, NCHALC set up a tent and held a sit-in opposite the Prime Minister's house and decided that we would not return to our villages without concrete governmental measures being instituted to equalize our situation, especially in the sphere of budgets. Finally, the government held a discussion and decided to grant us equal budgets. Thus, today Rabin is really continuing what Shamir began. Don't forget that Rabin also needs the support of the five Arab Knesset members in his coalition, and the Arab parties want to see Rabin come through on his promises. Although the budgets that have been granted for us thus far have been very meager, we regard them as a step forward. By granting us what is rightfully ours, neither Likud nor Labor are doing us a favor. They finally realized that we are aware of our rights and will struggle for them and that the price of not recognizing our needs would be too great. After 44 years, it is time for Israel to put an end to its discriminatory and neglect in the Arab sector.

Q: In the last elections, you headed an independent list that supported the Darawesh's Democratic Arab Party (DAP). How do you assess this experience? Do you think the Arab parties should cast votes of no-confidence in the government after the expulsions? A: In the wake of the expulsions, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) and DAP should have translated the public's fury into a vote of no-confidence. Rabin's policies have worsened the situation in the Occupied Territories, as demonstrated by the mass expulsions, the use of antitank missiles to demolish houses in Gaza, and the escalation in numbers of deaths, especially of youth in ages ranging from 5 to 16 years old. Even if a no-confidence vote had failed to topple the government, at least it would have registered our opposition to government policy. Rabin should realize that we are angry about his policy.

The DFPE and DAP declined to vote no-confidence because they believe that a different government would be worse. I don't accept this. As far as the peace is concerned, Rabin has been no better than Shamir. Rabin knows that Arab support of Labor was motivated by hatred of the Likud rather than by love of Labor. He told us so himself when he was building his coalition. That is why he believes he can do things which are much worse than the Likud has ever done, with impunity. We must have a clear view of this government and demand a stoppage of the iron-fist policy in the Occupied Territories. Even if it is now too late to vote no-confidence, I hope that in the future the DFPE and DAP will work together to represent the real interests of the Palestinian
A: Kufr Manda is a typical example of the problems prevailing in Arab villages. The high unemployment rate is caused by two factors. First, we are situated more than 50 km away from the employment centers in Haifa Bay. Second, most of our residents are farmers who could not make a living off the land because of the difficult winter which destroyed their crops. Nor could they find other jobs. Government promises to compensate farmers were not kept. Thus we are witnessing a social deterioration. Some of our youths are turning to drugs and crime. The local councils are unable to solve this problem. We need an industrialization program which will offer our citizens economic stability and workplaces close to their homes.

60706. Jad, Islah. "Tribalism and the Municipal Elections: A Feminist Perspective", in News from Within, November 1995. p. 32. [Dr. Islah Jad is a lecturer in Cultural Studies and Women's Studies at Birzeit University. The above article first appeared in Al-Quds newspaper on 3/13/1995.] [Translated by Sireen Halala.] Preparations are currently under way for the "choosing" of a municipal council for El-Bireh, a West Bank city adjacent to Ramallah. The selection of a new municipal council to replace the one that was appointed by the Israeli authorities is in itself a positive step. Nevertheless, although the process by which this council will be selected will be different than the coming one - whereby the council will be appointed by the Palestinian Authority - the end result will most probably be the same. The process of appointing or "choosing" a council negates, by its very nature, the right of the people to freely choose their representatives, even if for a short transitional period. The process of "choosing" to be applied in El-Bireh has been fashioned on a tribal basis: the main families or tribes of the city will nominate some of their "elders," and the PA will then choose, say, five out of a total of nine council members from the list of those nominated by the tribes. The remaining four council members will be chosen from among the "minorities" living in the city, from lists put forward by the tribal and clan councils (dawawin), such as the Lod or Lifting Councils of 48 refugees. This process might, at first glance, seem geographically based, but a closer look reveals that this "geographical" distribution is based on family or the main families from the same geographical areas. Some representatives of the refugee camps will then be added to the council, although it is not yet clear on what basis they will be chosen. This complicated form of choosing a local council is indeed different from the appointment process which was severely criticized for deforming Palestinian political life. Unfortunately, however, it does not remedy the problem, and close inspection shows that its likely results and implications will be even more damaging to the prospects of developing Palestinian democratic processes than the appointment process.

60707. Jad, Islah. "Tribalism and the Municipal Elections: A Feminist Perspective: The Reasons Why", in News from Within, November 1995. p. 32-33. There are several, albeit interrelated, reasons why the form of "choosing" a municipal council in El-Bireh will be damaging to the democratic process: (1) This form of "choosing," although supposed to apply only until general elections take place, will reestablish organizational forms that have become almost obsolete in El-Bireh. We have not heard about the diwan [council] of so-and-so's family or the sheikh of such and such a tribe for a very long time. A number of factors have contributed to the disappearance of tribal structures: the large-scale emigration of a large number of the main tribes to the city; the increased attendance at private and government schools and colleges (Birzeit University in particular); the large number of cadre of ideological and political parties in the city; the large number of public institutions which led to a more varied population, in addition to the existence of three refugee camps situated between El-Bireh and Ramallah. Thus, what we are currently witnessing in El-Bireh is a revival of organizational structures based on pure tribalism to serve the need to "choose" a council - and as a mechanism that will bring forward a sector that was not prominent in the leadership of the national struggle against the occupation. (2) The rebuilding of tribal structures will reinstate the family and tribe as the individual's first loyalty; this after the national movement for a long struggle to weaken this loyalty and strengthen the concept of nationalism and loyalty to the homeland. Tribal leaders and ordinary people, Christians and Moslems, West Bankers and Gazans, city dwellers, villagers, and residents of the refugee camps were all represented in the national movement. The concept of nationalism and the banner of Palestinian national identity transcended all the factors that divide and fragment the people.

(3) The revival of the link of individuals to their family or tribe ignores the lessons of modern Palestinian history: one of the principal reasons for the defeat of the great revolution of 1936 was that Palestinian society was rife with family/tribal divisions, whereas it had faced an ideological movement (Zionism) which was based on national loyalty to the "Jewish homeland." Having learned this important lesson, the modern Palestinian movement in the 1960s based itself on concepts of loyalty to the homeland and the Palestinian national identity. This new orientation contributed to the weakening of the old forms on which the Palestinian national movement of the 1930s had been based. During the Intifada we witnessed the failure of the efforts of the Israeli occupation authorities to fan the flames of tribal and family feuds. We even saw that families were willing to denounce those in its ranks who were collaborators; some even gave up their right to tribal compensation for the blood of their collaborator sons even before they were killed. (4) This new form of "choosing" will bring back phenomena, such as family alliances, that have long been obsolete. If the party supporting the nominated person is his family or tribe, then his loyalty will be to them - otherwise they will not support him again. Instead of the concept of loyalty to the people as the source of authority, primary loyalty will revert to the family, and its interests will come first even at the expense of the people and its citizens. This contradicts any true democratic practice, because democracy is based on the realization of every individual's participation in public life regardless of origin, religion, color, or race. It cannot be circumscribed by organizational forms based solely on blood relations.

(5) El-Bireh is immediately adjacent to Ramallah, the city that is slated to be the actual capital - in addition to Jerusalem, of course - of the Palestinian state. In other words, it is not a small, remote village. It is, in fact, an urban area, thousands of whose residents are not related to any of the main families of El-Bireh. What role will these individuals play in the process of "choosing" the council? Moreover, the refugee camps have been the strongholds of the Palestinian national struggle; there are thousands of residents in the three refugee camps in Ramallah/El-Bireh. What will their role be in the "choosing" process? How can we establish a capital based on a fragmented socio-political fabric that will be unable to develop progressive projects which will attract the contributions of Palestinians in the surrounding areas? (6) This process of "choosing" a council will not only virtually exclude from the list of voters people who are not original residents of the city, especially the refugees, but what is more important, it will also put a seal of approval on the permanent exclusion of women - who constitute half of the population - from the electorate. It is well known that according to tribal law women may not participate in tribal councils. Therefore, if the current El-Bireh system is made the basis for voting procedures in the future, it will work against women being able to contribute to the selection of the candidates. Women know very well through their long and bitter experience that the tribal structure is inherently inimical to their interests. In the name of the reputation of the family, many constraints were placed on women, and they were even deprived of the rights granted them by Shari'a [Islamic religious law]. The tribal structure forbids any woman from performing public functions. If a woman should, nevertheless, through some quirk of fate reach a public position, she will be considered as "really a man." This attitude was manifest in the statement of the PA's advisor on tribal
affairs in the Gaza Strip, as quoted in Al-Quds of 9/6/1995: "In our tribal festival, where we celebrated the birthday of President Abu Ammar, we made sure to involve two Palestinian women, and we presented two women knights, one of whom is the incarnation of manhood and pride in women...."

Thus, the institutionalization of political action on a tribal basis will constitute a sharp setback for women and what women have achieved. In the municipal elections of 1976 in the occupied West Bank, the Israeli authorities granted women the right to vote for the first time in West Bank history. Their hope was that women would vote on a tribal and family basis for a list of "liberals" who opposed what was popularly known as the "PLO list." As we all know, the results proved disappointing to the Israeli authorities since 78% of the women actually voted and the majority supported the PLO-identified candidates. The occupation authorities never allowed another election. Women's participation in the 1976 elections clearly proved that the first loyalty of women is to their country and not to their tribes or families. Finally, the claim that this "choosing" mechanism is only a temporary measure, to be superseded by general municipal elections, does not adequately answer the objections to it. For, as I pointed out earlier, this "temporary" arrangement will revive a socio-political mode of organization that was in the process of fading away. A lot of effort is being put into the implementation of the "temporary choosing mechanism," and it undoubtedly be argued that if it works once, it will work again. Furthermore, the elite that will emerge through this process will certainly attempt to consolidate their position and will argue for making the "temporary" mechanism a permanent one. Moreover, general elections are linked to such issues as withdrawal of the army from the cities, the election of a legislative council, presenting a draft constitution, etc. Because of the difficulty of resolving all these issues, there is a danger that "choosing" arrangements founded on reactionary political bases might turn into long-term structures. Why not instead choose elections format grounded in a genuine commitment to democracy on a wide popular base that consecrates the role of the people not only as sacrificers and strugglers, but as bearers of the right to choose their own representatives? If our purpose is to remove the councils appointed by the occupation authorities and replace them with temporary councils until the general elections, why not reinstate the councils that were elected by the people and were removed by the occupation authorities because of their commitment to the aims and policies of the PLO? Instead, the El-Bireh "choosing" mechanism will return us to a tribalism which is inimical both to women's rights as such, and to all forms of a civil democratic society that could plant the seeds of change for all its citizens, whether male or female. [=]

60708. Javits, Jacob K.; Steinberg, Rafael. Javits: The Autobiography of a Public Man. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981. [Abstract includes Israeli/Zionist topics only]. For the Jewish-American Javits, Israel was always the "anchor and bastion" of democracy in the Middle East and was vital to US security: without a secure Israel he constantly thundered, the US could not hope to defend itself. Javits identified himself with Israeli interests that he reports Israeli leaders were astonished when he told them he considered himself an American first and an Israeli-Jew second. Fortunately, the US could rely on Israel in the cold war and there was no need for the US to establish close ties with any Arab State: the Arabs could be abandoned to the USSR without any damage to the US, contrary to some critics who thought that the US should have closer ties to oil producing Arab countries to Israel. [p. 271] In fact, in 1978, a group of 177 retired US general and admirals released a letter that stated only Israel could defend the Middle East from Soviet aggression: the retiring retired officers made clear that the US was helpless to resist Soviet aggression without the self-less assistance of the Jewish superpower! [p. 272]

Javits notes: "A wide range of Jewish organizations in the United States concern themselves with government policy. The most important in the early days were the Zionist Organization of America, which sent funds and immigrants to help Israel get started, and the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee, which were also effective in the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. [sic] Educational, charitable, and service organizations such as Hadassah and B'nai Brith and the National Council of Jewish Women also make their views known publicly and since their memberships are large and politically aware, they are listened to. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is a registered lobbying organization. For many years it was under the direction of Isaiah 'Si' Kenan, who won the confidence of members of Congress because he operated dependably and reasonably, always on the basis of facts. he never approached a member of either house before carefully evaluating the significance of his suggestions to the individual congressman and his district, or senator and his state, and he knew the states and districts well enough to make intelligent judgements consistently. In 1951, when I was in the House, kenan and I worked closely together in obtaining for Israel a significant grant of economic aid from the United States. It was the first US economic aid for Israel." [pp. 280-281] Javits notes proudly that the US provided the “Jewish state” (energized by the injustice of a proposal to give money to Palestinian refugees from the Jewish Race-State [p. 280]) by presenting the spectre of Jewish voters in each district, voters with "absolute and unqualified support" for Israel, holding that Congressman personally responsible for the fall of Israel. [p. 281]. With Rep. Manny Cellar, a declaration was circulated in Congress to stress that aid to Israel would transform the Jewish state into a ‘military, economic and ideological bastion for the free world in the Middle East.’ [p. 280]

Javits’ constant work for Israel in Congress was reinforced by the work of four important American Jewish Zionists: (1) rabbi-stateman Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg of Englewood, New Jersey, of the American Jewish Congress; (2) of former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, who gave Israel key support in 1967 as the US Ambassador to the United Nations; (3) of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who has a deep devotion to the Jewish People; and (4) Max Fisher, Detroit businessman and perhaps the most successful fundraiser for Israel in the United States. [pp. 281-282]

60709. Jawad, Saleh Abdul. "The Balance of Power Among the Political Forces in the West Bank: The PLO Factsions: Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993. p. 8-10. Among all the forces which are under the banner of the PLO, the National Liberation Movement (Fatah) forms the mainstream and the primary political power in the West Bank. This is because it bases itself on the principal of broad popular support, especially in the refugee camps and most villages, following in line but far behind, is the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine, under the leadership of Dr. George Habash. Third, with only slightly less supporters, comes the Palestine Communist Party, which changed its name to the Palestine People's Party. In fourth place comes the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is being weakened because of the split it is suffering.

When the intifada started, and despite the conflicts with the Islamic trend represented by the Moslem Brotherhood, these forces were not able to find a unified apparatus to lead the national struggle. This disunity is a result of the split which occurred in Fatah in 1983, the disunity is a result of the split which occurred in Fatah in 1983, the occupation authorities granted women the right to vote for the first time in depending and reasonably, always on the basis of facts, they never approached a member of either house before carefully evaluating the significance of his suggestions to the individual congressman and his district, or senator and his state, and he knew the states and districts well enough to make intelligent judgements consistently. In 1951, when I was in the House, Kenan and I worked closely together in obtaining for Israel a significant grant of economic aid from the United States. It was the first US economic aid for Israel. ['pp. 280-281] Javits notes proudly that the US provided the “Jewish state” (energized by the injustice of a proposal to give money to Palestinian refugees from the Jewish Race-State [p. 280]) by presenting the spectre of Jewish voters in each district, voters with “absolute and unqualified support” for Israel, holding that Congressman personally responsible for the fall of Israel. [p. 281]. With Rep. Manny Cellar, a declaration was circulated in Congress to stress that aid to Israel would transform the Jewish state into a “military, economic and ideological bastion for the free world in the Middle East.” [p. 280]

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generously contributed to Fatah made the achievement of this goal attainable.

Fatah was soon able to control the institutions that, until then, had enjoyed only the attention of the Communist Party, and a lesser part, the attention of the Democratic Front. The DFLP entered the institution field in the second half of the 1970s, and it established the first women's organization in the occupied territories (the Women's Action Committees). [=]

60710. Jawad, Saleh Abdul. "The Balance of Power Among the Political Forces in the West Bank: The PLO Facts: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), April 19, 1993, p. 8-10. Within a few years, Fatah's Abu Jihad—who was responsible for the "western sector," the apparatus that dealt with the affairs of the occupied territories—was able to establish a large network of new institutions. He was also able to penetrate and control organizations and unions that were traditionally controlled by leftist and independent forces. Among these organizations were the Shabiba (Youth) student movements, which were established at the beginning of the 80s by Abdul Aziz Shahnin (Abu Ali Shahin). Consequently, the control of Fatah supporters was spread to most professional, educational and health sectors and unions.

The Intifada was spontaneous, the culmination of years of political, psychological and economic pressures exerted by Israeli occupation. Still, the continuity of the Intifada and its momentum cannot be understood at all without taking into consideration the bulk of the enormous efforts played by Fatah and the rest of the national factions in building the popular frameworks and organizations, all of which formed the bases of the Intifada and its main artery.

There are two main reasons that Fatha is losing part of its traditional base in the refugee camps and villages to Hamas and Islamic Jihad: (1) The upsurge of the Islamic movement, and (2) the increased criticism that the PLO is suffering (about its dead-end political program, rumors of misappropriation of funds, chaos in the appointment of people to positions, etc.).

The dilemma of the leftist organizations seems to be more complicated, in light of the collapse of the socialist campo. This added another dimension to the traditional dilemma manifested in the ideologies of these organizations, which didn't appeal to the conservative Palestinian society. Plus, there were splits that struck at some of these organizations, particularly the Democratic Front.

While the national camp is united on the goal of establishing an independent Palestinian state, and unified in its attitude toward the upsurge of the fundamentalist movement, it is still suffering from a deep schism, particularly int he aftermath of the latest political approaches of the Palestinian National Council, held in the Algiers 11/15/88. The schism was widened by participation in the current peace negotiations taking place between the Arab parties and Israel.

The fragmentation of the national camp has led to some kind of fragile rapprochement between the Popular Front, the Democratic Front-Nayef Hawatmeh branch, and Hamas. This rapprochement, however, is not viable in the long run due to the sharp socio-ideological contradiction among them. [=]

60711. Jerrett, Martin. "Route Sixty Ploughs Through Hebron Vineyards", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 24, 1995, p. 1. Israeli bulldozers completed preliminary ground leveling work in the Hebron area 11/22/1995, for Route Sixty. In the process, they destroyed over five thousand dunums of farmland, mainly vineyards around Hebron and Halhoul. The Israelis had ignored specific instructions from the Israeli High Court to divert the route in order to reduce the harm done to the surrounding agricultural land, as well as to the homes and property of the Palestinians. Route Sixy is part of the settlement plan promulgated by the Israeli Government. Running north to south, it effectively splits the West Bank into two. On Sunr. 11/18/1995, Israeli bulldozers began leveling vineyards in the Buqa' and Wadi Mazeen area outside the city of Hebron four days before the expiry of a two week moratorium imposed by the Israeli High Court. Locals, the Salvation Committee and landowners met with Israeli surveyors and the military governor in Hebron. They discussed changes that would divert the route away from the Palestinian property. On 11/20/1995, standing amidst the ruins of her vineyard, the widow of Ismail Jaber and her four children faced Israeli soldiers and civil administration officers. She screamed, "They are taking the bread away from the widow and the orphan. Our only source of income." The women, age fifty, called upon legal and international institutions to come to her rescue. She then picked up a branch of the destroyed vine and strode forward. An officer of the Civil Administration then instructed the commanding officer, Major Fuad, to see that all orders were followed. The soldiers cocked their guns and lined up to prevent the woman from advancing. The woman fainted. Members of the municipal council, who were also on hand, argued that the Israeli High Court had issued orders to suspend work for fourteen days until a solution was found to the direction of the route. The two week period expired yesterday, 11/22/1995, but work had restarted four days previous.

According to the Deputy Mayor, Doctor Awni Sughayer, Hebron municipality contacted the Palestinian National Authority and asked them to intervene. The Palestinian National Authority managed to halt the road building for twenty-four hours only before work recommenced. The municipality is currently preparing a letter of protest to the Israeli Minister of Defense, Shimon Peres. The Deputy Mayor has several times tried to contact the Military Governor of the West Bank, but he has refused to see him. Although the Municipality met with Israeli surveyors and the engineer responsible for the circular roads, talks to avert major damage to Palestinian farmland were unsuccessful. Doctor Sughayer, speaking to the "The Jerusalem Times", said, "We believe these acts [the construction of circular roads] do not accord with the spirit of peace." He added that, with such a policy being implemented by the Israeli Authorities on Palestinian land, they were creating an unsuitable climate for the elections. The Municipality demanded Major Fuad redirect the works in the direction of the hilly areas so no damage would be done to agricultural lands and to give the local landowners a chance to exercise their legal rights. Major Fuad replied that no instructions from the Israeli High Court had been handed down to them ordering them to cease work in agricultural areas. They had, he said, been informed by the Commander of the Central Area to go ahead with the roadworks. One landowner, the wife of Nihad Jaber, questioned the meaning of co-existence when the family's only source of livelihood was being destroyed. "How can there be peace when there is no stability and twenty-five hundred dunums of our land are being destroyed?" she asked. Another Hebron landowner, Ya'aqoub Tawil, age sixty, lost thirty dunums in the Bireen area, south of Hebron, after the Israelis had confiscated it for a circular road linking the settlements of Bet Haggal and Inan-Al-Bateh to the Kiryat Arba road. In addition, settlers polluted a well on his land and the water can no longer be used. The Israeli Courts awarded him 50000 NIS in compensation which he has yet to receive. A total of 1500 olive trees were uprooted to make way for the thirty-two meter wide road that passes through his land. When he protested to the Civil Administration, they offered him only sixty NIS for each tree he lost. He does not believe they will even pay him this amount. At one point, the road carves its way through the side of a hill. Mister Tawil has a house there which is now inaccessible as the road to it was destroyed by the new road. Tawil said that he would hire an Israeli lawyer to fight his case, but he remains pessimistic about the outcome. Locals said that there could be no peace as long as the settlers were passing in their midst. They fear that the circular roads will become launching pads for settlers wanting to terrorize them. [=]
that too many unprofessional bodies, including the Orient House, meddle in attempting to relieve the acute housing shortage that is aggravated by Israeli policies of land confiscation and refusal to grant building licenses to Palestinians. "Orient House, which has the unchallenged political and moral support as the seat of our negotiating teams doesn't have the expertise to deal with economic, tourism and housing problems," Siniora argued. He then said that there was already a specific, professional body - The Housing Council - that was technically capable of dealing with the housing problem. Siniora continued: "All it (The Housing Council) needs is proper financial backing and the appointment of a full-time head rather than the current post of a part-time volunteer." Lastly, Siniora discussed the role of women in building the state of Palestine and ending the occupation. Women are as important as men in this respect he affirmed. He noted that 49% of the electorate were women, yet out of a total of around 700 candidates running, only 22 were women. He recommended that in addition to forming special legislation to protect women's civil liberties, the Council should also reserve no less than 20% of the seats for women. Hanna Siniora is running for one of the two Christian seats that have been allocated for East Jerusalem. 

60713. Jerrett, Martin. "Textile Sector Employs 50000, 80% Female Workers", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995. p. 11. The Palestinian clothing industry has the most export potential of all sectors of Palestinian manufacture. The textile and garments sector employs around 50000 people, 80% of whom are female workers. Hebron is the center of shoe manufacture in the West Bank and Gaza. There are 20 automated factories and around 400 workshops employing between 2-10 workers in the town. Together they produce 20000 pairs of shoes daily. The industry imports 60% of its raw materials from Italy, Germany and Taiwan; the remaining 40% come from domestic sources. According to Haj Jibril Al-Natsheh, who owns the Reem Sport Shoes factory in Hebron, the industry is only operating at 40% of its potential capacity. The main problem faced by the shoe manufacturing industry is the difficulty in obtaining raw materials such as the right polymers and PVC materials for making the soles of the shoes. There is also a lack of people that can design new products that would be able to sell in overseas markets. In addition, there is a lack of knowledge about foreign markets, says Haj Al-Natsheh, and the only way to gain this knowledge and penetrate markets in Europe or the US is to initiate joint ventures with foreign companies. Haj Al-Natsheh also says that the industry needs an industrial zone to provide more facilities if the industry as a whole is to expand. The textiles, leather and clothes sector of Palestinian industry retains the most potential for industrial development in the Palestinian economy. Some 37% of Palestinians employed in the industrial sector as a whole work in establishments producing clothes and textiles. Only 30 places employ 50 or more workers. Twenty of these establishments belong to the garment sector. Reem Sport, for example, employs 50 people making it one of the largest shoe factories in the West Bank and Gaza. They sell 80% of their products on the local Palestinian market (60% in the West Bank and 20% in the Gaza Strip) and export the remaining 20% to Israel. Haj Al-Natsheh says only 1% of total production of his factory has been subcontracted by Israeli firms. [=]
These meetings established a shared understanding and commitment based on the recognition of the rights of all peoples in the region to live in dignity and security, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and sovereignty alongside Israel, and the right of all people to choose their legitimate representatives. This joint venture embraced fundamental principles of independence, parity and coexistence. It also articulated the agreed means for the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the basis of these principles.

Palestinian-Israeli Action Committees: Parallel to the creation of the JCW, the Israeli women established their own center, Bat Shalom. The centers operate completely independently, each maintaining its own organizational and executive integrity. However, the two centers carry out joint programs through their coordinating body, the Jerusalem Link. For that purpose, the following subcommittees were established: The Jerusalem Committee, the Peace Watch Committee, the Training Committee and the Media and Publication Committee.

Spheres of Action: Since its establishment in 3/1994, the Center has been implementing the following major and diverse projects it is currently planning to expand its activities through concrete programs capable of addressing the new challenges facing women in the context of changing Palestinian realities.

1. Training and Empowerment Activities: The Center held a series of training courses, seminars and symposia designed to develop Palestinian women's leadership skills and potential. The aim of these courses and similar future programs is to enable the expression of an effective and focal women's perspective on crucial political and social issues. Such activities aim at promoting the genuine empowerment of women and training them to assume central roles at all levels in the political, social and cultural spheres.

2. Young Women Activities: The Center is holding a series of training courses, lectures and workshops specifically geared to high school and university students as well as new graduates. The targeted age group is 14-25. The young women will work within two main projects: (a) Community Work Groups that seek to address the Palestinian community's major persistent concerns. (b) Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue Group in which topics of mutual interest and concern are addressed with the objective of exerting a constructive influence on the pattern of future interaction between the two peoples.

3. Activities to Defend Occupied Palestinian Jerusalem: Two types of activities are planned to protect the Palestinian right to sovereignty over East Jerusalem and bring it to the attention of international scrutiny: (1) Lectures and dialogue meetings that present the issue of Jerusalem to reveal the Israeli government's policies and measures toward the city. The Israeli government's unilateral action to consolidate its illegal annexation of Jerusalem and prejudice its fate will form the focus of these meetings. (2) The formation of lobby groups and information campaigns to mobilize popular and official countermeasures to stem the Israeli government's violations of Palestinian rights in Jerusalem.

4. Violations of Women's Human Rights: In coordination with various non-governmental organizations, the Center seeks to monitor violations against women and to provide an effective support system, in addition to reinforcing women's rights.

60715. Kamal, Sami. "War of Words Fails to Reopen Mount David", in Bilad-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995, p. 9. The Minister of Social Affairs Intisar Al-Wazir (Um Jihad) announced on 1/19/1995 the PNA is taking over the Mount of David Hospital for Crippled Children. Al-Wazir said the Christian Holy Land Mission is no longer in charge of the Bethlehem hospital. In its place a committee of trustees has been formed to supervise day-to-day operations. A week has now passed since the PNA takeover, but the hospital remains closed. Employees are unsure when they will be able to go back to work, deputy staff nurse Hanneh Mafi told journalists. Malia said she has heard the PNA will reopen the hospital as soon as legal matters concerning the administrative changes are settled. She also said no one is quite sure why the hospital was shut down in the first place. Deputy Minister for Social Affairs Diab Ayyoush told The Jerusalem Times this week the hospital will be reopened when the Mission formally and legally hands over the keys, hospital register and all documents concerning the patients. He added that the Mission remains responsible for the payroll until the keys are turned over. Asked where the budget - estimated at $2 million a year - is to come from once the takeover is completed, Ayyoush said, "We shall appeal to charitable societies, though the Christian Holy Land Mission is also welcome to contribute if it wishes." The PNA action has resulted in the hospital being shut down five months ahead of the closure date set by the mission. The plan was to have the operation phased out by 5/1995. To date, 123 out of 160 employees have received compensation from the Christian Holy Land Mission. The 37 others have been notified they will be receiving their compensation at a later date. The deputy director of the hospital, Dr. Fuad Alfi, hinted at the reason when he said the mission's bank account has a zero balance. In an announcement last week, Al-Wazir implied that the decision to close the hospital earlier than expected was due to an infraction of the 1966 Law for Charity Societies. A clearer statement comes from the PNA-appointed board of trustees. It accused the mission of selling off some of the property in Bethlehem contrary to the Law of Charity Societies which prevails in the West Bank.

In a letter sent through the mission's attorney, Fuad Shehadeh, Al-Wazir also informed the executive director of the mission, Joseph Grigke, that "the sale or rent of the property is prohibited. Nor can it be given in donation, the letter said. The matter does not rest there, however. Over the weekend (1/22/1995), the Christian Holy Land Mission and representatives of the PNA-appointed board, traded accusations in a series of statements published in the local press. The Christian Holy Land Mission accused the PNA of seizing the property and taking over the day-to-day operation running of the hospital, including the adjoining orphanage, and the care program for the needy and the elderly. The mission also stated the PNA move is illegal, in light of which it no longer considers itself responsible for running either the hospital or adjoining orphanage. It said full responsibility for the financial aspects for the hospital devolves now on the Board of Trustees appointed by the PNA which included the Deputy Minister for Social Affairs Diab Ayyoush, Badr Qawasmi, and Diana Mubarak. In a statement on 1/21/1995 addressed to its patients, the mission explained it could no longer meet the costs of running the hospital due to a drop in contributions from donors and offered to have pending cases transferred to other hospitals to be treated at its expense. However, it made the offer conditional, saying this service would be provided if no further steps are taken to prevent the mission from helping the children. There are 1300 children on the waiting list for operations and another 300 children who have undergone a first operation but need further treatment, according to hospital deputy director Dr. Alfi. A statement published by the PNA Board of Trustees on 1/22/1995 contested the mission's explanation over insolvent - the board said the mission's claim that they are experiencing financial difficulties is simply not true. They accused the mission of twisting the facts and of shirking its responsibilities. The trustees explained the mission had opted to have the hospital shut down at its own initiative, and added the PNA Ministry of Social Affairs got involved because of the illegal actions of the mission. They stressed the PNA's action was not directed against anyone, but was taken to save the hospital.

Another statement from the mission stressed the PNA had committed a grave error when it seized the property of an American charity society, basing itself on an administrative order, without taking any legal steps to prepare the move. The mission stressed that there was no legal basis for the seizure, and said it is not sure what the effect of the seizure will be on its other activities in the West Bank. In the meantime, The Jerusalem Times has learned from Ayyoush that the Ministry of Health Riyad Za'noun sent a proposal this week to the headquarters of the Christian Holy Land Mission headquarters in Kansas City, the US, for a plan that could lead to the reopening of the hospital. No details have been disclosed. Asked about the contents of the proposal, Ayyoush said the PNA is not against the idea of the mission taking charge again. "We are not averse to the idea if the mission is willing to reconsider. Of course, we will not be running the hospital then," he said.
Jerusalem had been long, uncomfortable and terribly disappointing. This advocating the formation of a Jewish Army to fight on the side of the Liberation: Part 02: A Dream Comes True. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni to have a look at the war. But in actual fact we came because Shmuel enquirers that we had come to London from the security of South Africa dependents are remembered—and revered. [=] The war years we had spent in London, arriving there from the immigration into the one land of the earth that could yet save the goats and chickens, and an Egyptian doctor, who joined in the Palestine immigration. But the unforgettable cannot be her claims on Egypt. “If only they would leave the Egyptians in peace,” he mourned. “We don’t want to interfere with anyone and we don’t want to be overcome. The manacles of a foreign power were clamped Zionism, brought up on the Utopian propaganda of the silver-tongued troubadours sent out by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the first sight of his beloved homeland in those days must have come as a terrific shock— that is if he arrived via the Suez Canal and entered the holy territory by way of Kantara, the frontier control post between Egypt and Palestine. It is true that after Port Said with its screaming beggars and peddlars, its fly-infested children, its leprous outcasts and its thieving porters and officials, this was a veritable haven of peace. But where were the bluer-than-blue skies, the cows whose udders trailed on the earth, swollen and blessed with rich, creamy milk; and the golden oranges tenderly plucked by blonde, sun-tanned gods and goddesses? All were sadly lacking in the hot, dusty countryside at the Palestine border.

If the Zionist propagandists forgot to mention the questionable comforts of the Palestine trains, they may well be forgiven; for the railways were run by the Mandatory Government and were in no way the responsibility of the Jewish Agency. But they should have warned the unwary traveller to prepare for the six inches of dust in the carriages and for the complete lack of water or sanitary conveniences on a journey which lasted twelve hours. I cheerfully accepted the dirt and discomfort because Shmuel, my husband, assured me that my first sight of Jerusalem would compensate for this ephemeral sordidness. I waited patienty and good-humorously at Lydda Junction for the branch train to Jerusalem, because I knew the real thrill was still to come.

Our fellow-passengers were a curious assortment of Arabs, goats and chickens, and an Egyptian doctor, who joined in the conversation when he heard Shmuel and me talking in English to each other. He immediately started off on a long harangue against Britain and her claims on Egypt. “If only they would leave the Egyptians in peace,” he mourned. “We don’t want to interfere with anyone and we don’t want to be interfered with.” Shmuel asked pertinently why Egypt stunk her nose into Palestine then. The answer came with the painless of an oft-repeated argument: “Palestine is our business. The Jews are giving the fellaheen notions well-above themselves; and if the Palestinian fellaheen get such notions, so will the Egyptian fellaheen. And then what will happen to the efferdis?”

I left Shmuel to discuss the age-old cry of the possessed against the unreasonable rebelliousness of the disposessed, while I leaned out of the window just in time to watch the first of the Judean hills swim into my line of vision. Shmuel had not exaggerated. The hills were as beautiful as the words in which he had painted them, and the nagging sense of disappointment lifted as by magic, leaving me exhilarated and excited by the fulfillment of a centuries’ old dream—the return to Zion. Shmuel and I were not new converts to Zionism. We had always dreamed of the time when we would be able to come to Palestine not as refugees from oppression, but of our own free will, to contribute any few talents which we might have to the upbuilding of our own country. We could not realize this ambition until June, 1946, a year after the end of World War II.

The war years we had spent in London, arriving there from South Africa in February, 1940. I used to delight in telling puzzled enquirers that we had come to London from the security of South Africa to have a look at the war. But in actual fact we came because Shmuel had been invited by Vladimir Jabotinsky to start a weekly newspaper advocating the formation of a Jewish Army to fight on the side of the
From London we saw European Jewry being destroyed under the sanctimoniously lowered eyes of the British Government. We knew of the situation in Palestine, despite having to rely almost exclusively on news presented with a British bias. But bias it as you will, the Strurna still went down with-everyone on board, after having been refused permission to land its cargo of human misery in Palestine; the British Parliament generously funded the war efforts before the war, had known David Raziel (the first commander of the IZL) and his friends intimately and was already then suspected by the authorities of entertaining too much sympathy for the “terrorists.” I thought that the CID considered Shmuel a reformed character after his years in England, but he suspected, with more justification, that his dosgier had been destroyed when the IZL blew up the CID headquarters in Jerusalem in 1944. At any rate, we started our careers in Palestine with a clean record from the CID.

With the house, we inherited a young army captain who had lodged with our landlords and continued to lodge with us as part of the agreement. From Captain B we got an interesting insight into the lives of the young British officers in Palestine. They were terribly bored in a country where there was very little entertainment; and what there was, was very often debarmed by their own commanders or by the cold reception they got from the Jewish patrons. Their social life was limited to invitations from the British officials and their wives, from the few wealthy Arabs who entertained and from a handful of Jews who risked the opprobrium of most of the Jewish community to fraternise with the Army (as opposed to officials of the Administration—who had many friends amongst the Jews). For their female company they had the chance of a handful of young, European Gentle women who worked in the Administration or in the various consulates, or Arab girls. Jewish girls, for the most part, did not care to risk their reputations by associating with the British Army.

In their boredom the young officers drank copiously, and delirium tremens was, in their estimation, a much more formidable enemity than the “terrorists,” for whom many of them had a sneaking admiration.

Captain B did not stay with us long. He, together with every other British officer in Palestine, was ordered into barracks—as protection against kidnapping—following the spectacular detention by the IZL of five British officers.

In an IZL attack on the Sarafand Army Camp, two of the young attackers, Simchon and Ashbel, had been wounded and subsequently captured. They were eventually brought to trial and sentenced to death. The IZL, who had demanded that their men be given the status of prisoners-of-war, as the struggle they were waging against the British was in fact guerrilla, underground war against an invader, determined to prevent the execution of the sentence. They kidnapped five British officers, threatening to hang them if Simchon and Ashbel were hanged.

Under this pressure, the Administration commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment. True to their word, the IZL released their prisoners without acting. The police in Mandatory Palestine did not symbolise law and order as they do in any civilised community. Here they were hated and feared by the people, amongst whom, indistinguishable from the rest, were members of the IZL and LHI who had sworn to rid the country of their presence—and were very effectively reducing their numbers. That the lot of the British policeman in Palestine was not “a happy one” was evidenced by a recruiting poster calling on young Britons to “join the Palestine Police and see the world.” and a realistic wit had added the word “next” to the word “world.” One of the most revolting sights to one unused to the manifestations of government by force was that of the spike-helmeted Arab Legionnaires from Trans-Jordan, brought in by the British on the somewhat feeble pretext that they themselves were not sufficiently strong to keep law and order in the country, and needed Abdullah’s soldiers to help them. [s]
Although not very efficient, had numerous tentacles which it sent out in all directions. There was hardly a British official, businessman or newspaperman who was not consciously or unconsciously an agent or general source of information for the police. They used to visit Jewish homes and glean scraps of information here and there which they would, deliberately in most cases, or inadvertently in some few instances, pass on to the police friends.

The Jews, for their part did the same. The intelligence services of the Hagannah, the IZL and LHI were excellent, as the British often discovered to their cost.

Although we were well aware of the underlying significance of these chats we had with our British acquaintances, we were nevertheless outspoken in our criticism of British policy, and vigorously justified the attacks of the IZL. We hoped we would be regarded as naively innocent, and therefore not dangerous; but, in any case, neither of us could have stomached kow-towing to our British acquaintances even for the sake of security.

One acquaintance in particular, a certain Major Y, who was also a neighbour, used to drop in at all odd hours of the night, whenever he saw a light burning. We suspected him of trying to check up on our latenight visitors, but I think we did him an injustice and that he was merely lonely. At any rate, he had a weakness, and I always had a bottle of brandy in the house, so that we got more out of him than he even got out of us. He expressed great sympathy for the Jewish cause and often criticised his superiors most energetically. Whether this was genuine or merely the Martell talking, we never discovered, but we did not trust him in any case.

This cat-and-mouse attitude of suspicion and distrust was prevalent in Jerusalem. The Jews distrusted the British and vice versa. And those who sympathised with, and belonged to the "dissidents" distrusted their fellow-Jews, as the treacherous betrayal of their people to the British by the Hagannah in 1944 still rankled deeply. Every Jew in Palestine, whether a member of the underground or not, lived in daily danger of arrest on suspicion of subversive activities. It was, therefore, a great temptation to dispose of a rival in business, love or politics, by tipping the police off that he was a member of the IZL or LHI. As there was no such thing as the very simplest right of man, this false denunciation was sufficient to cause a man's arrest, internment and even eventual deportation to Eritrea. It must be said to their credit that there were very few cases of betrayal for personal needs. The vast majority of those who were sent into captivity by the treachery of their brother-Jews were victims of political viciousness and hatred.

As soon as we had settled in our new home, Shmuel contacted the IZL and offered them his services. As he had met Menachen Begin on a short visit to Poland in 1938, it did not take him long to establish his bona fides, and he was duly enrolled as a part-time terrorist, being still mainly occupied with his political work for the Revisionist Party. Besides being only part-time, he was also a passive terrorist, his work consisting mainly of writing proclamations and issuing news-bulletins in English. I was, at first, not accepted into the organization as my ignorance of Hebrew disqualified me from doing any administrative or propaganda work, and I am not really the bomb-throwing type. If I had been, I could have been a valuable asset to the IZL in Jerusalem because of my deceptive personal appearance.

There is a general fallacy that all Jewesses have black hair, flashing black eyes, and hooked noses. I happen to have light brown hair, grey eyes and a retroussé nose. In addition, I speak English in what is known as a southern English accent. In consequence of my appearance and accent I was mistaken by the uninitiated in Jerusalem for an Englishwoman. If this purely coincidental resemblance to an Anglo-Saxon was not exploited to the full by the IZL, it did at least serve to save me from some of the unpleasant incidents to which the Jews of Jerusalem were being continuously subjected by the Administration.

On one occasion I was at a cafe with some friends, when the British threw a cordon around it and started checking identity cards. As very often happened to me, I was without identity card or passport, and not relishing the idea of being taken to CID headquarters for investigation, I brazenly walked through the cordon. A Cockney voice yelled loudly at me: "Hi, where d'ya think you're going?" I turned around, looked at him coldly as only an Englishwoman can look and said in my haughtiest Oxford accent: "To whom do you think you're talking?" He mumbled an apology, touched his cap and I walked off with a dignified air of injured innocence, to the great delight and secret envy of my friends.

On another occasion I had to visit someone in the King David Hotel just after it had been partially wrecked by the IZL. It was the most difficult place in the world to get into, especially for a Jew. I went along without my passport and told the officer in charge of the guard at the barbed-wire cordon, that I wanted to see Captain X. very urgently. Without any hesitation, he sent me through to the main building where I repeated by request. Here the guard tentatively asked to see my identity card or passport. As the British did not have to have identity cards, I said very coldly that I did not carry my passport around with me. That worked miracles. I was politely conducted through the whole building and could eventually give a good account of the extent of the damage which had been done.

To complicate matters still further, I had a blue British Passport. My own passport, a South African one, I had lost in a typical Palestinian accident. We travelled from Katamon to town in an Arab bus which was always crowded with people, children, baskets and chickens. There was one driver who always drove with his eyes closed, but never sufficiently closed to avoid seeing a pretty girl go by. Then he would open them wide, lean out of the window and, for the next few seconds, continue to gaze at the disappearing back of the fair damsel. On one such occasion he did what he had till then miraculously avoided doing—he collided with an oncoming vehicle. The jar of the collision caused my handbag to fly out of my hand and when, a few seconds later, the bus caught fire and the fearstricken passengers started to stampede, I decided to forego the pleasure of being trampled to death by a horde of screaming Arabs and chickens while grovelling for my handbag, and took a neat, ladylike header out of the nearest window. We were all extremely lucky that the bus was new and that the iron cross-bars usually on Palestinian buses had not yet been affixed to the windows. My passport had been in the ill-fated bag and I had perforce to apply for a new one. As there was no South African consul in Jerusalem, the British Mandatory Government, out of the goodness of its heart, gave me a blue British passport instead of my brown South African one.

I lay special stress on the colour of the passport because of its significance to the Arab guards at all Government and public buildings. At this period in the history of Jerusalem, it was impossible to enter a post-office, police-station or any government or public office without first producing an identity card and submitting oneself to a search by Arab guards. At least 90% of these guards could not read, but they could distinguish colors. A brown passport meant you were Palestinian and therefore a potential terrorist, but a blue passport dubbed you immediately as British and therefore completely above suspicion. All I had to do was to produce my blue passport and I was never subjected to the indignity of having my bag and pockets searched by an Arab guard. None of our friends, even the closest ones, knew of Shmuel's connection with the IZL, a fact which I regarded as a direct tribute to my own acquired clannishness. At this stage, Shmuel still did not let me into all the secrets, or rather all those that he himself knew, as I had still to prove my ability to keep my mouth shut. But I did, of course, know of his own activities and also knew some of the younger members who acted as liaison officers and messengers. The latter were constantly visiting the house with messages for Shmuel which they drove out from the most unlikely places on their persons. My particular favourite was a 17-year girl, fictitiously known as Adina. She was shy, pretty and terribly innocent. If she were due at any specific hour she would arrive as the clock was striking. Never once did she arrive after the appointed time, curfews or police searches notwithstanding. I was fascinated by this punctuality and secretly despaired of ever being accepted into the organization if this were one of the criteria. [+]
Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. LESS than a month after we arrived in Jerusalem, the mounting tension between the Mandatory Government and the Jewish Agency culminated in the arrest of the latter and their internment in the detention camp at Latrun. Some of our more cynical friends were convinced that this was an understandable error on the part of the British. What had really happened, they maintained, was that each member of the Agency had submitted a list of suspected terrorists to the CID, signing his name at the end of each list, and so inadvertently including himself. It was a good story anyhow.

A little while after these arrests, the IZL carried out a long-standing plan to blow up that part of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem which housed the British Administration offices and military GHQ. I naturally knew nothing about this plan and drove by in a bus about five minutes before the explosion. There seemed to be a large number of people standing around in the street outside the hotel, and I wondered who had arrived or was about to arrive. A few minutes later I knew. A journalist friend, who was amongst the crowd outside the hotel, told us that hundreds of people appeared to have heard of the IZL’s warning about the impending explosion and had turned out to watch it.

One Arab who escaped by jumping out of a window before the explosion occurred, told him the following story: “You see, in my village I am known as the village idiot. When I heard that the Irgun had said they were going to blow up the building, I wanted to run away. My boss ordered me not to leave as everything was being taken care of. But I am the village idiot, and I couldn’t understand how they were going to take care of the Irgun; so I jumped out of the window.” I later heard that the young woman who had given the warning was Adina. Unfortunately, the warning was not heeded, and many innocent victims lost their lives—amongst them some staunch supporters of the IZL. That was a black day for Jerusalem’s Jewry, and a still blacker one for the Mandatory Government, which never recovered from the complete chaos and disorganization which resulted from the loss of their records and the deaths of numerous high officials.

Captain B, still our lodger at this time, also worked in the King David Hotel. I never was more pleased to see anyone than I was to see him walk in alive and whole after the explosion. Similarly, there were many Jews in Jerusalem, many of them supporters of the IZL, who mourned the deaths of British officials whom they had known intimately and who had fallen victims to an ill-timed manifestation of British pig-headedness and pride—the “we won’t be intimidated by those damned Jews” attitude.

After the King David Hotel episode, the British authorities were very quick to respond to every warning. It soon became a national sport to phone a warning through to some government building and then watch the officials scurrying out at full speed, sometimes with the aid of specially prepared firemen’s ladders. The officials’ lives became quite impossibly harassed and the administration remained permanently semi-paralysed. The Post Office used to be evacuated three or four times a day, until people simply stopped using it. And the worst of it all was that they never knew when the warning was a hoax and when it might not be in dead earnest—and no one was taking any more chances.

Some stories of British brutality had been so much hearsay until I saw signs of it at first-hand. After the blowing up of the King David Hotel, the Army carried out searches in various Kibbutzim, ostensibly for arms, but actually as a subtle warning to the Yishuv of what they could and would do to settlements if the Agency and Haganah did not cease their cooperation with the “terrorists” and renew their previous idyll with time the dogs felt tired and sat down, the soldiers dug up the floor at that spot. I later heard that the young woman who had given the warning the blazing heat of the sun. We were met by the secretary of the settlement, and taken for a tour of the “battle area.” On the way, various members of the Kibbutz joined us and told us what had happened. The soldiers had been sent into the settlement without officers and instructed to behave as they would in conquered enemy territory. They imposed a 24-hour curfew while they conducted their search, and allowed no one out to get food or visit the lavatories which, as is customary in Kibbutzim, were in a separate building set some distance away from the living quarters. The soldiers did, however, milk the cows and brought some food to the children’s house. A pregnant woman was dragged to her room by her hair when she did not hurry to carry out the curfew orders quickly enough; soldiers at tempted to break into the girls’ rooms at night but were frightened off by their screams; some of the young men were punished for breaking the curfew by being made to stand bare-headed in the hot sun, holding heavy stones above their heads. Anyone whose arms dropped had his elbows severely punched with the butt of a rifle. Others, for some minor offence, were made to run round in a circle for hours and when their pace lagged they were reminded none too gently with the point of a bayonet to pick it up.

One of our guides told us that the British had brought mine-detecting dogs with them and that every time the dogs sensed metal—usually peper—digging had been instituted. Another maintained that each time the dogs felt tired and sat down, the soldiers dug up the floor at that spot. But I suspect the latter of having a sense of humor.

The two or three British journalists in the party insisted that these were all legitimate measures in the search for arms. Perhaps they were; but the situation began to look ugly when we visited the workshops and found the walls bare of tools, and everything that was not removable, destroyed; when we visited the food-stores and found that paraffin had been poured over edible goods, that food had been mixed with manure—and other such refinements; when we found hay-ricks spiffily set on fire, shower-baths completely ruined, the generator, water-pumps and bread-ovens deliberately damaged, and visible evidence that living quarters and store-rooms had been used as latrines.
Any further doubts which any of us might have had about the intentions of the British were completely banished when we visited the secretary's office and the clothes store. In the secretary's office the pictures on the wall had been slashed, papers had been taken out of files and torn to shreds. Typewriter and duplicating-machine were wrecked, gramophone records lay on the floor smashed to smithereens. In the clothes-store there was a veritable shambles. There were practically no men's clothes, or fragments thereof, visible, as these were probably considered fair loot; but women's and children's clothes were very much in evidence—swept off the shelves, ripped open, torn, ragged and trampled into the ground by heavy boots. The crowning evidence of British "kultur" was the writing on the walls. Wherever there was a nice, white expanse, there were swastikas and slogans such as "Hitler started the job, we'll finish it!" or "We'll turn this whole bloody country into a concentration camp" and so on.

There was, however, one saving grace. Some more kindly-disposed soldier had drawn a replica of the wistful-looking man on the roof of what once had been the dining-hall. [\=] a seat from Cairo within two or three days. A close friend of ours had secured a seat on a plane to South Africa. Priority 3 was sufficient to get there. England. An obliging young man at Cook's worked out a fascinating tour which I will explain later; and, in addition, both the country and the overland trip for me. It entailed travelling down the Nile by sampan, not a very savory place at that time for a solitary Jewess, for reasons England. An obliging young man at Cook's worked out a fascinating tour which I will explain later; and, in addition, both the country and the overland trip for me. It entailed travelling down the Nile by sampan, not a very savory place at that time for a solitary Jewess, for reasons England. An obliging young man at Cook's worked out a fascinating tour which I will explain later; and, in addition, both the country and the overland trip for me. It entailed travelling down the Nile by sampan, not a very savory place at that time for a solitary Jewess, for reasons

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in my hands I was exchanging pleasantries with him and promising to give his regards to acquaintances in Johannesburg.

I spent a whole month after Shmuel's departure on all these manoeuvrings and contrivings to get away. And all the while I stayed, alone, in the little house we had rented from the British official. Our Jerusalem friends were appalled at my living alone and at my habit of walking around, unaccompanied, at night. Their misgivings were not without foundation. Our little house had only one story and stood isolated from its neighbors. It was consequently an easy target for prospective burglars and intruders, especially Arabs, who would not have been adverse to attacking a lone, unprotected Jewess.

The danger of my walking unaccompanied at night came both from Arabs and from the British soldiery. The latter had, during this period, committed a number of atrocities against young Jewish girls and women. Several girls had been waylaid, assaulted and raped. Among them was a young member of the IZL who had been caught by a military patrol whilst pasting up the underground newspaper on the walls.

I had become too accustomed to independence and freedom from fear to be influenced by the well-meant adjurations of my friends; and I laughed off their anxieties, with the pious hope that the proximity of our dwelling to that of the head of the CID, Mr. Giles, and to various other police officers would ensure its immunity against burglars. As for my being accosted at night, I relied on my English accent and light hair to frighten off both Arabs and British. The former knew very well that the administration would not tolerate any interference with English women, while the latter would not take the risk of assaulting the colonel's wife by mistake.

Whilst the proximity of my house to that of Mr. Giles might have earned me immunity from burglars, its strategic disposition had some decided disadvantages. Mr. Giles and his friends were guarded day and night by Arab guards. In the daytime, when there was traffic and company in the streets, these guards were comparatively tame. But at night, when the streets were practically deserted and when every shadow could be concealing a ‘terrorist,’ these guards were extremely jittery and trigger-happy. On many an occasion as I walked passed Mr. Giles’ walled garden on my way home, I would look up to see the ugly barrel of a Sten-gun pointed at me over the wall, and would see this ominous-looking object swivel round to keep me covered all the time I was within bomb-throwing range of the domain over which it presided. Any false move on my part would possibly have earned me a back-full of bullets. These precautions were rather laughable in the light of the fact that I occasionally visited Mr. Giles’ British neighbors and could have leaned out of their bathroom window and planted a grenade safely and soundly in Mr. Giles’ bathroom. Neither Mr. Giles nor his Arab guards knew this, so the latter persisted in keeping a nervous watch over me, or rather over my shadowy outline as soon as my footsteps resounded in the dark streets. [↩]

60721. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 06: Return of the Prodigal. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. As soon as I had my plane passage booked, I got in touch with Adina to arrange an appointment for me with Avraham, Menachem Begin’s Chief-of-Staff, whom I had met a few months earlier with Shmuel. When Avraham had heard that I was planning to visit South Africa he asked Shmuel whether I would be prepared to try and raise some money for the IZL while I was there. I had had some compunctions about leaving Palestine, at a time of trouble and the company of a Cairo acquaintance, who undertook to show me some of those quaint feshcrops of Egypt. We returned to my hotel rather late to find a man from the travel agency impatiently awaiting me with the good news that I was, after all, leaving early the next morning. My guardian angel had certainly worked over-time. One of the passengers on the plane from England had been an outsize man with outsize luggage. The authorities in Cairo had given him a choice: either he travelled or his luggage travelled—but not both. He chose to remain with his luggage and I was sent in his place. This experience convinced me finally that anyone in skirts, who is under fifty and not positively handsome, can manage very nicely in the Middle East. Avraham enrolled me as a member. My initiation was decidedly disappointing. I had expected the solemn swearing-in process which all other members went through, but in my case this was dispensed with. I suspect the reason for it was that I was then, and until the IZL disbanded, regarded as a queer, lady-like species of terrorist; to be treated gently and sheltered from the crude, stern side of life. But, however hum drum the initiations, I was at last a full-fledged member of the Irgun Zvai Leumi!

Avraham gave me detailed instructions of how to send any money which I might collect and taught me how to use the IZL code in order to enable me to send him regular reports. Before we parted he had addressed me a speech, in English, which he had had prepared for me. I humbly accepted the implication that he did not consider me capable of preparing one of my own. That speech was an absolute masterpiece. It consisted of fine-sounding, flowery, Biblical phrases, in no wise improved by having been literally translated from the Hebrew. Unfortunately, I thought it wiser to destroy it before returning to Palestine, otherwise I could have quoted it in full for the delectation and education of those unacquainted with the quaintness of Hebrew style rendered in an imitation of modern English. If I had ever used that speech I am certain I would have been a sensation. Never since the days of Deborah would such thundering phrases, such god-fearing panegyrics, such fire and brimstone have been hurled at the heads of a defenseless audience.

To my regret I had to confine myself to language a little more suited to a South African audience in the year 1946; but I felt a sentimental attachment to that speech and took it with me wherever I went. A glance at it would restore my spirits when they wavered and imbue me with the fire and courage of my prophetic namesake. If that was all that Avraham intended, he succeeded admirably.

Cairo was an improvement on Port Said, as long as one did not penetrate too deeply into the noisome little side streets. The hotel was luxurious and orientally lavish, and the service was excellent. But none of this compensated me for the shock I received at the offices of the air Administration would not tolerate any interference with English women. Unfortunately, I thought it wiser to destroy it before returning to Palestine, otherwise I could have quoted it in full for the delectation and education of those unacquainted with the quaintness of Hebrew style rendered in an imitation of modern English. If I had ever used that speech I am certain I would have been a sensation. Never since the days of Deborah would such thundering phrases, such god-fearing panegyrics, such fire and brimstone have been hurled at the heads of a defenseless audience.

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having, characteristically, neglected to let them know I was coming. My welcome was both enthusiastic and tumultuous, the tumult sometimes reaching deafening proportions when too many of my approximately five hundred relatives foregathered in one place at one time. My reception was both overwhelming and somewhat frightening. After seven years of being completely family-less, this sudden transplantation into the bosom of a prolific clan was dizzying. When the nine days of wonder were over and I had visited while from the superstitious and familial affection, I turned my attentions to campaigning for the Irgun Zvi Leumi. I found that the activities of our organization had made an immense impression in South Africa, and not only on the Jews. The South African white population is divided roughly into three categories: the English, the Afrikaans and the Jews. There are two large political parties: the United Party, which consists of the English and a minority of Afrikaans; and the Nationalist Party, consisting almost exclusively of Afrikaans. The vast majority of the Jews had always thrown in their lot with the United Party, spoke English and sent their children to English schools. Because of their pro-British, pro-United Party orientation, they were generally disliked by the Afrikaans of the Nationalist Party, this dislike varying from the bitter hatred of the extremists to the indifference of the moderates, like Malan. At the same time, it would be very far from the truth to describe the attitude of the English to the Jews as that of brotherly love. It is among the English in South Africa that you find the real anti-semites—they dislike the Jews without reason, whereas the nationalistic Afrikaans at least think they have natural, legitimate reasons for disliking them. The struggle of the IZL against the British in Palestine was a revelation to the Afrikaans. Firstly, it showed them that not all Jews were Anglophiles causa Anglophiliae, and, secondly, it revealed the astonishing fact that the "Jew-boys" knew how to fight and give better than they received. A great respect for this new generation of Maccabbeans was born in the hearts of the Bible-loving Afrikaans. Their admiration for the exploits of the IZL was unbounded. If we had collected money amongst them we might have had even more of a success than we had amongst the Jews. The feelings of the English in South Africa towards the revolt in Palestine were mixed. The handful who understood its motives and aims sympathized with it. But the English are notoriously insular—not less so in South Africa than in their Home Country—and the majority of them neither knew what the conflict was about nor cared to take the trouble to find out. They knew only that the British were losing—lamplighth of the poverty of their interests were being attacked in Palestine and that the Jews were to blame for all the bother. This served to make them just so much more anti-semitic.

The Zionists in South Africa, brought up in an atmosphere of comparative freedom, completely devoid of any of the ghetto-complexes which had crushed the spirit of independence of many European Jewish communities, unanimously approved of the struggle against the British in Palestine. There were differences of opinion amongst them on the question of what form this revolt should take—that of the Jewish Agency or that of the dissidents. The majority of those who belonged to the so-called Old Zionist Organization stood solidly behind the Jewish Agency and gave their financial support to the Haganah. A large minority, consisting of members of the New Zionist Organization, gave their whole-hearted support and sympathy to the IZL and LIH—the "dissidents" or "terrorists." Among the Jewish non-Zionists, or army-Zionists (of whom there are not over many in South Africa) there were many who supported the IZL because they believed in freedom from oppression and because they were filled with admiration for the courage and idealism of men who could undertake so unequal a battle against the mighty British Empire. Others disapproved because it spoilt their relationship with their English friends, and a third category wavered while waiting on a lead from Moscow.

Everyone whom I met was eager and hungry for news of Palestine. I could not tell everyone, indiscriminately, about the IZL and its activities, but I did give them a general picture of the complete reversals of history in Jerusalem—where the proud British had been forced into ghettos and lived in daily fear of their lives at the hands of the once-cowed and trembling Jews. They loved to hear this and I loved telling it. I took particular pleasure in describing how the notorious General Barker—one of the most anti-Jewish of all the British GOC's who succeeded one another in Palestine in a dismal parade went to work in the mornings with an armed guard on either side of him, two soldiers with tommy-guns preceding him and two walking behind. He needed only a steel umbrella to complete the picture. My listeners, whatever their sympathies may have been, were delighted at the blow which the underground in Palestine were dealing to British prestige. Whenever anyone asked me whether it wasn't rather frightening to live in Palestine, I answered with a great show of bravado that only two things there really frightened me: crossing the streets, especially Allenby road in Tel Aviv, and the thought of having to share a kitchen with another woman. The latter fear was by no means academic, in a country where the acute shortage of accommodation had driven thousands of unfortunate women to suffer just that very purgatory. [=]

60722. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 07: Return of the Prodigal. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. My friends and I discussed ways and means of raising money. We did not want any large-scale, country-wide campaigns with the concomitant propaganda and expenses. From all points of view, the less the general public knew about our activities the better; and from the specific point of view of expenses, we were determined to keep these down" to the barest minimum, so that every penny we collected could be used to buy guns and bullets in Palestine. We were all voluntary workers and any of the small expenses which we did incur were paid out of our own pockets or by one of the richer members of our small working committee. We at first concentrated on approaching people personally and asking them for donations, but towards the end of my trip I dropped my caution to some extent and addressed meetings of about seventy-five people at a time. Although not all the people who attended these meetings were sympathizers, nevertheless no one ever betrayed our trust by talking about my identity or spreading the news about my activities. For this I was very grateful, as I still had to return to Palestine. In lieu of any ability as a public speaker, I had to call on the latent historic talent which I had discovered in myself. As I am not anything like the popular conception of a "terrorist": someone who stalks around in riding-boots carrying a step-gun—a kind of cross between a Hollywood cowgirl and a Russian Communist heroine—I emphasised the contrast by appearing before my audiences as a well-groomed, well-dressed young woman straight from a finishing-school in England. I immediately produced the right dramatic effect. From the audience came the inevitable stage-whisper: "Is that what the terrorists look like??" and "If all the terrorists are like that, then they can't be such terrible people!!"

I started my speeches by introducing myself as a very, very humble member of the Irgun Zvi Leumi. This was literally true, but nobody believed me. Many were quite convinced that I had personally blown up the King David Hotel and daily wrecked trains and bridges. I really did try my best to deny it, but it did not help. I told my audiences as simply and clearly as possible about the position in Palestine, about the struggle and aims of the IZL and why they, the South African Jews, should help in this struggle. I usually anticipated the objections of many people to the killing of "innocent Tommies" by proclaiming beforehand that in any war the ordinary soldiers were innocent victims of their Government's quarrels and no less so in the war in Palestine. In an appeal to my audiences to choose between innocent Tommy Atkins and innocent Isaac Cohen, I told them this story of one of many unfortunate so-called illegal immigrants—a true story and one typical of many of the tragic tales of the pitiful remnants of European Jewry.

A young Jewish girl had been in a German brothel where she contracted syphilis. According to Nazi practice the punishment for this crime was the gas-chamber. As she was already in the queue, patiently awaiting her turn for death, the Russians bombed the camp. In the ensuing panic and disorder she and many of her companions escaped to the surrounding forests. There they made contact with the partisans, one of whom was a young Jew, Isaac Cohen. "Isaac befriended the young girl and took her, to the nearest hospital, where she received treatment and was cured. She returned to fight with the partisans and married
Isaac, when the war ended, the two of them decided to go to Palestine and start life anew, forgetting the horrors and atrocities of the past. They walked across the whole of Europe, from Poland to Italy. For many weary weeks they suffered hunger and cold and hardships, until they reached Italy, the last stage in their journey. From there they sailed in one of the small, overcrowded “illegal” ships to Palestine, the land of promise. Off the shores of Haifa their tiny ship was intercepted by a British destroyer and the passengers were forcibly transferred there—a process which would have renewed our sending lists, obviously an impossibility in the circumstances. We never solved this problem which was entirely one of our own making as none of our donors ever raised the question. Those who knew me and my family accepted my verbal receipt unquestioningly. I never approached anyone whom I did not know, without being accompanied by a common acquaintance, in the halo of whose reflected honesty I basked. This complete and implicit trust in the emissary of the IZL on the part of the South African Jews was both touching and encouraging. One man, however, did get a receipt. I had received an urgent cable from Avraham asking me to send £2000 immediately. This I did within a few days with the help of one very large donation and a few smaller ones. Two weeks later, the IZL blew up the British Army Officers’ Club in Goldschmidt House, Jerusalem, in a brilliantly-executed operation. As soon as the news reached the Johannesburg newspapers, the man who had given the very generous donation phoned me and thanked me for his “receipt.”

A weekly ordeal was my letter in code to Palestine reporting on my activities and on the various sums of money transmitted to them. The code was a very simple one to understand but very difficult to use; and somehow or other it seemed to lend itself most easily to love-letters. My weekly outpourings of ardor left me as completely drained of energy and feelings as if I had really been consumed by the flames of passion. I subsequently heard that my correspondent had to do a lot of explaining to his wife, who accidentally came upon one of my letters.

He played up, and replied in terms of endearment considerably restricted by his limited knowledge of English. His knowledge of the proprieties, too, was somewhat deficient as, on one occasion, after a particularly successful venture into the fields of amorous elegiacs, he ended his letter with a request that I convey his respects to my husband. The Palestine censor must have shaken his head dolefully over that one. In spite of the fact that we took a certain amount of care, it soon became public knowledge that the IZL were receiving money from South Africa. Questions were asked about this in Parliament and on the day that Mrs. Bertha Solomon, a Jewish member, hotly denied the libellous allegations that the British-loving Jewish community had contributed to the terrorists in Palestine, I had the supreme satisfaction of receiving a £1000 donation. Two officers of the Palestine Intelligence Service came out specially to try and trace the source and the method of transfer of South African Jew’s financial contributions to the underground forces.

We heard that they had discovered how the money was sent—first to London and from there to Tel Aviv. At this we breathed normally again and continued sending money directly to Tel Aviv without any qualms for the feelings of the sadlly misinformed “intelligence” officers.

While I was in Johannesburg, some IZL and LHI detainees escaped from the British detention camp in Kenya and were reported to have entered the Union of South Africa illegally and to have been given refuge there by sympathizers. We knew that this was not true, but the Union police did not; and this report, coupled with their certain knowledge of the existence of a strong core of supporters of the IZL in the Union served to put them on the alert. The South African Government would probably not have been much concerned over whether her Jews supported the “terrorists” or not, were it not for the fact that the British Royal Family were just about due to arrive on an official visit. The Government probably felt they had quite enough on their hands without having a royal assassination thrust upon them. The police consequently approached the Jewish Board of Deputies and asked them to use their influence to secure the Royal family against terrorist attacks. Instead of ridiculing the idea, the Board of Deputies flew into a panic, approached the local committees of the New Zionist Organization (which was considered to be hand in glove with the IZL) and set up a great wail about the dire consequences to South African Jewry should any harm come to...
the King. One local New Zionist chairman, with a sense of humor, sent his personal guarantee to the head of the police for the safety of the Royal Family. In spite of this, the police precautions were numerous and elaborate. And while posses of police patrolled the streets and plain-clothes detectives mingled with the crowds, the "dangerous, terrorists" watched the Royal procession—from very much less than a bomb's throw.

I actually got my look at the Royal Family in my birth-place in the Orange Free State. I found myself standing next to someone almost as dangerous as myself—Mr. R., a teacher at my High School, a rabid follower of Malan, anti-British, anti-Jewish, anti-native—in fact, just plain "anti." We fell on each other's necks, exchanged some nasty remarks about the British and taunted each other with lacking the courage of our convictions by coming out to stand in the sun for an hour in order to watch a British king and queen ride by.

Our conversation drifted naturally to Palestine and he started explaining to me how the Jewish claim to the country on Biblical grounds was based on a false premise. Then followed some very involved interpretation, liberally scattered with quotations, and a somewhat original theory based on the division of ancient Palestine into Israel and Judah—all of which boiled down to the argument that Palestine really belonged to the Arabs. And, at any rate, said Mr. R., it is only fair to let the majority in a country decide to whom that country should belong. I asked him, very innocently, whether he thought that an afternoon spent on that particular sun-sort of a thing should apply to South Africa also, where the blacks outnumber the whites by four to one. At this he looked rather startled and withdrew his suggestion.

We parted on the most amiable of terms.

By March, 1947, Shmuel wrote that he was on his way back to Palestine, and I began to think of getting back to the yoke of domesticity. Once more I started a hunt for transportation. I eventually managed to get a first-class berth on the Windsor Castle which was sailing to England via Port Said. The ship was under charter to the British Ministry of Transport, whose representatives made all the arrangements.

When I arrived in Durban to take up my "first-class berth," I discovered I was sharing a cabin on C deck with twenty-seven other women. It was just at this time that the British Government was carrying out a pious, sanctimonious campaign against overcrowding on the "illegal" refugee ships to Palestine. Oceans of crocodile tears were shed over the cruel plight of those miserable, human animals forced by the Jewish authorities to sail to Palestine in hell-ships. These "miserable, human-animals" were falling over themselves to get away from the memory and the perpetuation of the concentration camps of Europe. They welcomed a short boat trip in very much better conditions than they had experienced for years, albeit those conditions did not conform with so-called civilized conceptions of modern comfort. But I and a thousand other people on the hell-ship chat was the Windsor Castle were not fleeing from terror and persecution and on top of it were paying first-class fares for the privilege of travelling in slightly less discomfort than the "illegal" immigrants. The British might have been a little less raucous about other peoples' hell-ships while they themselves were making a nice little profit out of their own line of Stygian sea-craft.

My cabin consisted mostly of Lebanese, Egyptian and Syrian women—all disembarking at Port Said. They jabbered incessantly, each trying to over-shout the other. When they started quarrelling amongst themselves after the second day at sea, I had enough and made a timid appeal to the Purser. When I told him what cabin I was in, he threw his hands up in horror, exclaiming: "How in heaven's name did you get there?" and immediately arranged to transfer me to another cabin—on A Deck. A dark suspicion began forming in my mind. This ship was evidently more hellish for some people than for others, and the distinction was not one of price, as we had all paid first-class fares. My suspicions were fully confirmed when I saw my new cabin-mates. All of them were going to England and each one had at least four Aryan grandparents. The distinction was evidently one of race. For Semites as any description, crowded conditions of C-deck were sufficient, but the true-blue Anglo-Saxons had to have something better. I should, of course, have refused the change, in solidarity with my fellow-Semites; but I suffer from occasional lapses of character and this-lapse was considerably helped on by the sight of a Syrian woman breast-feeding a four-year-old child in my original cabin. I partially calmed my conscience when the conversation in my new cabin turned to Palestine, by getting in some very effective blows at British-policy—blows which were at the same time more convincing as coming from one of us. Before arriving in Port Said I received a cable from Shmuel saying chat he had arranged an air-passage for me from Port Said to Lydda. I silently blessed him for saving me the awful train journey from Egypt to Tel Aviv. Anyone landing in Egypt at that time had to declare his religion. An irate official revealed the purpose of this declaration when, on one occasion, a fellow-traveller, whom the Americans would picturesquely call a "wise guy," started explaining that his father was a Methodist, his mother a Catholic and chat he had not made up his mind yet. The Egyptian official interrupted him impatiently: "I don't care what your religion is!—Are you a Jew or aren't you?" When I came through Egypt the first time with Shmuel, he declared that his religion was "Atheist." The puzzled official wrote down "religion unknown." This third and last time I was given no choice. The official was a burly, suave Egyptian with a horrible leer. He looked at me, wrote down "Christian" in spite of my feeble protestations, and got me off the ship in five minutes in order to make my plane to Cairo.

In the evening my great stand-by in Cairo took me to a dinner-party to inaugurate a new air company. There were a number of British businessmen and diplomats there, as well as a sprinkling of high Egyptian officials, one of whom had a white-slave-traffic look in his eye which made me shudder. At our table were four Britshers who, on hearing I was returning to Palestine, immediately began bombarding me with questions. They first wanted to know how I was able to return to Palestine when all British women and children were being evacuated. (It was just at -is time that the Mandatory Government, as a first indication of the complete disintegration of their administration, had evacuated the families of officials and all British subjects who were not on essential work. This, of course, did not apply to Jews with British passports.) I assured them gravely that my husband was on essential work and that I had an afternoon and evening to kill in Cairo. During the evening I took a stroll down the main street and was almost immediately stopped by a young Egyptian boy. He told me it was not safe for an English woman to be walking alone in the streets as there was an anti-British demonstration going on, and offered to accompany me back to my hotel. I thought it would be just like Fate to play a silly trick on me and get me murdered in Egypt for being an English woman, so I decided to beat a hasty retreat.

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the incessant grind of training and the nerve-wracking precautions, the iron control over tongue and action, the strict attitude of caution towards everyone’s closest friends. As for being romantic in the sentimental meaning of the word—nothing killed romance quite as effectively as membership of the IZL. The young men, who regarded themselves either as potential corpses to be buried for all time, or as potential prisoners to be buried in detention camps for years without end, would, for the most part, not even consider the question of marriage. And to have passing love affairs and flirtations with their fellow-members was not considered to be quite the thing. So they sought out other fields for their amorous excursions.

The girls, on the other hand, had neither the time nor the opportunity to meet young men outside the IZL and many of them suffered deeply from the pangs of unrequited love, and, still more, from the natural horror that young women have of becoming old maids. So romance was sadly lacking in the ranks of the IZL.

My first real introduction to the underground came with my meeting Menachem Begin soon after my return to Tel Aviv. Shmuel and Avraham took me to see him. We entered a ground-floor flat in a new, modern building, in a fashionable area of Tel Aviv. In one of the rooms furnished as an office, sat Begin. There were no bodyguards, no precautions, no dramatics. I expected him to have a beard and be dressed in the long black coat favoured by the fanatically religious. This had been his form of disguise when we first arrived in Palestine. By the time I got to hear about it he was already safely accoutered in another role.

Begin had not been out of doors in the daytime since he had shaved off his beard, and the part of his face which had once been hirsute was consequently deathly pale. He is slight, baldish, and ugly, with an ascetic and refined ugliness. In his sports-coat and grey flannel trousers he looked like the Diaspora version of a Hebrew teacher. His mild and gentle manners were hardly in keeping with even my educated odd hours which he kept and also for his frequent trips abroad. When I was pressed to say exactly what newspaper he worked, I would declare with a grand gesture: “Oh, all kinds of papers, American, South African and...” and I hoped my questioner was satisfied. As we lived in a rather compact little community, our neighbors took a great deal of interest in us. However, no one ever suspected our nefarious connections, mainly because I spoke such an Anglicised Hebrew and Shmuel always wore a suit. Who had ever heard of a terrorist who wore a suit! It was notorious that they wore khaki shorts and shirts—as most of them did, anyhow, in company with at least 80% of the male population of Palestine.

I was in charge of disposing of or hiding all incriminating documents. Shmuel had given me strict instructions to burn any unnecessary papers and to put documents that he needed in a secret niche in his writing-desk. I soon discovered that burning papers in a country where there are no incinerators and no open fires was a major operation and one likely to attract a good deal too much attention. So I simply tore them up and put them in the dust-bin—a fact which I did not suspect it), and no member of the IZL, except those at the very top, knew where Shmuel lived. To the neighbors and to our acquaintances, Shmuel was a newspaperman. This accounted for the odd hours which he kept and also for his frequent trips abroad. When I was in charge of disposing of or hiding all incriminating documents. Shmuel had given me strict instructions to burn any unnecessary papers and to put documents that he needed in a secret niche in his writing-desk. I soon discovered that burning papers in a country where there are no incinerators and no open fires was a major operation and one likely to attract a good deal too much attention. So I simply tore them up and put them in the dust-bin—a fact which I did not think it necessary to worry Shmuel with. As for putting documents into the desk—I had a much better hiding-place which the male mind could not possibly be expected to appreciate. Instead of going through the laborious process of opening up the desk to find the secret spring and then closing it again, as Shmuel fondly imagined I did, I used to slip all incriminating documents. Shmuel did his work, which consisted mostly of writing, in an office in Tel Aviv; but he very often worked at home, too. This necessitated his travelling to and from Tel Aviv with papers in his briefcase which could have incriminated him beyond any shadow of a doubt if he had ever been searched by the British. While the taxis and buses in which he travelled were searched on innumerable occasions, he, himself, was never touched. The very respectability of his appearance ensured him a safe conduct.

The third and most extreme method of underground conspiracy was, as far as I know, practiced only by Menachem Begin. He lived with his family under a false name and never left his home during the day.
For a year he did not see the sun. When he had to meet anyone he was fetched in a car by night and brought back the same night, or else he spent the following day at the flat where the meeting had taken place and returned only when darkness had fallen.

The Begins lived in a secluded and select part of Tel Aviv under the name of Konigshoffer. The selection of their residence was entrusted to Meir, one of the oldest members of the IZL and the universal "untouchable" hand. In the hands of the general management of the Begin household was placed. He based his choice of a flat on its two-fold advantage: it was on the ground floor and had a separate entrance so that none of the family had to use the communal staircase; and it had five exits, in case of emergency.

Ala, Begin’s wife, hardly left the house at all in those days. She could not visit or be visited by her friends. Her sole companions were the members of the IZL High Command who came to confer with her husband, and the wives of those who were married—rather a hit-or-miss arrangement as far as she was concerned. Household supplies were provided by Meir, at whose flat Begin very often met people or simply sat and worked in greater convenience than in his own home. Ala’s own personal purchases were made by the wives of the other IZL members. (Begin’s and Avraham’s secretary and one of the few other people allowed to visit at the Begin flat.) Her only relaxation was sitting on the secluded porch and knitting.

At this time the Begins had two children—Benny and Chasya. Ala could have no domestic help whatsoever because of the peculiar, inexplicable habits of her husband; so Begin helped her. I got a middle class shock of surprise the first time I saw Menachem Begin, notorious rebel leader and Public Enemy No. 1 of the British, washing the baby’s napkins. But he said he liked house-work as it gave him some means of exercise and relaxation, and I very soon got used to seeing him wash the floors without wanting to rush up and take the mop away from him and do the job myself. He would wash, dress and feed the children while at the same time discussing matters of high policy with one or more members of the High Command. Shmuel was somewhat taken aback at first, but he, too, soon learnt to disregard these domestic activities in the midst of taking life and death decisions. Chasya at this time was a baby of six months, but Benny, who was four, was a problem. He was a very intelligent child and conversation had to be considerably camouflaged. He felt there was something peculiar about his household, but he never said a word to his playmates at the kindergarten. Nevertheless, it was thought safer not to rely entirely on Benny’s discretion, and everything discussed in the house had a code-name, while every one who visited there had a pseudonym with uncle or aunt attached to it. Shmuel was "Dod-Yaacov" and I was "Dod Rivka." In the comparative safety of the domestic atmosphere we sometimes grew a little lax so that Benny, in whose honor the whole performance was staged, used to call me "Dod Rivka whom father calls Doris" and Shmuel was "Dod Yaacov whom Dodah Rivka calls Mooky" (which is Shmuel’s nickname.) Begin himself was called "Ben David" after David Raziel. His lieutenants shortened this to "Bad"—the name generally applied to him except in his own home where everyone called him “Abe” (father). Neither the name "Menachem" or "Begin" was ever mentioned, even in the strictest privacy. I disengaged myself considerably at my first meeting with him when I addressed him as "Mr. Begin." Shmuel and Avraham looked horrified and the former whispered fiercely to me: “Don’t you know you mustn’t use that name!” I did not know, but I accepted the rebuke meekly. Shmuel had a veritable forest of pseudonyms. He was first known in Palestine as Emanuel, but when a note in his handwriting and signed with that name fell into the hands of the Rome police, he changed his name to Karni. In Europe he was known first as Perkin and later, after the British CID had got possession of a list of code-names which they found amongst the papers of an IZL representative, as Parker.

Amongst the journalists, whom Shmuel met frequently, he was known as David or Haerlinger, according to whom he saw. To visitors from abroad he was Feldman. The wonder is that he never got entangled in his own conspiratorial nets: but I suppose he could, if necessary, always have laughed off any mistake with the good old Cockney music hall chestnut: "I’ll forget me own name next!” I felt rather like a polyandrist with none of the advantages. This very necessary practice of pseudonyms sometimes resulted in rather amusing comedies of errors. Shmuel and I, for example, used to call Begin by the English version of his pseudonym—Davidson—when we discussed him between ourselves at home. This habit caused me a great deal of confusion at a time when Shmuel was meeting Carter Davidson of the Associated Press rather frequently. When he came home and told me that Davidson was talking about this or that, I found it difficult to reconcile the information with my knowledge and conception of Begin. Then I would realise that he meant the other Davidson. Very often in sheer desperation I would cry out wildly: “For God’s sake, which Davidson are you talking about.” As if life was not sufficiently complicated.

We had a rich overseas supporter of the IZL whom we called Wallace. On one occasion, on returning from Paris, I was greeted by one of our American friends with the important announcement that Wallace was in Palestine. She was referring to Henry Wallace, but I have a one-track mind and naturally took it to mean that our Wallace, our rich Wallace, was here. I immediately passed the information to Shmuel and he ran the wheels in motion in order to find him. A few days later at the breakfast table Shmuel took a few seconds off from his absorption in the newspaper to tell me that Dr. Altman had had an interview with Wallace. I snorted disdainfully and said: “What’s so important about that, that they’ve got to print it in the newspaper.” Shmuel looked at me with new respect. After all, this disdain of celebrities was rather admirable. A few minutes later I realised that this was Henry Wallace he was talking about and that it had been Henry Wallace, and not our rich Wallace, whom my American friend had been talking about. I kept a discreet silence until the time came when Shmuel remarked warily that he and Avraham had been unable to trace our Wallace. Then I broke down and confessed to my parochialism. [–]

60724. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 09: Life in the Underground. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. The IZL High Command at that time consisted of eight young men, amongst whom the 34-year old Begin, the Commander-in-Chief, was the oldest. Avraham was Chief of Staff, Amitzur was in charge of training. He is Russian-born, short, thick-set, with flashing eyes and a brilliant smile. He was the toughest-looking member of the High Command and certainly the nearest approach to a “terrorist” in appearance. Joel was the head of the intelligence service. Tall and fair, he could pass anywhere as an Englishman as long as he did not open his mouth. He cloaks some pretty sharp claws beneath a bland and courteous exterior. He had been a policeman, and must have been a very good one as there was no information he could not, and did not, get hold of. Gideon was Chief of Operations. Immensely tall and immensely clever, this quiet, shy young man was, at 24, the military genius of the IZL. He planned all the operations against the British and often led them personally when he could wheedle the consent of Begin.

Reuven, in charge of stores and arms-production, was the Beau Brummel of the High Command. He always looked natty, whether he spent the following day at the flat where the meeting had taken place and Shmuel and I, for example, used to call Begin by the English version of his pseudonym—Davidson—when we discussed him between ourselves at home. This habit caused me a great deal of confusion at a time when Shmuel was meeting Carter Davidson of the Associated Press rather frequently. When he came home and told me that Davidson was talking about this or that, I found it difficult to reconcile the information with my knowledge and conception of Begin. Then I would realise that he meant the other Davidson. Very often in sheer desperation I would cry out wildly: “For God’s sake, which Davidson are you talking about.” As if life was not sufficiently complicated.

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differences of opinion and clashes of temperament. Begin's patience and tact played a large and necessary role too. All major decisions had to receive the approval of the majority of the High Command. Discussion was free and untrammelled and no one was overborne or overwhelmed by the presence and personality of Begin. The meetings of the High Command usually took place in the Begin's flat, and it was just sheer luck that all these very fragile eggs in one basket were not turned into one large savory omelette for the delection of the British. By some miracle, no member of the last IZL High Command was ever arrested or detained by the British, in contrast to the previous one where everyone, except Begin was captured and sent to the Eritrean Detention Camp. Or perhaps it was not so much a miracle as the combination of improved security technique among the IZL and the passing of the phase of betrayal on the part of the Haganah.

While I liked and respected the young men of the IZL, it was the women who won my greatest admiration: and foremost amongst these were the "forgotten men" of the underground—the wives. These were the women who ran their homes and brought up children on the not very magnificent salary which full-time members of the IZL, irrespective of their rank, received. These were the women who trembled at every knock on the door lest the dreaded hour had come, who spent days and nights of loneliness, waiting—and worrying when a husband was hours overdue. Women who never knew, as they bade goodbye to their husbands each morning, whether that was the last time they would do so—for years or maybe for ever. Women who, forcibly parted for years from their husbands, struggled to educate and bring up children on the pitiful allowances which the IZL could afford to give them: who sacrificed and slaved uncomplainingly to send food and gifts to the fathers of their children whom, in turn, they fiercely protected from the coldness of want and privation which those fathers' courage and idealism had innocently brought on their heads, and who, because of the need for perpetual vigilance and secrecy, could not even seek the slight comfort and solace of pouring out their troubles into sympathetic ears. Arye, only occasionally, and had infrequent, secret meetings with her

Two women, amongst the hundreds whom I did not know, typified for me the courage and steadfastness of the wives. The first was Ala Begin and the second Zipporah Meridor. Ala is small, thin and stopped from long, endless days and nights of knitting and reading to tide over the interminable solitude of life in the underground. She wears glasses, having been eventually persuaded to that by her husband who, when the toll of cups and plates which she just missed putting on the table, rose too high. Ala's courage is of the quiet, steady kind, without flamboyance and without heroics It manifested itself in her amazing cheerfulness in all circumstances. For most women the act of childbirth is both a frightening and a solemn occasion, which merits the sympathy and appreciation of an attentive husband, and the petting and pampering of relatives and friends. Ala gave birth to two children in the days of the underground. No loving husband brought her flowers and gifts, no friends helped to while away the days. She lay alone, unvisited, unknown—and she returned home each time to tackle the additional burden smilingly and cheerfully. Ala's delightful sense of humor stood her in good stead in coping with the small difficulties of life which annoy and irritate in inverse proportion to their size. Her worry for Begin's safety and for the success of the revolt was a great and difficult burden—but a noble one. On the other hand, her inability to go out and buy what she needed when was also killed in the fight in Jaffa. Ruhama steeled herself once more to face the tumult of hope and fear when she heard that he had escaped—hope that they would once more be together, and fear lest he should be shot or wounded in the efforts to recapture him. Each time! he was recaptured, would come anti-climax, and relief at his safety, to be shattered once more by a fresh attempt on his part to break the chains of bondage.

There were other women in the IZL besides those who merely sat and waited. There were those who took an active part in the struggle: young girls who went out on actual operations; others who pasted up the wall newspaper and the frequent declarations and warnings; and yet others who worked on the radio, who typed, who acted as messengers. Some were unsung heroines, others were sung heroines. I had the privilege of knowing intimately one of the unsung heroines of the IZL—Ruhama, secretary both to Avrahm and to Begin, and general factotum of the High Command. We first met Ruhama soon after we arrived in Palestine. She was with Israel Epstein, a young school-teacher who acted as general secretary for the IZL High Command. They seemed to mean a great deal to each other. Two months later Israel was sent on an IZL mission to Rome. There he was arrested by the Italian police on suspicion of being connected with the blowing up of the British Embassy in Rome. In an attempt to escape from confinement, Israel was shot and killed. Ruhama took this on the chin and went on quietly with her work. She lived in a room in Tel Aviv away from her family, as the British had got onto her tracks and constantly watched her home. She is a person who is very much attached to her family, but she saw her young brother, Arye, only occasionally, and had infrequent, secret meetings with her mother. Her elder brother was in the detention camp in Kenya. I met Ruhama frequently at the Begin's flat, but got to know her really well only when she came to stay with us to recuperate after breaking her thigh. She was on a mission for the IZL when the car in which she was travelling overturned. For three long months she lay in a hospital gasping for breath as she writhed in the tortures of hell. When the pains had abated and she was beginning to recover, the attack on the Acre Fortress took place. At the head of the attackers fought, and fell, Dov Cohen—a dearly-beloved friend of Ruhama's. A week later she came to stay with us. She was deathly pale, as thin as a wraith and could not walk a step. With supreme courage and willpower she set herself the task of recovering her strength and courage from her husband when suffering the tortures of hell. When the pains had abated and she was free and untrammeled and no one was overborne or overwhelmed Zipporah struggled against financial hardship and continual ill health as she she brought up her two children. Yaacov's adventures kept her in a continual state of anxiety and nervousness. When she had reconciled herself to a long separation, tempered by the thought that he was at least safe, she was only agitated when she heard that he had escaped—hope that they would once more be together, and fear lest he should be shot or wounded in the efforts to recapture him. Each time! he was recaptured, would come anti-climax, and relief at his safety, to be shattered once more by a fresh attempt on his part to break the chains of bondage.

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radio-transmitter in her home, both she and her husband were arrested. He was exiled to the detention camps in Africa, where he remained for years, while she was sent to Bethlehem Goal—leaving behind two young sons in the care of her aged parents. She was released from Bethlehem a few months later, in time to give birth to her third child—a daughter. A few months of freedom, then again to Bethlehem, this time leaving her old mother with an extra baby on her hands. After a short time in Bethlehem, Dov Gruner was released again. She now had the burden of supporting her three children alone and unaided. She went back to teach school in the mornings, to care for the children in the afternoons—and to continue writing and reading broadcasts for IZL in the evenings. Her poverty, her frequent imprisonments, her hard life, did not dim her ardor for the cause of freedom. Without fear of the consequences, fully aware of the risks which she took, she continued her work for the IZL till the day the British left and the "Voice of Fighting Zion" spoke its last message and was silent. [=]

60725. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 10: Life in the Underground. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. My first taste of tragedy at close quarters came with the Dov Gruner case. Dov Gruner had been captured by the British after an attack on a police station. He was badly wounded and lingered on the threshold of death for months. After nine months in hospital he was considered fit enough to be tried. He was sentenced to death by hanging. In an effort to prevent this, the IZL kidnapped a British Magistrate, Mr. Wyndham. The British then postponed the execution and Wyndham was released. They tried to persuade Gruner to appeal but he refused, saying that as he did not accept the legality of the court, he did not recognise the sentence imposed on him and so could not appeal against it. Dov Gruner's sister, who was in America, appealed to the Privy Council on his behalf. The case aroused considerable interest throughout the world and the quiet, unassuming Gruner became a national hero overnight. His calm courage under the strain of so great an ordeal filled everyone in Palestine with admiration—even the bitterest enemies of the IZL. After Gruner's case had been submitted to the Privy Council, another three young men were sentenced to death. They were Kashani, Alkoshi and Rosenbaum, two of whom had been found guilty of having in their possession thong whips. They had been caught after the flagging of a British Major by the IZL in retaliation for a flagging sentence against two young Jews. This flogging had set the whole world laughing and the Britishsmarted more over this blow to their prestige than they did over the numerous deaths amongst their ranks. So what more fitting punishment could be dealt to the defilers of the British escutcheon in the Middle East than hanging by the neck until death! The third boy sentenced to death had committed the heinous crime of being found in possession of fire-arms. The IZL made plans to release Dov Gruner and his comrades from the Jerusalem prison where they were confined. Each night as Shmuel came home, I would greet him with the laconic, but meaningful query: "Well! And each time he would shake his head sadly and say: "Not ready yet." At last Shmuel could say: "The plans are all cut and dried. The break will take place the day after tomorrow." But fate dealt a cruel blow. On the morrow, the four were suddenly transferred to the Acre Fortress.

No one, not even the IZL who had sufficient reason to distrust the British, ever dreamt that they would carry out the death sentence while the Gruner case was still under consideration by the Privy Council. Plans were made for releasing the four from Acre Fortress. Dov Gruner's sister came from America to see her brother and try to save his life. She saw him once and was promised a second interview. In the early morning of the day of his promised interview, and while his case was still under consideration by the Privy Council, Dov Gruner and his three companions were secretly hanged. They were not given the privilege accorded to the basest criminal of having a minister of religion give them his last blessing. They were not given the privilege afforded to the foulest murderer of taking leave of their loved ones.

They were hanged in a cowardly, furtive way by an administration which vended its spite on four defenseless young men, because it was incapable of putting out the flame of rebellion against its repressive and cruel government. But Dov Gruner and his fellows—victims went to the gallows singing "Hatikvah" and the echo of their voices resounded throughout Palestine. There was not a man, woman or child in Palestine, friend or enemy, who was not shocked and horrified at this cowardly act. British prestige sank to an ever lower level and hate began smouldering in the hearts of even those who decried the acts of the IZL.

We first heard about the hanging on the early morning radio broadcast. Shmuel and I were completely stunned. I had still had a last lingering spark of faith in British sense of justice. This was violently and final, doused that dreadful morning. The British gallows had forestalled the intrepid young men of the IZL; but, nevertheless, the High Command decided to carry on with the planned attack against Acre. A fortnight after the hanging of Dov Gruner and his comrades, British prestige received another terrific blow in Palestine. Acre Fortress, which had resisted the onslaught on Napoleon, was penetrated by the Irgun Zvi Leumi. They sent the guards fleeing, panic stricken, to seek safety, with the result that over 200 of the Arab prisoners walked out of the gaol too. Although all the Jewish prisoners could have escaped, only twenty-seven did so, and only a specially selected 27. The rest knew that no preparations had been made to receive them and did not wish to embarrass the operation by overloading the lorries and over-burdening the rescuers with the additional responsibility of disposing safely of extra unplanned-for, escapees. They remained behind in a supreme exercise of discipline.

The operation went off smoothly and would have been even more than the brilliant success that it was, if not for a stroke of the most ill-fated bad luck. The retreating attackers and escapees ran into a party of soldiers returning from a bath, accompanied by a tank for their greater protection. But for this entirely unexpected and unplanned-for event, the fortress of Acre would have been stormed without any loss of life. As it was, eight young men lost their lives that day—seven of the attackers including the officer-in-charge, and one of the escapees, Ashbel—that same Ashbel who, a year previously, had been sentenced to death, and whose sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment after the IZL arrest of the British officers. A drag-net was immediately sent out after the Acre break but, except for a few Arab prisoners, no one was recaptured. This exploit aroused the admiration of all freedom-loving people. Even the British, to give credit where it is due, expressed grudging respect. Only our political opponents saw in it a deliberate and malicious manoeuvre to liberate Arabs imprisoned for anti-Jewish activities. This propaganda did at least raise a laugh if it did not succeed in anything else. The Acre gaol-break added immensely to the prestige of the IZL and did a little towards allaying the grief and despair caused by the Gruner tragedy. Triumph was, however, tempered by sorrow. Eight young men had fallen—eight of the best, who could be ill-spared by their own families or by the large family—which was the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

On the 1st May, 1947, the United Nations Commission arrived in Palestine. This was to be the Commission to end all Commissions. The Jews were already somewhat blaze about commissions. They did not expect this one to achieve any more than the Anglo-American Commission from whose burnt-out embers this new Phoenix had arisen; but, still, it was quite exciting to see the fleets of UNO cars, and to meet all the celebrities—not considerable consideration in a country where "lions" are feverishly hunted. Judge Sandstrom, the Swedish Chairman of the Commission, expressed a wish to see the leaders of the IZL, and Carter Davidson of the Associated Press arranged a meeting. Begin, Shmuel and Avraham were present at the meeting.

Two weeks later Begin, Shmuel and Meir met Dr. Granados of Guatemala and Professor Febregat of Uruguay, another two members of the Commission. Following on this latter meeting, the IZL High Command thought it advisable to have someone on hand in Geneva, where the Committee had decided to write its report, in order to act as a channel of information between them and the sympathetic members of the Commission. For want of anyone who could be easily spared they decided to send me there. I did not think their choice a very wise one, but nevertheless agreed to go. In order to make the acquaintance of Dr. Granados, I travelled up to Jerusalem after Joel had forewarned him that
some one would be coming to see him. Dr. Granados asked that the visitor be provided with passwords so that there should be no change of mistaken identities. He suggested Bolivar, Juarez and Lincoln. I came up to Dr. Granados’ hotel room and gave my password rather shamefacedly. He measured his, even more shamefacedly, at which I made a feeble attempt at giving my counterpassword. We both burst out laughing instead and I said: “Silly, isn’t it?” He agreed wholeheartedly.

After thus establishing good relations, I arranged to meet him in Geneva.

60726. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 11: Life in the Underground. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. The arrival of the UN Commission and their appeal for restraint on the part of all contending parties in Palestine was heralded, by the British, with the passing of the death-sentence on three young men who had taken part in the attack on the Acre Fortress and had subsequently been captured. In response to a demand for a heart-rending appeal from the parents and relatives of the three condemned men, Haviv, Nakar and Weiss, the UN Commission made a half-hearted attempt to dissuade the British authorities from carrying out this sentence. This attempt was met by a cold and contemptuous slap-in-the-face from Sir Henry Gurney, the Chief Secretary, who practically told the Commission to mind their own business. Whether this matter came within the scope of the Commission or not is a debatable point, but what was quite indisputable was that it certainly was the business of the IZL.

After the treacherous behaviour of the British in the case of Dov Gruner, the IZL did not take any chances with the three victims. There were only two practical alternatives: either to rescue the three boys or to take hostages. The first alternative proved impossible as the army and police were on a day and night alert at all prisons after the Acre break. There remained only the second alternative. Now, no one of the IZL Command approved of taking hostages as a principle. But if there were any possibility of saving the lives of these young men who, by no stretching of any moral code, could possibly be considered to have warranted the odium of death by hanging, then that way, however odious in itself, was justifiable. Obviously, it would have been far more just to have captured and held as hostage the man directly responsible for the death sentences, General McMillan. But General McMillan evidently had an uneasy conscience and considered it necessary to have his person well protected. All his senior officers were equally well protected when they dared venture out of their self-created ghettoes. So fell to the lot of two sergeants, apprehended after many a vain effort and false start, to be martyred in the cause of Bevin and his henchmen.

The two sergeants were captured in Nathanya and held prisoner there. The British declared a curfew in the Nathanya area and searched it house by house, foot by foot and practically stone by stone. The Nathanya summer season was ruined; Nathanya’s chubby little mayor grew hysterical; the calm, undemonstrative British grew even more bloodthirsty, but the sergeants were not found.

The British then committed one of those acts of brutal stupidity for which Mr. Bevin was becoming notorious. They hanged the three boys. Perhaps the British thought this hanging justified on the grounds of saving British prestige in the eyes of the “natives.” This mythical prestige, which had received a severe kick in the pants when a British major was flogged by a couple of “Jew-boys” had actually been laughed out of existence after the Acre gaol-break. But if Bevin could not have it, he was determined to resurrect it. So he hanged three boys—and with their dying gasps flickered out the last dying embers of British prestige. The whole country was thrown into a turmoil. Would the sergeants be hanged or wouldn’t they? I was sick at heart. It seemed to me that many of my fellow-Jews had become intoxicated with that same brutish bloodlust as must grip the audience at a bull-fight, and those who cried for blood today would be the first to turn upon the executor tomorrow and revile him for “bringing disaster upon the Jewish people.”

For me the important thing was that three young men had been brutally and senselessly deprived of their lives and that three families had been steeped in tragedy. I hated the thought of further horror and bloodshed and with my whole being wished that some- means could be found of freeing the two sergeants. I know now that many of my friends in the IZL felt the same as I. It was a very difficult time for the IZL High Command. None of them was in the least blood-thirsty, and I felt sure they too would have welcomed a chance to take some other decision. But they decided to hang the two British sergeants—and they were hanged.

They were right because they considered the lives of young Jews as more important than the lives of British soldiers and because they knew they owed it to Nakar, Haviv and Weiss, and to Dov Gruner and his comrades, not so much to avenge their deaths as to ensure that their comrades should be protected from a similar fate. They owed it, too, to the young soldiers of the IZL whom they ordered to carry out operations which would have meant sure death by hanging for anyone who was captured, unless the British could be forced even though brutally, to revoke a law which was both illegal and barbarous. I see this now, and I saw it then, but my woman’s heart prevailed over my head and I kept on hoping that some miracle would happen and the sergeants would not be hanged. For nights I dreaded to close my eyes and plunge into a nightmare world of gibbets and hanging figures—usually those of Shmuel and my brothers. And this passed too. The sergeants were hanged; not, as Shmuel assured me in reply to my agonised query, by the same men who had guarded them and had surely come to have some kind of feeling for them. And in my heart was born a new, deadlier, hatred for these British who had made hangmen out of my friends.

60727. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 12: A Terrorist Abroad. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. SOON after the hanging of the sergeants, I was due to leave for Geneva. At the last minute, to my intense relief, it was decided that Shmuel should go to Geneva and that I should accompany him and carry out several commissions for the organization in Europe. My chief qualification for this task was my British passport with which I could travel through practically half of the world without the nuisance and delay of getting visas. The IZL Intelligence Service had got a copy of the CID lists for use at ports of embarkation. These lists were divided into three categories: the A list consisted of those people whose arrivals and departures were to be reported to the CID, on the B list were those who were to be searched for suspicious documents; and on the C list those who were to be arrested on attempting to leave or enter the country. They discovered from these lists that Shmuel, who had previously been given a clean bill by the CID, had now been promoted to list B. So, on the morning of August 6th, 1947, I carried all the essential and incriminating documents in my handbag.

At Lydda, Shmuel was searched but I went unscathed. Everything passed off quietly and we breathed a hearty sigh of relief as we entered the plane. We all waited expectantly for our passports to be handed back and for the plane to take off—but nothing happened. After twenty minutes an apologetic official boarded the plane and explained that there was some delay about checking the passports and would we see it then, but my woman’s heart prevailed over my head and I kept on hoping that some miracle would happen and the sergeants would not be hanged. For nights I dreaded to close my eyes and plunge into a nightmare world of gibbets and hanging figures—usually those of Shmuel and my brothers. And this passed too. The sergeants were hanged; not, as Shmuel assured me in reply to my agonised query, by the same men who had guarded them and had surely come to have some kind of feeling for them. And in my heart was born a new, deadlier, hatred for these British who had made hangmen out of my friends.

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60728. Katz. Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 13: A Terrorist Abroad. New York, N.Y.: Shilioni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. Geneva was a miracle of peace and beauty after the heat and heartache which was Palestine, and we revelled in the calm and normality of the country as we got down to work. I contacted Dr. Granados and arranged to meet him over an after dinner liqueur. Shmuel waited for us in a near-by park. Precautions seemed unnecessary in this beautiful town, so remote from the atmosphere of hate and suspicion which we had left behind, but Shmuel knew and was known by many newspapermen and we could not take any chances. I told Dr. Granados that I was merely an intermediary and would take him to meet one of the men he had met in Palestine. So we talked of South America as we sipped our liqueurs and behaved as any two people without any missions. It was very pleasant while it lasted. We took Dr. Granados up to our hotel room and disclosed that we were man-and-wife, just in case he should be distracted from the subject on hand by idle speculation on whether or not we were "living in sin." The whole purpose of Shmuel's conversation with Dr. Granados was to continue the effort made by the IZL leaders in Tel Aviv to persuade him and Professor Fabregat to bring in a minority report in favour of a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, in order to; counter-balance a possible minority report in favour of the Arabs. But his task was hopeless from the start. Dr. Granados was intent on bringing out a report which was "acceptable" and he kept on confounding every argument with the irresistible: "But what do you expect of me if your own leaders don't ask for more than partition?"

The next day I went up to the very impressive League of Nations building to see Dr. Bunche. The moment I sent up my name, which on this occasion was Mrs. Freeman, I was ushered into his office and given a very cordial reception. Dr. Bunche has become an internationally famous figure since his appointment by the United Nations as Acting Mediator between Israel and Arab States, but even in those days he was one of the outstanding figures on the United Nations Staff, with an international reputation as a courageous fighter for the elementary rights of colored people in the USA and throughout the world. Consequently, I regarded it as no small compliment to the IZL that he treated me not only with cordiality, which is natural to a man of good breeding, but with respect, which is an indication of his attitude towards the people whom I represented. He readily agreed to meet me the next day, at any place appointed by me, and be taken to see Shmuel. The meeting place was the main Geneva railway station and the time 5 P.M. I waited until nearly 5:30 and had almost given up when he hurried up in a taxi, and apologized profusely for keeping me waiting. He had been at a conference and could not get away sooner without exciting undue comment.

From there he was driven away to the flat of Rammy—the Irgun representative in Geneva—where he had a long talk with Shmuel, from whom I gathered later that Bunche maintained complete discretion as to the work of the committee but provided us with a valuable insight into the background of international interest in the Palestine problem. Bunche then told Shmuel of his belief that the United States would support the partition scheme.

Shmuel remained in Geneva for three weeks more, pursuing his conversations and keeping IZL Headquarters informed of the progress of the UN Committee's work. I flew to London. I was met at the air-terminal by Shiloni, who was at that time in charge of the IZL money-raising campaign in England. Shiloni is a young S. African doctor who gave up a promising career to work on behalf of the underground. His energy devotion and single-mindedness earned him the respect and regard of everyone with whom he came into contact, from the illustrious heights in which sat Menachem Begin and the High Command to the lowest plane of money collectors and payers of lip service. He is dark, spare and bespectacled, with a passion for neatness. It would take a great adept to search his rooms and belongings without his spotting it immediately, so precise and pedantic is he about the correct disposition of every article of furniture, clothes, books and papers. His note-books and address-books are always a miracle of neatness and detail—which is very useful in the ordinary pursuits of an ordinary life but which requires yet a second miracle to preserve them from the hands of the police in the ups and downs of underground life. His fellow workers had a wholesome distaste for those note-books and when, on suitable occasions, they tactfully suggested the advisability of destroying them, Shiloni did so with a heavy heart at so much wasted effort. Shiloni is a great believer in book-learning. When I arrived in London I found him studying with great intensity a book which was going to solve all our problems, with a flick of the wrist. The book was Dean Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People." I still cannot decide whether the fact that a year later he was studying Dean Carnegie's "How to Keep Friends" is an indication of the success or failure of the application of Mr. Carnegie's recommendations.

It was just one year since we had left London for Palestine and England was still suffering from the war and post-war austerity. The small talk consisted mainly of food troubles and the scarcity of electricity and gas. The people grumbled and complained as only the English know how, but whereas there had always been an element of stoicism, even of cheerfulness, in their grumbling during the war, now there was the faintest suspicion of a whine.

The newspapers were still smarrting over the hanging of the two sergeants, and amongst the local Jewish inhabitants the pros and cons were fiercely and bitterly contested. Jewish public bodies had published violent denunciation but, in private, opinions were very mixed. A brave little group of young men had put up large posters in the main thoroughfares of London and the suburbs explaining the IZL point of view and blaming Bevin and the British administration for the tragic loss of Jewish and British lives in Palestine. In Hyde Park, that most remarkable of British institutions, the Jewish Legion—an ex-Serviceman's Organization—had a platform propounding the IZL doctrine. The leading lights of this group, as well as their chief orators, were Major Samuel Weiser and Lieutenant David de Lange. These two men did a great deal towards educating the man-in-the-street who was curiously ignorant of the situation in Palestine, despite, or because of, the immense amount of publicity, for the most part hysterically un-British, which it received in the national press.

I went to Hyde Park on my first Sunday in London and heard David de Lange explaining why the two sergeants were hanged. This required a great deal of courage at a time when British public opinion, quite naturally, was not very sympathetic to the IZL. De Lange's harangue, as is usual in Hyde Park, was continually interrupted by hecklers. At one stage he asked his audience: "Why were three young Jewish boys hanged by our Administration?" A voice, which sounded genuinely surprised at the question replied: "Because they were murderers." Up piped a Cockney standing next to me: "Murderers, they wasn't murderers, they was bloomin' 'eroes." Which does show that not all the British were completely unenlightened.

In this atmosphere, I was expected to collect money for the IZL. It did not seem very propitious and I must confess that my heart failed me. Money-collecting, at the best of times, is a nauseating business. But in this atmosphere, I was expected to collect money for the IZL.
mongering lack of taste, had printed a full-page picture of the hanging sergeants, with lurid captions. This naturally upset many people and they expressed their great horror at the barbarity of the act to me. I answered them curtly that a picture of the three hanged Jewish boys would not look any less grisly. In spite of the difficulties, we, that is Shlioni and I, did succeed in raising some money, due mostly to the former’s perseverance. We were particularly successful in Manchester where a few stones-throwing incidents had persuaded the local Jewish residents that there was, after all, anti-Semitism in England and that the IZL was not completely wrong in wanting to wrestle Palestine from the British for the Jews.

I was often in conflict with Shlioni and the local committee about the method of approach. They preferred wrapping their request for money in the thin-foil of charity—money for the dependents of the internes. It is true that the IZL had to divert money badly needed for arms and equipment to the dependents of their members who were held for years in detention camps by the British, and any money collected directly for these dependents naturally lessened the burden on the IZL. But my soul revolted at the thought of seeking for charity; and, from a practical point of view, I was sure that a direct request for money to buy guns and bullets would be more effective than another whine, following upon the positive cataract of charity wailings to which the Jews the world over were perpetually subjected. In some cases the straightforward approach brought a startled and frightened look into the eyes of our ‘victims.’ One man threw up his hands in horror and said: “For God’s sake, don’t tell me what you want the money for. Here’s £100 and I don’t want to know what it’s going to.” But for the most part people liked to be told outright what we were collecting for and felt that, in a small way, they too were taking part in the fight for their country.

In spite of the general grimmness of my work in England there were some lighter moments. On one occasion I went into one of the City branches of Barclay’s Bank to transfer money for the Irgun to Palestine. I filled in the necessary forms, using my London pseudonym, which was Mrs. Merriman. I also supplied some fictitious address. I had to wait for a few minutes for some formalities to be completed and sat down to read a newspaper. The clerk called out to me when he had finished but— I went on blithely reading. He called again and then I suddenly jumped up, remembering that I was the “Mrs. Merriman” who was being addressed. This happened to me frequently. I simply could not remember my own name. I secretly thought the whole business of pseudonyms a bit silly, but Shlioni insisted on it, if only for Shmuel’s protection. I met many of our London friends and acquaintances and passed off my presence there in 1947, Hillel Kook had completely submerged his identity in that of the Revisionist Party. In America his own particular genius for propaganda and publicity found a fertile group and eventually sprouted prolifically in the framework of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. In Paris, the latter organisation had done an excellent job of work in putting Zionism on the American map, and in making propaganda in the United States for the IZL—for which they deserved much credit, in spite of the fact that there were not a few who felt that the actual actions of the IZL were their own advertisement and that money might have been better spent in putting guns into the hands of the underground forces than in putting full-page advertisements in the New York Herald Tribune. The originator and head of this group was Hillel Kook, known in America as Peter Bergson, whose acquaintance I renewed in Paris. I had met him previously in London in 1940. In those days he was a frustrated, impatient young man, capable but erratic, with unbounded energy and ideas for which he could find no outlet in the rather stodgy confines of the Revisionist Party. In America his own particular genius for propaganda and publicity found a fertile group and eventually sprouted prolifically in the framework of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. In Paris, in 1947, Hillel Kook had completely submerged his identity in that of Peter Bergson, well-groomed, suave and charming, a consummate politician with the brains, opportunism and self-seeking which go to produce one.

Eliezer was in charge of organisation and operations in Europe. He came from Poland to Palestine as a youth and worked his way through the Hebrew University, receiving a degree of Philosophy. Working his way for Eliezer consisted of being at various times a tutor, a nightporter in a hotel, where he sometimes got his Plato mixed up with his entries in the register, and, most exalted and amusing of all, an inspector of “kashrut” in the local butcheries. Epikaurus in all matters and epicurean in matters pertaining to food could sum up Eliezer succinctly. I loved eating with him. Just to watch him so obviously enjoying his food gave an edge to my own appetite. Being married to a woman in glowing terms—she is attractive, intelligent, has a nice figure and then he will shatter the vision with a malicious little twist— and the tax on greyhound-racing as does the ordinary British man-in-the-street. While the French behaved as any ordinary, decent people would behave in similar circumstances during the Exodus incident, yet one felt, nevertheless, that the opportunity of vivacious retaliation for Britain’s fine. Italian hand in the liquidation of French interests in Syria was not altogether absent from the thoughts of the French Authorities.

In Paris I met Benjamin and Eliezer for the first time. Benjamin was in charge of the European headquarters of the IZL. He had been detained in Eritrea from where he staged a dramatic escape to Abyssinia. After several very long months in Abyssinia, he was spirited over to France by the tortuous path of the underground. Benjamin is a Russian born “Chinese” from Harbin. The appellation ‘Sin’ (the Hebrew for Chinese) is hardly in keeping with his auburn hair and very marked Russian accent. He is the sweetest and gentlest of men—a characteristic which did not help him much in dealing with some of the real tough guys of the underground movement or with the suave politicians of the “Aid Organizations” such as the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation.

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ordinary human, elementary rights of hygiene were denied him and he lay in his own excretion for six weeks until his body began to rot. This was only one of many devilish refinements which man’s ingenuity can conjure to debase the very name of man. It is no wonder that after six months Eli emerged from captivity with a bitter hatred of his torturers and all they stood for, and a subconscious terror of his fellow-men. He was immediately smuggled out of Palestine and sent to Europe to work for the IZL there and recover his physical and mental health. No one could have staged a quicker recovery than Eli, with his intelligence, strength of character and perseverance. But the recovery could not humanly have been a total one. He has remained with this fear complex which he attempts to hide by laughing at himself in particular and the world in general, but which makes itself felt in his verging on cruelty towards anyone who attempts to get too close to him and make him vulnerable to heartache and disappointment. Besides this fear of personal relationships, Eli has a fear of the authorities. He spent three years in Europe, working in a clandestine, illegal organization, which necessitated his crossing borders illegally, bringing over money illegally, and being concerned with bare-military “illegal” operations, such as the blowing up of the British Embassy in Rome and the derailing of the British troop-train in Italy— and he did all this while being mortally afraid. Eli is one of the bravest men I know—he does things in spite of his fear. This fear of Eli’s led him to meet people only on street-corners. There is practically no streetcorners in the main thoroughfares of the capitals of Europe where Eli has not met some-one. This habit annoyed people who objected to kicking their heels at street-corners, sometimes on a bitter winter’s day; but Eli insisted. This desire for secrecy, however, did not always help him. He still managed to get himself arrested twice in Italy. On one occasion he was picked up by the police for being without papers and was detained for weeks.

On another occasion, a few weeks after the blowing up of the British Embassy in Rome, the police came to arrest him. He started running and was naturally followed and caught; He claims to have told the police that he has a nervous disorder which makes him run whenever he sees a pretty girl (after her, naturally, not from her). When this explanation made no apparent impression on the police, Eli changed his tune and became a pathetic victim of the concentration camps, who instinctively ran whenever the menials of authority appeared on the horizon. Whether this story touched the soft hearts of the Italian police or not, I do not know; but they nevertheless released Eli after a few days’ detention.

Any arrest of his fellow-workers, which occurred quite frequently, would send Eli into a frenzy of hotel-changing—one night in one hotel and then off again. When he decided he had put the police off his track (they weren’t on it in any case, nor had they the faintest suspicion that they were, in all innocence, causing someone such trouble) he would settle down in some quiet back-street place until the next volcanic eruption. Eli had offices scattered all over Paris. Here he received telephone calls from all over Europe. In each office he had a different name. It was quite impossible for an ordinary, normal human-being to keep track of this conglomeration of names, offices, countries, telephone calls. But Eli could and did. He very, very rarely got himself mixed up with himself in some other guise. [=

60729. Katz. Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 14: A Terrorist Abroad. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. I was rather exhausted after my mission in England, so Shmuel sent me off to Normandy for a few days with a friend. We stayed with the only real French people I have ever met. (All others had been either French Jews or emigres). As my French vocabulary consists of exactly five words, of which two are “Out” and “Non” I concentrated on the food and left the polite conversation to Dinah, who knew about 50 words. We discovered to our great horror that had been given, I found it to be a hospital. Nothing daunted, and in spite of the temporary discomfort one feels when the first ice cold spurt hits one, I recommend this method of performing ablutions, if only for the exhilarating blood-coursing after-sensation and the rather punitive delights of splashing around in a moon-drenched sylvan glade in a real nymph and auraugh, alas, there was no nymph and auraugh. When I returned to Paris, having quite recovered from the aftereffects of London, Shmuel informed me that I was going on a trip to Stockholm. The purpose of this trip was to spy out the prospects of raising money for the IZL and also to probe, very gently, the possibilities of buying arms. I was quite thrilled at the chance of seeing Scandinavia, but my ardor was considerably dampened when Shmuel informed me that because of currency restrictions, I could get only a single ticket to Stockholm and could take £5 with me. For my subsistence in Stockholm and my return fare, he informed me that I would have to rely on our Stockholm contact. In Paris this didn’t sound nearly as bad as it really was, but, nevertheless, I can hardly claim to have set out in high spirits. We left Paris in the blazing heat-wave and arrived, after a few hours of non-stop flying, in an icy-cold, dark Stockholm-feeling of foreboding developed from an uncomfortable feeling in the abdominal region to a positive certainty of forthcoming catastrophe when I found no message from our Stockholm man awaiting me at the air terminal. Shmuel had cabled him a few days previously and had asked him to meet me. Stockholm, like any other capital in Europe, was very full and it was only through the influence of the air company that I was fixed up in the Hotel Gillet for a couple of days only.

The next morning I started a hunt for our contact man whose telephone number I had. After a great deal of exasperation and, trouble through the fault of the South African education system which did not consider it necessary to insist on the teaching of Scandinavian languages, I managed to gather that he was out of Stockholm, had been away for a week and would continue to be away for another week. I knew nobody in Stockholm, I had five pounds and no return ticket. Obviously, the first thing to do was to have a hot bath and a good breakfast which did not have to be paid for in cash, but went on the hotel bill. So I did that. The hotel was scrupulously clean and the room accommodation included an approachable W.C. and wash-basin, but no bath. Baths were extra and they provided the biggest, cosiest, wooliest, bath-towels I have ever seen. One of these would have made rather a bulky souvenir to take away, but I was sorely tempted. Having reinforced myself, I set out to try my fortunes in Stockholm, amply provided with instructions and directions from the hall porter, all ending in “gatan” with a few “storts” and “bergs” thrown in. First of all I tried to change my precious five pounds into English pounds and intimated that they had “enough of that rubbish.” The thought of what effect this attitude would have on a pukka Britisher, was the only bit of pleasure I got out of my trip to Stockholm. Eventually, at my third attempt, I managed to change my English pounds and the two thousand French francs I had tucked away in my purse. I then had approximately 60 kronen with which to get through the week. So I went and had a good lunch at the Gillet Hotel (and the Swedes certainly can eat), which cost me 7.5 kronen, and was the first and last good lunch to which I treated myself in Stockholm.

In the afternoon I set about finding my secondary contacts whose addresses and telephone numbers Shmuel had given me, just in case. The first was a fairly prominent business-man—Mr. K.—who had a reputation for being wealthy. He was out. The second was a young man by the name of Esther Lerenman, who stayed somewhere in the outskirts of the city and all they stood for, and a subconscious terror of the local inhabitants. I arrived at the address I had been given, I found it to be a hospital. Nothing daunted, and in spite of the ice-cold spurt which had started, I decided to reap some benefit from the pounds I have spent on detective stories and adopted one of the better known methods of tracking. By the simple process of walking into one apartment house after another in the same street as the hospital and looking at the lists of the occupants, I eventually found Miss Lerenman’s name and mixed up with himself in some other guise. [="author"

Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine
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home. She too, however, was out.... I left a note for her and started the weary trek back to the hotel. Having arrived there, wet and bedraggled and full of self-pity, I was somewhat restored to find a telephone message from Mr. K. awaiting me. Would I come and see him the next morning, which was Friday, at his home? I most certainly would, and did. I travelled there by tram (I was still in the money then). Mr. K. lived in an apartment house in the fashionable residential district of Stockholm. His flat is large and beautifully furnished. Mrs. K., who opened the door, was large and beautifully dressed. Mr. K. did not spoil the sympathy. He had started life (in Germany evidently) with the initial advantage of a large frame, which, when filled in by Swedish food, produced a veritable mountain. His suit was so beautifully cut, however—and I strongly suspect a little judicious corseting too—that the impression he conveyed was merely that of a man who over-indulges himself somewhat.

Mr. K. was very courteous. He wanted to know who had sent me, how I had got his telephone number, who I was, what I was and, most of all, what I wanted. I explained as best as I could because, by now, I was beginning to feel a little vague myself about what I wanted in Stockholm. I very gently and timidly touched on the subject of money needed in general by the IZL and in particular by me. "Oh," said Mr. K., "we have just had a campaign for the IZL and we all contributed very generously." I subsequently discovered that Mr. K. had generously donated 300 kronen, which translated into English money means £30, and into American money means $45—less than the price of one of his suits. I explained that the IZL had never seen any of the money collected in their name, which was one of the reasons why I was in Stockholm. The conversation was carried on in German on his part and a very poor imitation of Yiddish on mine. By the time I left Stockholm my Yiddish was fluent, if somewhat original.

Mr. K. went off to phone his fellow Committee-members to arrange for me to meet them, while I carried on a desultory conversation with Mrs. K. I met the Committee for lunch. There were six or seven of them—all well-dressed and well-fed and looking extremely bulky and bear-like in their heavy overcoats and mufflers. I felt positively lost amongst them— a veritable orphan Annie. We went to a Jewish restaurant—the same gefulfe fish, Kneidlach and roast chicken that one gets in any Jewish restaurant in any town in the world. Only here, the liberality of the portions and the cleanliness of everything supplied the lovely city graced by magnificent goddesses. But I hated the place intensely. At night I went to bed early and rested my weary limbs. But, unfortunately, those weary limbs were also very cold and, without any artificial means of heating, they continued to remain very cold, sending constant biting messages to my brain to do something about it. The net result was that my brain became overheated and feverish and my feet remained cold and I spent most of the night tossing restless in my bed. The arrival of morning and, most important of all, of breakfast, was a sheer release. On Wednesday afternoon, by which time I was pretty hungry, Leo arrived post haste, having received an urgent message from his wife to return immediately to Stockholm, and my period of purgatory was over.

Immediately upon Leo's return we set about planning a campaign of action. We agreed between ourselves that we would not draw on Leo's very slender funds, established for the purpose of organizing members of the IZL in Sweden. So we simply had to raise money by a snap collection. Leo drew up a list of probable donors whom he would contact and I, as I had to get to Helsinki somehow or other, took along to the Finnish Consulate where I, as I had to get to Helsinki somehow or other, took along to the Finnish Consulate where I
discovered we were travelling to Finland on the same boat. I eventually went by plane and, except for a fleeting glimpse in Helsinki, did not come across him again, which, perhaps, was all to the good. Conspiracy and flirtations are not very good stable companions. Leo’s task was not so easy. Most of the people on his list were not in Stockholm and those that were felt that they had already contributed their share to the gallant struggle of the IZL by donating their £15 or £20 to my predecessor. Nevertheless, after super-human efforts, Leo managed to raise enough money for a ticket to Helsinki and to cover the expenses of my room until the end of the week.

As I stepped into the plane on Friday morning, my spirits soared so much that I decided to risk writing to Shmuel. A few days previously I would not have dared write for fear of giving such vitriolic and splenetic vent to my feelings as would have turned the writing paper to ashes. As my pen was useless, I borrowed one from my neighbour. It happened to be one of those advertised as being capable of writing under water. Unfortunately, that is the only place where they do write, and unless one puts on diving gear and ensconces oneself at the bottom of a swimming pool, one is likely to dislocate one’s wrist trying to achieve a whole letter. Nevertheless, my spirits were not to be dampened. Leo had telephoned his father to meet me at the air terminal and when I arrived, there was a veritable deputation awaiting me. I was given so warm a welcome that I hardly felt the cold weather—and the temperature was 4 degrees below zero. We all went to Leo’s father’s flat where I explained the purpose of my visit. I found their enthusiasm and admiration for the IZL very heartwarming after the rather cold appreciation of the Swedish Jews. They asked for a little time to discuss the matter amongst themselves and meanwhile undertook to make my few days’ stay in Helsinki as pleasant as possible. This they did with a right good will. I was wined and dined until I felt positively bloated, and all this in a Helsinki which was still suffering from the after-effects of a crippling war. The rationing were very scanty, but the restaurants were amply stocked with every variety of food—at a price.

A very good example of the austerity conditions in Helsinki at that time was the hotel in which I stayed. It had just been evacuated by the Russians, and had still not been properly equipped for visitors. There were only two or three rooms which were habitable. My hosts apologized profusely for the lack of comfort, but Helsinki was full of foreign correspondents and trade deputation who had monopolized the very scanty accommodation. I had a huge room and bathroom. There was, however, no heating whatsoever and not the faintest sign of hot water. And any attempt at extracting any out of the maid or porter was simply hopeless. They just did not understand anything except Finnish and no-one who has not heard Finnish can possibly imagine how outstanding it sounds to anyone not born and bred in the country. During my four days in Helsinki I did not manage to separate even one word from the jumble of sound.

So, having given up any hope of getting hot water, I had to make do with cold. By breakfast time the morning after my arrival I had even solved the problem of hot water. I was given the austerity, standard breakfast which consisted of “silver tea,” a lovely name for something as prosaic as hot water, a little milk and sugar and some dry bread. I “bathed” in the silver tea, drank the little milk together with the dry bread and licked up the sugar. Fortunately my Finnish friends believed in “second breakfasts.”

There were at the time about 1200 Jews in Finland, mostly of Russian origin, and as warmhearted and hospitable as the Swedish Jews are cold and stingy. I remarked very mildly to my friends that I mean this is the only place where they do write, and climate, or, maybe, the magnificence of the scenery adds zest to the appetite. I didn’t do too badly myself, but then I had a few days of semistarvation behind me. On one of my evenings in Helsinki I went with Leo’s parents to see “Odd Man Out.” The Jewish population of Helsinki was greatly excited over this film as they had heard it was about the underground; and for them there was only one underground—the IZL. I did not have the heart to disillusion them and tell them it was about Ireland and not Palestine. The day I was due to leave, my friends explained to me that they very much wanted to help the IZL, but however much money they collected in Finland—and in a population of 1200 it wasn’t possible to collect over-much—when taken out of the country and converted into terms of dollars or pounds would amount to very little. So they suggested we should send out a young man to collect money, but that it should be converted into goods—either timber or arms and, in this guise, taken out of the country. I promised to convey this to our headquarters in Paris. Eventually, nothing came of the scheme as it was thought too much of an undertaking to ship arms all the way from Finland when there were some available a good deal nearer home. But, nevertheless, the good intentions and the warmth of feeling towards the IZL on the part of our friends in Helsinki was greatly encouraging.

I returned to Stockholm by ship which I boarded at a port called Abo. At least it’s written “Abo,” but I dread to think how it is pronounced. The return journey to Abo through the Finnish countryside was a delight. What particularly fascinated me were the dainty, picturesque, little wooden houses with which the country is liberally dotted. I made a mental note to try and transplant one of these houses to Palestine if we should ever become respectable enough to live above ground, literally and figuratively.

When I boarded the boat I found I had a two-berth cabin to myself. As always in these Northern countries it was scrupulously clean, it was warm and there was plenty of hot water. I went out on deck for some air before dinner and was “picked up” by the ship’s engineer—not very surprisingly a Finn. We got on famously in German, of which I know very little and not more than about five words. But I understood him well enough to know he was making a date with me for 9 that evening. The simplest thing was to say “yes” instead of breaking my teeth and trying his patience, so I said “yes” and, of course, did not turn up. No doubt he found someone to console him. Then I went down to look for dinner. I offer the following solemn invocation to the Finnish Merchant Navy: “For heaven’s sake write instructions to passengers in any European language, mind any, in addition to Finnish, which is quite meaningless to ignorant travellers like myself.” I wandered around helplessly for half-an-hour looking for the dining salon. The trouble was that in every nook and cranny there were people eating and I was completely at a loss to find which nook would suit my requirements. Eventually, a young Norwegian, seeing my plight, asked in tolerably good English whether he could help. I practically embraced him with relief and explained my difficulties. He looked a little askance at such abysmal ignorance but, nevertheless, took me under his wing and undertook to escort me to dinner as soon as the first session was over. My new friend, whose name was Nils, had escaped to England from Norway after the Narvik disaster and had served in the British Army—
hence his very welcome knowledge of English. When we eventually got in to dinner, Nils piled up my plate with a gorgeous selection of mixed foods. I finished this with difficulty to find, to my honor, that it had merely been an hors d’oeuvre and the meal proper was yet to follow. I retired gracefully and spent the rest of the meal in wide-eyed astonishment watching Nils eat. And he was so slight too. After spending a pleasant hour in the cocktail bar, I retired to my cabin and slept properly for the first time. Later on, my feet were actually warm.

We arrived in Stockholm very early in the morning. It was drizzling and Leo was not there to meet me. He apparently had not received my cable. I just had no luck in Stockholm. Fortunately, Nils was still attentive. He took me to breakfast and then we tried to phone Leo. Just in case one hasn’t enough troubles in Stockholm, the public telephone booths are so built that one’s legs are completely exposed to the curious gaze of the passers-by and, what is a good deal more serious, to the elements. I was told, in all good faith, that the reason for this was so that the Stockholm authorities, who are great sticklers for the conventionalities, could observe whether any unseemly conduct was being practiced in the telephone booths. I must say that any couple who could manage to make love in a Stockholm telephone booth ought to have earned respect and admiration for their perseverance and ingenuity, rather than the opprobrium of the authorities. Nils and I spent an hour trying to phone Leo, taking it in turns to enter the telephone booth so as not to shock the local populace unduly. Nils, of course, was at a distinct advantage as he was, most sensibly, wearing trousers. Skirts may be quite the thing for the well-dressed woman-about-town, but they are hardly suitable protection against the bullying nor’-westers (or sou’-westers, or what you will) which came blustering in under the partitions of the Stockholm telephone booths. When I had emulated Lot’s wife to the extent of having been turned into a pillar of ice from the thighs downwards, we eventually located Leo. To my eternal disgrace, as soon as Leo said he would pick me up in ten minutes, I despatched Nils quite unceremoniously, in spite of his long-standing kindness.

Leo and I went off to look for an hotel room and once more I landed up in one of the lesserknown rooming-houses. This time my room was a huge, cold, old-fashioned drawing-room, literally bedecked with 19th century knick-knacks, with a bed tucked away as unobtrusively as possible in a corner. My feet turned cold at the very thought of sleeping there. Adjoining my room was a bathroom which was actually the door leading out into the passage. I was always scrupulous about locking troth doors when I used the bathroom, which is more than could be said of the other occupants of this most gloomy of houses, to my continual embarrassment. Leo and I had a council of war and I impressed on him the dire necessity of my getting back to Paris and out of Stockholm as soon as possible. There was only one slight hitch—the price of a plane ticket. Leo had a short, a very short, list of people who had promised to give him donations. They were mostly Jews born in Sweden who sympathised with the IZL. We visited them and, after much sweating of blood, came away with a total sum of 500 kronen, leaving us still short of 100 kronen (short £10) for a ticket and expenses. This we borrowed from Mr. H., who behaved quite handsomely, even taking me to dinner at the posh Stockholm Restaurant on a couple of occasions. I have often wondered why Mr. H., who has a family, did not ever take me home to meet his wife. I presume that, like all stolid and respectable citizens, he does not believe in worrying his wife about business matters; or maybe there is, after all, something of the adventuress about me, which only the exceptionally acute eye of Mr. H. could spot. Nevertheless, I bear him no grudge. On the contrary, he and Leo were the only two beings in Stockholm who appeared human to my somewhat bilious and prejudiced wisdom.

At last, after another couple of days of tramping and chocolate lunches, I took the plane to Paris on Friday morning, exactly two weeks after I had set out on my ill-fated journey. And even my leaving was not without incident. At the airport the Authorities demanded 10 kronen overweight for my luggage. I very firmly offered to pay in English pounds and they just as firmly turned my offer down—very fortunately, as I had no English pounds to pay with. Eventually, with the judicious use of my sweetest smile, we reached a compromise. I gave them Leo’s address and they said they would collect the money from him. I have never found out whether they did or not. In Paris I proceeded to the hotel where Shmuel was staying, tearfully reprimanded him for not coming to meet me (which was not surprising since I had written that I was returning on Saturday) and then soaked away all the bad memories of Stockholm in the hottest of hot baths. [ ]

60730. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 15: Prelude to War. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Future Press, 1953. SHMUEL had to stay on in Paris for another two weeks, but he decided to send me back to Palestine immediately as there were no other commissions to be done in Europe. I went by train to Amsterdam and had my first experience of travelling by wagons-fits. We passed through Rotterdam where the sight of cows grazing peacefully in the middle of what must once have been the shopping-centre of the town was all that remained to remind one of the brutal havoc and disaster which Hitler’s planes had hurled down on a peace-loving kindly community. I had a day and night to myself in Amsterdam and went on a sight-seeing trip. The luxurious feeling of being a tourist with a couple of pounds in my pocket quite outweighed what must otherwise have been a sense of utter loneliness in this strange town. And, also, I was delighted at being able to understand, more or less, what the people were talking about, since Afrikaans, one of the national languages of South Africa, originates from Dutch. It is, however, a very much simpler and less guttural tongue, and I was abashed to find, when I tried out my Afrikaans on the hotel staff, that they thought I was indulging in baby-talk. The next morning I took the plane to Lydda and found myself seated next to a prominent member of the Tel Aviv community who had been on a mission to Holland for the Jewish Agency. We soon struck up an acquaintance and he, perhaps naturally, concluded that I was a regular member of the highly respectable South African community in Palestine. The talk in the plane was about the Partition plan and its pros and cons. I opposed partition, whereas my neighbor, as was to be expected, was in favor of it. He turned to me and asked: “Why is it that all the South Africans oppose partition?” While not betraying my pleasant surprise at this revelation of anti-partition solidarity on the part of my fellow countrymen, I replied: “Maybe, it is because they are afraid that by the time they want to, or have to, come to Palestine, there won’t be any room left for them.” In spite of our disagreements, my neighbor and I remained on extremely friendly terms; so much so that when a violent atmospheric storm broke out and the lights failed, he very tenderly held my hand—presumably to prevent me from being frightened, or maybe to fortify himself. When we parted at Lydda he gave me his card and told me to be sure to call on him whenever I needed help. The only other time I ever met him he was with his wife, so I tactfully did not recognise him. But I still have his card! In Lydda I went through the formalities of security and customs, receiving the unfailing courtesy which my British passport always earned me. In the main hall there was a terrific din going on. The police had arrested two suspected “terrorists” who were very loudy and volubly ,protesting their innocence. They were two young men from a religious colony who had come to meet their mother, arriving from abroad. Unfortunately for them, they had not had the foresight to change from their workaday khaki clothes and hats to the irrefutable respectability of lounge suits. So they were detained as suspected terrorists and only after a lot of gesticulating and explaining on their part, and weeping and beatings of the breast on the part of the poor bewildered mother, were they eventually escorted out of the airport and released.

I returned to our flat in Ramat Gan, which had been faithfully cared for by Yael, a Jerusalem-born American-educated girl, who was the mainstay of the IZL public relations department. The next day I took Shmuel’s report to Menachem Begin and that night he and I went out for a walk in the streets of Tel Aviv—the first time he had walked in Tel Aviv since he had gone underground. We avoided all streetlights and spoke English for greater security. Nevertheless we were both a little nervous and did not stay out too long. But this walk whetted Begin’s appetite for the outside world and we made plans for the whole family to spend a Saturday at our flat in Ramat Gan. Any arrangements that Begin and I
might have made for a family outing were purely academic and theoretical. They had first to have the official sanction of Avraham, who was the final arbiter on the question of security, before it came within the bounds of feasibility. And Avraham was not in the least enamored of the idea. His reluctance was eminently understandable. The expedition necessitated Begin's going out in broad daylight, and in the company of his family. Even if he, himself, were not recognized, there was always the danger that Ala might be recognized and the fact that they had two children and that Ala was about to have a third, would be divulged. The British never knew that Begin had more than one child and consequently in all their searches they looked for a man with a wife and small boy. Chasya was thus a vitally part of the conspiracy and the revelation of her existence would naturally increase the danger of discovery. Nevertheless, after a little pressure from everyone concerned, we finally succeeded in wringing a very hesitant "yes" from Avraham—on condition that everyone was as careful as possible.

Meanwhile Shmuel returned from Paris, having once more got past the security officials at Lydda with nothing worse than a search of his baggage. The fact that Shmuel was never detained during the years of his active participation in the underground remains one of those miracles in which the history of the revolt abounded. He was continually leaving the country and so exposing himself to the scrutiny of the security officials; he was known to have been one of the leaders of the Revisionist Party, and he was always meeting foreign correspondents who had an unfortunate habit of mixing with the local correspondents, many of whom knew Shmuel by name, if not by occupation. I think it is as much to the credit of the discretion of the correspondents as to the apparent inability of the authorities to reconcile his studious, "civilised" appearance and South African passport, with their own conception of a "terrorist" that Shmuel owed his immunity. The fact that he featured on the CID B list did indicate that he was not entirely above suspicion, but, fortunately, the seeds of distrust had no chance to germinate into fully grown conviction of guilt, before the British withdrew their administration.

On the momentous Saturday morning, Shmuel went into Tel Aviv early to pick up the Begin family. Avraham waited in a taxi a few corners away from the Begin flat and Shmuel then escorted them to the taxi, walking behind with Menachem, while Ala and the children went ahead. For Bennie and Chasya this was a most wonderful adventure. Not only were they going out with their father for the first time in their short lives, but, most wonderful of all wonders, they were going in a motor-car! The excitement was terrific. There were no British barriers out that day and inter-urban cars were not stopped and searched as very frequently happened. So the Begin family arrived without any mishap to spend the first of many Saturdays with us in Ramat Gan. Menachem was in "disguise"—he was wearing a hat and had taken off his glasses. Contrary to reports from the most authentic sources that Begin had had numerous plastic operations and that his face was altered beyond recognition, he had never done anything more drastic than grow a beard of going to Palestine as she had planned because, at the last minute, my mother insisted on the C deserted the plan because of the risk of exposure to the authorities.

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on our breakfast-room wall. It was one of the less successful efforts of some quite unknown artist and depicted a young Jewish girl being burnt at the stake during the days of the Spanish Inquisition. With childish curiosity I asked my mother about the picture and heard, for the first time, of racial and religious persecution. That picture haunted me for years and probably did much to keep me on the beaten track than did all the Zionist history and propaganda which was pumped into us. In 1930, Vladimir Jabotinsky came to South Africa and my mother and eldest brother, Michael, became his ardent supporters. Michael was at the University in Johannesburg at the time and came home one vacation and told us younger children that we too, should be supporters of Jabotinsky. As, in those days, Michael was our great hero and wielded an immense amount of power and influence over us, we unquestionably became Revisionists (as members of Jabotinsky’s party were called) too. My father was chairman of the local Zionist Society and had been so for the previous twenty years. He stuck to his guns and remained a General Zionist. Then, in 1935, Jabotinsky broke away from the World Zionist Organization and formed the New Zionist Organization. This breakaway clef the Zionist movement in two and set the opposing parties into snarling and howling at each other for years. My mother, with the same enthusiasm and fanaticism that she had put into working for Zionism in general, now turned her attention to the New Zionist Organization. Our small town was split in two as surely as if some venomous giant had carved a yawning chasm through its middle. My mother quarreled with her opponents with great gusto. Her best friend, shocked by what she considered sheer betrayal on my mother’s part spread invidious rumors that my mother had lost her reason. This moved my mother to flights of fancy which could hardly be called lady like and are certainly unprintable. My father, who I have always been convinced was really still a General Zionist and wanted to remain in the Old Zion Organization, finally gave in (probably in sheer self-defence) and joined the Revisionists, resigning his 25-year old chairmanship of the local branch—to the great delight of his rivals who had grown old and decrepit waiting for a chance to oust him.

When I came home at vacation time from the University, I had to be supplied with a list of the people with whom we were on friendly terms. Old Zionists did not visit the homes of New Zionists and vice versa. At all communal functions the opposing factions lined themselves up on opposite sides of the hall. To an objective onlooker the whole affair was quite impossibly comical, but to the parish politicians, with my mother vehemently in the forefront, it was deadly serious.

By the time the IZL came on the scene my mother had moved to Johannesburg and there she took up the cudgels for the terrorists with the same zeal and an improved power of invective. Amongst the Jewish community she gained herself the reputation of being practically the chief bomb-thrower of the IZL and certainly one of its most vehement protagonists. Sheenew got herself into trouble with the local general press in an escapade which was quite typical of her. She had heard that a newly-rich member of the Jewish community had given £100000 to the Red Cross Fund. So my mother went off to get a donation for the IZL from him. She could not get to the great man, but saw his secretary instead. The secretary happened to be a gentile, and an Englishman: but my mother, who is incurably hopeless at catching names, decided that he was Jewish and so a fit receptacle for some suitable propaganda, which he could duly pass on to his boss, about whom she could hardly have been said to have minced words. The net result of her efforts was a big headline in the following day’s “Star,” one of the biggest dailies in South Africa, to the effect that the Palestinian terrorists had launched a big money campaign in South Africa and had sent thousands of pounds out of the county. My mother defended herself against the attacks of my brothers and her fellow-workers with the plea that the secretary had encouraged her and had not divulged his real sympathies—in short that he was a provocateur and a dirty dog. All of which may be quite true, but it did not enhance my mother’s reputation as a conspirator and keeper of secrets.

That is why I bought the khaki shorts and shirts when my mother arrived in Palestine. But to give her her due, except for informing the whole neighborhood of what she thought of the British and of the Jewish Agency, she was remarkably discreet. Perhaps the lurid picture of all the sufferings Shmuel would have to endure at the hands of the British which I painted and embellished for her had some effect.

On the 29th November, 1947, the United Nations’ decision to partition Palestine was announced amid wild hilarious celebrations. Throughout the night young people and old danced in the streets. Venerable chassidic rabbis danced their ritual dances amid a motley, drunk with ecstasy. And on the 30th November, when the first Jews were killed by Arabs and the Yishuv was brutally jerked back into sobriety. From that day, the IZL was transformed from an underground anti-British organisation into a semi-secret army. A complete British withdrawal from the Tel Aviv to Petach Tikvah area enabled the IZL to set up proper training camps for full-time courses. This change-over and complete reorientation in training methods brought to a head the chronic shortage of arms and ammunition. In a series of daring and spectacular escapades, the British were relieved of quite a substantial amount of equipment, but this could not satisfy the growing needs of a miniature army. It was then that the plan for robbing Barclay’s Bank in Tel Aviv was conceived. Shmuel told me of the daring scheme to take away the £250000 which was purported to be in the vaults of the Bank. We waited on tenterhooks for news. Twice, unbeknown to the authorities, the plan failed through some technical hitch. We who knew about the plans beforehand were bitterly disappointed at each failure and felt the tension and expectancy reach practically to bursting-point. At last Gideon, who was the perpetrator of all the schemes, announced that his plan was fool-proof. The date was fixed for a Monday, late in February, 1948. The plan was as beautiful as it was simple. A squadron of British soldiers used to come regularly to Barclay’s Bank in an armoured bren-gun carrier to collect the army pay. They would throw a cordon round the bank and prevent anyone from entering it until they; had finished their job. This usually happened at about 8.30 on a Monday morning, a few minutes after the bank had opened. On this particular Monday, it was planned that the bren-gun carrier, complete with “British” soldiers, would draw up at the bank, which would then be duly cordoned off. Meanwhile Gideon and a confederate, who had been introduced into the vaults on Sunday night, would wait until the usual bank official had opened the vaults, would then calmly take the money, probably gagging the official so as to prevent him from giving premature alarm, and would hand it out in the manuscript. “soldiers.” The bren-gun carrier, complete with loot and accompanying lorry-load of “Tommys” would then disappear into limbo. All this would take about 15 minutes and be completed before anyone outside the bank was aware of anything untoward.

On Sunday evening I got a message that Ala had gone into the nursing home to have her baby and would I come early the next morning to look after the other two children. I decided to drop by Barclay’s Bank on my way to the Begins in order to be able to pass on the good news at first hand. I arrived at the bank a little after 8:30 and found an excited crowd milling around. This was not qmte according to plan, and my heart sank. I asked one of the bystanders what was going on and was told that the bank had been robbed. My spirits soared again. While I was watching, the boys came out of the bank and started climbing the bren-gun carrier. They had sacks on their backs, but they looked rather light and empty to me. At a whistle, the soldiers forming the cordon scrambled onto the lorry and the procession moved off to the accompaniment of bullets directed at them by an over-zealous and stupidly officious Haganah squad, which had got wind of what was afoot and had hurried to the scene to protect the interests of the British. At the sound of firing, the crowd scattered precipitately, not without many a mutter and a growl about people in the Haganah who could not mind their own business. I thought it wise to retreat too, as bullets have a nasty habit of straying from their intended direction, and a dead messenger could hardly be a harbinger of tidings, whether good or bad. I hastened to the Begins and told Menachem what I had seen, being able to assure him only that the boys had all got safely away.

We waited that morning for news from Gideon and news from Ala. The hours went and Gideon did not turn up. I made a feeble attempt to explain this away by the fact that he was probably busy counting the money. But we both knew that in the event of success, Gideon would
The journey was quite uneventful until we arrived at Bab El Wad, a spot well-beloved of Arab snipers and just about the most treacherous part of the road. At this psychological moment one of the foremost buses broke down. The whole convoy was halted while hasty repairs were effected—an operation calling for considerable courage and generous in nature as she was tough in appearance. She and her companion waited inside ten minutes longer than the appointed time and then decided to withdraw. Prolonging their stay would not have helped at all, as their very presence in the bank meant the maintenance of the cordon and the concomitant holdup of the relevant clerk. A few months later, the LHI pulled off the same trick—but successfully. They took the precaution of picking up the clerk at his home and accompanying him to the bank. [1]

In March, early in the morning, we arrived as soon as possible, bursting with excitement. At one o'clock I heard the secret ring and let Gideon in. His first words dispelled any last vestiges of hope which we may still have entertained. "Did you hear of the terrible catastrophe in Jerusalem?" he asked Begin. That day a British "special squad" had blown up half of Ben Yehuda Street in Jerusalem, killing over fifty people and causing millions of pounds of damage. Disaster was added to disappointment, and just to put the finishing touch for Menachem, Ali gave birth to another daughter.

What had happened to the plan which was as simple as it was beautiful? It was one of those incalculable imponderables which inspired Hamlet to quote Shakespeare on "the divinity which shapes our ends" or, on a lower plane, wrung from the Burns the heart-rending admission that "the best laid schemes, of mice and men gang aft'agly." The official in charge of opening the vaults had unfortunately just that morning had to visit the synagogue to offer up a prayer for the soul of his dead father. In consequence, he had arrived a little late at the bank, only to find himself kept out by the cordon of Tommies, in spite of all his promising. Gideon and companion waited inside ten minutes longer than the appointed time and then decided to withdraw. Prolonging their stay would not have helped at all, as their very presence in the bank meant the maintenance of the cordon and the concomitant holdup of the relevant clerk. A few months later, the LHI pulled off the same trick—but successfully. They took the precaution of picking up the clerk at his home and accompanying him to the bank. [1]
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine
www.ReferenceCorp/net/downloads

punctually at nine. I spent a few minutes with him and then started off for the Consulate which was five minutes from the Jewish Agency building. I had gone a few hundred yards when there was a terrific explosion behind me. I did not wait to see what was happening, but hurried to get to the Consulate with most unheroic precipitancy. I found Shmuel in the waiting room, deathly pale and quite touchingly pleased to see me whole. The blast of the explosion had brought down bits of the Consulate ceiling. Almost the first few minutes of shocked silence, the waiting room started babbling at once, with that animation which comes from relief at having been spared the fate of others less fortunate. Phones started ringing and murmurs started flying. Out of the conglomeration of fantastic stories, one pattern appeared constantly—the explosion had occurred in the Jewish Agency building and the explosives had been introduced in an American Consulate car.

When the handful of people in the waiting room, with whom we had suddenly become bosom pals, heard that Shmuel and I intended going from the American Consulate to the French Consulate, there were cries of horror and protest. And not without reason. The French Consulate was in the Arab part of the New City and to get there from where we were meant traversing quite a few unhealthy streets from the Jewish point of view. An intrepid Jewish newspaperman had been stabbed and severely hurt in that neighborhood a few days previously. Our original plan had been to refrain from mock heroics and go there by tax but pleased to see me whole. The blast of the explosion had this was thwarted as the whole area was closed to vehicles immediately after the explosion. So we had to go on our perilous path with complete nonchalance outwardly and with a good deal of inward trepidation. We were the only two lunatics in the streets, except for some of the most villainous-looking Arabs I have ever seen, sitting on the pavement outside their shops. As we passed them I felt the hair rising at the back of my head and a cold shiver went down my spine. Our overcoats seemed very flimsy protection for our vulnerable backs and I swear I felt the knife between my shoulder blades as surely as if it had been plunged there by murderous figures.

Whether my light hair proved a talisman or whether the Arabs had had enough blood-letting for one day we’ll never know, but we did arrive safely at the French Consulate to the great surprise of Benjamin Cohen, the Secretary of the Consulate and a good friend of ours. We both presented a very bold front and laughed the matter off with sang froid. Benjamin very kindly undertook to deliver Shmuel’s passport, duly visa’ed, that afternoon at the Vienna Cafe. He was the only Jew in the French Consulate and, in fact, one of the very few Jews who still came to work in that part of town. He risked his life every day getting to and from work and sometimes, when the tension was high, was virtually marooned in the Consulate for days on end. But he carried on steadfastly, typifying the Jews of Jerusalem who went about their daily tasks calmly and courageously in the face of terrific day-to-day strain and tension.

We decided that we had drawn sufficiently on our good luck account for one day and, on the way back from the French Consulate, took a circuitous route which, for part of the way at least, led past a British encampment. It is true that the British troops in Jerusalem had been more effective in blowing up the “Palestine Post” building and Ben Yehuda Street rather than in protecting unarmed Jews against the attacks of cutthroat Arabs, as was their ostensible task. Nevertheless, we thought that if confronted by an actual attempt at slaughter on their doorstep, they might lift a hand to prevent it, if only out of sheer sportsmanship. Their presence could not, of course, be any guarantee against the ill-effects of sniper’s bullets, but death by a bullet seemed rather a clean, civilised way of departing from this world in comparison with some of the exquisite refinements which the Arabs had invented.

We once again got safely through the danger zone, passed through the gates out of the British ghetto and came to a barricade hastily erected by the Haganah at the Jewish Agency building after the damage had already been done. At the barricade was a squad of black-bereted Haganah boys in charge of a cockeyed, bumptious little officer modelled to a T in the style of a British army “type”—from the little, fair, moustache to the jaunty cane. He stuck his nose in everywhere, interfering with the efficient execution of his men’s duties and generally pushing everyone around, especially old women and men with long grey beards. I am generally quite mild-tempered, but any attempts at bullying me or pushing me around make me wild. So, not unnaturally, I took an instant dislike to this officer. This dislike was considerably enhanced when our turn came to be identified as passed through the barrier. I produced my British passport and was immediately fawned upon and slobbered over in English, until he saw the obviously Jewish name, when his attentions cooled off considerably. Then came Shmuel’s turn—and Shmuel had no passport and was very obviously Jewish. He explained very politely and apologetically that he had to leave his passport at the French Consulate and had come out without an identity card, not anticipating such a contretemps. The officer replied as rudely as possible that Shmuel could then spend the rest of the day at the barrier until someone turned up to identify him. I offered at once to identify him as my husband and asked rather caustically whether all these elaborate precautions weren’t somewhat belated. The officer bridled and said aggressively that I was at liberty to pass on through the barrier. I replied equally aggressively that I was remaining with my husband, and challenged him to have me removed. At that stage Shmuel lost his temper too and demanded to know, in his very fluent Hebrew, why the officer was speaking English instead of his own tongue. The quarrel then continued in Hebrew with biting interjections in English from me, as my Hebrew fails me completely in times of stress. At this stage a British officer walked up from the ghetto to the barrier. Our by-friend almost fell over himself in his rush to jump to attention and salute. When I heard the British officer addressed as “Sir,” I said very loudly and clearly to the general assembly: “Now what connection could a Haganah officer possibly have with that man to make him lick his boots like that?” The British officer had the good grace to blush for his less sensitive counterpart who, nevertheless, felt he had had enough of us and of me in particular. He dismissed us haughtily, with the sneering advice to Shmuel to stay in Tel Aviv in future.

I felt that we had had enough of Jerusalem at one go and suggested that we leave as soon as possible. There were all kinds of rumors afloat to the effect that Fawzi Kaukji, who was in charge of the Arab irregulars in the Jerusalem area, had cut off the road to Tel Aviv or had threatened to cut it off. Consequently, there was a wild rush on the Tel Aviv buses. Through the system of knowing someone who knows someone or, to use that delightful Israel expression, “protektsia” (a system which is universally abhorred and decried by those who haven’t got it, until they acquire it), we managed to get into an armored bus and started our return journey.

The discussion in the bus naturally centered on the destruction of the Agency building. Each one had a story to tell of how he, or his uncle, or his grandfather’s third cousin, had been refused entrance to the Agency building by the guard while free access was given to non-Jews. Feelings ran high against the bullying and boorish behaviour of the Haganah guards at the Agency barricade towards their fellow-Jews, especially the old and timid, as opposed to their servile groveling before the Gentile; Human grief, bitterness and determinism in a bullet-proof container, could perhaps fittingly describe that bus-load of intrepid travellers. The dangers of the road were completely forgotten in the grief at the death of our fellow Jews, blown up by the enemy, bitterness at the Gentile complex which allowed our enemy to stalk abroad untrammelled, and determination to resist that enemy to the last. Fawzi Kaukji had not cut off the road (it was cut off a month later) and we arrived safely in Tel Aviv, to be greeted by my mother with grateful surprise. She had succeeded in convincing herself that we were both buried beneath the ruins of the Agency building, unbeknown to God or man. In spite of the general concensus of opinion in our bus that the
destruction of the wing of the Agency building could be mainly ascribed to the Haganah's Gentile complex, the facts were otherwise. The story as we heard it is that the Agency had been in the habit of buying arms from the Arab driver of the American Embassy car and actually bought and paid for the load of explosives which was delivered to them at their heavily-protected headquarters, duly equipped with an appropriate time-gadget. We shall have to leave it to history to decide whether it is better to be a fool or a knave. [-]

60733. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 18: A Am Becoming a Soldier. New York, N.Y.: Shilioni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. In March, 1948, Shmuel went to America, alone, as it was decided not to send me, after all. I was very pleased at this decision as the situation in Palestine looked as if it were becoming decidedly interesting, and the one and only characteristic which I have inherited from my mother is my intense dislike of missing anything exciting. The purpose of Shmuel's trip was to speed up the collecting of money with which to buy arms, and to finalize the arrangements for the dispatching of a ship containing arms, ammunition and potential soldiers for the IZL. This ship was the Altalena. Shmuel left on one of the last—if not the last—plane to take off from Lydda airport which was immediately afterwards encircled by the Arabs. His car was fired on several times during the journey without suffering any direct hit. A month before this I had decided that it was time I stopped being a tame terrorist and learned how to be a soldier. As a result of my "proteskia" in high quarters, my request to be put into a training group bore immediate results. A day later a young woman, fully a head taller than I and correspondingly broader, arrived at our flat. She introduced herself as Rachel, a pseudonym, and said she was my instructress-to-be. I had been assigned to a group of young women who were starting a course in the handling and use of fire-arms. One of my jobs was to be the "contactman" of the group. That meant that Rachel would let me know when and where we were to meet and I had to pass on the information to every member of the group. Rachel suggested that I start my career immediately and very kindly volunteered to take me on a tour of the houses of my fellow adventurers so as to acquaint me with their addresses. I looked obviously at my semi-high-heeled shoes and suggested changing them, but she assured me heartily that we didn't have far to go.

We set off, Rachel with great gusto and greater strides, and I trotting obediently behind her. The first house we had to visit was on a hill-top in Bne Brak—about two miles from our flat as the crow flies. To my horror, I discovered that Rachel intended taking the same route as the mythical crow, except that ours would be on a lower and much more uncomfortable plane. We started off across country, climbed through barbed-wire fences, ploughed through cow-infested fields, traversed murky-looking lanes and, in a final spurt, climbed a steep hill to our destination. The crowning indignity was by being left outside to kick my heels and stub my toes while Rachel went in to transact some secret business. By this time I had worn down my high heels, torn my nylon stockings, ripped my narrow skirt and was now thoroughly equipped for Yemenite girls. I suggested to Geulah that the two of us would manage alone but sheokemonely took me aside to whisper that we really seriously thinking of using me. The first thing I did was to have that barrel of fish removed as far away as possible. Then we set to work to scrub the floors and the shelves and some old cupboards which I found thrown out in the yard. When everything was scrubbed I sent one of the girls into Petach Tikva to buy oil cloth with money which I wheedled out of Yehudah. We shall have to leave it to history to decide whether it is better to be a fool or a knave. [-]

After Shmuel left for America I suggested to Amtzur, who was in charge of training, that I would like to go to a camp for a week or two really to learn how to shoot instead of fooling around. He promised to arrange this for me and, sure enough, a couple of days later, Geulah, an officer in the IZL, arrived up at our flat and told me she was delighted at the idea of my going to a camp for a week or two—to cook. Geulah's enthusiasm was understandable. She was in charge of the commissariat for the district and had also to provide the cooks. This was an extremely difficult undertaking as every young girl wanted to be in the front line and no one wanted to do anything as dull and prosaic as cooking. I did not think this a very appropriate means of improving my knowledge of firearms, although of course I might in the process have found some substitutes for dynamite and hand-grenades; nevertheless, I agreed to go and cook, consoling myself philosophically with the though that "they also serve who only cook and wait."

I sent my mother off to my brother, Michael, in Haifa and Geulah took me to the camp. It was housed in an abandoned Arab farmhouse set in the midst of an orange grove. There was no water on the premises and the nearest tap was a mile away. The "kitchen" consisted of a few shelves, three primus stoves and a sink—a very precious item of furniture as I discovered later.

The camp was known as Base 6 and was used as an officers' training school. One course had just been completed and a new one was due to start the next day. Yehuda, the officer-in-charge of the school was in despair. He had forty men coming the next day and the two young Yemenite girls who had been cooking were completely hopeless. He did not have to tell us that. The smell from the kitchen hit us hard as we came up the avenue of orange trees. Geulah introduced me to Yehuda as the new cook. He looked at me blankly and then drew her aside and washing in a fierce whispered conversation. The purport of this, as she subsequently told me, was, that she had completely lost her senses; that this was no place for ladies; that she had better send me home and bring somebody a little less genteel. Geulah listened unperturbedly, told him not to worry and took me to the kitchen. My heart sank somewhat when I saw that kitchen. It was a veritable pig-sty. There were puddles of water on the floor, bits of food and dirty tins and bottles lay scattered all over the place, and in a corner was a barrel of stale fish from which arose a sickening stench. I had a hurried colloquy with Geulah. The next day one of the other young women from our course, Chana, was due to join us. We were to spend a week in the camp and then be relieved by two other women from the same course. I suggested to Geulah that the two Yemenite girls stay on that day to help me clean up, but that she should send them back to their base the next day when Chana arrived. She was a bit dubious about whether the two of us would manage alone but agreed, nevertheless, to do as I asked.

The first thing I did was to have that barrel of fish removed as far away as possible. Then we set to work to scrub the floors and the shelves and some old cupboards which I found thrown out in the yard. When everything was scrubbed I sent one of the girls into Petach Tikva to buy oil cloth with money which I wheedled out of Yehudah. We covered everything possible with clean oil-cloth and the kitchen began to look almost presentable. Then I had a look at the cooking utensils. There were two large saucepans and a frying pan. With these we had to cook three-course meals for over forty people, and boil water for tea and washing. I set to and found some clean petrol tins. (By the time we left at the end of our week the food had already stopped tasting of paraffin). In addition, we had forty tin plates, forty mugs, forty forks and spoons and three knives.

Yehuda set the guards to work to clean up the dining room and
the yard and by the next morning when Chana and the forty young men arrived the camp was almost habitable. Yehuda gave Chana and me a lecture on the necessity of punctuality in meal time. We listened very seriously but all the time an imp in my brain kept asking: I wonder how he managed with the young Yemenite girls? He must have suffered the pangs of hell. He is very precise and orderly, an excellent instructor, according to reports from his pupils, and a keen disciplinarian. But I am sure our Yehuda's girls were not made of the same stuff. Chana and I agreed to try our best to have the meals ready in time: breakfast at 7.30 a.m., lunch at 1 p.m., supper at 6.30 p.m. We were supposed to serve fish for lunch as a substitute for meat on two or three days of the week, but all the time I was at the camp I refused to look a fish in the face after my inadvertent contact with some decaying remnants of the species in that notorious barrel. So Guelah very kindly sent us meat when she sent anything at all. Although the Jewish population of Palestine was already beginning to feel the first pinch of the impending meat famine, there was no shortage of meat whatsoever in the IZL base camps. The commissariat had been provided with a few hundred head of cattle by an enterprising posse which had rustled them from a decidedly unfriendly Arab village.

But the worst problem was that of washing-up. The first day we took the dirty crockery down to the water; but after that we had the water brought to the dirty crockery. Even then the process was a nightmare. We had to boil water and then use all kinds of ingenious devices to overcome the deficiency of bowls in which to wash up and racks for drying the dishes. But human ingenuity rises to great heights when put to severe tests and we overcame these difficulties. Our greatest boon was the sink with a run-away pipe which gave us an outlet for our dirty water and slops. As we discovered on another occasion life would have been impossible without that. Yehuda allocated orderlies to keep the two large drums in the kitchen filled with water and other orderlies to cut the bread at meal times. Anyone who has ever tried cutting bread with a blunt knife for fifty hungry men has tasted a bit of Dante's Inferno. Chana and I tried it once and then demanded five orderlies to take over from us.

To the camp guards we handed over the job of peeling potatoes while they guarded in the mornings, and scouring the saucepans in the afternoons. In spite of this distribution of labor we worked from 5.30 in the morning till 10 at night with a few minutes snatch off for meals and a precious half-an-hour in the afternoon for getting ourselves cleaned up.

We rose at 5.30, cleaned our room, dressed, washed, laid the tables, made the breakfast and served it at 7.30. After breakfast we washed up and prepared the lunch, which we served at one o'clock makes.

On our last day in the camp Chana and I were rewarded by Yehuda for our efforts, and compensated for our thwarted ambition to become fighters by being allowed to shoot a couple of rounds each on a rifle and Sten-gun. I proved to be a tolerably good shot, especially with a Sten-gun, which had been bestowed on us. When, in addition, the boys formally presented us with a token of their appreciation, we couldn't have been more pleased than if we had been given Victoria Crosses. We left the camp that day with the feeling that we really had done something to help, if only to avert the wholesale poisoning of some of the IZL's most promising young officers.

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which they hid from the prying eyes of the British police, who had received instructions to disarm and arrest any Jews who carried some means of self-protection. The Haganah boy who had been sitting near me decided that the safest place for his Sten-gun was right under me. I had had more comfortable seats in my time. A sudden shout shook us all, a Sten bullet whistled past us. Fortunately the British policeman who put his head into the bus to see if everything was all right did not notice the look of extreme discomfort on my face, or perhaps I underrate my powers of dissimulation. On arrival in Haifa I did a very stupid thing—I took a bus going to the town instead of to the Carmel. As soon as I realised my error I got off the bus, to find myself a lone and solitary figure in Kingsway—the Main thoroughfare in the town. There was not another living soul to be seen. All the shops were closed, as they had been for weeks. In spite of the state of utter desertion and desolation in the street, I could feel the presence of people and, mainly, of eyes staring at me. Perhaps this was merely my fevered imagination, but it felt real enough. I did not like the idea of standing and waiting for a bus with all those eyes staring at me and started walking frantically back towards the Carmel, dragging my suitcase and glancing nervously up at the roofs of the flanking buildings in the hope I presume, of dodging if I spotted a sniper aiming at me.

Suddenly a taxi came tearing out of a side-street. I hailed the driver frantically and as he pulled up I hurled out to him scarcely noticing the weight of my suitcase, and jumped into his car, without stopping to look whether he was an Arab or a Jew. He was Jewish, fortunately, and lifelessly with a bullet through its head; the hardworking mother hanging the week’s washing on the roof. Every empty space in a building was commandeered by previous roof-hungry refugees. There was not a solitary figure in Kingsway—the Main thoroughfare in the town. There was not another living soul to be seen. All the shops were closed, as they had been for weeks. There were few belongings piled on hand-carts, dragged wearily from street to street looking for garages, washhouses, foyers, which had not already been commandeered by previous roof-hungry refugees. There was not a block of flats in Tel Aviv which did not have two or three refugee families established in its entrance hall and another two or three families in its wash-house on the roof. Every empty space in a building was immediately turned into a dwelling. The problem of sanitation became a serious one for the Tel Aviv Municipality, as well as for the more fortunate, and more discriminating, flat-dwellers. Trim, well-kept gardens were turned into forests of washing on lines. Fashionable, modern blocks of flats looked like tenement houses, with hordes of grimy children clinging to the bannisters, milling up and down the stairs, using the gardens both as football pitches and as public conveniences. Tel Avivian tempers, which are sorely tried at the best of times by the heat and over-crowding, were now tried almost to breaking point by the invasion of the refugees, the nightly nerve-racking cacophony of noise and the daily fear of sudden and violent death or maiming.

We who lived in Ramat Gan were spared some of the anxieties and irritations suffered by the Tel Avivians. We met with sniping only when we went to Tel Aviv—which most adults did in any case every day. My only direct contact with bullets came during a visit to the dentist's office. When we went to Tel Aviv—which most adults did in any case every day—my only direct contact with bullets came during a visit to the dentist's office. It was not another living soul to be seen. All the shops were closed, as they had been for weeks. The dentist, a middle-aged Christian Arab came up to him and started complaining tearfully that some one had taken his refrigerator out of his flat. The dentist had been badly wrecked in one heavy explosion and the outside wall was pitted with sniper’s bullets. There wasn’t very much doing in his office in those days but he felt honored-bound not to be frightened off by the Arabs and carried on a single-handed war of nerves with the snipers. He was, in fact, much more afraid of being thought afraid than of the practical consequences of his bravado on his own life. He, the dentist, regarding himself as having some small share in the victory (a claim which no one could possibly deny) and took all the more pride in showing visitors round what had been the dangerspots of Haifa. When we arrived at the Wadi Nisnas I got a tremendous thrill out of seeing soldiers with IZL armbands patrolling the streets. As we were standing and chatting to a sentry, a middle-aged Christian Arab came up to him and started complaining tearfully that some one had taken his refrigerator out of his flat. The dentist had been badly wrecked in one heavy explosion and the outside wall was pitted with sniper’s bullets. There wasn’t very much doing in his office in those days but he felt honored-bound not to be frightened off by the Arabs and carried on a single-handed war of nerves with the snipers. He was, in fact, much more afraid of being thought afraid than of the practical consequences of his bravado on his own life. He, the dentist, regarding himself as having some small share in the victory (a claim which no one could possibly deny) and took all the more pride in showing visitors round what had been the dangerspots of Haifa. When we arrived at the
had been for me just one more proof that the end does not always justify the means.

We Ramat Gannians were also given a small taste of the refugee problem when we were asked by the Local Council to give temporary homes to children who had fled the reign of terror on the border together with their families, and were living in conditions of indescribable filth and over-crowding. I readily agreed to take a child and applied for one. I was given a five-year old boy named Mordecai.

He was Mordecai Sharabi. He was small, but perfectly formed, with big, beautiful black eyes, a mischievous, intelligent little face and the most cuddlesome of chocolate-brown bodies. The very first thing I did with Mordecai was to give him a hot bath. His yells were blood-curdling, but it was not the water he objected to so much as being undressed to the skin. To such an indignity he had never before been exposed in his short life. After a week of violent protestation, however, he suddenly submitted to his nightly bath without so much as a squeak—until I tried to give him a shower bath. Then his native stubbornness asserted itself and he refused point-blank to go under "the rain." He developed a very fine taste in clothes, too, and would forcibly prevent my dressing him in anything of which he did not approve. His method was that of passive resistance—he simply refused to put his arms into sleeves or his legs into the appropriate holes, and unless I used actual physical force I could not budge him from his decision. The clash of wills usually ended in my cursing volubly in English, which Mordecai could not understand, and submitting to his judgment.

Every morning when he opened his eyes and saw his newly-polished, brightly-shining boots, his delight was unbounded. As these impeccable, glistening diurnal beauties could not possibly be the same kicked-about, dusty, shabby monstrosities of the night before, little Mordecai was quite convinced that I bought him a new pair of shoes every night. And if nothing else endeared me to him, it was this astonishing generosity (or whatever corresponded to that in his baby-reasoning) which did. Feeding him was a racial problem. I consulted all the authorities in the neighborhood on the feeding habits of the Yemenite; beautiful Yemenite Hebrew—and we had been introduced by our guide to Mordecai's sister and nurse, Sarah. I asked where Mordecai was and Sarah pointed to the bed. In a far corner we saw a frightened little face—one of the children of the neighborhood, and the father, too, came out to see. It was Sarah's face and native pride and dignity. When the time came to part with Mordecai, my mother and I shed quite a few tearful tears. I dressed him up in perfectly-pressed trousers, a spotless white shirt and a genuinely new pair of gleaming white boots. The neighbors gathered round to admire and say farewell.

At the school where all the foster-mothers were congregated with their charges we exchanged views on our experiences. Some of the women were genuinely relieved to be rid of their foster children, but the majority of us were sad at heart. As I said goodbye to Mordecai he must have felt from the unaccustomed violence of my embrace that something unusual was afoot. He clung to me and refused to let go. One of the teachers tore him away forcibly and I left with the sound of his sobs in my ears. The children were returned to their parents, who had been given temporary homes in a safer area. I managed to find out the address of Mordecai's "home" and, after giving him two weeks to acclimate himself to his own mother and family once more, my mother and I went to visit him.

The address was somewhere in the Hatikvah Quarter of Tel Aviv. This is a slum quarter on the border of Jaffa. After wandering around for an hour and being continually yelled at by the local inhabitants not to go here because of the snipers or there because of collapsing houses or somewhere else for some other equally good reason, we stumbled on a young girl who said she knew Mordecai and would take us to him. We arrived at a one-story, barn-like building and went in. It consisted of one large room with no flooring and very little roof. In this room there were no less than ten families—sleeping, eating, cooking, washing and what, for lack of a better term, I have to call living.

Our guide pointed out a baby-cot in one corner of the room and indicated that this was the "home" of the Sharabis. We timidly edged towards the cot and a pile of ragged blankets and clothes suddenly came to life in the shape of a young girl. There was a quick exchange of beautiful Yemenite Hebrew—and we had been introduced by our guide to Mordecai's sister and nurse, Sarah. I asked where Mordecai was and Sarah pointed to the bed. In a far corner we saw a frightened little face peeping out beneath a pile of dirty rags and dirtier clothing. The face was the face of Mordecai, but there all resemblance ended. He was dressed in exactly the same clothes as he had worn on the day he left me, with the addition of two weeks' accumulation of mud, food particles and God knows what else. He was thin and pale again—and frightened to death that we had come to take him away. My mother spent some of the hardest twenty minutes of her life in Mordecai's home. I had seen poverty and dirt at close quarters before and was merely saddened by it. But she was seeing it for the first time in its naked reality, and she felt physically ill. We left after twenty minutes in a triumphal procession, followed by all the children of the neighborhood, after having succeeded in extracting a shy smile from Mordecai in response to the gift of a ball and chocolate. I begged his sister to bring him to see us sometimes. She never came and somehow or other I did not manage to visit him again until Jaffa was conquered. In the upheaval and general transplantation of people, Mordecai went out of our lives, probably forever. [—]

60735. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 20: Tafta and Yehudieh. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. But, to return to the attack on Jaffa. We were quite a mixed company that day in my brother's flat as the news of the attack came through. Those of us who were in the IZL were jubilant; the somewhat wishy-washy "sympathizers" were wishy-washy about this also—perhaps the attack was premature, perhaps it would have been better to have waited for the Haganah, perhaps this and perhaps that; while the outright opponents of the IZL saw in this action a Machiavellian political move to divert attention from the Haganah's magnificent conquest of Haifa. The latter, true to type, came out with a scathing radio attack on the IZL for "endangering the Yishuv" and "stabbing the authorities in the back"—in fact denunciation No. 3 (I am positive they had their Phillips catalogued and merely told their readers to produce No. 1, 2 or 3 as the case may be, so uniform and repetitive
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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were they.) However, the attack on Jaffa proved to be so popular in Tel Aviv that the Haganah distribures began to look a little foolish and with a magnificant, face-saving, gesture they suddenly found it necessary to come to the rescue of the IZL, who, they declared, were unable to cope with the magnitude of the task. So, suddenly, it was the Haganah who was conquering Jaffa, according to some of the local newspapers, and the IZL were merely lending a little assistance. To them, if zealous, belief that nothing could be done without me, I hastened back to Tel Aviv to be in on the battle. I went straight to the Begin's house. Alia told me that she hadn't seen Begin for days, except for a fleeting glimpse now and again when he rushed in to change his clothes. I asked how I could get to the war, and she advised me to try the Freund Hospital, where the IZL had established its battle headquarters. I found the Freund Hospital fairly easily but did not find the guard too kindly disposed to stray, inquisitive females. Fortunately, Yael arrived a little later and took me in under his wing.

The Hospital was being used both for its original purpose, with an efficient staff of IZL doctors and nurses, and as the army headquarters. The whole IZL High Command were there. Menachem Begin, still unbeknownst to most of his soldiers, had come out of the underground and was moving around quite freely. The place was buzzing with activity. Everyone had a job and every job had been snatched up by eager firstcomers. They were managing quite well without me and I was about to go home, sadly disillusioned, when Yael came to the rescue again and asked me to drive her to a few places. I was delighted to be of some use and gladly consented.

Yael was acting as Begin's secretary and general right-hand woman. She translated statements from Hebrew to English for the foreign press, arranged press conferences, acted as public relations officer, typed, telephoned, rushed about the town and remained always smiling, cheerful and obliging—which endeared her considerably to the harassed, nervous and over-worked members of the High Command. I never got anywhere near to the fighting in Jaffa and with justice—there really wasn't very much I could do there. Instead, I was appointed Menachem Begin's occasional driver. I took him for long drives in the country away from the heat and noise of Tel Aviv, where it was impossible to think anything out to a clear conclusion. The IZL were in "occupation" of the whole area from Petach Tikvah to Tel Aviv. They patrolled the roads, controlled the traffic, guarded the settlements against possible Arab attacks. The blue armband with the IZL emblem was a familiar sight in these districts.

On one of our drives Begin and I were slapped by an armed IZL man. He apologized politely for troubling us, got into the back of the car and ordered us to take him to a spot well out of our way. I turned the car round obediently and the IZL commander was taken for a forced ride at the police, but firm, insistence of one of his sergeants, who would undoubtedly have been acutely embarrassed had he recognized his travelling companion.

Although Begin had come out of the underground in Tel Aviv, to the extent that he left his house in broad daylight and was known to be constantly at the Freund Hospital, yet he had still not made any public appearances and was unknown to the vast majority of IZL members. This was still a very necessary precaution as the British were still in the country even if they had moved out of the Tel Aviv district.

About a week after the conquest of Jaffa, Geulah suddenly descended on me again at about 8 o'clock one evening. She needed helpers urgently to provide a meal for a battalion which was setting out at dawn to attack Yehudieh, a large Arab village in the neighborhood of Petach Tikvah. We immediately set out for the base camp at Kfar Ona. Arrived there at about nine, we plunged into the thick of the hustle and bustle of an army preparing for action. The base consisted of a deserted Arab house with a large courtyard and surrounding out-houses. The house was used as army headquarters and kitchen. In the courtyard were clustered groups of men numbering about 200 in all, getting last-minute instructions from their sergeants, cleaning their weapons, laughing and joking—and all by the light of the stars. So have men throughout the ages prepared for battle and only the absence of the champing of horses and rattling of spurs served to distinguish this moonlit army encampment from that of Caesar or Judas Maccabees. There was also one other distinguishing feature—the women, from the First Aider, who went into the front-line with their male comrades, to the humble cooks who stayed ignominiously behind. Our instructions from the commissariat were to provide a midnight meal of sandwiches, hardboiled eggs and cocoa for 200 people, and a packet of sandwiches for each soldier to take along with him to tide him over the initial period of disorganization, until the field kitches were up and running. Our equipment consisted of two primus stoves, two large saucepans, a few knifes, fifty cups, and a tank of water. The furniture consisted of one large table. Light was provided by a hurricane lamp which was being continually borrowed by the first-aiders and forcibly recovered by the cooks to the detriment of tempers already frayed. We eventually had to take the matter to arbitration. We rounded up one of the officers in charge and each side presented its case vociferously: was it more important that the men should be fed or that the First Aid equipment should be in order? Even Solomon would have been hard put to it to decide. But our modern Solomon settled the problem simply: he ordered a hurricane lamp to be taken away from somewhere else and given to the first-aiders. The centre of the stove was thus transferred to another quarter.

Having successfully outmanoeuvered the harpies we next fell into the clutches of the furies—our two antiquated primus stoves. They either belched out smoke and flames with terrific verves and gusto, roaring boisterously all the time, or else they obstinately shut up clamps, refusing to be cajoled or threatened by the local Prometheans.

We struggled manfully with them, which was a supreme act of courage on my part, for if there is anything I am afraid of it is a primus stove. But eventually we realised that we couldn't possibly get the eggs boiled and the cocoa ready by midnight with our recalcitrant equipment.

It was a point of honor to have everything ready in time, so I found a solution for which I now beg our soldiers' pardon: we boiled the eggs in the cocoa! There is a saying in Afrikaans: "What doesn't kill, fattens." the soldiers of the IZL must certainly have put on a lot of weight during the period of their active service. Our "kitchen" had no sink and no drainage system whatsoever, with the result that the water we spilled in the dark and the water which leaked from the tank, combined with the dregs of the cocoa and the water from the cups which we were continuously rinsing to make up for the deficiency in quantity, soon formed into a pool on the stone kitchen floor. By the end of the night we were standing up to our ankles in water and wading through it with that horrible squeaking sound which wet shoes make. At two in the morning a bugle call brought the men in the courtyard to attention. The sergeants yelled out commands and in a few magical minutes there stood in perfect array, row after row of well disciplined soldiers, light artillery, infantry, pioneers and first-aiders. There was last hurried colloquy of officers and then Yishai, who was in charge of the operation, addressed the men by the light of the moon. This last Caesareasque touch perfected the illusion I had had all night. Here truly was an ancient Roman Army about to hurl itself against the cruel, ruthless Huns and Vandals.

Yishai's speech was caesarean in content too. He started with a brief survey of the plan of campaign, then exhorted his men to be courageous and steadfast in face of the enemy, and ended in fine oratorical style on the duties of a man towards his country and his people.

I had always been extremely sceptical of the practicallity of Caesar's stopping all proceedings to harangue vast hordes of soldiers no more than a few minutes before they plunged into the heart of a battle. But Yishai that night dispelled all my doubts and cynicism. Not only is it possible to deliver an eye-of-battle speech, it is even possible to make the occasion a very solemn and impressive one. When Yishai had arrived a little later and took me in under his wing. men should be fed or that the First Aid equipment should be in order?
were on part-time duty as guards and orderlies. We remained listening to the dying echoes of the fresh, young voices and then turned sadly back to our unheroic and unacclaimed chores.

By the afternoon of the next day Yehudieh was completely occupied by the IZL and it was safe for the “volunteers” to move in and start cooking. My turn came on Thursday, two days after the conquest. Geulah picked me up and we travelled by car to Kfar Ona, from there transferring to an “ambulance” for the short journey. The road to Yehudieh was surrounded and they were cut off, together with a small group of soldiers who had been driven out of the village and quite possibly it was! When we weren't chasing the flies off the food we were waging a fixed battle against a battalion of stray cats. And when we rested from these exertions we took care to keep a safe distance from the walls so as not to have too many unwelcome bed-companions. On account of other manifestations of primitive hygienic conditions in Yehudieh, there was a bonfire going perpetually in the courtyard, and a steady stream of men and boys, from young “generals” to even younger privates, filed past this bonfire and dropped into it their lice-infested clothes.

The problem of feeding the men was two-fold. We had to provide a proper three-course meal for those who could come and get their food, and we had to send food to about 100 men at the frontline who could not leave their posts. Again we came up against that perpetual nightmare in the IZL catering department—the chronic lack of utensils. We managed to provide a meal for the base soldiers with what amounted to commissary meat in comparison with our second problem. We simply did not have any available means of sending soup and hot drinks to the front line for 100 people. So we sent out scouts to scour the Arab shops. They came back with an amazing assortment of kitchen and bedroom ware. We first used the various species of jugs, then the wash-basins and bowls and, in the last resort, we had recourse to chamber-pots. In the latter instance we confined ourselves strictly to new ware only. Nevertheless I suspect that our thoughtfulness did not receive due recognition from the recipients of its fruits. As the cooks were on 24-hour duty, I had to spend the night in Yehudieh. The other women lay down to sleep on camp-beds in the first-aid room. I waited to see what the consequences would be, and the moment I saw first one, then another, surreptitiously scratching, I beat a hasty retreat. I found myself in a comparatively clean deck-chair, placed in it the middle of the officers’ duty room and settled down to get some sleep. Each time I managed to doze off, there was another interruption. Once it was the sentry to say the cats had got in through an open kitchen window and were devouring the next day’s meat. This necessitated a quick but boisterous sortie into the kitchen to disperse the marauders. Then it was a burst of ribald laughter from the duty officers in the corner or a hearty greeting to someone just in from the front-line.

At one in the morning I was cordially invited to join in a meal of chicken prepared by the sentries. I prudently refrained from enquiring how the chicken had been cleaned and in what kind of vessel it had been cooked. I chose a drumstick. Never have I lingered so long over a morsel of chicken. It must have belonged to the oldest rooster in the village and one whose muscles had been toughened and developed by years of cock-fighting. The young men attacked their chicken with gusto and looked at me in great surprise when I suggested timidly that perhaps another hour or two in the “pot” would have improved it considerably. Evidently the Palestinian youth grew teeth in keeping with their characters. After the chicken everybody else was in such high spirits that I gave up any further attempt at sleep and, after resting my jaw-muscles for a while, joined in the general merriment.

My period of duty was over after breakfast and while waiting for transport back to Tel Aviv I betook myself on a tour of inspection through Yehudieh. The village was one of the largest and richest in the country, by Arab standards. By European standards it was nothing more than a cluster of mud-baked hovels, set unevenly in roughewn, steep, winding streets, with here and there a stone house belonging to some local notable. Some of these notables must have had tidy-sized stockings stuck away somewhere. Their houses were furnished with magnificent carpets and drapes and excellent furniture. They obviously made up for their lack of toilet and washing facilities by the liberal use of expensive perfumes which they bought by the litre, or even by the gallon, if the size of their perfume bottles was any gauge. In nearly every house hung a picture of Haj Amin El Hussein—the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and organiser of all the anti-Jewish riots in the previous two decades. In quite a number he shared honors with Hitler whom he had assisted in exterminating the Jews of Europe.

The local inhabitants had left in-a great hurry and had clearly taken very little with them in their precipitate flight. Not that the houses bore that peaceful look of being lived in and merely temporarily deserted by their owners. On the contrary, some of them had received a severe drubbing in the house-to-house fighting and others showed signs of having been invaded by a conquering army. And it was just these signs which indicated the precipancity of the flight of the owners of the house: a few pitiful articles of clothing thrown out into a courtyard, a child’s shoe lying on a dust-heap, a baby’s doll kicked into a corner. These little things would have taken away any “conquering hero” feeling if I had ever been disposed to have any. In spite of our victory and the very small loss of life amongst our forces, I felt rather sad about Yehudieh and the babies and children and women who were innocent victims in this war as in all other wars. But whenever I begin to feel sad and sentimental about the “innocent” Arabs, the thought of the 70 doctors, nurses and university lectures brutally murdered and incinerated on their way to the Hadassah Hospital, or the raped, mutilated remains of Jewish women fighters discovered by their sorrowing comrades, jerks me back to reality. And in Yehudieh, too, the eventual toll of Jewish blood effectively counteracted any false sentimentality for the “poor Arabs.”

Every village in Palestine has a water-tower which is its highest building and consequently its best lookout point. Yehudieh is no exception. One day, shortly after the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14th, two young IZL women were on look-out duty on the water-tower in Yehudieh. For days the small detachment in Yehudieh were anxiously expecting a strong Arab counter-attack from Wilhelm. They had sent frantic messages to the Haganah for reinforcements. They received promises, re-assurances and finally abuse. But no reinforcements. On this lovely day in late spring the expected counter-attack took place. Before the two girls could join their comrades, the water-tower was surrounded and they were cut off, together with a small unit defending the tower. This small group of tired and dispirited soldiers fought like tigers against overwhelming odds. In bitter, hand-to-hand battles they fell, one by one, until they were all wiped out. Only the two girls remained on top of the watertower. They were first-aiders, not soldiers—they had no revolvers, no knives. They knew only too well what horror awaited them if they were to fall into the hands of the Arabs alive. The air and gravity were their only allies, and entrusting their souls
to their God they plunged off the tower to shatter their bodies to pieces at the feet of the enemy. [—]

60736. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 21: A Momentous Sabbath. New York, N.Y.: Shilioni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. On Friday, 5/18/1948, twenty-four hours before the time they had previously announced, the British declared the end of their military operations in Palestine and decided to withdraw that day. The Army, which had already been withdrawn from all the towns and was concentrated in a coastal strip near Haifa was to be evacuate gradually, the last troops leaving in August 1948. On the afternoon of May 14th, Ben Gurion proclaimed the formation of the new State of Israel, with a Provisional Government composed of all the large parties, except the Revisionists. Early on Saturday morning the residents of Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan were awakened by the noise of explosions—the Egyptians had launched their first air-attack on the new State. Intrinsically the Egyptian air-raids were on a small insignificant scale, and in comparison with air raids in London, or Berlin, where tens of thousands of tons of death were hurled on the heads of a defenseless population during the course of one night, they could almost now be described as puerile. They used three Spitfires at a time and the bombs they dropped were 25 pounds, or at most, 50 pounds. But the fact that they had an absolutely clear run with no anti-aircraft or fighter opposition, was rather discouraging, and even frightening, to the civilian population; and even a 25-pounder can cause rather drastic results if it falls on one's head. The Egyptian air-raids on Tel Aviv continued for some weeks and caused many casualties, the majority of whom were killed when a bomb fell on queues of waiting passengers at the Central Bus Station. After the first two days the Israeli "Air Force" took up the cudgels. The mainstay of the Air Force was a handful of training-planes affectionately called "primus stoves" by their pilots. These planes and their crews had done sterling service in bringing supplies to isolated and cut-off settlements and in patrol-work, but they were hardly a match for the Egypt-—fighter-bombers, despite the willingness and stout-heartedness of their intrepid crews. However, in a few short weeks, the Air Force was sending their own Spitfires into the air manned by Jewish airmen from all over the world who flocked to the tiny State to help her out of her difficulties, and the Egyptians were chased out of the skies. The air-raids had one salutary effect: they compelled the Jewish refugees from Jaffa to go back to their homes. Even after that town had been liberatec and most of the refugees from the border had returned from their temporary, foley-and-roof homes in Tel Aviv to comparatively comfortable dwellings in Jaffa, some had, nevertheless, refused to budge, preferring their laundry rooms in a fashionable northern suburb to tenements in the unfashionable Hatikvah quarter. The first air-raid soon sent them scurrying helter-skelter back to the safety of Jaffa and dwellings a little less exposed to the heavens and the little missiles which fell from them.

On that Saturday the birth of the State of Israel the Begin were at our flat as usual. In the afternoon I drove them over to visit Zipporah Meridor. We sat down to tea with Zipporah and her two children—Rachel aged 11 and “Doodle” aged 6. Suddenly Rachel, who had walked over to the window, announced in the calmest of voices: “Mother, there’s father.” We all laughed at the joke. It was true that Jaacov Meridor had succeeded at last in escaping from the British detention camp in Kenya after four unsuccessful attempts, but we all knew that he was in Paris and couldn’t possibly take the risk of travelling at this juncture even in his anxiety to be reunited with his family whom he had not seen for four years. So we laughed at the joke, but Rachel was insistent. Zipporah rose to look out of the window and burst out: “It is Yaacov!” Then we all rushed to the window. Down the path, all wreathed in smiles, walked Yaacov and Shmuel. They could not have timed their arrival more dramatically. When the shouting laughing and crying were over we heard the story of their trip from Paris from Shmuel. They had chartered a special plane to take them to Palestine, and arrive there on May 15th. The plane was British with a British crew who had been given instructions by their firm to land in Cyprus. When they heard that their clients insisted on being landed in Palestine they protested volubly. The British Government had forbidden British planes to fly to Palestine and, in any case, the date was very unpromising as no one knew just exactly what would happen in Palestine after the 14th of May. After a great deal of arguing and telephoning to London the British business instinct evidently won the day and the captain agreed to fly to Tel Aviv. (Lydda was in the hands of the Arabs.)

The passengers in the plane were decidedly nervous all the way. There was every chance that it might prove impossible to land in Tel Aviv and that they might have to go to Cyprus or that if Cyrus would instruct the crew to land there in any event. The prospect of landing in Cyprus, in the very den of the lions, was not a cheerful one either for Meridor, even though he was travelling on a false passport, or for his travelling companions, among whom were two more who had escaped with him from Kenya. Indeed the whole plane load would have been an interesting catch for the British.

While the tension in the plane grew steadily greater and greater, Tel Aviv was suddenly sighted below, and the plane began making preparations to land. The Tel Aviv aerodrome was never intended for large aircraft and the plane pitched up right at the end of the run-way just short of taking a header into the sea. The passengers disembarked into a ghost airport. The place seemed completely deserted except for a plane which had suffered recent damage. As they glanced around curiously, human forms began cautiously retreating themselves from the nearby buildings until all at once they were surrounded by excited members of the Haganah who had come out from where they had been sheltering against possible bombs from the approaching plane. A short while previously they had been bombed by Egyptian planes and quite naturally suspected that this plane too might very possibly have been up to no good.

So Yaacov Meridor, Hillel Kook, Shmuel and company were the first air-passengers to land in the State of Israel. The British crew were at one and the same time relieved at their safe arrival and on tenterhooks as to their own fate and that of their plane, at which the Haganah men were casting overt looks of desire. A Haganah officer actually took one of the passengers aside and asked him if it would not be possible to persuade the crew to sell the plane. Eventually, to the considerable relief of both passengers and crew, the plane was ordered to take off for Cyprus, and pick up its passengers for the return trip on the following Tuesday, at the Haifa airport. [—]
listened aptly, with tears in their eyes. After 2000 years of exile and political slavery the Jewish people had regained their national independence as a nation among other nations, as a free, dignified people among other free peoples. And Menachem Begin, leader of the small band of revolutionaries who had chased out the British Goliath, who had freed their people from the yoke of the oppressor, spoke to the people, told them that one struggle had ended to be superseded by an even greater, more dangerous battle—the battle to maintain their fragile State against the attacks of their vicious enemies whose combined armies were hammering at its gates. He spoke to the sons of Israel and to the mothers of Israel, adjuring them to be of good heart and to finish their monumental task with the same magnificent spirit as they had started it. And he spoke to the future Government of Israel, hoping to be wise in its dealings with other states, energetic in bringing the exiles back to Zion, just and righteous in its rule over the people, and steadfast in safeguarding the independence bought with the blood of heroes and martyrs. If this had been his first, well, as his first, message to the people of Israel, Menachem Begin would have become a great legendary figure in Jewish history. He will still feature prominently in any objective Study of the liberation of Israel as the great commander of the great army of revolution, but the aura of glam and mystery will have been rudely plucked away by the cruel fingers of Mad henchmen—Spit, Prejudice and Intrigue. [—]

60738. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 23: Birth-Pangs of the Altalena. New York, N.Y.: Shilioni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. YAACOV MERIDOR and Shmuel had come to Israel to explain why the Altalena with its load of soldiers and arms had not arrived in Tel Aviv port at midnight of 5/14/1948, as had been planned. Already in December 1947, after the publication of the partition decision with its concomitant declaration that the British must leave the country by 5/15/1948, the IZL High Command had forecasted that this latter date would mark the beginning of a concerted attack by all the Arab States on the infant Jewish State. They knew of the disastrous shortage of arms even in the Hagana despite the millions of pounds that had been collected ostensibly for the very purpose; they knew, too, that while the British were still in the country no appreciable number of arms would be allowed into the ports and any ship suspected of arms-running would be confiscated. So they planned to bring in a shipload of arms one minute past midnight on May the 15th. If this plan had succeeded, the whole course of the war against the Arabs would have been drastically altered, but fate and the wealthy Jews of the world decreed otherwise. The ship, the Altalena, had been purchased by Avraham Stavsky in America on behalf of the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation and was available in France at the end of 1947. But the money for buying the arms trickled in with deadly slowness. Shmuel’s trip to America and a lightning visit he paid to South Africa in January had been for the purpose of urging on everyone the dire need for more, and yet more, speed. In spite of the super-human efforts of the IZL representatives, the wealthy Jews did not realise the tremendous urgency of the situation and they parted slowly and languidly with their money, with the result that by the 15th May the arms had not yet been bought and the Altalena did not arrive.

On that evening, the IZL offered to sell the ship to the Hagana. When their offer was refused, the High Command resolved to carry on with their original plan and bring the arms at the very earliest opportunity. Contrary to the original plan whereby Yaacov was to take getting a passage to England from there—a process which might have taken at least a week. The next day we were in Paris and at the headquarters of the IZL. The place was an absolute tower of Babel.

Yaacov and Emeline were offered a "lift" in our plane. He was delighted at the opportunity as his intention had been to fly to Cyprus in the hope of getting a passage to England from there—a process which might have taken at least a week. The next day we were in Paris and at the headquarters of the IZL. The place was an absolute tower of Babel. Hundreds of people passed through the offices every day, talking every language under the sun. There were five telephone rings continuously—calls from Switzerland, from Belgium, from Germany, from America, from North Africa; and meetings in every available corner. We had plunged into one of the queerest staidest and yet the wildest of all those nebulous, siriously powerful cliques which control the undercurrents of Europe, the international arms black-market.

Their agents and spies must be ubiquitous and omniscient. No
sooner had a whisper gone out that the IZL were in the market for arms than all manner of peculiar and ordinary-looking strangers started dropping in at the IZL headquarters. Some were suave and well-dressed, their brown and white shoes betraying their Mediterranean origin, others were unkempt and exaggeratedly sinister-looking. Even an Olga Pullofsky in the form of a beautiful cabaret-singer occasionally flitted across the scene. But all had one story; they had arms to sell. According to the story, the arms in question were .303 rifles, which were somewhere near Barcelona and which would have to be paid for in Switzerland. The main question was how to get the arms from Spain to France, as the Altalena was at Port de Bouc, near Marseilles. I went to bed at about 2 a.m. by which time the arms had been shipped disguised as cattle, transported by lorries camouflaged as cows, flown by 'planes masked as eagles, or perhaps that was just the result of my wearied, over-fevered brain.

This problem of delivery cropped up hundreds of times. There were arms to be had all over Europe, but the IZL insisted on delivery in France, and the purveyors of the arms offered delivery in Spain, in England, in Germany, in Switzerland—in fact anywhere except France. In most cases the problem of getting the arms across numerous borders was insuperable and projects which had been followed up for days and had necessitated numerous journeys had to be dropped. It did not take our people in Paris too long to realise that there was a limited number of arms to be bought in Europe but that a vast army of agents was engaged in an attempt to dispose of them. At first, at the stage of initiation, Alex and I, the two principal "buyers," had shot across the length and breadth of Europe in one wild goose chase after another. Alex would hurry to Brussels to negotiate about some rifles only to be told on arrival that the rifles were not actually in Brussels, but in Geneva. Alas, those rifles had been sold, but they could offer him some machine-guns in Paris. Irmia would get an urgent call to go and see some armoured cars in the South of France. After a breathless rush across France he would arrive there only to discover that the armoured cars were jeeps and that, in any case, they had to come from across the Italian border. Time and again the same false hopes were raised and the same dulling disappointment followed. The fact was that most of the agents were selling the same arms. The differences in prices and the differences in location were mere blinds—sometimes deliberate, sometimes due to the intricacies of a system of sub-agents and sub-sub-agents who received their instructions from their own headquarters in some particular capital of Europe and were not authorized to do any more than pass the customer on to their own principals. There was certainly no question of principle in this trade. The goods went to the customer who paid the highest price first. Undoubtedly the same wares were offered to representatives of the Arab States, whose needs, fortunately for them, were not as great as ours and, consequently, I presume they were cheated on a few occasions. After they had inspected the arms and paid the small deposits, the goods mysteriously vanished in transit. In each of these cases the monetary loss was small, but the annoyance, frustration and indignation were in inverse proportion to the spoliation.

The European munitions black-market was one source for the purchase of arms. There was another much more constructive and satisfying source—the remnants of the underground movements. The Resistance Organizations of Europe had ceased to exist with the conquest of Germany by the Allies, but some of their buried and cleverly-hidden arms dumps remained extant. As people who had suffered bitterly from the cruel regime of an occupying force, who had fought against it like tigers, they sympathized with and applauded the activities of the IZL in Palestine. Their sympathy and plaudits were expressed in concrete, material form;—they opened up their arms dumps to their fellow underground fighters. Not everything was usable or purchasable, but the IZL nevertheless got equipment there which it would have taken them months to buy elsewhere and would have cost thousands of pounds more. And only the IZL could have gotten this equipment, whose sale was based on esprit de corps and not on mundane, sordid, commercial considerations. [="=]

60739. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 24: Birth-Pangs of the Altalena. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. Soon after we arrived in Paris, it was decided that I should go to London and look into the aeroplane proposition which Mr. M. had passed on to Shmuel in Haifa. Once again my only qualification for the job was the fact that I was the only person with a British passport, except for Shmuel, who, however, was too busy to go himself. As we had people in London who knew something about aeroplanes, the risk of my making too much of a hash was not great. Nevertheless I was given minute and detailed instructions about everything, most of which I forgot in any case as I could not make notes and my memory had not received the kind of training necessary for secret service work. My task was three-fold. I had to negotiate about Mr. M.’s three Hallifaxes, look into the question of a gift of two seaplanes which someone wanted to make us, and round up two or three air crews for the planes which were supposed to be coming from Canada any day. On the face of it this appeared a very simple operation and I was told to report back in Paris in a week’s time.

I made the journey by train and cross-Channel steamer, landing in London early in the morning. We were the usual crowd of sleepy-eyed, bilious-looking early-morning Channel-crossers and the Customs officials did not pay any undue attention to us. After a cursory glance through my suitcase the examiner ticked it off with his white chalk and was just about to send me away when a man lounging in the doorway nodded at him almost imperceptibly, and strolled over at leisurely pace with his hands in his pockets. He wore a navy-blue raincoat and a short, grey, trilby and had plain-clothes detective practically branded on him. He whispered in the Customs’ official’s ear and the latter somewhat apologetically re-opened my suitcase and started going through it most methodically. Every scrap of paper which he found he passed on to his colleague who studied it carefully. The suitcase evidently did not divulge any great secrets so they turned their attention to my handbag.

This was the stage to which one must apply one of the three accepted techniques usually employed by passengers subjected to the indignity of a detailed search: either you became convivial and suggested in the heartiest hail-fellow-well-met manner that perhaps if the security officer, or the customs official, would hint what he was looking for you
would be only too pleased to help him out; or else you stood on your constitutional rights and demanded the reasons for this travesty of personal liberty and dignity, or thirdly, you maintained a stony, dignified silence, suitably embellished with a cold, contemptuous look in your eye. I chose the third course, at least to the extent of the silence. I am never quite sure whether what I think is supposed to be a contemptuous look may not appear as a simple leer or even a facial defect to the intended recipient. The CID officer went through my handbag very thoroughly. I had some notes written in hieroglyphics intelligible only to me, which he studied closely and at length. As he asked me no questions I maintained my attitude of indifferent silence. Then he examined my address book and made copious notes. I had intentionally made no note of any London addresses and the only ones that were in the book were of perfectly innocent and harmless relatives and friends in France and Switzerland of our neighbors and acquaintances in Palestine to whom, there being no postal communication, I had promised to give regards and messages of reassurance. But down they went on the British blacklist and probably have trouble to this day every time they want to visit the United Kingdom. If they are patriotic Jews they will surely forgive me the inconvenience they are suffering in their role as red herrings dragged up by the tongue of the Customs shed at Dover. I have one thing, however: inefficient the British Intelligence Service in Palestine might be, in their home country they were on their toes. Scotland Yard was not the Jerusalem CID and was not to be underestimated or dismissed with the contempt reserved for the latter.

This lesson was confirmed when I arrived in London to stay with Walter—the man in nominal charge of IZL affairs in Palestine. Although in my case there was a possibility that I was searched merely because my passport indicated that I was resident in Palestine and was thus a natural object of suspicion, in the case of Walter there was no ambiguity whatsoever. He was constantly being followed and his telephone was tapped. On one occasion when he had to make a trip out of town he approached his uninvited bodyguard and suggested amicably to him that he ride with him (Walter) in order to save the taxpayer's money on petrol. The offer was politely but firmly turned down and as Walter swung into the main highway, there was the unbosomable police car sticking as tenaciously to him as Mary's little lamb. Peter, too, an ex-RAF pilot whom I met for the first time on this trip to London, was well-known to the CID. He was on particularly good terms with his "tail," treating him to occasional tankards of beer in the local pub and on other occasions taking him on a combination wild goose chase and red herring trail right across London and then losing him deliberately in the Underground. The "tail" took this with a good grace. There was a tacit understanding between them that he was doing his duty following Peter but that it was well within the rules of the game for the latter to employ evasive and confusing tactics. Up the cricket players and long live British sportsmanship.

Walter was convinced that the CID knew about the activities of practically every active member of the IZL in London and he was probably right. But therein lay another difference between Palestine and the islands of the United Kingdom. In the former, British rule had been exerected by a special type of official reserved exclusively for service in the colonies where the local inhabitants were mostly colored, semi-civilized people who, according to current superstition, had to be kept down with the jack-boot and the whip. The existence of these colonies provided the British Colonial and Foreign Offices with an excellent opportunity of getting rid of their political "remittance-men"—men whose autocratic domineering and cruel natures made them completely unfit for home consumption, but suited them perfectly for dealing with the "natives" of the Gold Coast, or Nigeria or . . . Palestine, where public opinion, if it existed at all, could be disdainfully disregarded. Hence the complete absence of habeas corpus, of unbiased courts and of constitutional rights in Palestine, in direct contrast to the almost passionate worship of the rights of the individual and of personal liberty in their own country. And hence the reason why, while in Palestine any one even faintly suspected of coming into third-party contact with the "terrorists" was deported to a detention camp outside of the country without any trial at all, in London, plainclothes detectives were deputed merely to watch over the activities of suspected "terrorists," and nothing more serious was meted out to them than an occasional session at Scotland Yard where they were questioned and then released in the course of half an hour. This naturally applied to the cases where there was no concrete evidence other than that of association with suspected and suspicious characters. In the one and only case where a young man was found in possession of explosives, he was tried in the public press and given a vicious sentence out of all keeping with the magnitude of his transgression.

The only member of the IZL with whom the CID were evidently not familiar was the Palestinian representative. He had come to London as a student and combined his studies with less peaceful pursuits. In appearance he looked so much like the Hollywood version of a foreign anarchist that the CID probably felt he was too obvious a caricature to be genuine. He always wore a dark hat pulled well over his eyes and slunk through the streets with one eye peering round the corner and the other squinting over his shoulder—a feat of ocular acrobatics which was made all the more spectacular by his habit of wearing thick- lensed glasses. When boll his eyes were focussed in the same direction, considerably magnified and somewhat distorted by the powerful lenses, he looked exactly like; venemous owl. Yona, as he was called all the time he was in England was very impatient of his lily-livered fellow-Jews. He was constantly threatening to "bump off" some one or other for obstructing the IZL or for being too luke-warm in his sympathies, and had to be patiently reminded by Walter that the enemy was the British Government and not the Jewish Board of Deputies or the Zionist Federation or the Revisionist Party. But Yona's bark was a good deal worse than his bite and to my certain knowledge all the time he was in England he did not assassinate even one tiny, little member of the Jewish or gentle community.

As soon as I arrived in London I set the wheels going in all three of my commissions. Peter and Yona were in charge of recruiting air-crews and I passed on the instruction that they were immediately to send over to Paris everyone on their lists. This was not quite as simple as it sounds. We had about six young men on our lists, one of whom had to write his fins 1 professional examinations in a fortnight's time, some had to close down the r-buses and others had family responsibilities which they had to settle. But all agreed to abide unquestioningly by our decision as to whether they should leave London or not. I could merely pass on the instruction from Paris and had no authority to temporise. So they all crossed the Channel two or three days later and kicked their heels in Paris for weeks due to an unforeseen and regrettable hitch in the despatch of the long-awaited planes from Canada. Eventually some of them returned to England, but others found their way to Israel and joined the Israel Air Force which had by then come into existence. I contacted the Mr. C. to whom M. had referred us about the Halifax and Walter and I went to see him in his sumptuous suite of offices. We waited an hour and a half for him to finish a board meeting after which he gave us a very cordial reception. We were then entertained to a graphic description of the meteoric rise of his company and to beer and sandwiches, as our visit had extended itself into the lunch-hour. Eventually we got down to what interested us. Mr. C. (to whom I shall in future refer as Mr. Cohen for the sake of clarity) agreed that shore were Halifax planes available and that he would be delighted to let the IZL have them for a song. There was just one snag, however—how to get them out of England. He suggested that the best plan would be for the IZL to buy a converted Halifax transport plane and two bombers for the ostensible reason of dismantling them and using them as spare parts for the transport plane. I got a sneaking impression during the conversation that the transport plane, which would also be provided by Mr. Cohen's company, was not going to be quite so cheap as the bombers and that the latter were being dangled as bait for the former. But I kept my own counsel for the moment. We started bombarding Mr. Cohen with questions—in what condition were the planes, how much would they carry, when and where could our expert see them. Mr. Cohen was acutely embarrassed by all these questions and eventually confessed that he himself knew very little about the planes but that his colleague, Monsieur Jacques, was due at any minute and he would have all the answers at his fingertips. We waited
another hour for Monsieur Jacques who breezed in just as we were about to leave, apologising profusely that he couldn’t stay for more than two minutes. As we weren’t inclined to stay much longer ourselves we arranged that he should meet Peter, Yona and me the next day at twelve. I suggested the foyer of one of the large hotels as a suitable meeting-place, but Monsieur Jacques threw up his hands in horror at this. He couldn’t possibly take the risk of meeting in a public place and suggested Hyde Park. This was my turn to be baffled. Hyde Park was a large place for a rendezvous and the chances were that it would be raining. Monsieur Jacques reassured me. He would drive past a certain specified part of the Row at exactly twelve and pick us up in his car. I was still very dubious and pressed him to give me an assurance that he wouldn’t keep us loitering around Hyde Park waiting vainly for him. Monsieur Jacques drew himself up to his full five-feet-four and bristled hautly. I had cast aspersions on his punctiliousness and besmirched the Jacques family escutcheon. No sooner were we out of earshot than Walter burst out: “His name is Jacques as much as mine is de Gaulle. I know that little crook—he once cheated me out of £400.” This was not a very good augury. But I maintained that a crook could possibly succeed in getting those planes out of England where an honest man would fail dismally, so we ought to take a chance on him. Only we had to make quite certain that his victims were the British authorities and not ourselves. I thought, too, that Cohen seemed quite genuinely to want to help us in spite of being handicapped by an abyssmal ignorance of aircraft and their uses. So we decided to get hold of Peter and Yona and keep the appointment for the next day.

When I told Peter that the man behind the scheme was Jacques he groaned loudly and long. He had heard of this Monsieur Jacques. He had also heard about the planes which had been standing in one of our numerous headaches to the Agency. It was not included anyone else in the invitation I arrived alone. We had an us. There was the question of getting the planes out of England, then of getting them into France; there was the problem of taking crews from the Britsh Government. Then it was my turn to be horrified. Hyde Park is rather a large place for a rendezvous and the chances were that it would be entirely negligible factors: firstly, I was very much sceptical of the truth of Mr. Cohen’s information. After all, the British Government did not really need to engage a private company to carry out its arms deliveries to Iraq. Secondly, we would have to provide three complete air-crews with civilian “A” certificates—something which was completely beyond our capacity in England. Nevertheless, I undertook to discuss the matter with our experts and let Cohen know the results the next day. My colleagues were at first fired with enthusiasm at the thought of acquiring such a treasure galloon through a little legitimate piracy. But when we considered all the technical difficulties, they agreed with me that the whole adventure, even if it came within the bounds of actuality, was well beyond our limited resources of man-power. Yona was all for blowing the ‘planes up if we couldn’t divert them. But I suggested that the Haganah representatives in London were much more likely to be able to cope with the original scheme than we as they had been registering aircrews for months; and that we hand the information and the contact over to the Jewish Agency and see what they could do about it. To this day I don’t know whether the stratagem was ever pulled off, but I suspect, due to the very fact that we never heard anything about it, that my scepticism was well-founded and that we had merely bequeathed one of our numerous headaches to the Agency.

Another headache which we, this time in mischievous mood, passed on to the Agency was a “death ray” expert who attached himself to us. He was one of the numerous cranks and crack-pots who spring up like—mushrooms wherever the drums and cymbals of war send out their reverberations. All he claimed to be able to do was to hypnotize the moon and cause it to stray from its appointed route, to the inevitable death and destruction on the wrong people. This was obviously a case for the Haganah experts.

While on the subject of crack-pots I am reminded of another longhaired member of the species who came to see Yechiel, our chief air-force officer in Paris. He offered in all seriousness to sell him atomic energy sufficiently compact to be enclosed in a match-box; and he offered these match-boxes in wholesale quantities, not just one miserable box at a time. When he backed up his sales-talk with the attraction of a guarantee Yechiel asked politely just exactly how this guarantee would be tested. The answer was as simple as it was startling. The amiable maniac suggested that Yechiel invite together a few people he was anxious to be rid of and he would then be given a death and destruction on the wrong people. This was obviously a case for the Haganah experts.

But to return to the Halifaxes. I saw Cohen another ten times at least. Each time he raised a fresh problem, but was unable to confound us. There was the question of getting the planes out of England, then of getting them into France; there was the problem of taking crews from England, then changing them in France; there was the difficulty of getting the various licenses; there was the question of payment—where and in what currency. All these problems we solved, but we still had not seen the planes in spite of Peter’s insistence that we couldn’t decide on anything until we saw them. Finally, weeks after I had left England, Peter was enabled to inspect the planes. He pronounced them unairworthy as they stood and, after making numerous enquiries, found that in order to bring them into fit state to receive an airworthiness certificate, they would cost as much money as brand-new bombers. So ended in ignoming our Halifax purchases. I was extremely interested to read months later in the “Palestine Post” that there was a great uproar in...
England about some British planes which had been illegally transferred to Israel. The man behind-the-scenes, according to the newspaper report, was none other than our old friend Monsieur Jacques... My feelings were mixed: a combination of incredulity at the validity of the whole sensational story and reverence for Monsieur Jacques’ reputation.

I vividly remembered how the events had taken place. Monsieur Jacques, who had always been so self-sufficient and distant, had finally been forced to come out of hiding and tell his story. I was shocked by his sudden change of heart, but I admired his courage. Monsieur Jacques had always been known for his quiet wisdom and his ability to keep his counsel.

Monsieur Jacques then went on to explain how he had come to learn about the illegal transfer of the planes. It was through his connections with the British government that he had discovered the truth. Monsieur Jacques was a man of great influence, and he had used his position to try and stop the transfer of the planes.

Monsieur Jacques then went on to explain how he had decided to come forward and tell his story. He had been inspired by the courage of the young pilots who had risked their lives to prevent the transfer of the planes. Monsieur Jacques was moved by their sacrifice, and he knew that he must do something to help.

Monsieur Jacques then went on to explain how he had decided to help the IZL with their project. He had offered to help them in any way he could, and he had suggested that they might be able to use some of the planes that had been transferred.

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bell and a newcomer was ushered into the room. His presence created a buzz of interest amongst my hearers and produced a look of profound annoyance on R.’s face. The late-comer was a leading London Zionist especially commissioned by the Federation to attend the party and see that too much damage was not inflicted on their funds.

He immediately asked permission to put some questions to the speaker. The audience rose as a man and objected to his questioning me when he had not heard my talk. For a few minutes the dogs of chaos and detective speeded me on my way with a curt nod of his head and I came out of the investigation with no greater loss to my dignity than was occasioned by the curious glances of my fellow-passengers.

Peter and I had spotted him following us one morning and immediately jumped into a taxi, more for the thrill of shaking off areal, live “tail” than for any strictly utilitarian purpose, as we were merely on our way to have a perfectly innocent lunch in a restaurant. In Newhaven I accepted the same procedure as in Dover and my suitcase and hand-bag were searched in stony silence. Having satisfied himself that I had no tanks concealed in my luggage and no machine-guns on my person, the guard returned with a curt “All right.”

I found “him” standing next to me. His face differed from that of the man who had not heard my talk. For a few minutes I wondered whether he was the same man with a curt “All right.” He told us that it was not at all as I had imagined; he was worried about the security of the man who was to be our guide. He wanted to go back there as soon as possible. That was where he wanted to live—not Palestine. But he felt it was time the Jews had a country of their own and he was willing to give up a year or two of his life to help get that country. He wanted to go back there as soon as possible. That was where he wanted to live—not Palestine. But he felt it was time the Jews had a country of their own and he was willing to give up a year or two of his life to help get that country. So that those Jews who wanted to could come and settle there. Nothing annoyed Joe so intensely as to hear
anyone associating work in the IZL with glamor and thrills. "It's like the glamor of war," he would say. "Dirt, lice, disease, blood and fear—do you call them glamorous? My dear child," Joe would continue, "if you want glamor, go to a luxury hotel on the Californian coast. Bathe, sail in the sparkling sea, bedeck yourself in gorgeous clothes, dance and make love in the moonlight. That's glamor, that's excitement—not the questionable thrill of seeing your friends die or the romance of living like a hunted animal." When Joe was not driving people round the countryside inspect arms and ammunition, he attached himself to Benyamin, for whom he had an immense admiration. He acted as his chauffeur, his memory-jagger, his aide-de-camp. There was nothing too menial or too exalted for Joe. He would work uncomplainingly into the small hours of the morning and be up bright and early to give to a new day all the energy and devotion which he had stored up in his spare, wiry frame.

I drove out with Joe one afternoon to a deserted chateau whose owner, a wealthy American Jew had given the IZL the use of it as a radio receiving station. Joe was taking out some equipment to the two IZL radio experts who lived on the premises in a day and night effort to establish communications with Israel. On the way he talked to me about his shop in Los Angeles, about his family and his nostalgia for the youthfulness and vigor of America in contrast to the senile decadence of Europe. But in spite of his scorn, he still found the French countryside delightful and bursting into rapturous paeans as every fresh turn of the road revealed a vista more breathtakingly enchanting than the previous one. When we arrived at the chateau, Joe surprised me still further by his completely un-American attitude towards it. He took an intense delight in pointing out to me the noble proportions of the rooms, the antique furniture and old paintings, and was not distracted by the obvious signs of decay and disrepair in the house itself and in the magnificent wilderness which still showed signs of having once been a stately garden. Joe positively enthused over the chateau in contrast to his contemptuous dismissal of Parisian architecture as resembling a Christmas cake with its iced scrolls and rosettes and filigree work, and his even more contemptuous dismissal of elegant Parisian apartments as resembling museums. I could not quite fathom the reason for his excepting the chateau from these criticisms, unless it was that the house had griped him unawares, when his artificial defenses were down, when his parochial pride did not force him to debase everything Swiss not American in order the more to acclaim what was. I teased him about this and warned him that one day a non-American woman would capture his heart in the same way and despite his declared intention of marrying only a Californian girl. I even suggested finding him a beautiful girl in Israel who would keep him tied to the country and prevent him from leaving as soon as he felt his job was done. But Joe simply laughed good-humoredly at my good intentions.

I was not allowed to remain idle in Paris for any length of time. My first commission was to go to Basle to transfer some money to Israel. A good part of the IZL money was concentrated in Switzerland from where it was transferred, either to Paris or to Tel Aviv as the need arose. I immediately took the night train to Basle and arrived there just as the talks were opening. In spite of the long and complicated instructions which Benyamin had given me, the operation was a very simple one and took only a few minutes. The final stage of the process, however, had to be done through Zurich. The manager of the bank suggested that if we were in a hurry it would speed matters up thinking to the last that it was but a nightmare or else some horrible mistake on someone's part. Soon after Matie arrived, he insisted on going to Palestine to join the IZL. To this end he learned flying and caused his mother endless anxiety every time she knew he was in the air. To his parents' acute distress he wearied of his studies at the University. His oneobsessionoccupied him completely to the exclusion of all other interests. He had to get to Palestine; One might have thought that a simple operation for a boy whose parents could afford to pay for his passage. But, firstly, Matie's parents were very reluctant to part with their only child, and, secondly, for a Jew to go to Palestine in those days needed the permission of the Mandatory Government in the form of an immigration certificate. These certificates were doled out very sparsely and the "safe" countries, such as America, the Dominions and the British Isles, were even less favored. Their immigration needs were not pressing and each certificate they received meant one less for the tortured people of Europe, who had exchanged Hitler's concentration camps for British and American Displaced Persons' camps. His only hope lay in persuading his father to send him to Palestine on a business trip or as a student at the Hebrew University. Eventually he succeeded in doing the latter and turned up at our flat in Ramat Gan towards the end of 1947, just after the outbreak of the unofficial war with the Arabs.

I remember Matie's telling me with great glee how, while he was walking through a street in Tel Aviv, two bullets suddenly whizzed past his ear. He simply did not associate himself with death. He drove a motorcar with dangerous speed and carelessness and he flew a plane recklessly and daringly. His belief in his own immortality was both childish and childlike. Very few of us go through life continually expecting and fearing death; but always, at the back of our minds, is the thought that one day our turn must inevitably come. Not so Matie. He simply did not believe that it could happen to him and he must have died incredulously, thinking to the last that it was but a nightmare or else some horrible mistake on someone's part. Soon after Matie arrived, he insisted on going to Jerusalem—at least to register at the University. If not to study, Shmuel and I tried to dissuade him. We knew that Jerusalem was due for a difficult time and the lonely parents were always at the back of our minds. I suggested that if he stayed in Tel Aviv he might get the chance of using his flying ability when the IZL eventually got planes. But he was not to be moved. Jerusalem was the place for him—and to Jerusalem he went. We met him there on our last visit in March 1948. He was in uniform and looking better and happier than he had ever been. So as not to be a financial burden on either his parents or the IZL, he had got himself a part-time job at Reuter's and was at the same time taking an intensive course in the IZL. At the completion of his course he went into
full-time service with the IZL as a junior officer. He was killed a month later in the gallant IZL defence of Ramat Rachel. Matie’s mother carried her grief with pride and dignity. Her first reaction to the news of his death was to say quietly that if her son had to die in war, she was glad he had not given up his precious young life for others, but had died fighting for his own people. But she never recovered from the shock of her bereavement. A year later her broken heart gave up its struggle with sorrow and quietly ceased beating. [↩]

60742. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 27: Journey’s End. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. I was welcomed back in Paris by Eliezer with new instructions—to go post-haste to Brussels. Besides taking arms to Israel, the Alatalena was to carry about 900 young men and women to swell the fighting forces. As in the case of the deadlier portion of the ship’s cargo, the human cargo, too, had to be gathered in from all over Europe, had to be taken across borders and into France. This was a monumental undertaking successfully entrusted to the capable administration of Eliezer, who had the control of his European organization at his finger-tips. Timing was the essential factor in dealing with the human element. The people had to- be gathered together in their country of origin, the necessary passports and transit visas had to be available, not too soon to make the latter invalid before the date of departure and not too late to upset the time-table. At the same time, once the travellers were concentrated in a transit camp, they became a financial burden on the IZL who had to feed and provide for them, so that the shorter the time they spent in the camps, the less would they strain the IZL resources. In some cases, as in Germany, where most of the people were in Displaced Persons’ Camps in any case, or in Italy, where the IZL had been maintaining a training and transit camp for months, this latter consideration did not apply; but in places like Belgium and Holland, or North Africa and the South American States, it was essential that the concentration of people should take place at the latest possible date.

In Marseilles, too, where the final regrouping before embarkation would have to take place, there were also many complicated problems to be overcome. A camp had to be provided for 900 people, with sleeping accommodations, eating facilities, proper hygienic arrangements and medical care. Then again, care had to be taken that the youngsters be exercised so that young men and women should not have to spend too much time in Marseilles. The objections to this were three-fold: Firstly, there was the same financial consideration. Secondly, a large gathering of foreign, young people for some length of time would naturally arouse a good deal of comment. While this could not be kept a secret from the local population or from the prying eyes of the British Intelligence, it was nevertheless not thought advisable to give the latter sufficient time in which to pass the information on to their Government and so cause the French Government considerable embarrassment. Thirdly, the strain of keeping nearly a thousand people who were tiring at the leach to get to Israel and have a go at the Arabs, confined to a camp for any undue length of time would have been an extremely unenviable one, and could only result in a flaunting of discipline with its inevitable aftermath of demoralization. So Eliezer’s task was gigantic and as it depended so much on the element of timing he had to be continuously despatching envoys to all corners of Europe to coordinate, to organize, to give last minute instructions. For this purpose I was sent to Brussels.

I had to obtain a full list of the people intending to come on the Altalena, see that they had passports and arrange for them to get transit visas for France and exit visas from Belgium. Most of the young people were Belgian-born and not a few of them intended leaving without the knowledge of their parents, as they were convinced that the latter would not give their consent. I did not approve of this and tried to persuade them to talk to their parents and overcome their opposition. But they were adamant in their anxiety not to be prevented from going with the others. Strangely enough, those who were keenest to go and understandably most concerned lest they should be stopped, were the girls. Or perhaps this was not so strange for the girls lived more sheltered and secluded lives than the boys, and here they were being given a glorious opportunity to take part in an epic such as they had only read about or seen in the cinemas. And for once they were not “mere girls,” but human beings who could contribute and suffer as much as the boys. I read this enthusiasm and this eagerness for a life of thrills and adventures in their beaming, excited faces and sparkling eyes, and I felt sad and depressed. How could I explain to them that he was right, that they would find no glamour in this adventure, but only heartache and hardship. How could I explain that there would be times when they would bitterly regret having run away from their comfortable homes and the protection and solace of their parents. Such explanations would have sounded trite and flat in face of their youthful ardor and idealism. But, nevertheless, I felt I owed it to them, or to their parents, or to my own conscience to describe to them what war against the Arabs meant and also to warn them that a small ship on the high seas would be extremely vulnerable to attacks from the air and from enemy ships of war. I told them this, not so much to frighten them off as to prepare them, to provide them with some kind of shock-absorber against all eventualities. They absorbed all the details with rapt attention as children will listen to fairy stories of cruel witches and malevolent ogres, but they did not, and possibly could not, grasp the implication. However, my job was not to scare the wits out of our future soldiers; it was to see that they arrived safely and on time in Marseilles. So, after I had done what I considered to be my duty in attempting to dissuade those who were running away from home from joining the rest, I set about the more concrete aspects of the undertaking. Firstly, however, I did put my foot down and insisted that no-one under eighteen should be allowed to go and that two girls in particular—one with tuberculosis and the other with heart-trouble should on no account be taken. Yosef, the boy in charge of the group, agreed with me whole-heartedly and was greatly relieved at the chance of using my veto, which could be identified with Eliezer’s, to reinforce his own arguments and so overcome all tears and pleading. My concrete tasks proved somewhat complicated. Firstly, not all the boys and girls had passports and some could not hope to get them without their parents’ consent. Secondly, the question of exit permits from Belgium border was rather a ticklish one especially for those with’ Belgian passports, who were all of military age and so liable for temporary conscription into the Belgian army; and for those without any passports at all, whose departure from any country would in normal circumstances be regarded as impossible, it was completely out of the question to try to evade. This was obviously not an undertaking for amateurs to dabble in, so Yosef and I decided to call in the local expert on these matters. He was a certain Mr. Z., who had organized the traffic of “illegal” immigrants for the Haganah. Mr. Z. worked in an obscure little office in one of the suburbs of Brussels and it took Yosef a day or two to trace him through the tortuous channels of the Haganah underground. Having eventually located his lair, we had to call on him four or five times and leave cryptic, carefully veiled messages until we eventually ran him to earth. He received us very kindly and undertook to help us. According to the plan which he outlined, he would arrange a collective French visa for the 35 or so boys and girls and would then take them clandestinely out of Belgium. They were to be dressed as hikers and to carry only rucksacks and food and water with them. After they had “jumped” the border, the party would take the train to Paris, where they would become our responsibility. We fixed on a date during the first week of June.

I left Yosef to work out all the details with Z. and returned to Paris to report to Eliezer. The Belgian party did not arrive upon the appointed day. I was beginning to worry badly about them when, 36 hours later, Eliezer walked into the office and asked in his matter-of-fact, nonchalant manner whether I would like to go with him to the hotel to see the Belgian boys and girls who had just arrived. At the hotel all was swill the fighting forces. As in the case of the deadlier portion of the air and from enemy ships of war. I told them this, not so much to frighten them off as to prepare them, to provide them with some kind of shock-absorber against all eventualities. They absorbed all the details with rapt attention as children will listen to fairy stories of cruel witches and malevolent ogres, but they did not, and possibly could not, grasp the implication. However, my job was not to scare the wits out of our future soldiers; it was to see that they arrived safely and on time in Marseilles. So, after I had done what I considered to be my duty in attempting to dissuade those who were running away from home from joining the rest, I set about the more concrete aspects of the undertaking. Firstly, however, I did put my foot down and insisted that no-one under eighteen should be allowed to go and that two girls in particular—one with tuberculosis and the other with heart-trouble should on no account be taken. Yosef, the boy in charge of the group, agreed with me whole-heartedly and was greatly relieved at the chance of using my veto, which could be identified with Eliezer’s, to reinforce his own arguments and so overcome all tears and pleading. My concrete tasks proved somewhat complicated. Firstly, not all the boys and girls had passports and some could not hope to get them without their parents’ consent. Secondly, the question of exit permits from Belgium border was rather a ticklish one especially for those with’ Belgian passports, who were all of military age and so liable for temporary conscription into the Belgian army; and for those without any passports at all, whose departure from any country would in normal circumstances be regarded as impossible, it was completely out of the question to try to evade. This was obviously not an undertaking for amateurs to dabble in, so Yosef and I decided to call in the local expert on these matters. He was a certain Mr. Z., who had organized the traffic of “illegal” immigrants for the Haganah. Mr. Z. worked in an obscure little office in one of the suburbs of Brussels and it took Yosef a day or two to trace him through the tortuous channels of the Haganah underground. Having eventually located his lair, we had to call on him four or five times and leave cryptic, carefully veiled messages until we eventually ran him to earth. He received us very kindly and undertook to help us. According to the plan which he outlined, he would arrange a collective French visa for the 35 or so boys and girls and would then take them clandestinely out of Belgium. They were to be dressed as hikers and to carry only rucksacks and food and water with them. After they had “jumped” the border, the party would take the train to Paris, where they would become our responsibility. We fixed on a date during the first week of June.

I left Yosef to work out all the details with Z. and returned to Paris to report to Eliezer. The Belgian party did not arrive upon the appointed day. I was beginning to worry badly about them when, 36 hours later, Eliezer walked into the office and asked in his matter-of-fact, nonchalant manner whether I would like to go with him to the hotel to see the Belgian boys and girls who had just arrived. At the hotel all was chaos and confusion and spirits which, in Brussels, had reached the top of the barometer were now pushing a way out through the bottom. Ardor was practically dripping with dampness and enthusiasm had petered out completely. They had had their first taste of the “glamor and romance” of the underground and had found it bitter and rather frightening. The story I heard was somewhat garbled by the introduction of excited interjections, in even more excited French, into a narrative told in already imperfect Yiddish. I managed to pick out from the jumble of
jargon and jabber that they had had to wait around the border for nearly twelve hours until they saw a chance of crossing. Meanwhile they had eaten up all their food and drunk all their water and had not dared replenish their stores. They grabbed at their first chance of jumping the border, jumped, and were caught on the other side by a French patrol. After hours of argument and discussion they eventually persuaded the French to let them go, as their French visas were in order. By this time they were especially hungry, cold, and afraid of all manner of things from fright. When they arrived in Paris, a new catastrophe awaited them in the form of a posse of French police. In Brussels, the stricken parents of those who had run away had set up a hue and cry and called in the aid of the police, who had, in turn, passed on the appeal for assistance to the French Prefecture. Once more there was vehement argument, tears and protestations and, at last, emotionally and physically exhausted, and with most of their luggage mislaid in the general melee, they were allowed to go except for two girls who were minors. The latter were taken into custody and eventually resumed to their parents. After two days in Paris the rest regained their youthful ardor and enthusiasm and, deliberately forgetting the dark depression and resolutely shutting out their brief glimpse into the realms of fear, set out for Marseilles in great spirits to add their mite to the history of their times. [8]

60743. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 28: Jersey’s End. New York, N.Y.: Shilon Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. While I was in Paris I acted as Eliezer’s driver. I would have sworn, before I tried it, that driving in Paris was a physical impossibility for any comparatively sane and normal person. To the naked eye of the pedestrian in Paris, any driver of a moving vehicle appears either as some kind of miracle-working demi-god or as a sheer lunatic completely careless of his own life and utterly oblivious of the existence of his fellow-creatures. In point of fact, when one is actually sitting behind the wheel and driving, everything seems to fall into its natural place—pedestrians do appear to have minds and even occasionally to know them. rival motorists actually do not appear to regard it as their life’s work to knock out as many vehicles as possible, and even the taxi-drivers appear to be almost human instead of the diabolical hell-cats one always pictures them to be. In short, except for one or two cunning devices designed to confuse and confute the unwary visitor, Paris is a much easier and pleasanter city to drive than Tel Aviv. I got some of my worst headaches from a habit the French have of hiding away their traffic lights in some unobtrusive corner, or of suspending them somewhere in the stratosphere well out of the range of vision of anyone without a portable telescope or periscope. Fortunately, the French police are generally very polite and long-suffering, and even more so with foreigners who, besides not being able to talk a word of French, seem also to be generally half-witted and below par. Eliezer had only one fault to find with my driving—a fault of omission rather than of commission—my complete lack of a bump of locality. I must, in self-defense, deny that I am completely devoid of a sense of direction, but I have to confess that I could never remember where all Eliezer’s offices were. For this I would have required not only a knowledge of topography and compass reading, in which I am considerably shaky, but also a neat jargon and jabber that they had had to wait around the border for nearly twelve hours until they saw a chance of crossing. Meanwhile they had eaten up all their food and drunk all their water and had not dared replenish their stores. They grabbed at their first chance of jumping the border, jumped, and were caught on the other side by a French patrol. After hours of argument and discussion they eventually persuaded the French to let them go, as their French visas were in order. By this time they were especially hungry, cold, and afraid of all manner of things from fright. When they arrived in Paris, a new catastrophe awaited them in the form of a posse of French police. In Brussels, the stricken parents of those who had run away had set up a hue and cry and called in the aid of the police, who had, in turn, passed on the appeal for assistance to the French Prefecture. Once more there was vehement argument, tears and protestations and, at last, emotionally and physically exhausted, and with most of their luggage mislaid in the general melee, they were allowed to go except for two girls who were minors. The latter were taken into custody and eventually resumed to their parents. After two days in Paris the rest regained their youthful ardor and enthusiasm and, deliberately forgetting the dark depression and resolutely shutting out their brief glimpse into the realms of fear, set out for Marseilles in great spirits to add their mite to the history of their times. [8]

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to load arms intended for use against the Arabs in Palestine. The panic was shortlived. Willing hands and eager backs took over. Our boys tackled the unfamiliar job with the fury of galley-slaves under the whip, making up for lack of experience and skill with inspired zeal and energy. The work of loading went on under the scorching Mediterranean sun and the amateur dockers sang as they worked, in a tongue strange not only to the dockside loungers and the curious sightseers, but even to many of those who sang. But the spirit of the song transcended the incomprehensibility of its words. It rang out into the hot summer air, speaking of a new freedom, of a new race, resurrected from the ignoble, maltreated skeleton of what had been a proud and dignified people, and of an old tongue re-born to unify the scattered shreds of a nation and turn Babel into Concord.

On the morning of 6/11/1948, a truce came into force between Israel and the invading Arab States, and on that same evening the Altalena sailed for Israel and destruction. The next morning Shmuel received a cable from Israel to hold up the ship! In great dismay he cabled back that it was too late and suggested that the ship be contacted from Israel as he had no means of communication with her. Shmuel spent another three anxious and unhappy days before the arrival of Israel of Arieh Ben Eliezer who brought the welcome news that, after a meeting between the IZL and representatives of the Israeli Government, the latter had asked that the ship be brought with all speed and had promised to help in every arrangement. We knew that the用手 of the world on his shoulders with greater relief than we cast off the stones from our hearts. We were all jubilant. We were now able to set about our preparations for returning to Israel, which we hoped to reach in time to welcome the ship on its arrival there.

There was to be a virtual exodus from Paris. Except for a skeleton staff, headed by Arieh Ben Eliezer, who would liquidate all IZL activities in Europe and close down the ramifications of offices and organizations, everyone was leaving for Israel, for home. A special plane was chartered to take the 30-odd passengers. We remained in Paris another week tying up the loose ends and waiting for the planes from Canada to arrive. When Shmuel declared that we would wait no longer and set a final date for our departure, two planes arrived with a dramatic last-minute flourish, on the eve of our impending flight. Their ultimate fate was affected by the disaster of the Altalena. Instead of being flown to Israel as soon after our departure as possible, they were kept in France and the crew, whom Yechiel had with pains taking perseverance kept off the tiles and on the straight and narrow, were sent home. Eventually, the planes were handed over to the representatives of the Israeli Government in France. [6]

60744. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 29: Journey's End. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. As we boarded the bus which was taking us to the airport the next day we got news that the Altalena had arrived safely off the coast of Israel. The news was supplemented by a vague report of shooting at the ship. This puzzled and worried us considerably. We tried to analyse the situation without any of the facts at our disposal and came dared not ask any questions nor show any undue interest or agitation; for, even to many of those who sang. But the spirit of the song transcended the incomprehensibility of its words. It rang out into the hot summer air, slippery as sharks, for the very childish, but nevertheless comforting,

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the new state which they had helped create and to pay their respects to its Government which was not one of their own choice but was nevertheless the Government of Israel, and therefore pervaded by an aura of sanctity. They came to respect and revere and stayed to shudder and despise. But most of all, I was sorry for Eliezer. He had left Palestine after an epoch of fratricidal brutality in which he had been one of the main victims. He returned to Israel hoping he would forget the horrors of the past and pick up the threads of his old life and he found himself caught once more in the web of hate. During his first few days in Israel he lived in terror of being recognized by some of his former tormentors and of falling once more into their clutches. His fear was unreasonable—no one would have hurt him; but it was none-the-less understandable and pitiable. The scars which had gradually healed during his years in Europe were brutally scorched and re-opened by the burning Altalena. Besides those killed and wounded, five so-called ring-leaders were arrested. They were Benyamin, Yaacov Meridor and Amitsur who had supervised the off-loading, and Hillel Kook and Moshe Hasson, who had merely come to welcome the ship and its passengers.

In Tel Aviv we learned that, besides Stavsky, another seventeen young men had been killed by the bullets of the Palmach, some of them in the sea as they tried to escape from the burning hulk. Amongst those killed were two of the boys from Cuba, the boys who had begged and pleaded to be given a last-minute chance to keep their appointment with death. We learned, too, that Avraham Stavsky had died—not from the wound in his leg or the subsequent loss of blood, but from a broken heart. That stout heart refused to go on beating in a world where brother murdered brother in cold blood, where wounded men were shot at in the water, not by a cruel, insensate enemy, but by their fellow-citizens. It is futile now to go into all the arguments, the insinuations and the libels which have raged about the tragedy of the Altalena and will continue to do so for many years to come. But two facts stand out starkly and nakedly: even if the Israel Government were correct in their highly imaginative argument that the IZL had acted illegally or even that they were preparing a revolution, there was absolutely nothing to prevent them from helping to unload the Altalena, confiscating all the arms and, if necessary, arresting all the leaders of the IZL who were in any case known to them personally. Instead of doing this, they set brother to murder brother. And then, as a crowning infamy, they fired on a ship loaded with ammunition which, but for the gunship on the bridge of the main victims. He returned to Israel hoping he would forget the alternative as opposed to joining the IZL in Jerusalem. Then the State of Israel was declared on the eve of May 15th, Jerusalem was not included in its boundaries. Under the Partition scheme, it was to be an international city. So cut-off and besieged Jerusalem, while it remained attached by sentimental and practical ties to the main body of the State, was nevertheless legally an autonomous city not bound by the laws of the new state nor subject to its Government. When Begin, therefore, declared the dissolution of the IZL in Israel and its absorption into the Israeli Army, the IZL in Jerusalem was perfec exclud ed and continued to exist as an independent organization, operating in conjunction with the Haganah against the Arabs. Its ranks were considerably swelled by the cream of the ex-IZL forces in Israel whose gorge rose up at the thought of serving under Ben Gurion's administration after the Altalena incident. Many of them walked the fifty miles between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem over the bare crags of the Judean hills in order to continue the fight against the Arabs amongst friends and comrades. Joe, for this reason and even more so because the thought of liberating Jerusalem had captured his imagination, chose to fight with the IZL in Jerusalem rather than join the Israeli Forces in Tel Aviv. Perhaps he would have been wiser to choose the latter or return to America. Those who believe in the inexorable inevitability of Fate will say it would have made no difference to his ultimate destiny. We are, unfortunately, never given the chance of testing the fallibility or otherwise of these theories. [=]

60746. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 31: The Army of the IZL. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. Menachem Begin was a completely broken man after the Altalena incident. He came to stay with us in Ramat Gan for a few days to recuperate in the quiet, unfevered atmosphere. In all the time I had known him in the days of the underground, I had seen him worried and distracted, but never particularly depressed and hopeless. During this crucial period in his life he touched the very depths of depression and only his natural resilience and buoyancy bore him back to the surface of the swirling, dark pool of horror and despair. During this visit, Arthur Koestler came to see Begin. He obviously thought he was at the Begin home, not at ours, and I had some little difficulty in persuading him that I was not Ala Begin. I suspect that he went away with the definite impression that we were still suffering from a hang-over from the conspiracy days and had deliberately mixed ourselves up in order to confuse him. That we really were suffering from a carry-over, rather than a hang-over, from the underground days was borne home rather forcibly to us by an incident during Koestler's visit. We were having tea out in the garden and he was holding forth rather loudly and aggressively on his theories about the Latinitizing of the Hebrew script and the introduction of classics into the school curriculum. In order to emphasize a point he was making he banged on the table and said in loud emphatic tones: "I tell you, Begin . . ." A shocked silence fell over the assembled company and each one swivelled his eyes surreptitiously round to see if any of the neighbors had heard the forbidden name. So strong were the taboos and restrictions of our conspiratorial days that even after the British had left the country we were still horrified at the broadcasting of the name and identity of their erst-while arch-enemy. A visible, communal sigh of relief quivered through all of us as we realized that our fears were completely anachronistic.

As Shmuel was away most of the day, I kept Begin company. We talked together a great deal but never about the tragedy which was foremost in our minds. I threw out a half-baked idea that he should go to Jerusalem where the IZL still existed and where the young men in charge were crying out for guidance and leadership in a task which was as much political as military and for which they did not feel qualified,
particular’ in view of the highly delicate and tense internal situation which had arisen out of the Altalena tragedy. I am sure that Begin had considered this possibility too but in the exigencies of the moment had shelved it. When I brought it up again, it began germinating and maturing in his brain and eventually emerged as a full-hedged plan. When he propounded it before his erstwhile colleagues in the IZL High Command, they opposed it vehemently on the ground that he was needed in Tel Aviv to take over the post-Altalena confusion and to lay the foundation for the formation of a political party from the ex-adeherents of the IZL. Begin saw the justice of these arguments and proposed, instead, that Shmuel take over the leadership in Jerusalem and become the last of the commanders of the IZL. This alternative was readily accepted as being suitable from all points of view, not the least of which was the fact that Shmuel was by heart and inclination a Jerusalemite and that he was still virtually a Jerusalem resident on temporary loan to Tel Aviv. Shmuel eagerly agreed to the suggestion and started packing again—for both of us. I had to overcome some initial resistance on his part to my accompanying him—resistance which was more formal than actual as there really was no doubt in either of our minds that I would go with him to Jerusalem—in spite of the shortages of food and water and in spite of the fact that the truce was due to end in a few days’ time. We took it for granted that where he went, I went. Some of our friends thought it a bit scatterbrained of him to take me, but my mother, who arrived from Haifa just in time to greet us on our return from Paris and bid us farewell before our trip to Jerusalem, agreed that I must accompany Shmuel on what she considered another of our mad, death-seeking schemes. “If you must be crazy,” she said, “then at least be crazy together.” With that maternal blessing we completed our preparations.

Before describing our journey to Jerusalem it is necessary to depict, in brief, the background of the situation in the city before the truce. Abdullah’s Arab Legion had occupied Latrun on the main highway, thus preventing any passage of traffic between the capital and the coast. At the same time, they cut off the city’s water-supply by capturing the pumping station at Ras-el-Ein. On the south, the city was cut off by the armies of the Arab States—the Iraqis, the Egyptians and the Arab Legion. Besieged Jerusalem tightened her belt. All the food-stores available in the city were collected and rationed out daily. The city’s water wells were sealed to the public and tapped only by the local authorities, who distributed the water at the rate of a few cupsful per head per day. The population of the city became desperate. The food stocks were petering out, the wells were drying up, and the population was subjected to day and night shelling from the heavy mortars of the surrounding Arab armies. The Old City fell, but the New City held on tenaciously. Then, just as the desperate population were reaching the end of their tether, manna fell as smooth as a billiard table. Beyond Rehovoth, the road degenerated to straighten out the post-Altalena confusion and to lay the foundations for residents who had rested for a while and were hurrying back to arrive in the city before all civilian transport was stopped. [a]

60747. Katz. Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 32: The Army of the IZL. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. Any non-resident of Jerusalem had to get a permit from the authorities to travel to the city. Soldiers travelled on army permits, civilians on permits from the Jewish Agency. Shmuel was very dubious about the possibility of my getting such a permit and warned me that he might have to leave me behind after all. But I was not easily put off by stories of permits. I went to the office of the Jewish Agency and asked for a permit as a returning resident, which was, after all, almost true: we had been living away from Jerusalem only some twenty months. The clerk informed me that I did not need a permit any longer—all I required was a voucher from the bus company to say that I had beenengranted a seat on a bus and I could then travel under the collective permit carried by the busdriver. There were not many people going off to Jerusalem to be in the war, and I got my voucher easily. In fact, I got one for Smnuel too and had a little legitimate gloat over people who exaggerate the difficulties of a situation. We arrived at the bus station looking like modern counterparts of the Lithuanian Jews who emigrated to South Africa in my parents’ time. In deference to our age of progress we had, instead of the barrels of herrings, zip-bags full of tinned foods, and, instead of the feather mattresses, we had rugs and cushions. Molye, the grocer, fumed out all his precious foodstores so that we should not go hungry in Jerusalem. He refused to take payment, saying we could pay him when (I could almost hear him adding inwardly “and if?”) we returned.

My mother came to the bus-station to see us off. She ought to have been used to our continual comings and goings and to what she considered our crazy escapades. But she was not. Her heart still failed her as she waved us on our way, quite convinced that this time we would not pay him when (I could almost hear him adding inwardly “and if?”) we returned.

With the truce, thousands of Jerusalem residents, who were not required for fighting or defence, packed their belongings, took their children and fled from this city of death to the coastal area to Tel Aviv, to Haifa, to the settlements, to wherever they had friends and relatives, who could give them a roof, a bath and fatten up their children again. The “Burma Road” hummed with activity. But these were the minority. The bulk of the civilian population remained in the city, among them those who had been born there, who had their roots there and were so physically and emotionally bound to the city that they could not dream of existence anywhere else. They did not blame those who left. The months of horror had impaired the physical health and nerves of many; the economy of the city was completely ruined, and there was very little from which to make a living. These two factors were sufficient to justify the exodus of those who did leave, but even they did not frighten the stalwarts of Old Jerusalem into seeking out the comfort of the “New Jerusalem” of Tel Aviv. As the truce period drew to a close the stream of traffic on the Burma Road was reversed. Food supplies and reinforcements poured into the city from the coast together with returning residents who had rested for a while and were hurrying back to arrive in the city before all civilian transport was stopped.
We arrived in Jerusalem as the sun was setting, eight hours after leaving Tel Aviv which is thirty miles away as the crow flies. The city looked dead and desolate but surprisingly undamaged, except for Ben Yehuda Street which had been practically destroyed by a load of explosives planted by the British, and for the various manifestations of the anti-British activities of the IZL which still gaped widely to the skies. The Arab shelling appeared to have caused very little external damage to the solidly-built stone buildings. This first, superficial impression was quickly dissipated when we arrived at the old IZL Headquarters (where we had drunk the toast to the newly-arrived Sten-guns four months previously) to meet Raanan. Here the gaping holes in the roof and the havoc in the courtyard gave the lie to the untouched and unruflled exterior of the building.

Shmuel immediately plunged into the maze of troubles and difficulties the IZL were experiencing in Jerusalem. So that I should not, meanwhile, have to sit on our suitcases in the street, we took a room at the Eden Hotel until such time as Shmuel could take off a few minutes from his more pressing worries to think about where we were going to live. The proprietor of the hotel welcomed us effusively. His welcome was probably all the more cordial for the fact that in his large and comfortable hotelery built to house nearly a hundred guests there were, besides us, exactly three others: Konrad Bercovici and Major Weiser who had arrived by jeep a few days before us, and Shoshana Raziel who had returned to her home in Jerusalem only to find it evacuated because the people who deserve the unstinted praise of the people of Jerusalem are after leaving Tel Aviv which is thirty miles away as the crow flies. The city looked dead and desolate but surprisingly undamaged, except for Ben Yehuda Street which had been practically destroyed by a load of explosives planted by the British, and for the various manifestations of the anti-British activities of the IZL which still gaped widely to the skies. The Arab shelling appeared to have caused very little external damage to the solidly-built stone buildings. This first, superficial impression was quickly dissipated when we arrived at the old IZL Headquarters (where we had drunk the toast to the newly-arrived Sten-guns four months previously) to meet Raanan. Here the gaping holes in the roof and the havoc in the courtyard gave the lie to the untouched and unruflled exterior of the building.

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As for Shmuel, he always maintained so calm and dispassionate a front that it is difficult to know his reactions. He had two very narrow escapes. On one occasion he was in a car with Major Weiser when a shell fell directly behind them, killing a young man standing next to the car. Weiser, who was a seasoned campaigner, was considerably shaken, so I presume that Shmuel was not as unrefined inside as he appeared to be on the surface. On another occasion he was just stepping into his car outside the GHQ in Katamon when a shell fell on the pavement a few yards away from him. The war-experienced Jerusalemites conceived of all manner of ingenious devices for confounding the snipers. I had the opportunity of seeing one of the most brilliant of these when we drove Shoshanah to her home to collect a few of her personal belongings. Her flat was in a district which faced the notorious Sheikh Jarrah suburb, from where the Arabs had ambushed the convoy to Mount Scopus. As pedestrians crossed the street, they afforded the snipers across the narrow valley a wonderful target. In order to obviate this, the dwellers in that neighborhood had hung up mammoth curtains made of sack-cloth across the exposed streets. This enabled them to run across in safety unless by some very unfortunate chance they were hit by a sniper trying out his luck in a blind, targetless shot. After two days of "sight-seeing" and visiting all our old friends, I decided it was time I did some useful and constructive work. I could not seriously offer my services as a soldier, so, instead, I volunteered for work in the hospital.

The IZL women volunteers had rigged up a first-rate little hospital with about forty beds in a villa which had previously been occupied by General Barker, one of the best-hated GOC's of many who were sent out by the British to wipe out the "terrorists." This was a piquant piece of poetic justice which I was always at great pains to point out to visitors to the hospital. In this hospital we received all our wounded who had been through Hadassah or one of the other hospitals, been X-rayed, operated on when necessary and pronounced out of danger. In this way we made more beds available for urgent cases and helped, to some small extent, to narrow the dangerous gap between the hospital facilities and the thousands who needed them. It must be remembered that the "large" modern Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus had to be evacuated and temporary make-shift premises had been hastily equipped in town. Even in normal circumstances this disorganization would have caused a shortage of beds. How much more, therefore, was this so when, in addition to ordinary cases of sickness, there were hundreds of wounded soldiers and civilians.

Soon after the recommencement of the war, Shmuel had visited the IZL wounded in the Hadassah Hospital and I had accompanied him. I had seen films of emergency war hospitals from the days of the Crimean War to modern times and had been warned by my friends of what to expect; yet, nevertheless, I was shocked and sickened when confronted by grim reality. As so often happens in moments of great stress it was something quite trivial which produced the greatest effect. I stood the sight of doctors and nurses stumbling over beds which filled the passageways in the wards, which filled the corridors and the verandas; I stood the sight of bloody, oozing bandages; I bore with difficulty the groans and cries from the check-filled wards, but what eventually broke my nerve and sent me scurrying out for air was the shock of seeing men and women in the "me ward." This departure from all accepted practice suddenly brought home to me the cruel and crucial difficulties under which the sick and wounded and their medical attendants existed.

My work in the IZL hospital was of a very elementary nature. My only qualifications were a First Aid Certificate and a Home Nursing Certificate, both of which I had received in South Africa ten years previously, plus enthusiasm and willingness. I was allowed to draw only on the two latter qualifications. In the course of time I became an excellent meal-server, an even more excellent bedmaker and I could even remove a bed-pan without immediately wanting to vomit. I took temperatures with the skill of an expert and gave sleeping-pills as if I had had the operation of seeing one of the most brilliant of these when we drove Shoshanah to her home to collect a few of her personal belongings. Her flat was in a district which faced the notorious Sheikh Jarrah suburb, from where the Arabs had ambushed the convoy to Mount Scopus. As pedestrians crossed the street, they afforded the snipers across the narrow valley a wonderful target. In order to obviate this, the dwellers in that neighborhood had hung up mammoth curtains made of sack-cloth across the exposed streets. This enabled them to run across in safety unless by some very unfortunate chance they were hit by a sniper trying out his luck in a blind, targetless shot. After two days of "sight-seeing" and visiting all our old friends, I decided it was time I did some useful and constructive work. I could not seriously offer my services as a soldier, so, instead, I volunteered for work in the hospital.

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closed my eyes and plunged the needle in. To my horror, the patient let out a blood-curdling yell. This completely unnerved me and I fled from the room, leaving Yael to finish off the gruesome task of injecting the liquid from the syringe. In spite of the fact that she assured me I had done an excellent job and that that particular patient always yelled, I would never again touch an hypodermic syringe. I always tried to be cheerful, patient and kind according to the tenets of the text-books, but I soon discovered why hospital nurses have the reputation of being hard-hearted, cruel monsters. This is sheer self-protection against the willfulness, irritating egotism, bad temper and, in fact, hardheartedness and cruelty of their patients. Very sick people are no trouble at all. The constant attention which they need, but never demand, is given gladly and willingly, with unselfish devotion, by the nurses. But convalescent patients are the bane and detestation of every nurse’s life, and our patients were mostly convalescent or near-convalescent. The number of times a day I ran up and down the stairs bringing glasses of water, administering phoney headache pills, washing fruit, tightening loose bandages and giving assurances that the doctor would most certainly come that day, were legion. By the end of the day my legs ached, my back ached and my spirits were dangerously near to breaking-point. I made a solemn vow there and then that if I should ever have the misfortune to be hospitalized, I would lie quietly reading a book. I would wait my turn to be fed and washed patiently and not clamor for preference and, above all, I would never criticize the nurses or accuse them of neglect. [–]

60749. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel’s War of Liberation: Part 34: The Army of the IZL. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. Two days after the recommencement of the war, Shmuel and I went to stay with Raanan, the Jerusalem Regional Commander of the IZL prior to Shmuel’s arrival, and now, in effect, Chief of Staff. This was more convenient for Shmuel who spent a good deal of time at Raanan’s flat in any case, and a good deal more in keeping with austerity conditions in Jerusalem in general and in the IZL in particular. Shmuel was in the throes of solving the problem of the five British officials of the Jerusalem Electric Corp. who had been arrested by the IZL on suspicion of spying for the Arabs. Due to the inexperience of the intelligence officer, there was not sufficient evidence in the hands of the IZL to convict them in any court of law. The IZL Intelligence officers maintained, however, that the Haganah had enough additional evidence to convict the five in a fair trial. Shmuel studied all the evidence very carefully, including a confession of guilt from one of the five. He came to the conclusion that the IZL as such could not put the five on trial with the evidence in their possession.

The British government was demanding the release of the five men and Ben Gurion and his government went into their usual hysterical panic when confronted by an “international situation” and demanded through the Military Governor of Jerusalem, Dr. Bernard Joseph, that the five be handed over to them. In their hysteria, they instructed Dr. Joseph to take the men by force, if necessary. There were two courses open to Shmuel: to keep the five and try to collect additional evidence, or to hand them over to the Haganah. He inclined to the second course because, with the vision of the Altcvana still vividly before him, he did not want to risk another blood-bath which would probably on this occasion have been reciprocal. But he hesitated about taking it because he did not trust the Haganah and feared they would not bring the five to trial. So he directed negotiations with Dr. Joseph until the latter declared publicly that if the five British were handed over to him he would proceed to a fair trial and, presumably, that the Haganah would introduce the evidence in their possession to complete the link. This public statement must have earned Dr. Joseph a literal preference and, above all, I would never criticize the nurses or accuse them of neglect. [–]
crueal shaft pierced and parted it in screaming ecstasy. The night was
called all the more hideous by the terrible cries of one of our neighbors
whose husband, missing after the attack on Malcha, had been found that
afternoon in a gulley, killed by a shell.

Raanan’s wife and I had the unenviable woman’s task of
merely sitting and waiting for news, which we got from Shmuel who was
in constant contact by phone and messengers with the IZL staff. As zero-
hour approached we heard a terrific explosion which we took to be the
blowing we very soon learned that this was the first of a long list of
misfortunes up of the Old City gates as per plan and the initiation of
the attack. But which forsook the success of the attack from the start. A
shell had fallen on a LH truck loaded with ammunition and had blown it
skyhigh, taking its toll of human lives too. Ten o’clock came and went,
eleven o’clock came and went and the attack did not start. Shmuel grew
more and more worried. Messengers came with news that the LH still
were not ready, that the Haganah were not ready. Meanwhile the
precious hours slipped by and with their passing the chances of
capturing the Old City before dawn grew more and more slender. At last,
at three in the morning, both the Haganah and LHI informed the waiting
IZL officers that they were ready to attack.

The plan called for the simultaneous blowing-up of three of the
Old City’s gates, one by each of the three attacking groups, and a three-
pronged advance. The IZL blew up their gate without any difficulty and
within a short time were fighting within the precincts of the Old City
Itself. but the Haganah and the LHI through some miscalculation of the
amount of explosives necessary to do the job, failed to blow up their
gates. The small IZL forces, which had already made a considerable
bridgehead, were thus left without any protection on their flanks due to
the miscarriage of the plan of the campaign. When, consequently, the
truce came into force at 5:30 a.m. and the Haganah Command, which
had the overriding voice in all joint operations, gave them the order to
retire, they had no alternative but to do so, and the Old City remained in
the hands of Abdullah’s Arab Legion.

All this I subsequently heard from Shmuel, as I went to bed
shortly before three. Shmuel had the unpleasant task of breaking some
other news to me: Joe had been killed! I behaved very badly when he
told me of it as gently as he could. At first, I refused to believe that it
could be true. How was it possible that a man who had survived the
horrible war against the Japanese, could have been killed in what was a
dolls’ war in comparison When Shmuel dolefully insisted that it was not
only possible, but that I had really happened, I turned upon him and
berated him for having sent Joe to his death. This was a cruel and unjust
accusation made in the bitterness and despair of the moment. In spite of
his deep hurt, Shmuel realised that I spoke in the wildness of sorrow and
nevertheless he still insist that I of all people, should so have added to his
burden of grief and responsibility: He was not the first officer to be
arraigned by the bereaved friends and loved ones of those soldiers
whom he had sent into battle; nor will he be the last, unless, by some
miraculous mystical power, mankind should be persuaded that there are
other ways of settling differences than by pulverizing one’s opponents.

On Saturday, the 17th July, the official war came to an end in
Jerusalem. People emerged from their homes into the bright sunshine
laughter of the children rang out again in the streets, and through the
whole city ran a tremor of relief.

But the pall of smoke and dust still hovered in the air—symbols of the
destruction which had rained down in the night. And to the
Jerusalem-smell of latrines and disinfectants was added another,
sickly-sweet—the smell of death seeping out from the as-yet-unburied
bodies of the city’s heroes and victims. The lack of water and the
shortage of ice combined to bring home forcibly the horror and sordidity of
man’s continual strife against man. That smell of death pervaded the
whole city. When it was not an actual sensory sensation, it remained
with one as an olfactory memory, recurring at odd times and in peculiar
places as if to insinuate the tranitoriness and ephemerality of all things
mortal and cast a shadow over the brief, forgetful moments of merriment
and laughter.

On Sunday, I went to Joe’s funeral. It was the first time I had
ever been to a funeral. All our other bereavements had occurred in South
Africa, while we were in England. Joe was buried, together with eleven
other men of the IZL, among them one other from the Altalena who was
killed by the same shell as claimed Joe’s life. These two had no families
in Jerusalem and only a few friends to see them off on the long road to
eternity. But most of the others had been local boys and their
mourners were many, amongst them Ashkenazi, Sephardi and Oriental Jews. The
scenes at the Bikur Holim Hospital, where the plain dead coffins were
piled up in the courtyard while their contests received the last tributes to
the dead in the little adjoining synagogue, were ghastly. According to
their customs and traditions, the Oriental Jews set up an endless heart-
and-spirit-rending wail, while they tore their clothes and banged their
heads with frightening effect against the walls of the synagogue. The
immediate relatives of the dead men insisted that their coffins be opened
and they fell upon their dear departed ones, kissing their hands and faces
in a shrieking ecstasy of grief. To add to the horror of these macabre
scenes, the professional mourners who attend all oriental Jewish
funerals, sat crosslegged on the ground, alternately beating the earth
with their palms and flinging their arms wildly to the skies, all the time
singing in high-pitched, quavering voices a blood-curdling funeral dirge.

The noise of this unfettered, primitive and elemental grief, combined
with the sickly smell of death, became a nightmare. I found myself thinking
about Joe and his love for the beautiful and the spacious, for cleanliness
and modernity, or the lovely Californian shores—and I heard myself
moaning aloud: “God, how he would have hated all this!”

The funeral procession started off. The military trucks, on
which lay the draped coffins attended by guards of honor, were preceded
by slow marching, tense-faced soldiers of the IZL. Behind the cortage
walked the relatives and friends of the dead. All along the two-mile route,
the citizens of Jerusalem lined the streets to pay their last respects to the
faithful defenders of their city. A silly, sentimental refrain rang with
madam like persistence in my thoughts: “Joe, I promised to dance at your
wedding, and instead I’m weeping at your funeral.” This refrain
accompanied me the whole length of that grievous journey in the blazing,
phlegmatic sun. I felt it to be unworthy of the occasion, but it had
occupied my brain, drained and exhausted as it was with emotion, as a
disease will take possession of a weary, unresting body. At last we
passed the outskirts of the town and reached the temporary war-time
cemetery of Sheikh Bader. The communal grave. blasted out of the
rock, was overgrown with the grass, gaped widely and hungrily. As the volley of the
military escort echoed through the valley of death, the coffins were lowered one
after the other, to rest in close proximity until such time as peace should
return to the tortured city of Jerusalem and enable her to bury her dead
in graves marked with the dignity of headstones in a setting in keeping with
the tranquility and sanctity of death. [•]
collected for the daily laundering of clothes, was used again for washing the floors and then went into the waste-water pail. This waste water was the housewife's most valuable asset, for it went finally into flushing the toilets. I hated those symbols of twentieth century civilization in Jerusalem—the modern conveniences. They were a devilish anachronism which contrived to inflect on the fastidious the most subtle of all torments—the torture of the aesthetic sense. Getting at the water was not a simple matter. When the pump was being operated, a sodgy mess of mud and soap suds was thrown out of the stove in a muffle. I worked in a Jerusalem kitchen or, still worse, in a Jerusalem bathroom with its conglomerations of Heath Robinson water contraptions, sufficiently obscured by the dim lights as to cause many a bruised ankle or shinbone to the unwary.

Although the battles were officially over, minor clashes continued to occur. We were constantly getting fresh casualties in our hospital, mainly from Mount Zion, a high point overlooking the Old City, the responsibility for guarding which was in the hands of the IZL. The changing of the guards took place at night so as not to expose them to the mercy of Arab snipers on the Old City walls. And yet there were incidents. On one night in particular we suffered heavy casualties in wounded when the Arabs tunneled underneath a strong-point and then blew it up, burying its Jewish guards in stone and ruble. Some of the boys were interred for hours until their comrades could dig them out. There were no fatal casualties that night, but Yaacov Mizrahi, of whom more later, was permanently blinded, a second boy developed tetanus and hovered on the brink of death for days, and eight were so badly cut about and bruised that they spent weeks in the hospital before they were able to walk around in comfort. The snipers, too, continued to take their toll of lives. Our flat, to which we moved a few weeks after the truce started, faced the Old City walls. Anyone who stood on our kitchen balcony for any length of time was either a hero or an idiot, depending on one's point of view. The number of bulletmarks on the outside of the wall testified to that fact. As I have never pretended to be a hero, I used to crouch low and practically crawl whenever I wanted anything on the balcony, taking care not to expose even the minutes' part of my anatomy above the low wall.

In between my chores, I continued working in the hospital. But with the advent of "peace," the girls in the First Aid units found the time heavy on their hands and many of them asked to be transferred to work in the hospital. This sudden abundance of helpers made me dispensable and I became, instead, a Welfare Officer. My duties consisted in visiting the wounded IZL boys in hospitals other than our own, bringing them chocolates, cigarettes and books, listening to their complaints and tending to their needs. As soon as they could be moved, I had to arrange for their transfer to our own hospital. There were very seldom any complaints, and as for their needs—they always assured me that they, themselves, had none; but most of them worried about their families. I was continually asked to find out if parent were getting their allowances, or whether families who had had to evacuate their old homes had found new ones, as the boys realised that their parents or other relatives would not want to worry them with these things and so would not divulge the true state of affairs. And always they would ask how soon they could be transferred to our own hospital—not because they did not get good treatment or were unhappy where they were, but because they wished to be with friends, at "home."

In accordance with an unwritten, tacit law which we women had ourselves evolved, we made a point of looking our best whenever we came into contact with outside authorities such as the Municipality, the welfare organizations, public medical authorities and the Haganah. This was a reaction to the real truth—that due to the chronic shortage of funds our forces looked rather a rag-tag and bobtail crew, in an amazing assortment of "uniforms," ranging from Cossack-booted partisan attire to Australian awash-buckling hats and bushjackets. But we women were extremely jealous of the reputation of the IZL, so Noar, my visiting companion, and I always kept our uniforms as immaculate as possible.
enabled us to spend more time with the sick and wounded and less in tramping in the hot sun from one hospital to the next. And yet as much time as we spent with the boys and girls was never enough. They liked to see us in our trim uniform and caps with the IZL badges prominently displayed. It made them feel less cut-off from their friends and still a part of the great, underground family, in spite of their temporary disablement. I am always happy to think that we did do something to lighten the long, painful days of our boys and girls spent in hospitals. And yet we wanted to do more.

But we did not only give. We received too-spiritual gifts much more precious than the mere chocolates and cigarettes which we brought. There was Yaacov Mizrahi. He taught me how one can suffer pain and affliction with courage and forebearance. At eighteen he had lost one eye completely and these doctors were fighting a losing battle to save the sight of the other. Yaacov underwent one operation after another, each one successively diminishing his and the doctors' hopes of restoring sight to his eye. And always it was he who was cheerful, he who encouraged us when he sensed our dismay at the failure of another operation. I used to sit at his side, holding his hand to maintain contact with him, and tell him, in my faltering Hebrew, about what the Gedud (the Brigade) was doing and how his friends, who had been wounded with him at Mount Zion, were faring. Noar would read to him. Then he would speak of the "old days" and how different things would be in the future. Poor Yaacov, for him they certainly are different. But when last I saw him his spirit was as strong and youthful as ever as he studied in the School for the Blind to become a useful citizen of the State for which he gave so much.

Then there was Yitschak, whose surname I have forgotten. He was sixteen years old altogether and was in hospital for the second time, this time with a shattered leg. He had been in the IZL since the age of fourteen and had not managed to finish his schooling. Now he was making up for lost time by reading voraciously and indiscriminately whatever he could lay his hands on. In addition, he had found that he had a remarkable aptitude for clay-modelling and was making rapid strides under the tuition of the hospital therapy instructor. Yitschak was simply simmering with enthusiasm at the wonderful new vista of learning and education which was opening before him. I always felt thoroughly ashamed at the thought of the careless matter-of-factness with which I and my South African friends had accepted our schooling and the serious attitude which we had towards our lessons, our dancing lessons, our elocution lessons—most of which we rifle against a background of white and blue silk, and ruffled tempers, disordered hair and clothes, and manifold bruises gathered from all the buffeting we had received. I decided then and there to eschew the life of fame and pursue the simple pleasures of a simple woman.

The next day Begin performed the ceremonial function of handing the IZL flag over to Raanan, as Chief of Staff of the Jerusalem IZL and thus of the IZL in toto. The duty of receiving the flag should nominally have been Shmuel's, as Commander, but he had no pretensions to being a military man and did not even have a uniform; so he gladly retired in favor of Raanan. This ceremony was one of the most touchingly impressive I have ever witnessed. On the large sports field in Katamon, which the IZL used as a parade-ground, row upon row of rifle-bearing men and women soldiers stood at attention. There were mortars and bren-guns, armored cars and jeeps, radio equipment and first-aid detachments. Every thing gleamed in the sun, from the highly-polished boots to the freshly laundered and almost uniform uniforms. To the casual observer this was no more than a very mediocre, small-scale military parade. But to those of us who knew how much blood and sweat and tears and hard work and sacrifice and renunciation and self-denial went into producing every rifle, every pair of boots, every uniform, every one of the brand-new berets with their different colored pom-poms—to us, this was a miracle. And as the flag of the IZL unfurled, revealing the gleaming golden emblem of the hand grasping the rifle against a background of white and blue silk, the miracle became an emotional cataclysm whose intensity was broken only by the sudden whirring of cameras as the newspaper photographers sprang back into life and resumed the feverish activity which they had suspended for a few minutes when even they had fallen under the spell of the solemnity of the moment.

For the foreign correspondents and photographers, Begin's visit to Jerusalem was a field-day. After days of uneventful post-war inertia, punctuated only by the clashes and sniping which had lost their news value by their frequency, here was an event which hit front-page headlines. The newspaper men made the most of their opportunities; and the press and movie-photographers were by no means outdone by them. Facts were sometimes sacrificed to sensation—as in the case of one movie-tone newssheet, which featured Begin's visit to Jerusalem and the ceremony of handing over the flag, and showed pictures of Begin and Shmuel, together with the commentary that Shmuel was Begin's double and went everywhere with him in order to foil assassination.

This resemblance between Begin and Shmuel created quite a sensation in Jerusalem. I myself see no resemblance whatsoever other than that they both have moustaches, not of the same length or shape, that they both wear glasses, not with similar frames, and that they both wear trousers. It was the trousers that must have clinched the argument for the news-photographers. By an unfortunate coincidence Begin and Shmuel were wearing identical suits brought for them from South Africa by my mother. This, coupled with the superficial facial resemblance, caused a good deal of confusion. Shmuel found himself cheered and
they needed the extraordinary rigor of a strong-fisted regime to keep the Irgun Zevai Leumi ceased to exist as an independent military against the Arabs, the common danger and the habit of self-discipline cause havoc in the ranks of the Haganah. Without doubt, too, this would disciplinary measures were not only redundant, but ridiculous. In the war position in Jerusalem was sufficiently strong to have enabled them to plans and their leadership the common aim would the sooner be already made clear its readiness to dissolve of its own accord, and this
imposed. The IZL was then a comparatively small organization bound organization unconditionally, or else. "Undoubtedly the Government, and Raanan and Avinoam representing the IZL.

For Shmuel, the return to normal meant the increasingly difficult struggle of maintain" the IZL camp in Jerusalem. Besides the immense difficulty of feeding and clothing hundreds of people, with very limited resources, there was the growing battle against demoralization which afflicts every idle army. The men were bored and restless and exaggerated the usual soldiers' grumbles into minor tragedies. The hardships they had borne cheerfully in the days of fighting now became irksome and irritating. Those who had spent the last six years fighting—history.

congratulated and accosted unwarrantedly—a somewhat painful experience for one as modest and retiring as he is. Newspapersmen asked him if he was Begin’s younger brother and the photographers snapped him furiously, to his acute embarrassment. For weeks afterwards small boys would stop and stare at him in the street and then argue furiously about whether he was Begin or Artsi (Shmuel’s pseudonym in Jerusalem). Shmuel’s reaction to the Begin’s double story was typical: he took it very calmly, remarking merely that they certainly must think him a damn fool if they thought he would serve as a bullet-proof vest for Begin. Begin returned to Tel Aviv the day after the ceremonial parade. He was accompanied on part of his journey by an IZL guard of honor complete with white-helmeted motor-cyclists, and left the city in a triumphal procession, cheered on his way by the waving citizens. Life returned to normal or to the equivalent of normal. For me it meant more work in the hospitals and the daily drudge of housekeeping. Not that this was dull and monotonous. On the contrary, every day brought something new and exciting. First we started getting used to a great event in the heat of an Israeli summer; then we got more and more electricity until the nights of the candle were completely forgotten; and, finally, the shops filled up with all kinds of luxuries, such as tinned foods, fruit and vegetables and we even got rations of chicken to supplement our meat allocations. Only the water-pipes remained silent and obdurate and continued to remain so until a week after we left Jerusalem.

The only remaining problem was that of getting the best possible terms for the soldiers. Negotiations were started on how the incorporation should take place. The negotiations were carried on between Mr. Gruenbaum, the Minister of Interior in the Provisional Government, and Raanan and Avinoam representing the IZL. Interminable discussions took place as to whether the IZL should go in as a battalion or whether the members should join as individuals; whether they would have their own officers or whether they would be officered by Army Command appointees. The IZL planned to hold a monster military parade through the streets, bringing with them all their arms and armor which they would then hand over to the Israeli Army and its soldiers incorporated therein, forced the issue.

Discipline in the days of the underground had been self-imposed. The IZL was then a comparatively small organization bound together by common ideals and a common purpose. This unity and harmony obviated the need of any imposed discipline. The soldiers of the line obeyed their officers because they recognized that through their plans and their leadership the common aim would the sooner be achieved. The junior officers obeyed their senior officers for the same peremptory, clumsy "we'll show you who's boss!" demand on the part of Army Command appointees. The IZL planned to hold a ceremonial parade. He was accompanied on part of his journey by an IZL guard of honor complete with white-helmeted motor-cyclists, and left inspired the magnificent vow: "If I forget thee, may my right hand forget its cunning," was still not incorporated into the State of Israel, was still mutilated by the amputation of its oldest limb from the body corporate. To many this justified the continued existence of the IZL in the hope that they would create a political situation which would convince the Israel Government, too, was demanding that the IZL arms be handed over to the Israeli Army and its soldiers incorporated therein, forced the issue.

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To brighten our lives still further, the cinemas re-opened, not change the inevitable decision which Shmuel and his colleagues had to make. The fact that the Israel Government, too, was demanding that the IZL arms be handed over to the Israeli Army and its soldiers incorporated therein, forced the issue.

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organisation. The handingover of the arms was carried out without incident in spite of the fact that the military authorities, with characteristic gaucherie and tactlessness, sent a unit of Palmach (who had carried out the brutal attack on the Altalena from the Tel Aviv shore) to receive the arms. Perhaps one day, when our Government reaches maturity, they will learn how to be gallant and gracious, and how to recognise and acknowledge worth even in their political opponents. The Haganah in Jerusalem, though Jerusalem had been instructed not to allow the arms to leave the establishment, was a part of the Israel Army, carried out "Operation Liquidation" with amazing speed and efficiency. They dismantled the barracks in Katamon, they removed our wounded to their own hospitals, in one day, and then began swearing-in the individual members. This latter process took quite a considerable time, owing to the numbers involved.

The liquidation of our little hospital was a very sad event for the women volunteers, especially for Rachel and Nata who had built it up from an empty, neglected villa to a well-equipped, well-run modern establishment. They felt it should have been possible to keep it going for the Army, but by the very nature of the place this was impossible. The IZL was dead, and anything associated with it had to be destroyed, so that its name should not be perpetuated. This was good party politics on the part of the Government, even if it was not good ethics. I had the dismal task of conducting the Haganah swearing-in officers round all the hospitals and explaining to our sick and wounded that they had to take the oath to the Israel Army and become part of it. (The Army had agreed to accept responsibility for all our wounded, including those who were permanently disabled.) I knew that the dissolution of the IZL was inevitable and that death had been quiet and painless; but, nevertheless, I had natural compunctions about assisting at the death-rites. Somebody had to do this, however, and who was more suitable than I who knew all the boys and had been accepted by them as a friend. The task was not a simple one. Some of these boys had been in hospital for months and had lost touch with events. They could not understand why we had dissolved and, still less, why they should join the army. I explained as simply and clearly as I could and pointed out that, as the IZL was no longer in existence, there was no one to take care of them, to see they had the necessary medical attention, if they did not join the Army.

The Haganah officers behaved with exemplary patience and tact. They gave me all the time I needed to explain away all doubts and fears, adding their assurances that there would be no discrimination in care and attention against anyone. But what explanations or assurances could I find for 18-year-old Zion who cried and said that he had been in Betar and the Irgun half of his life, and what could he possibly do without an underground? This cry of Zion's struck fear in my heart. I confess that for one moment of blind panic I was afraid of what would happen to these young men, whose dives had been wrapped in an ostensibly illegal organisation, when they should have to revert to normal lives in normal circumstances. Would their revolt against the authority of tyranny become a revolt against authority in general, or would they revert back to peace-loving, order-abiding citizens of their new, young State. I could have spared myself such misgivings. These young men integrated themselves into their new society without any of the trials and difficulties which confronted others in every other revolutionary movement throughout the annals of history. They did not become breakers of law and defiers of authority as many of our opponents prophesied in their Jeremiads. This is one of the many phenomena in which the IZL abounded and which, in itself, deserves the learned attention of future historio-philosophers.

When we came to Yaacov Mizrahi, both the Haganah officers and I were deeply moved. I explained the situation gently to him. He accepted it philosophically, expressing amazement that the Army should want him: "I don't think I shall make much of a soldier again, but if you want me to swear, I'll swear." As the swearing-in officer guided the pen in Yaacov's hand to seal, with a sprawling, unnatural signature, his induction into the Army, the tears rolled unabashedly down my cheeks. At the end of the day I walked home with the Haganah officers. One of them, a nice young man, seeing my dispiritedness, tried to console me: "Never mind," he said, meaning to be kind, "we might still need you people again if Jerusalem is internationalized." He was thoroughly snubbed for his pains. "Next time," I said tartly, "you and your friends can go underground. We shall not be Ben Gurion's dirty work for him again."

I met Shmuel at the Eden Hotel where he had been holding a Press Conference to explain the background to the liquidation of the IZL. We were both in cheerful moods and decided to dine at the hotel in an effort to restore our spirits. I was in uniform for the last time and the badge on my cap attracted the attention of a man sitting by himself at the next table to ours. He leaned over and asked me, in impeccable Southern English whether I would let him have my badge as a souvenir. I detached it and handed it to him, remarking dryly that I would not advise him to wear it publicly in England as that was the badge of the notorious Irgun Zevai Leumi. Instead of showing signs of agitation he perked up interestedly and introduced himself as a British Labor Member of Parliament on an unofficial tour of Israel. He told us that his sympathies had always been with the IZL and that he was going back to England to tell Attlee that he was making a great mistake about Israel. Shmuel invited him to come and visit us and continue the conversation. He readily accepted the invitation, but two days later the porter at the hotel informed Shmuel to say that the British Member of Parliament regretted he was unable to dine that day as he had been urgently recalled to England. We were sorry. There was so much more we would have liked him to tell Mr. Attlee. [=]

60751. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 36: Dissolution. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. The assassination of Count Bernadotte provided my mother with just about the only experience she had not yet had in Israel. At the time of the murder, Nathan Friedman-Yellin, the leader of the LHI, was on his way to Haifa to take a plane to Europe. When the Government ordered all members of the LHI to be arrested he, naturally, headed the lists. In view of his claim that he knew nothing about the assassination, it might have been more politic for him to hand himself over to the authorities and dissociate himself from the crime. Instead, he chose to go into hiding—a rather impractical undertaking under a Jewish regime, where everybody knows everybody else's political affiliations, and where there is no longer any solidarity amongst the local inhabitants against the rule of a foreign oppressor. As the members of the LHI were taken down to the authorities in Haifa, Friedman-Yellin could not take refuge with any of them. He turned to my sister-in-law, Katie, with whom he had a slight acquaintance. My brother, Michael, and sister-in-law had been members of the IZL and were now members of the Herut Party.

When he arrived at their flat and asked for refuge, Michael and Katie did what any other decent people would do in similar circumstances—they took him in. How anyone as large as Friedman-Yellin (he is about 6 ft. and must weigh close to 200 lbs) could possibly have hoped to hide in a three-room flat in which there were, besides Michael and Katie, also three children and my mother, I cannot imagine. But he stayed there, undetected, for ten days, during which my mother had the time of her life. She was able to tell him just exactly what she thought of him and his organization. She pumped him dry on his ideologies, past and future, and she bombarded him with questions about the Bernadotte murder. The poor man could not escape and probably cursed the day he had chosen to go into hiding instead of sitting in a quiet, peaceful prison.

Friedman-Yellin continued to keep in touch with those of his colleagues who were still at large and was thus, quite inevitably, traced to Michael's flat, where he was dramatically arrested in the early hours of the morning, on the eleventh day of his sojourn there. The Israeli police were polite but firm. They searched the flat thoroughly—but quietly, as my mother threatened them, in her curious Anglo-Yiddish, that they would have to pacify the baby if they woke her. They left the flat an hour later taking with them Friedman-Yellin, all the papers, letters and photographs they could find, and Michael. They would probably have taken Katie as well if it had not been for the three little children. So now my mother's cup of experience was full—she had actually witnessed, with her own eyes, the arrest of a member of the family. She took a very poor view of this experience.

As communication with Jerusalem was still very irregular, we
heard of Michael's arrest only days afterwards. Arieh Ben Eliezer came up from Tel Aviv to address a public meeting and it was from him that we heard the whole story. I immediately set out for Haifa to see if there was anything I could do. This time we travelled on the new "Malaya Road," an asphalt-road built to take the place of the old "Burma Road" which had practically disintegrated. (By now it is remembered only as a legend.) The new road was built by labor squads of volunteers and conscripts from Jerusalem. The wits used to report on the daily casualties amongst the workers caused by over-crowding on the road and on the inability of the bull-dozers to maneuver because of the hundreds of manual workers who kept on getting in their way. When I arrived in Haifa, my mother's first words of greeting forewarned me of melodrama: "Oh, so you've come at last!!" I hastened to explain that we had only just heard the news and that mollified her somewhat. Perhaps I should have been more tactful and sympathetic. Instead of associating myself with my mother's attacks on the Government, I said that I felt they were perfectly entitled to arrest Michael for harboring a man known to be wanted by the police. Katie, who was suffering considerably because she felt the responsibility had been hers as it was she who had known Friedman-Yellin, agreed with me. My mother took a more liberal view of this too. She took Michael's arrest badly because, as she explained, it was so unnecessary and such a waste. She agreed with us that thousands of mothers in Palestine had been through the same experience and even worse, but in their cases, she said sadly, it was for some ideal, it was for the sake of freedom, for the sake of a cause, not just for something silly like this. It got a sneaking impression that she had been quite disappointed not at having had someone of hers in Latrun or Eritrea or Kenya. After all, a son in Bet Sach, detained at the pleasure of the Israel Government, was not so glorious an achievement as a rebel against oppression detained at the pleasure of H.M. Government. It certainly was a point of view.

Michael was imprisoned for six weeks and then released on bail. His case was eventually dropped and he was never brought to trial. The only complaint he had against his jailors was that they kept him in solitary confinement and that they would persist in giving him soft boiled eggs for breakfast without a spoon with which to eat them. Eventually, after ransacking the whole place, the guard found a table-spoon and he had to make do with this.

We stayed in Jerusalem for another month after the dissolution of the IZL while Shmuel supervised the inauguration of the new political party and straightened out some of the tangles caused by the abruptness of the dissolution. Then he was asked to return to Tel Aviv where the young Herut Party was in the throes of preparing for the first general elections in the State of Israel. And so we left Jerusalem, sadly, because we both love the city deeply, and returned to Tel Aviv. Shmuel immediately plunged into the intricacies and heart-aches of politics while I returned to domesticity. My days of being a "lady-terrorist" were over. They are now only a memory—but a sweet memory, wherein bitterness has been neutralised by time, where the hardships are overshadowed by the glories of achievement and where the sorrows are compensated for by the joys of comradeship and spiritual solidarity. 

60752. Katz, Doris. The Lady Was a Terrorist During Israel's War of Liberation: Part 37: Epilogue. New York, N.Y.: Shiloni Publishers, Futuro Press, 1953. JUST before leaving Jerusalem we dined with Carter Davidson, of the Associated Press, and his wife. During dinner the conversation turned on books which had been written about Palestine, by people who had visited there for about a month and then gone away experts. I remarked that as it seemed possible for any idiot to write a book on Palestine, I saw no reason why I should not do the same. Davidson asked me what I would like to write about and I jokingly replied: "The home-life of a terrorist." He took up the idea with enthusiasm. As I wrote, I found I had very little to say about the home-life of a terrorist, mainly because if there was one thing which a-terrorist could hardly be said to have, it was a home-life. But I found other things jostling for place in my thoughts and tumbling over themselves to get put down on paper. There were the simple people dike Ruhama and Yaacov Mizrachi who gave up uncomplainingly what they could ill spare—the first her loved ones, the second his sight—for the sake of a cause. There was the courage and endurance of the "forgotten men" of the revolution—the wives who sat at home and waited for the dread knock at the door. There was the great privilege which came to me fortuitously and which comes to but few—the privilege of seeing history being made and of witnessing, with my very own eyes, the courage, the glory, the inspiration—and the sordiness, the nastiness, the greed—which go into its making. And above all, there was the miracle and power of an idea which brought Joe from the sunny shores of California and Matie from the comforts of South Africa to a communal grave in the rocks of Jerusalem.

As I look back, now, on my own membership in the IZL, I find an incongruily which needs explaining. How was it possible that I, who have always hated violence and bloodshed to the point of over-faddiousness, could have thrown myself heart and soul into a group which, on the face of it, employed both? The explanation of this is two-fold: because I hate violence and bloodshed, I shuddered at the cruel barbarity which has been inflicted on my people throughout the last two centuries, culminating in the unprecedented horrors perpetrated by Hitler and his henchmen; and

I sought a means of halting this monstrous genocide. I found it in a Palestine to which the persecuted Jews could come freely. (My Zionism has never been based on nationalism or on political considerations—it is strictly humanitarian). But Palestine—the last refuge of the Jews—was barred to them by Britain for her own selfish considerations. This obstacle had to be removed—and the use of moral appeals to the conscience of the world has fallen into abeyance in this twentieth century of progress. The only argument which is appreciated is that of war. I regarded this waging of war against the British as by far the lesser of two evils. When confronted with the choice of two forms of violence—that of sitting as a spectator at the arena and watching dispassionately the mass slaughter of a defenseless people by the mad bulls of Europe, or that of slaying the guards at the gates of the arena and allowing the tortured human victims inside to escape—I chose the latter.

This is one part of the explanation. The other lies in the concept of the IZL. I had read the writings of its leaders and eventually had the privilege of knowing them personally. Men like Begin, Benjamin, Avraham and Shmuel did not worship violence as a philosophy. They committed it as a means of dealing with all their souls. But they made war, nevertheless, not for the sake of violence, but in the same way as a surgeon, with ruthless kindness, cauterises a festering growth, or amputates a rotting limb in order to save a precious life. Their violence was that of the Maquis who fought the hated German oppressor; that of the French people who stormed the Bastille, the symbol of tyranny; that of Joan of Aro who, in the name of Christ, fought the invader; that of the Barons who wrested Magna Carta from John; that of Yael who impaled the enemy general, Sisera, with a tent-peg, that of David who slew the giant, Goliath, by artifice. Those are all examples of violence, but violence as a means, not as an end. While I do not believe that the end always justifies the means, there are times when the negation of this Machiavellian philosophy may be used merely to cloak illy-livered cowardice and the fear of drawing correct conclusions. The end of saving a people from complete destruction was sufficiently high-minded and glorious to justify the means acceptable in our days as applicable to much less worthy causes.

A second anomaly in my adherence to the IZL was my "Englishness"—based on cultural and geographic ties. I had been brought up in an English-speaking community and educated by English teachers in English style. But love of the truly great culture and literature of England does not preclude hatred of those of her sons who defile freedom and liberty and some of the finest traditions of their people. The IZL did not fight against British culture and tradition. It fought against the bonds of slavery with which individual British task-masters attempted to enslave the people of Palestine. My hatred of the British was that of the American colonists and of the Irish Republicans, whose natal and cultural ties to Britain did not prevent them from revolting against her oppression.

There were two kinds of people in the resistance movements:
those who had experienced oppression in one form or another and hated it with the violence of fear and bitterness; and those who had been brought up to revere freedom of spirit and thought and to abhor any restriction of human liberty and dignity with a cold, intellectual hatred. By accident of birthplace, by education and by home influence, I belonged to this second category. In the ranks of the IZL I found congenial spirits—young Palestinians who had been reared in the tradition of independence and nurtured on the teachings of Jabotinsky, who preached that every man was a king: Americans, French, Greeks, who, though themselves untouched by persecution and tyranny, hated it none the less.

It was this love of freedom, coupled with fierce national pride, which held together a body of men and women whose diversity of background, origin, education and mental outlook has never been equaled—the Polish visionary and the American go-getter, the Anglicized South African and the oriental Yemenite, the Russian atheist and the side-curled religious fanatic from Jerusalem, the hot-tempered and naive North African and the cool, sophisticated Parisian, to mention just some of the types who served with courage, devotion and complete selflessness in the IZL. This selflessness aroused both my intense admiration and my annoyance. I admired and revered the complete obliterating of personal consideration, the complete sinking of the individual in the cause; but I rebelled against the sacrifice of family ties, against the neglect, to the point of causing them much suffering, of wives and children; against the complete subordination of all personal relationships, of all human desires, to an ideal. I rebelled because, at times, the suffering which this spiritual fanaticism caused to their own dear ones seemed to me to negate the great aim of liberation and freedom. I felt that these young men and women kept their eyes glued on a distant, glorious horizon and strained to reach it; but as they struggled along, with the dazziling, distant light both drawing and blinding them, they stumbled against and trampled unseeingly on those who sat at their feet. These occasional flare-ups of revolt again nationalism were short-lived. I recognized them as the subjective, self-pitying cry of women throughout the ages—a cry which is none the less heart-rending for its subjectivity; but which, fortunately for history, has so often fallen on ears deafened to all else but the greater, more urgent, appeal of humanity as a whole. [=]

60753. Katzwell, Jack. "Suicide Bomb Blast on Jerusalem Bus Kills 5, Wounds 100 [anonymous caller states suicide bombing in Israel carried out by Hamas, as part of an effort that will last until the 11/1996 Israeli elections]: suicide bomber was probably a woman", in Seattle Times, August 21, 1995. p. A6. [TXT]

60754. Keinon, Herb. Briefs: Thousands Make Pilgrimage to Rachel's Tomb [to mark the anniversary of her death. The larger than normal crowd was attributed to the political situation and fears of this being the last year they will be allowed.], in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 29, 1994. p. 3.[TXT]

60756. Keller, Chava. "Baby in Prison", in Challenge, March-April, 1994, p. 22. [Chava Keller is the coordinator of the Women's Organization for Political Prisoners in Tel Aviv.]

Omaima al-Agha, a 34-year-old woman from Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip and a mother of eight, was arrested on 6/9/93 and imprisoned in the Hasharon Prison north of Tel Aviv. She was in the sixth month of pregnancy. A vegetable vendor near the Erez checkpoint at the entrance to Gaza, she was charged with lightly wounding a soldier with a knife. In 1/94 she was sentenced to five years in prison.

On 9/19/93, Omaima gave birth to a daughter, Hanin (Arabic for longing) in the Meir Hospital in Kfar Saba, Israel. The Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFP) and the Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) succeeded in preventing her from being shackled to the bed while giving birth. (As had been done in the past, such as when Intisar al-Qaq gave birth while in prison.)

Omaima's milk was found to be harmful to the baby, and the prison supplied her with a powdered milk substitute. The prison also provided her with a small, dilapidated cot. That is all she has received. No diapers, no additional baby food. Fruit, for example is forbidden. As her family's material situation is very difficult (her husband lost his job due to the closure of the territories), WOFP supplies diapers and canned baby food by-weekly.

Due to the closure of the territories, frequent curfews, and the distance from the family's home, visits are infrequent and time consuming. At the beginning of Omaima's imprisonment her husband was allowed to visit her. Three months ago the prison authorities realized that he had been imprisoned for one year in 1979. Thereafter he was forbidden to visit his wife. In addition, on 1/21/94, during a visit to the prison, Omaima's sixteen-year-old son Muhammad was outside eating an orange when his turn came to see his mother. In his haste, he slipped the small fruit knife into his pocket. The warden found it as soon as Muhammad entered the prison, whensupon he was arrested and severely beaten. It turns out that the police didn't even think the small fruit knife was dangerous. After two days, Muhammad was released, penniless, near Qalqilya in the West Bank, nowhere near his home in the Gaza Strip. He had to tell his bizarre story to strangers who gave him money to return to Gaza.

After that Omaima went into a deep depression and felt that she was unable to take care of her baby. She decided to give Hanin to her family to care for her. Her smallest child outside prison is 18 months old and is taken care of by her 14-year-old daughter. On February 4, the family was told to take the baby and Omaima had to sign that she agreed to stay with her imprisoned mother until she is two years old.

The other prisoners, who have constantly petitioned the prison authorities for permission to help Omaima care for Hanin, have finally gotten authorization to visit her and help take care of the baby (Omaima is alone in her cell). Since then, her mood has improved somewhat. Omaima is still anxious about her children and misses her husband. WOFP and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel are demanding that her husband be allowed to visit.[=]

autobiography of a Palestinian activist woman who participated in the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian Resistance Movement. She describes the exile and suffering of the Palestinian people, their determination to return to their land and their struggle for freedom and liberation. The writer presents the political, social, and cultural aspects of the Palestinian people's resistance against Israeli occupation and colonization.

Refusal of that delegation to attend the meeting. Netanyahu refuses to talk with Arafat, and Western diplomats are openly writing Arafat off due to the hardline refusal of the Netanyahu government to have any interaction with him. Netanyahu's rejection of every element of the peace process, and his list of new demands against the broken PLO, preclude any meaningful progress towards Palestinian human or civil rights. The chief Palestinian negotiator in Oslo and Madrid, Ahmed Qureia, notes that Israel has abandoned any pretense that it is interested in a peace process. Dr. Rashid Khalidi at the University of Chicago observes about Arafat: “He is the biggest loser of all in this. The Palestinians put up with an enormous amount before the elections, including Israeli noncompliance with the accord. Arafat made not one peep about the attack on Lebanon and he made himself into Israel's policeman. I don't see what is going to save Arafat.” [TEXT]
massive unemployment is rapidly turning the Gaza Strip from a crisis area — severe, yet bearable — into a disaster area, on the brink of hunger and beyond. The Gaza Strip, in the Spring of 1991, was a completely different Strip than at any other Springtime. Anything could happen here, from severe riots and bloodshed of a scope we have not known before, to massive epidemics, even cholera, such as that wreaking havoc among the population suffering from malnutrition in North Yemen. Already children in the Gaza Strip are already crying in the streets, not because of hunger. Desperate parents, with empty pockets, watch them helplessly, counting pennies for a pita bread and vegetables. Not knowing how to buy milk the next day, and nourishing feelings of revenge and hatred. Only 25000 of the Strip workers have returned to work in Israel after the Gulf War and the lengthy curfew, about one-third of the number who worked in Israel previously. The few who do work bring home much less money than in the past, because the prohibition against sleeping in Israel and the new transportation arrangements have led to taxes and sometimes hundreds of shekels to be taken from their low wages for transportation each day.

TAX COLLECTORS AND EMPTY POCKETS: These dry data have one meaning: a crisis, the like of which has not been seen since 1967. For the first time since then, the conditions of the Strip's residents are harsher than they were during the Egyptian occupation. The Israeli government does not lift a finger in order to prevent the unprecedented deterioration, and even makes it worse by hounding the population with tax collectors, who harass unfortunate people whose pockets are empty. This article is written in an atmosphere of helplessness, because in order to bring this message home powerfully, a poet and person of conscience is required. We have become an unfeeling, a rigid people. However, the issue must be raised time and again, hoping that someone will perhaps, listen and try to halt the disaster at the beginning, and put out the fire before it burns everything down. The pressure cooker of the hungry Strip is already giving off steam. Smoke is already rising from the bomb's fuse. In the fields of my kibbutz, bordering on the Strip, the num ber of sabotages and instances of arson of agricultural equipment are rising rapidly, on a scale we did not know before. No one knows when the sabotage of property will escalate to harming people. Desperate parents and brothers of hungry children are capable of anything in order to get bread for their children — and even in order to get revenge. We have abandoned the Gazans. For 24 years they worked at hard labor for us. Today we are telling them that the nigger has done his job and can go to sleep hungry in Jabalya and Rafah. The day will come when the Israeli government, and each of us, will be asked to answer where we were and what we did when the Strip became a ghetto, starved and fenced off, with only a few of its 700000 members of the network indicated that the allegations of graffiti were unfounded; then the network was told that it had not been graffiti, after all, but bags of paint that had been thrown at the signs although there was no more evidence of that than there had been of graffiti. Curiously enough, neither the agency or BART reported the alleged vandalism to BART's own police nor were any photos taken of the "damaged" ads. The transit agency initially defended the ads as being legitimate political advertising when challenged by criticism from Jewish community officials. Representatives of this group, while publicly acknowledging MEPN's first amendment rights, appeared to be working behind the scenes in an attempt to bring political pressure to bear to get the ads removed. The removal of the ads was documented. The efforts to silence MEPN's message was given wide publicity throughout the Bay Area with the Oakland Tribune, for example, making it not only a five-column lead story on its front page but running a four-column full reproduction of the ad at the top of the back page of the first section. The often passionate debate over the question of suspending aid to Israel and the network's opposition to the General Assembly's call for the US to suspend aid to Israel was initiated in an effort to bring widespread attention to the suffering of the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The columns of smoke from the burning oil wells in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have turned the yellow time of the decades of occupation into black time. What is happening in the Strip is making tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people completely helpless. Such a disaster requires immediate assistance of all kinds, as in Armenia, as in Kurdistan. In the course of the next few weeks and months only further deterioration is expected; the assistance of relatives working in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has ceased and will not be renewed.

When the citrus picking season will be over thousands more Gazans will be fired. The growing unemployment inside Israel will escalate the firing of Gazans who will be replaced by new immigrants and by Israelis. When an immigrant from Russia or Ethiopia fights over a job with a worker from Gaza, then not only the terrible Israeli right wing, but also the humane, stuttering Zionist left, will in the end prefer the immigrant and Israeli unemployed over the Gazan. Your own poor are closer to you. This is not an article about intentional torture of demonstrators by soldiers, or detainees by Shin Bet (the Secret Police) interrogators. It was not evil for its own sake which dictated the new security arrangements: exit permits, prohibition on sleeping in Israel, prohibition on travelling in a local private vehicle, setting a limit of 10 passengers in a local private vehicle, setting a limit of ten workers from the Territories at each workplace in Israel. Each is busy with his own: the security forces dictate the restrictive conditions as a
result of the intifada and the knifings. The employment service distributes to the best of its ability the leftovers from the bottom of the Israeli work pot, whatever even an unemployed Jew or a new immigrant won't do. The tax collectors are effective, too effective, conditioning the permit to go to work on paying debts of thousands of shekels, while the workers' pockets are empty. The transporters — busses, taxis and vans — a large part of them Israelis, collect the the high transportation fee from the low wages. Reserve duty soldiers at Erez checkpoint do everything they can to allow fast passage during rush hours. Everyone is doing their job, everyone is obeying instructions, in most cases without hatred, without hostility and without racism. Everyone is obeying orders.

“EVERYONE IS OBEYING ORDERS”: The thousand arms of the government perform a thousand actions, innocent or less innocent, with inpenetrable indifference — and the result is a terrible catastrophe, methodical starvation of the residents of the Strip. “You are killing us without guns,” said a Gaza worker who was quoted in the headline of this article. Killing with regulations, forms, instructions. “Sit next to me, sit in front of my eyes, head to head, let's talk, do anything to me, but do not cut my bread,” says Ahmad, a false name for a real person and a general name for all the Gazans. “You have deported me, you have also taken the money from my pockets, you have sold me in the flea market, but I tell myself: it will be alright, it will be alright, wait, wait, wait. “But do not cut the bread! Do not cut the bread! You killed one of my children? I have three left. Give me their bread! You took four from the neighbor to prison? He is left with three. At least give the three food to live. We are three brothers. One has a past and is forbidden to enter Israel? Okay, Let the others work, so they can bring bread for his children as well. “Everyone here has a lot of children at home, and you can not tell them, you will get milk tomorrow, you will get bread tomorrow. Do you know what bread is?...” Until the war, Ahmad had worked for ten years in the Tel Aviv Carmel market chopping meat at a butcher's... For four months, since the war and the curfew he has been unemployed. Ahmad does not want to be identified or photographed. He has already once paid the fee for appearing on Israeli television, an exorbitant fee. In the first month of the intifada he was interviewed for TV, and spilled his heart out. They put him in administrative detention for eight months and tried to make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. For four months, since the war and the curfew he has been unemployed. Ahmad does not want to be identified or photographed. He has already once paid the fee for appearing on Israeli television, an exorbitant fee. In the first month of the intifada he was interviewed for TV, and spilled his heart out. They put him in administrative detention for eight months and tried to make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television... He also has a lesson in Zionism, building the country and people’s solidarity for us: “We built this state on our backs. How was Holon when we came in the many were needed early in the morning by their Israeli employers. When they are finished with their day’s work, somebody comes - let us make him tell who had asked him to appear on television...
Police and to the Border Guards, but were dismissed and told to apply again each time. They even reached the (Central Tel Aviv) Police Station in the Hayarkon area but were told that since the police do not have even one Arab-speaking Interogator they must wait at home until one is found who will contact them at their home. Until today, more than two months later, no one has contacted them. [=]

60766. LCOME. "Intifada Squeezes Israeli Citrus; Seek ‘Foreign Workers’", in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Spring 1989. DEMANDS BY ISRAELI farmers for “foreign” workers to harvest the winter citrus crop while “illegal foreign workers” are being rounded up by the Employment Service is another illustration of how the Palestinian intifada is effecting the Israeli economy. In the Jerusalem Post (12/10/86), it was reported that Shlomo Reisman, head of the Farmers Federation, warned the government that unless it allows the growers to bring in 2000 “foreign workers” the current harvest would be severely hurt. According to the Post, about 12000 workers were needed to harvest the Country’s 90000 acres of citrus fruit, but under the best conditions only 8000 would be available. This is be-cause the industry relies almost totally on workers from the occupied territories.

“NO JEWISH WORKERS” : “We are sorry to say,” said Reisman, “That despite the growing problem of unemployment, there are virtually no Jewish workers willing to do this kind of work.” The Post reported that farmers had asked permission to bring in workers from Portugal and the Philippines but had received no reply from the government. In the same issue, the paper reported a government crackdown against foreign residents working in Israel without a valid permit These “illegal,” who are said to come from the Philippines, Thailand, Portugal, Ghana and England, were to be deported and their employers billed for the airfare. The director of the employment service, David Mena, said his roundup team expected to find illegal workers from the Philippines, particularly housemaids. He sharply criticized the “fashion” in Herzliya, a prosperous Tel Aviv suburb, of employing “Filipinas” to do the housework instead of women from Or Akiva, a relatively poor nearby village inhabited largely by North African Jews. [=]

60767. LCOME. "Israeli Need for Palestinian Labor Brings Ends to Three Week Curfew", in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Winter-Spring 1991. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, in apparent need of Palestinian labor from the West Bank and Gaza, announced the apparent end of a three week 24-hour curfew it imposed on the territories’ 1.7 million inhabitants on the first day of the war. During that time Palestinians were unable to buy food, find medical care and earn a living and could be shot if seen on the streets. There was one incident in which a woman with a baby in her arms was shot and killed by an Israeli soldier. Although Israeli officials had hoped that newly arrived Soviet immigrants would replace Palestinians at lower-paying jobs, their efforts have been only partially successful. The Israeli economy is almost totally dependent on Palestinian labor in the construction and agricultural industry, worked that is looked down only by Israeli Jews as being “Arab work.” As a result, building of new homes for arriving Soviet immigrants and the picking of over ripe crops had come to a standstill. The Los Angeles Times reported on Feb. 11 that “Citrus trees lining the road from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon were laden with unpicked fruit.” According to the story, Palestinians whose jobs were filled by Soviet Jews were told “they were ineligible for unemployment compensation because they were to blame for their absence during the curfew.” [=]

60768. LCOME. “Kirkland in Israel Boasts of Support”, in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer 1989. AFL-CIO PRESIDENT Lane Kirkland made his umpteenth trip to Israel in May, this time to collect an honorary doctorate from Haifa University and offer support to the sagging spirits of his Histadrut counterpart, General Secretary Israel Kessar. “Kirkland, in fact, will hear no criticism of Israel’s labor federation,” wrote Jeff Black in the May 26th Jerusalem Post. “Labor in any country is never deficient of critics; it is sometime deficient of friends. I have no intention of joining the critics,” Kirkland was quoted as saying. “I am confident in the vitality of the Histadrut and the competence of its leadership,” a sentiment which is not likely to be shared by its members who, in recent months, have watched Histadrut sacrifice jobs and benefits to protect the profitability of its corporate enterprises. Kirkland made little effort to hide his devotion to Israel, boasting that “I’ve been to more Israel Bonds dinners than anyone else walking around the States.” In speaking about union organizing in the US, Kirkland pointed to Blacks, Hispanics and women “to whom the membership really early to say,” he concluded, “whether this change in membership will produce any changes in the AFL-CIO’s fraternal ties with the Histadrut.” [=]
oppression and racism in the world today" and to "strongly protest the violent actions of the Israeli military against our workers, trade unionists and people, in general, denouncing the policies of shooting, detentions without charge or trial and most importantly, deportations." [=]

60770. LCOME; Barnea, Nahum. "Behind the Green Line: Compounds for Arab Workers: 'Sorry about the Connotations'", in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer-Fall 1989. IN LATE MAY, Giora Lev, the mayor of Petah Tikva and former military attache in South Africa, ordered all Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who come to find work in the town to be kept in compounds while waiting for employment. The following excerpts from an article on Levy's decision appeared in Yediot Aharonot, 6/8/1989. (Translation from Al-Fajr By Nahum Barnea.)

THEY SAY THAT Petah Tikva is the only city in the world where a fire broke out in the firestation. It happened a long time ago... Even back then, the municipal authorities had a tendency to get caught up in full issues. Like the story about the compounds that the mayor, Giora Lev, set up for Arabs who work in the city. The truth is that they're not really compounds; they're no more than prefab shelters stuck in the middle of nowhere. They look like props for a television song set. All that's missing is the smoke. [Lev] doesn't know what to do with the support that he's been receiving on the streets. The fears, hatred and prejudice which have been greatly exacerbated by the intifada have now manifested themselves in popular support for the moves of the Petah Tikva mayor. The mayor, and his spokesperson, Shuki Yalin, speak about hundreds of letters and telephone calls - all of which have been positive...

FINDING THE RIGHT WORD: Petah Tikva is near the "green line" which is now returning, albeit in a new form: the apartheid boundary. Giora Lev is actually no better or no worse than those who voted for him. "It's true there's a problem," Lev admits. "We have to find a good word. Compounds isn't a good term. It could be that I used it - I'm not saying I didn't - but that's not the point. Someone told me that instead of compounds, I should use the word, facility. I said, that's no better. They said, say camps. Oh, no, I said. "This whole business began when residents began to lodge complaints. We're speaking about 500-1000 workers who come here looking for a day's work with the contractors. Not the majority of workers who work on a steady basis for a contractor, who come to work in a Peugeot and go home in the evening, but those who come for a day or two of work.

"They call it the slave market or the workers' stock - that's not important. They used to stand at Rosh Ha'ayim junction or at the eastern approach to the city and bit by bit they made their way into the city. They shit on the streets. There were a few suspicions about bombs and rumors about rapists. 'A delegation of parents came to me, most of whom were from Kfar Avraham. They gave me a petition which had been signed by hundreds of residents. A nursery school teacher came and said that the children weren't coming to nursery school because Arabs were wandering around. One woman said that every year she has guests from abroad, but this year they won't come because of Arabs in the neighborhood." The day they found Avi Sassponita's body [An Israeli soldier who was killed,] was a bleak one in Petah Tikva. Giora Lev went into the streets to prevent riots - "not council members were from the Citizen Rights Movement." That same day there rumors about the body of a second soldier, that of Sa'adon. People are human. They have feelings.

"TO IMPOSE ORDER;" That's when I had the idea to impose order. It should be near the main road. I just can't throw them out. It's to the mutual benefit of the workers and the contractors. At the same time, it should be far away from homes. "A Jew by the name of Goldstein phoned me up after reading about my idea in the newspaper and he proposed that we use a lot of his free of charge. I said, OK, and we built a summer camp. No, really. The worker who built it saw a shelter, a tap, an outhouse and he was sure the city was building a summer camp. Summer isn't far off and the city runs summer camps for kids. "At the same time I spoke to the police. You know what it's like with the police. I'm from the army, they're from the police, we know one another. You've got a Grade A idea, a senior officer - whose name I won't mention - told me. 'Just do it quietly. And don't lose your cool if you're called all sorts of things in the papers.' "I'm sorry about the connotations," he said. "The Jewish people have suffered from racism, but this isn't the same thing. We're not tatooing the Arabs' hands and we're not shooting them. The situation is exactly the opposite. Moreover, it's for the protection of the workers. Let's say a bomb is found and the Jews try to beat them up. The police will be able to protect them." Daniel Ron Nahman, the head of Ariel council [has introduced]? [The West Bank town of Ariel was going to have Arab workers wear signs saying "foreign worker" which was withdrawn after comparisons were made with yellow stars that the Nazis forced Jews to wear. ] "It wouldn't be fair on my part to put myself in his shoes, and the opposite is true. A Jew from Rehovot phoned me up and told me that Me'ir Nitzan threw his Arabs out of Rishon LeZion to the Nes Tziona road. Is that better? I know they're building shelters in Holon as well. In Nahariya there's also been a similar proposal. It's obvious that there's a problem. "I would prefer that there were no Arab workers in Petah Tikva. Arabs work here as street sweepers. I told the director-general to bring machines to do the work. I put a tender out to the schools - only Jewish workers. They tell me it will cost 20% more. So what? "I believe that we need the entire territory between the sea and the Jordan River. It's not realistic to expel the Arabs so money should be invested so that they have their own factories in Gaza and Ramallah, like in Hong Kong. The main thing is not to mix with the Arabs. That kind of contact isn't healthy. "In contrast to South Africa, I don't want them to come here. And moreover, the comparison is out of place. There, they have let's say four million whites and 30 million blacks. Here there are four million whites and a million-and-a-half Arabs. And we have a tragedy, the Holocaust." [=]

60771. LCOME; Blankfort, Jeffrey. "The Best Congress Money Can Buy' Delivers for Israel", in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer-Fall 1991. ON MARCH 7, the House of Representatives voted 397 to 24 to give Israel $650 million in cash as part of a special $15 billion spending bill for the Gulf war. The Bush administration attempted to block the appropriation, but backed down when threatened with a veto override. As such, the vote dramatically symbolized the extent of the Israeli lobby's influence on Congress and US policy on issues concerning the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The House vote, which would have attempted to eliminate the grant altogether, was turned down by an identical 397-24 margin. "I do not believe that the majority of Americans share the wish of Congress to grant the Israelis an additional appropriation of funds at a time when we are struggling under the weight of a recession," he told his colleagues. Waiving such objections aside, the House, in June, approved an additional $200 million increase in the "basic" foreign aid appropriation for Israel in 1992, from the current $3 billion ($1.2 billion economic and $1.8 military) to $3.2 billion. This will push the total amount provided Israel since 1948 well beyond the $50 billion mark. An attempt by Texas Democrat John Bryant to reduce the 1991 aid package by $82.5 million, the amount that the State Department estimates Israeli spends on settlements in the West Bank (the actual figure according to Israeli sources is $500 million) was also decisively defeated, but managed to gain 43 supporters, including 17 who voted "against" Israel for the first time. It was the $650 million appropriation, however, that was the critical vote, as it reestablished Israel's position at the top of Congressional priorities in the "post-war" period. The opposition of the Bush administration to funding Israel under the Desert Storm bill, to the point of threatening a veto, was barely referred to in the mainstream press and when mentioned at all, was not analysed by the left/alternative media which generally does not make distinctions between the administration and Congress on the issue of supporting Israel. For America's Jewish press, however, the conflict between Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and members of the administration on one side and the Israeli government, the Israeli lobby and the majority of both houses of Congress on the other, makes front page headlines on a regular basis and critics of both the President and his Secretary of State have not pulled their punches. Efforts to push Israel to the negotiating table are described as "a new assault on Israel," (Washington Jewish Week, 3/7). "Bush does not wish Israel well... and
[Israel] needs to be protected from a hostile administration” \( (\text{WJW, ibid.}) \); “Bush has declared a diplomatic war on Israel,” \( (\text{Forward, 3/15}) \); “Baker once again… showed his incompetence in dealing with Israel…” \( (\text{Editorial, No. Ca. Jewish Bulletin, 6/10}) \). Comparisons have even been made with the despised Eisenhower era, when US troops to withdraw from the captured Egyptian Sinai in 1956, one day after Prime Minister David Ben Gurion declared it would be a part of Israel forever.

**BUSH CRITICIZED OVER LOAN DELAY:** The criticism began building when the administration waited 10 months before issuing $400 million in loan guarantees to New housing while demanding assurances from the Shamir that the money would not be used to build Jewish settlements beyond Israel's 1967 border. After having receiving the “assurances,” the money was released in March. Within days, Israel's Housing Minister Ariel Sharon announced plans for the construction of 8000 housing units in the occupied territories in 1991. (Christian Science Monitor, 6/20). Two important Jewish weeklies, the Washington Jewish Week (WJW) and the New York-based Forward, reported in detail both the successful efforts of Israel's "friends" in Congress to overcome the administration's reluctance to grant the $400 million in loan guarantees and the fight for the appropriation for Israel in the Desert Storm funding bill. The latter request was made in public by Israeli Finance Minister Yitzak Moda'i, in January, when he told visiting Democratic State Lawrence Eagleburger in Washington that Israel would need an "extra" $13 billion in aid from the US on top of the $3 billion already voted by Congress in 1990 and the additional $700 million weapons “drawdown” from available US stocks, approved by Congress during the Gulf crisis (NY Times, 1/23). $3 billion was to be compensation for actual and expected damages caused by the war and $10 billion in the form of loan guarantees to Soviet Jewish immigrants. The timing of the demand and its bluntness disturbed some supporters of Israel in Congress, not the request itself. WJW columnist Douglas Bloomfield, quoted a senior Senate aide as saying: “The request was not unreasonable, but the handling was miserable…” “That is the heart of the problem,” wrote Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member. “Israel's need is valid and members of Congress who complained about Moda'i’s publicity grab, said Israel deserves and is likely to get the aid it seeks” \( (\text{WJW, 2/21}) \). By the time Israel made its formal request, the emergency appropriation had been reduced to $1 billion. The amount demanded for Soviet Jewish immigration remained at $10 billion. (NCJB 3/1) The administration, however, presented a roadblock. Bloomfield noted that “Senators who have been trying to persuade the administration to include $1 billion for Israel in the pending Desert Storm supplemental appropriation bill report stiff opposition and even the threat of a presidential veto.” “One senator leading that effort,” he wrote, “privately reports he can count on 70 firm votes if it becomes necessary to override a veto….” (67 votes are needed) \( (\text{WJW, 2/28}) \). If that report was correct, the Israeli lobby was apparently so sure of its control over Congress that it was able to publicly challenge Bush at the height of his popularity over the question of aid to Israel and make him blink.

**PRESIDENT NOT A GOOD LOSER:** Bush was not a good loser. In a joint session of Congress following the vote, he demanded that lawmakers stop "micromanaging" foreign aid, which was interpreted as a reference to the $650 million package \( (\text{Forward 5/15}) \). The lobby showed its power by penetrating deep into Republican ranks. Some senators and congressmen (sic) did call and ask where the Jewish organizations were on this issue, so we let them know” \( (\text{No. Calif. Jewish Bulletin, 1/18}) \). The efforts by AIPAC and the major Jewish groups were deliberately low-key because, as Barney Frank (D-MA) explained, “The last thing Israel needs is for it to be portrayed as pushing the United States into war.” \( (\text{WJW, 1/7}) \). Once the war was over, however, that was image they were looking for, and an expected payoff: “One Democratic constituency that favored the war was organized American Jewry, which Democrats will try to hold by fighting Bush administration pressure on Israel to make unwelcome concessions to the Arabs,” wrote Morton Kondracke in the New Republic \( (3/25) \). The Forward's Twersky referred to the existence of “a de facto Likud-Democrat alliance against any pressure the administration might want to apply to Israel.” That is also the aim of 90-95 pro-Israel Political Action Committees which are generally guided by AIPAC. When combined, they make up the biggest "special interest" contributor in the country, (a fact that Common Cause is reluctant to recognize.) It's $4.8 million in donations to House and Senate races in 1990 were nearly $1 million greater than their nearest "rival," the American Real Estate Association. The actual number of pro-Israel PACs is difficult to determine because their names are intended to hide their political agenda, e.g., San Franciscans for Good Government, Desert Caucus, National PAC, Washington PAC, etc. When their power is combined with that of the 47 major Jewish organizations the result is formidable. And there is no confusion over what is on their agenda. "There's only one issue members [of Congress] demand and its bluntness disturbed some supporters of Israel in Congress, not the request itself. WJW columnist Douglas Bloomfield, quoted a senior Senate aide as saying: “The request was not unreasonable, but the handling was miserable…” “That is the heart of the problem,” wrote Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member. “Israel's need is valid and members of Congress who complained about Moda'i’s publicity grab, said Israel deserves and is likely to get the aid it seeks” \( (\text{WJW, 2/21}) \). By the time Israel made its formal request, the emergency appropriation had been reduced to $1 billion. The amount demanded for Soviet Jewish immigration remained at $10 billion. (NCJB 3/1) The administration, however, presented a roadblock. Bloomfield noted that “Senators who have been trying to persuade the administration to include $1 billion for Israel in the pending Desert Storm supplemental appropriation bill report stiff opposition and even the threat of a presidential veto.” “One senator leading that effort,” he wrote, “privately reports he can count on 70 firm votes if it becomes necessary to override a veto….” (67 votes are needed) \( (\text{WJW, 2/28}) \). If that report was correct, the Israeli lobby was apparently so sure of its control over Congress that it was able to publicly challenge Bush at the height of his popularity over the question of aid to Israel and make him blink.

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visit to the Israeli Embassy in Washington to express his sympathy "to the innocent [Israeli] people who have suffered so needlessly."

CONGRESS AFRAID OF "THE LOBBY": It is not only hunger for political contributions that keeps Congress in line where Israel is concerned, but fear, as well. As a congressman who is described as "pro-Israel" told the New Republic's Kondrak two years ago, "If there were a secret ballot, aid to Israel would be cut severely. It's not out of affection for Israel but just plain fear of the lobby." When Helms took control of the Senate in 1980, he sent a clear signal of how the Senate would vote on aid to Israel. It's not $3 billion for a day, but $3 billion for a week, he threatened, and you'll wake up one morning and find that an opponent has $500,000 to run against you." (8/7-14/89). "Voting against Israel has become like voting against the lumber industry in Washington state," says one congressional source (CSM, 6/28), "except AIPAC does it all over the country." Political analysts note the paradox," wrote the Monitor's George Moffett, "that the lobby that has demonstrated the greatest mastery of the American political system is one whose object is the welfare of another country."

HYPOCRISY OF JEWISH LEADERS: The unwillingness of American Jewish leaders who may be uncomfortable with Israel's actions, to say so publicly, was bluntly critized by Israeli journalist, Boaz Evron: "But once you appear in public, you always straighten yourself to toe the latest Israeli line. You phone the White House in protest each time Baker dares to disclose in a veiled diplomatic language a tiny portion of the truth which you, yourself, know best, and you then deluge the Senators and Congressmen with letters of protest against him. You blackmail and threaten every American who dares to utter one word critical of Israel, even when, deep down in your hearts, you know that the critic is right; and you spare no effort to make sure that such a critic is never elected." (Yedioth Aharonot 11/9/90. Translated by Israel Shahak). Former US Senator Charles Percy and Rep. Paul Findley, both Illinois Republicans,1 and Paul McCloskey (R-CA) have been the most notable victims of the lobby's vendetta. When each suggested that Israel should be more forthcoming in dealing with the Palestinians, nation-wide campaigns were undertaken to unseat them. The success of those campaigns was trumpeted by AIPAC as a warning to other legislators. Instrumental in Percy's defeat was Los Angeles developer Michael Goland who contributed $1.2 million to a personal ad campaign in behalf of Sen. Paul Simon, the eventual victor. In addition, Simon has received $625,000 from pro-Israel PACs since 1985, making him number one on their payroll. When asked in a phone interview with CA's Berkeley reporter, in October, 1987, to comment on the allegation that one-third of his lobbying funds came from "pro-Israel groups," and had inspired Simon's sponsorship of a bill to close the PLO office in Washington, a clearly uncomfortable Simon denied it: "I don't know who told you that. That's just not true (Pause) I hate to say it, but my staff has given me the signal." And he hung up. In May of this year, the liberal senator emphasized once again where he stood when he told a delegation of "dovish" members of the Israeli Knesset: "I am willing to stretch the parameters and meet with you, but that's as far as I'll go." (Forward, 5/17). Goland is now doing time in Federal prison for having contributed $150,000 to the ultra right-wing American Independent Party in 1984 to help it's candidate draw votes away from Republican senatorial aspirant Ed Zschau in his race against Sen. Alan Cranston. Cranston, S & L freebooter Charlie Keating's main man in California and one of Israel's closest friends in Congress ($257,532 in PAC donations) just barely won. Goland's interference in the election was determined to have cost Zschau the victory. What did Goland have against Zschau besides the fact that he was running against Cranston? As a congressman, he had made a fatal political mistake by voting against the US-Israel Free Trade Agreement when it came before the House. At the time, Zschau was representing the interests of California agribusiness which opposed the pact, purely for business reasons. Agribusiness has usually come out a winner in political scraps, but not when it went up against the Israeli lobby. As a candidate for Senator, Zschau apologized for his vote and made the required pilgrimage to Israel for good measure. It was all for naught. Senator Jesse Helms was everybody's bad guy, even the Israeli lobby's. His problem was that he always voted against foreign aid, which for AIPAC, meant voting against Israel. His voting record was described by AIPAC Executive Director Tom Dine, as the "worst" in the Senate. When Gov. Lamar Hunt tried to unseat him in 1984, the pro-Israel PACs picked up the theme: "Senator Helms has the worst anti-Israel record in the US Senate, and supporters of Israel throughout the country know it."

From "throughout the country" the contributions came — $222,342. Helms just squeaked by, but the election made him a changed man. Richard Curtiss, in his book: "Stealth PACs: How Israel's Lobby Took Control of US Middle East Policy," described what happened: "With Jewish constituents, Helms flew off to Israel, and himself photographed wearing a yarmulke and kissing the Wailing Wall, and bombarded the media with pro-Israel statements. In the Senate, he has been a zealous supporter of Israel ever since, building a record of 100% compliance with AIPAC recommendations, and in a few cases seeming to go beyond them. He has demonstrated almost embarrassing continuing support for a proposal to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, even after it was voted down" (This last is not considered to be a major item agenda by AIPAC and is usually raised by politicians seeking to curry favor and/or votes from Jewish contributors. ED.) Helms' antics have been successful. His opponent in 1990, Harvey Gantt, received $22000 from pro-Israel PACs, which amounted to little more than a token. Helms received $9,000.

SAVAGE ATTACKED FOR CRITICIZING LOBBY: When Rep. Gus Savage from Chicago, one of the handful of Black Caucus members to publicly criticize Israel, was challenged in last year's primaries by another African-American, Mel Reynolds, Savage did what the lobby, and the Democratic Party considered to be unforgiveable: at a campaign rally, he publicly identified by name, pro-Israel Jewish donors who had given money to his opponent. According to a report in the No. California Jewish Bulletin (3/30/90), some of the names he listed were of people living outside the district, which Savage referred to as the "suburban Zionist lobby." "He who pays the piper, calls the tune," he reportedly said. A headline in a Washington Jewish Week editorial him referred to him as "Savage Savage" and Democratic Party National Chairman Ron Brown expressed his outrage at the report of Savage's comments, promising he would not receive "one penny" from the national committee for the November general election. Brown was true to his word but Savage won anyway. (NCJ, ibid.) The question of money was not lightly raised. Federal records indicate that Congress, when faced with a choice, would rather vote with the pro-Israel lobby than with the Democrats. In 1986 and 1972, "Jews donated more than half of the individual donations exceeding $100,000 to Democratic candidates." The Christian Science Monitor (6/28) in a recent article appropriately titled, "Israeli Lobby Virtually Unmatched," cites a 1985 report by the American Jewish Congress that acknowledging that American Jews "may have contributed" more than 50 % of the funds collected by the Democrats and 25% by the Republicans. Stephen Issacs, in his positive appraisal of Jewish political clout in "Jews in American Politics," also published in 1974, noted that in 1968, of the 21 persons who loaned $100,000 or more to the Hubert Humphrey presidential campaign, 15 were Jewish. In 1972 the figure was two-thirds. In at least one state, California, the head of the Democratic Party is also one of the dominant figures in the Israeli lobby. Walter Shorenstein, a major San Francisco property owner and developer, contributed $1.5 million to Senator Joseph Biden's presidential bid in 1988, and consistently makes his money felt in state and local politics. When Biden was bumped from the race for plagiarizing a speech by British Labor Leader Neil Kinnock, Shorenstein opened his checkbook to Richard Gephardt. Across the continent, Maryland real estate mogul Nathan Landow, another AIPAC board member, gave $1.1 million to Senator Al Gore in 1988 and raised $2 million for Walter Mondale in 1984. He can be expected to back war Gore in 1992. No report on pro-Israel-influence would be complete without acknowledging the role of Brooklyn Congressman Stephen Solarz, perhaps AIPAC's hardest hitter in the House and one, who, in his own words, appears to more concerned with "Delivering for Israel" than for the American people, a sentiment that seems to cause no problems among his largely orthodox Jewish constituency. In 1980, he sent them a
newsletter in which he boasted how he was able to obtain an additional $650 million in aid for Israel under difficult circumstances. "It is a story," in Solarz' own words, "of how legislative maneuvering and political persistence managed to prevail over fiscal constraints and bureaucratic resistance." What were the "fiscal restraints"? It was, acknowledged Solarz, "a time of double digit inflation, with all sorts of domestic programs facing severe cutbacks in spending." After describing the ins and outs of his successful effort to acquire steel bulletproof vests for the Israeli army, Solarz managed to insert a paragraph of his devotion to Israel. "When I was first elected to Congress six years ago, (1974) I deliberately sought an assignment on the Foreign Affairs Committee precisely because I wanted to be in a position to be helpful to Israel... it is only the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House, and the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate who are really in a position to make a difference where it counts — in the area of foreign aid, upon which Israel is so dependent."

SOLARZ GIVES BUSH HIS WAR VOTE: It was Solarz who, during the Gulf crisis, became the Administration's chief Democratic ally in the House, who, "like AIPAC itself," said the Wall Street Journal (1/28), was instrumental in producing the war vote. In so doing, he showed his "often-unnoticed strength to reach beyond his traditional base and find votes among Southern conservatives... More broadly pro-Israel PACs have poured money into campaigns for Southern Democrats not immediately identified with their cause." Solarz's assistance has been of considerable value to both the Bush and Reagan administrations in areas far afield from the Middle East. In Guatemala, for example, where the New Yorker (4/29/90), after describing the human rights atrocities committed in that country, accused the "liberal Democrats" as having "led the way" in supporting the regime and Solarz in particular, for having "helped push through a sale of 16,000 M-16s to Guatemala." It also has been Solarz who has mustered the necessary democratic votes to maintain Congressional support for the Khmer Rouge, under the guise of assisting the Cambodian resistance. He consistently supported the contras, Savimbi in Angola and every major arms bill, all the while maintaining his liberal credentials. Following the Iraqi surrender, Solarz showed up at meeting of the Council of Jewish Organizations in Borough Park wearing a camouflage-pattern "Desert Storm yarmuèle." He was there to present the chapter's National Leadership Award to Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, who, according to the Forward, was "like Mr. Solarz in the House... the Democrat in the Senate who led the fight to swing the Democratic vote in favor of the use of force."

HOW MUCH A STRATEGIC ASSET? US financial and political support for Israel has been either justified or explained, depending upon one's viewpoint, as stemming from the belief that the Jewish state serves as a "strategic asset" of the US both in the region and around the globe. Having had to sit out the Gulf war did nothing to enhance the former status, and while Israel was active in Central America three or four years ago, it is clearly less so today. It may be worth considering whether Solarz, AIPAC, and the American Jewish organizations that offer critical support for US foreign policies are not the more important "strategic assets" that Bush needs to consider when he seeks to fit the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into his New World Order. P.S. On the day Congress approved the $650 million appropriation, Rep. David Bonior introduced resolution H.R. 93, that commended the President for his "commitment to peace in the Middle East," and included a call for "the creation of a Palestinian homeland." Bonior claimed he introduced the resolution to support an "even-handed"peace effort. As of July 15th, only 17 members of Congress had signed it. [A number of other spending bills are estimated to raise Israel's total aid package to approximately $5 billion (WJW, 11/16/90). See They Dare to Speak Out, by Paul Findley, Lawrence Hill, 1985; Stealth PACs: How Israel's American Lobby Took Control of US Middle East Policy by Richard Curtiss, American Educational Trust, 1990 pp. 79-80 (To contact AET: Ph. 1-800-368-5788)]-[x]

60772. LCOME; Blankfort, Jeffrey. "Massacre at Rishon Kezion: Killer of Gaza Workers Seen as Reflection of Israeli Society", in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer 1990. ON THE MORNING OF MAY 20, Israeli Ami Popper, who would quickly be described as a "madman" by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, murdered seven Gaza workers and wounded others in the "slave market" of Rishon Lezion, an Israeli town on the outskirts of Tel Aviv. As word of the massacre spread, protests broke out in refugee camp and villages throughout Gaza and the West Bank. In the hours that followed, Israeli soldiers shot and killed six more Palestinians and wounded several hundred with a combination of live fire and tear gas. So far, Soma'aria, the succeeding day, the number of those dead and wounded would increase dramatically. Four hours after the shooting, at the scene of the initial crime, with "the thick pool [of blood] dried already by the heat of the morning," Israeli journalist Yigal Serna visited the scene and spoke with one of the surviving workers. "We stand here already for 13 years," said Najah, a young Palestinian from Khan Yunis. "My father stood here waiting for work and brought us, the children, to wait with him, and now I wait here, too. We built a big part of this city, but today, after they killed our friends and let them lie in the garbage, in the sun, until their last breath, until the ambulance came at last, even after that the policemen beat us up. So what do you think we should do?" (Yediot Ahronot, 5/21/90). What he was describing was the reaction of passing Israeli motorists to the wounded laying by the side of the road which ranged from celebration—giving the "V" sign—to indifference. Later, Serna reported, "a small red car stopped. A jolly young man, with the identification of a worker from the [Israeli] Paz company, got out and when he found the blood pool covering the earth, he began to dance on it. "Why only seven?" he laughed, "this is the slogan today, why only seven?" After saying this, he went away. "I was standing for two hours in the 'slave market' junction of Rishon Lezion," wrote Serna, "and during that time I did not see any sign of sorrow." Beginning at 3 am every day but Saturday (a Jewish holiday), some 150-200 Palestinian workers, mainly from Gaza, gather at the Rishon Lezion "slave market," according to a report by the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center in Jerusalem. It is one of at least 50 such locations throughout Israel where Israeli contractors hire Palestinians for day labor. A representative from the Center also interviewed one of those workers who survived the attack. Yahya Musa Swei'ed, 30, from Rafah, on the Gaza-Egyptian border, Yahya had left Gaza at 3:30 am and arrived at the "slave market" about 5:45. He told the PHRIC: "At 6:10 am, a man came out of an orange orchard and walked towards us. He was wearing army pants and a jacket like a police jacket, and was carrying an automatic rifle... He did not look nervous. He quietly asked the workers, in Hebrew, to show him their ID cards. As they did so, he ordered each one to kneel on the ground in rows, close together. This sort of thing happens daily to us with police and border guards. We saw a car with Gaza plates coming; the man stopped the car... he ordered the driver and the five passengers to get out and sit with us. He looked at the traffic lights: "Yahya continued, "and when they were red, he asked us: 'Do you know why you are here?' then said: 'It's better that you don't know.' He was standing three meters away. He started shooting at us, using three cartridges [of 36 bullets]. I lay on the ground... When he stopped, I saw that he was looking in his clothes for more bullets... He got into the car and drove away." Yahya, who was not injured, got up and began searching for his brother, Ziad, who had been sitting in the first row: "I found him dead, bleeding from all parts of his body, especially the pelvic area. We asked the Israeli cars to stop and help us, but they refused. After about 15 minutes, police cars arrived and closed the area."

In the week that preceded the attack, several events took place in Israel that according to critics of the government's madman explanation, created the atmosphere which allowed the attack to occur. FIVE MONTHS FOR KILLING A PALESTINIAN: The first was the release from prison of Michal Hallal who had been given a life sentence for the murder of a Palestinian taxi driver but "on account of poor health" was freed after serving three years. This was followed by the triumphant procession to prison of Rabbi Moshe Levianger, a leader of the settler movement, Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), who had been sentenced to five months for shooting to death an unarmed Palestinian merchant in Hebron. At a rally for Levianger, following his sentence, Rabbi Moshe Tzi Nerya, the winner of the Israeli Education Prize and described in the Israeli press as the most senior of the
national-religious educators, read to a rally of 100 rabbis from a document he had written which "was received as a religious ruling by tens of thousands of his followers." (Dan Margalit, Ha'aretz, 5/13/90).

"This is not the time to think," Neriya wrote, "but rather the time to shoot." Ami Popper, who emerged from the orchard in order to commit (Washington Jewish Week, 7/12 and 7/26/90). Although County Barak's house… We decided that Ami had made only two mistakes: one, that he didn't kill all [the Palestinians] that were there, and two, that he turned himself in rather than try to make a run for it. He could have homes and families were left alone to mourn, at least temporarily, were Zayed Zidan Abdul Majid Imour, 33, of Khan Yunis, married with three children. After the funeral, soldiers raided his house and fired tear gas at mourners causing his wife to lose consciousness; Ziad Musa Mohammed Swei'd, 20, married, of Rafah and Yahaya's brother. After his funeral, soldiers came to his home and beat the young men they found there. Omar Hammad Ahmed Dahlit 24, of Rafah, married. Two days after his funeral, soldiers led by the military commander raided the family's house, beat relatives, tore the deceased's photograph and damaged the furniture. Abdul Rahim Salem Barakeh, 43 of Bani Suhailla, married with five children. After his funeral, at 11:30 pm, soldiers raided his house and his family was beaten; Yusef Ibrahim Mansour Abu Daqqa, 36, from Bani Suhailla, married with seven children. Two days after his funeral, soldiers raided his family's house, killing one person and injuring ten others. The two others who were killed and whose homes and families were left alone to mourn, at least temporarily, were Zaki Mohammad Hamdan Qadih, 35, of Abasan Kabira, married with nine children and Suleiman Abu Razeq Mohammad Abu Anza, from the same village.

THREE POSTSCRIPTS: Postscript: Two days after the massacre, seven-year old Mustafa Awas Mahmoud al Fajem of Bani Suhaila in Gaza, was playing with other children about 100 yards from his house and nearly 1000 yards from the main street. A border guard in a vehicle on the street shouted: "Whoever wants to die can throw a stone," and "You bastards, seven were killed at Rishon Lezion and I am about to kill the eighth." An eyewitness, a relative of Mustafa, told the PHRIC that one border guard got out of the jeep "took his gun, and fired one bullet towards the children; it hit Mustafa on the forehead. Then another soldier shot several rubber [over steel] bullets towards the children. Mustafa died the next day. When his father went to the hospital he was beaten by Israeli soldiers and four of his relatives arrested. A second post script: On July 20, two months to the day after the massacre, Prince George's County, Maryland, established an official sister-county relationship with Rishon Lezion. Rishon Mayor Meir Nitzam came for the signing ceremony and Ganimi Israeli Fokdancers gave a free performance at Prince George's County College. (Washington Jewish Week, 7/12 and 7/26/90). Although County spokesperson Jackie Woody told the MELB that the arrangement between the Maryland and Israeli communities had been in the works for some time, it was not presented to the Prince George's County Council for approval until July 12. She said that the massacre had not effected the county's decision. And a third post script: Rabbi Levinger was released from prison on August 13 for "good behavior" He had served 92 days. [3]

60773. LCOME; Blankfort, Jeffrey. "Soviet Jews in Israel: Facts, Fantasy and Funding," in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer-Fall 1991. ON THE DAY AFTER LABOR DAY, September 3rd, AIPAC (the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee), the registered pro-Israeli lobby in Washington and the Council of Presidents of the Major Jewish Organizations (COPMJO) are expected to ask Congress to co-sign for $10 billion ($2 billion a year for five years) in personal loan guarantees for Soviet Jewish immigrants arriving in Israel. According to the Washington Jewish Week (6/6), COPMJO has circulated an internal memo, describing plans for a "grass-roots" campaign in Jewish communities across the country to secure broad public support for the
funding well before the first week of September. COPMJO’s campaign includes “education,” of Jewish communities, letter writing campaigns to Congress, calls to the White House public comment line, op-ed columns, meeting with senior editors and key reporters, appearance on radio talk shows, town meetings, etc. Interviews will be arranged with new immigrants: “focusing on the stories of Soviet Jews,” says the memo, “will help put the issue in a humanitarian rather than a political context.” The unspoken goal of the campaign is to prevent President Bush from carrying out his threat to block the loan guarantees unless Israel agrees to stop building settlements in the West Bank, a linkage the Israeli government and the Jewish organizations refuse to accept.

WE MUST EDUCATE CONGRESS: An “Urgent Action Needed” notice from Hadassah, the leading national Jewish women’s organization, advises its members that the loan guarantee “entails little risk for the US — the money will come from American banks, not the US treasury, and Israel has a perfect repayment record. But to ensure passage of this legislation, we must educate our Members of Congress now on its importance.” Israel’s repayment record is only “perfect,” however, because Congress has either reduced the original interest in immigration and the slowing of its pace.” (“Development towns” are largely inhabited by North African and Middle Eastern, so-called “Oriental” Jews, and are generally less developed than their Ashkenazi or European dominated counterparts), Jewish Agency Chair Simcha Dinitz “rejected out of hand any call to slow down immigration.” (Dinitz was reported in the Jerusalem Post International Edition (2/23/91) to have complained to a mission of the World Jewish Congress that because of the war-induced decline on Soviet Jewish immigration, some Jewish organizations were attempting to divert Soviet Jews to destinations other than Israel. “This is unacceptable,” he said). The Forward article described what happens to those Soviet Jews fortunate to find a job, a situation described as “often hardly better” than to be unemployed. Many of America’s incoming immigrants are low, often less than the legal minimum, and working conditions are far from ideal. Cardiologists are employed as janitors and engineers sweep streets. “A top official at a major commercial bank discovered some weeks ago that his room was no longer cleaned by a Palestinian from the territories, but by a Russian Jew, an engineer. Students at the Hebrew University can now see Russian academics cleaning the tables at one of the campus restaurants.” Examples given by the Israeli press present a dark reality.

In the mass circulation, Yediot Aharonot (4/12) was the story of A.D., 52, who immigrated to Israel 14 months before: “I have a wife and a 15-year old daughter. I have no money for rent or food. I am an architect but there is no work. Neither has work been found yet for my wife, a teacher by profession. I am ashamed of the situation I’ve come to be in, but that’s the situation. With great shame, and while looking at the floor and not at people’s faces, I knock on doors and ask for handouts.” In Haifa, it continued, “the phenomenon of young immigrant girls working as ‘escort-girls’ is spreading. The proprietors of escort offices tell us that recently pretty young Russian girls are coming to them and asking to work in escorting and massage. They are willing to work for 50 Shekels ($20) per job, says one of the proprietors.” A Ha’aretz reporter (4/17) pulled this story, headlined “Grey Nightmare,” from one of the Russian language newspapers: “Zivia Fuchs writes...I am ten months in this country. Five months ago I and my 30-year old daughter completed ulpan (an intensive Hebrew course). These five months have become a grey nightmare. Trips to the Labor Exchange began. In the course of these five months the official of the Labor Exchange did not once lift his eyes to me, not to speak of offering work. I am 54 years old. To my regret, I am a lecturer in Russian language and literature. It is clear that I did not expect to find work in my field, but I did expect to find some sort of work. Let it be in a factory, workshop or store. As a 54-year old, do I have to crawl into a bed and die?” Nili Mandler, writing in Ha’aretz (5/10) described the situation of the Russian immigrant she lives with, a former economist; “Last week Marek worked at a restaurant on Dizengoff St. (In Tel Aviv). Five shekels ($2 an hour). Washing dishes. Washing floors. The toilets were cleaned by another immigrant, who had not yet learned Hebrew. Two more immigrants worked in the kitchen.

60774. LCOME: Blankfort, Jeffrey. “Soviet Jews in Israel: Facts, Fantasy and Funding” in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Summer-Fall 1991, ON THE DAY AFTER LABOR DAY. September 3rd, AIPAC (the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee), the registered pro-Israel lobby in Washington and the Council of Presidents of the Major Jewish Organizations (COPMJO) are expected to ask Congress to co-sign for $10 billion ($2 billion a year for five years) in personal loan guarantees for Soviet Jewish immigrants arriving in Israel. According to the Washington Jewish Week (6/6), COPMJO has circulated an internal memo, describing plans for a “grass-roots” campaign in Jewish communities across the country to secure broad public support for the funding well before the first week of September. COPMJO’s campaign includes “education,” of Jewish communities, letter writing campaigns to Congress, calls to the White House public comment line, op-ed columns, meeting with senior editors and key reporters, appearance on radio talk shows, town meetings, etc. Interviews will be arranged with
new immigrants; “focusing on the stories of Soviet Jews,” says the memo, “will help put the issue in a humanitarian rather than a political context.” The unspoken goal of the campaign is to prevent President Bush from carrying out his threat to block the loan guarantees unless Israel agrees to stop building settlements in the West Bank, a linkage the Israeli government and the Jewish organizations refuse to accept.

MINIMUM WAGE IGNORED: “The owner argues with one of his clerical immigrant absorptions. The state is not acting wisely, the restaurateur explained, philosophising about absorption/policy. The 150 shekels ($60) for five days work he gave Marek only after swallowing several times. It is not an easy thing being a small businessman in Israel today. This restaurateur has never heard of the Minimum Wage Law, or maybe he had forgot about it in the rush of his diligent work on behalf of immigrant absorption.” The author described what she called “the final blow for immigrants... A large advertisement by a fictitious construction company offered them apartments, no references required, for a down payment of only $1000. The immigrants were requested to send 30 shekels ($12) worth of purchase-tax stamps to a certain postal box. When it became known the police were investigating the episode, the immigrants who had been selected, in this trap lost their last remaining speck of faith in Israeli capitalism.” In an electrical and electronic workshop, she reported, a friend of Marek’s was taken on for what the owners called “a tryout.” “They sat him beside a long table with another four immigrants — all of them engineers — and he worked all day, some 11 hours straight with no break, mending electric kettles, radios and other electrical equipment. “At the end of the day the owners said they would notify them whether they were accepted. The neither notified them or paid them. He later found out about other immigrants who had worked for the same company, each of them for one ‘trial day,’ and hadn’t received a penny for their work. A new Israeli method of doing business.” [=]

60775. LCOME; Kuttab, Eileen. “From Under Occupation: Palestine Moves Towards Self-Reliance”, in Middle East Labor Bulletin, Spring 1990. [A workshop on development in Occupied Palestine was held in Jerusalem at the end of December. Approximately 150 visitors from Europe and the US participated. The following is one of four talks presented by Palestinian academicians and researchers. Eileen Kuttab is a sociologist at Bir Zeit University, near Ramallah.] DEVELOPMENT UNDER OCCUPATION is, of course, impossible. We need sovereignty and a state to do that. But at the same time, we should not be very negative and say that we can not do anything. No, some of these mass-based organizations have been able to start the nucleus of real development under occupation, preparing the base for the future infrastructure of the independent Palestinian state. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 has dramatically and effectively transformed the socio-economic structures of the occupied territories. Series of economic measures have been implemented to insure subsumption and integration of all social, political and economic institutions under Israeli hegemony. This policy has resulted in complete dependence on the Israeli labor market and the transformation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into a consumer market, hence suffocating any real opportunity for developing a productive base that could enhance the welfare of the population. This policy of programmed destruction of the political, social and economic infrastructure by the occupation has pressured the national movement to choose an option that incorporates the political struggle into the strategy of a national liberation struggle. Thus, a process of democratizing the national struggle became an economically feasible projects that generate income for a few at the expense of the majority of the population. So the goal of these mass-based, or grassroots organizations was to build and expand the productive capacity of the community in every possible way, to absorb labor power and prevent unemployment and fulfill basic needs. These principles were not all treated harmoniously among the grassroots organizations. In my view, the mass-base organizations have taken different policies and programs in implementing these goals. Some of the organizations chose the policy of building big institutions and establishing large-scale economic projects that are capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive, hence developing the economic abilities of the few who already have access to capital and deepening the dependency on the Israeli market, on one hand—by the use of Israeli technology, experts, and foreign aid—and on the other, diminishing the chances of involving the masses who continue to work as workers or laborers in exploitative conditions. Hence, this option restricts development to the economically feasible projects that generate income for a few at the expense of the majority, and orient production to export rather than to first satisfy the needs of the society.

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY: Another category of these organizations has depended on activating household economy as an alternative policy, which, to my understanding, cannot be independent of the occupation. In this context, the extended family continues to maintain its power as a social and economic tool, and promotes the traditional division of labor between the sexes, thus keeping the women’s sector as inferior and passive in developing the national economy. This policy could be an emergency policy that complements the activity of
productive community people—that enhances a change in involving the masses in development. The third option that some organizations follow is mass-based cooperatives, whose goal is the expansion of productive activity of the community as a whole in every possible way, to absorb all labor power in some productive activity to build an infrastructure of self-sufficiency and fulfillment of basic needs. This option does not view development only on the economic level but also sees development as an integral part of a total awakening process of individuals, family units and the community as a whole.

COOPERATIVES A PLUS: Besides the economic goals, the cooperatives and their integrated programs include building morals and cultural, social and political awakening—to make possible the true mobilization of people in productive and directed community activity. Such development projects emphasize the beginning development from the bottom up, from and to the masses, by recognizing their value and potential as important social actors in a democratization that is participatory and decentralized. With the help of grassroots organizations, people are managing to establish an infrastructure that is aiding them to survive and be steadfast. In this respect, the society is shifting from a society based on individualism to one where collective activity is the primary concern. This strengthens the solidarity and the cooperative spirit among Palestinians, and thus encourages the generalization of the cooperative pattern of development as the most suitable alternative under the conditions of military occupation. The emphasis of the intifada on principles like self-reliance, solidarity, unity and self-management is also strengthening the feasibility of such an option.

NEW QUESTIONS RAISED: In addition, strategies which implement various forms of self-reliant development raise also the central issue of the nature of the relationship between Palestinians and the occupying authorities. Characteristics such as self-reliance, group identity, solidarity and cooperation have already been developed within Palestinian society through the activities of the mass movement before then took its demands to the community. “We started getting influential employers. Several large factories, particularly in the food industry, that previously were adamant in their refusal to deal with the unions have often been hesitant to push hard on local employers. Palestinian manufacturers must operate under heavy restrictions by the governmental organizations or the private voluntary organizations. It is important to consider the implications of such an option for the activities of the non-governmental organizations or the private voluntary organizations. It implies that the NGOs or the PVOs have seriously to consider redefining their relationship with the Palestinians. The focus has to be on equal partnerships rather than unequal and paternalistic relations, as financial aid has historically inhibited local initiative from choosing the appropriate form of development and imposed a type of strategy which has failed to contribute to the transformation of Palestinian society from dependency towards productive and self-reliant development. Financial aid is important. But it is not the central issue in development. As the intifada has helped release resources, such as voluntary work and cooperative relations, which can relatively spread and overcome the structures imposed by financial constraints, such values and principles achieve greater significance in the context of the intifada, which has put into effect we got a break was when the machines broke down. If they broke down at 11 am, we had lunch then; if they broke down at 3pm, we had to wait. Luckily they broke down at least once a day or we'd all be hungry. There were no facilities for eating lunch or for breaks; we had to take our lunch and self-management is also strengthening the feasibility of such an option. And here I want to emphasize, as a woman, that this option makes more feasible and increases the opportunity for women to be integrated in development—real development.

NEW ROLES FOR FRIENDS: Finally, it is important to consider the implications of such an option for the activities of the non-governmental organizations or the private voluntary organizations. It implies that the NGOs or the PVOs have seriously to consider redefining their relationship with the Palestinians. The focus has to be on equal partnerships rather than unequal and paternalistic relations, as financial aid has historically inhibited local initiative from choosing the appropriate form of development and imposed a type of strategy which has failed to contribute to the transformation of Palestinian society from dependency towards productive and self-reliant development. Financial aid is important. But it is not the central issue in development. As the intifada has helped release resources, such as voluntary work and cooperative relations, which can relatively spread and overcome the structures imposed by financial constraints, such values and principles achieve greater significance in the context of the intifada, which has put into effect winning strike: After three days, the workers struck immediately. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength. In short, economic transformation of the intifada and given it its strength.

A WINNING STRIKE: After three days, the workers succeeded in bringing the owner to the bargaining table. In the negotiations, the workers committees, assisted by representatives of the RFWU, won most of the demands on the original list. In addition to increased wages, regular breaks, getting the owner to provide a lunchroom, and an eight hour day, the union gained concessions on issues related to the Uprising. On the frequent general strike days, for example, the union succeeded in getting the employer to pay for the first four strike days.
days of the month. Aba Shameh believes that the Uprising played a major role in the union's ability to organize the RC workers. "Before the intifada, the owner used to say that he couldn't pay higher wages because he had to stay competitive with Israeli companies that were able to sell their products for less. Now, no one will buy Israeli products because of the boycott of all Israeli goods. Demand for RC has doubled or tripled. The workers knew he was making lots of money, and they didn't even have a place to eat their lunch and were working 12 hour shifts."

EFFECTS OF UPRISING: Union activists cite several other factors, many related to the Uprising as influencing the rise in union activity. The economy has been hit hard by inflation, the drop in value of the Jordanian dinar (the West Bank's main currency), and spill-over from Israel's own economic crisis. When the dinar collapsed in 1988, workers found their incomes cut in half. A major factor is the change in the political complexion of Palestinian society brought on by the Uprising. As profoundly as it has shaken Israeli society, it has also led to the "shaking up" (the literal translation of intifada) of the Palestinian social structure. The traditional leadership, primarily from the bourgeoisie, has been pushed aside by younger, more militant and primitively working class activists. It is also recognized that the majority of Palestinians killed, injured or imprisoned have been either workers or students. The combination of these factors, according to many union leaders, has greatly increased the influence of the working class in Palestinian society and boosted the power of the unions. Word of the victory at RC Cola spread rapidly and workers came from other workplaces to find out how it was done. The RFWU has since scored victories at other factories including Silvana Chocolates, the largest factory in Ramallah, and like RC Cola, known for being vehemently anti-union. Silvana gained notoriety in 1975 when it called in the police, officially under control of the Israeli military, to arrest union activists who were leafletting in the parking lot.

EQUAL WAGES FOR WOMEN: The agreement with Silvana and the RFWU broke new ground in several areas. The contract specifically states that no worker can be dismissed without consultation and agreement from the elected workers committee and prohibits the factory from laying-off workers without the committee's approval. The agreement also guarantees equal wages for women workers, the first time such a clause has been included in an industrial contract, according to the RFWU. Even though the RFWU is organizing Palestinian workers in Palestinian factories, its work is still interfered with by the Israeli military, in the midst of the organizing effort at Silvana, Abu Shameh was arrested and placed under administrative detention. Currently there are dozens of trade union leaders being similarly held. Under recently revised provisions of the emergency law, detainees are sent to prison for up to one year without charges or trials.

BUILDING FOR FUTURE: Some unionists believe that one of the reasons for the surge of activity is that the Uprising has started people thinking about what Palestinian society will be like after independence. The Union of Construction and General Institution Workers in Ramallah and al-Bireh has drawn up a model collective agreement which it hopes will help lay the groundwork for eventual Palestinian labor laws. The nine points covered in the agreement go well beyond what the unions have tried to enforce in the past covering issues the elected workers committee and prohibits the of Knesset members and kibbutz secretaries-general, but not before police worked like a shot in the arm. Our group to the RFWU. Even though the RFWU is organizing Palestinian workers in Palestinian factories, its work is still interfered with by the Israeli military, to arrest union activists who were leafletting in the parking lot.

Women in Black has become a nationwide phenomenon. The power and persistence which characterized Women in Black, the acceptance of a broad spectrum of opinions and the will to work towards peace, brought women of the intifadah movement to the arena of demonstrations for the first time in the history of the Israeli left.

There are about 17 vigils, in which several hundred kibbutz women participate. The first kibbutz group began a year and a half ago at Gan Shmuel, about 30 kilometers west of the Meggido intersection. The Meggido vigil was the second. "We decided that if there were 20 women willing to demonstrate, we'd do it", participants recall.

Vigils of kibbutz Women in Black comprise about half of the 30 groups active today. Does this development indicate a change in the stance of the kibbutzim towards the radical left and the Palestinian question? Has the kibbutz movement's ideological collectivism and faithfulness to institutionalized Zionism been shattered? It seems too early to predict. In spite of the support they receive in certain circles, the kibbutz establishment still shuns the Women in Black, as well as members of Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit), who refuse to do military service in the Occupied Territories.

Tamar, Shoshi and Lily are part of the hard core of the Meggedo Women in Black vigil, along with women from the Yizra'el Valley kibbutzim and Arab women from the Wadi Ara area. Exhausted and sweaty after the vigil, they spoke of themselves one Friday afternoon.

"The special thing about Meggido intersection is its unique location", explains Shoshi. "Being opposite the prison, en route to Jenin in the West Bank and on the way between Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm, insures that we will always be at the center of things".

Perhaps for this reason they encountered such strong opposition. At the first demonstration, which took place on March 31, 1989, all 12 women were arrested and taken to the Afula police station for investigation. They were released that night following the intervention of Knesset members and kibbutz secretaries-general, but not before police took their fingerprints and a complaint was filed against them. Recently, 16 months after the incident, each of the demonstrators received a letter from the police notifying them that the case was closed. "The strange thing", says Lily, "is that for most of the women the confrontation with the police worked like a shot in the arm. Our group was strengthened and our determination to persist in the path we had chosen increased".

On June 6, 1990, the 23rd anniversary of the occupation, 80 Jewish and Arab women attended the vigil and were joined by men. It was a demonstration of strength aimed at those who wished to see this vigil disappear. They still remember the reactions in several kibbutzim following the first demonstration. Announcements they had hung on the bulletin boards were torn down, there were threats to damage their placards and they were forced to hear comments like: "It's a shame you weren't jailed", or "These are frustrated women who use the demonstration instead of a psychologist".

The kibbutz institutions refused them funding or worktime with the excuse that this was a private "conscience cleansing" activity. The pressure was so strong that there were women who said, "We agree with you but can't go against the flow". One activist said the women stopped recruiting because "there is an almost formal agreement against political activities outside the scope of Mapam".

At the beginning of the intifada", Shoshi says, "the atmosphere in the kibbutzim was similar to that following the Sabra and Shatilla massacres. There was an awakening and a fear for the shape of Israeli society. Kibbutz members said that something must be done. We have members of German origin who were in great distress. They said it early to predict. People responded emotionally, they didn't care under what flag they stood or with whom."

The difficulties in getting to activities of the left in Tel Aviv or Haifa led to the idea of local action. There were women from South America who were raised in the tradition of the Mothers of Mayo Square...
and felt an affinity to Women in Black. "At the time they called me", says Lily, "I was feeling a political vacuum and sense of helplessness. That call was as though someone had read my mind and found an answer to my deliberations. Standing at the crossroads did something for me as a woman as well. It helped me to develop and gain confidence in facing society and the members who were close to me".

But frustration, disappointment with society and personal motivations are not enough. Pressure from the "collective", political events, and the hostility felt in the street could easily have worn the women out and caused the group to crumble. For example, on Friday, August 18, the women at the Jalame intersection announced their group's dissolution in protest over the PLO's stance regarding the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Other groups are deliberating. But other women are unwilling to give up. Since the Gulf crisis and the resultant tensions between the Israeli Zionist left and the Palestinian national movement, Women in Black activists are encouraging the fencesitters to persevere. They seek to distance them from those who claim that there is no place for dialogue or a peaceful solution with the Palestinians.

Against this background, the Women and Peace Movement (the umbrella organization of all women's peace groups) published an open letter clarifying its position: "The Women and Peace Movement continues to abide by its stance of peace which calls for dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians as a step towards ending the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. The crisis in the Persian Gulf and the danger of war decisively prove the urgent need for dialogue with the PLO which is the only means to achieve a peaceful solution and to prevent the atrocities of war. We women refuse to see war as the resolution of any conflict, difficult as it may be. Especially in times of crisis it is necessary to persist and stand firmly for the principles of dialogue and peaceful solution".[=]

60778. Lahav, Hadas. "Against the Current: Women In Black in Kibbutzim: Part 2", in Challenge, October, 1990. p. 27. It was not the first time that the women of the Meggido intersection have had to deal with political arguments. Other subjects have in the past threatened to divide the demonstrators. They are aware of the danger and rely on a great deal of patience to overcome the obstacles. Not all women come to protest for the same reasons, although they may share the same goal. After the demonstration they always remain to discuss political topics.

The participation of Arab women contributes to a change in attitude. According to Lily: "Our vigil is Jewish-Arab. We have slogans in Arabic as well. We try to stand in such a way that some of the women face the Alula road while others face the route to Jenin. It's important to us that Arab laborers from the territories see us as well and get some encouragement. The fact that Arab women join us makes us involved and committed". Events in the Arab sector like Land Day and hassles with the police, which once seemed far away, have become more real because of the Arab women who stand by them and are frequently victims of police attention.

The most recent initiative of the women from the Meggido crossroads was the women's petition calling on all Israeli soldiers to refuse to serve in the Occupied Territories. Not all the women endorse this call; some even stridently oppose it. For this reason it was presented as the private initiative of several participants. They brought up the idea at a conference of Women and Peace which took place at Kfar Yassif at the end of June. The petition presents a challenge to all bodies dealing with the question of conscientious objection, from Mapam and the various political branches of the kibbutz movement to the leadership of the Citizens' Rights Movement: "We, women believing in peace, call upon soldiers to refuse to serve in the Occupied Territories as an appropriate response to the intransigent policy of the government of the right. Only mass conscientious objection will bring change". Thus far 250 women have signed petition, knowing that the legislated punishment for advocating refusal is five years' imprisonment. The crisis in the Gulf and the danger of war may have pushed the question of refusal to the side and stymied activity, but it has not diminished its importance.

In spite of the political situation and the social pressure upon them, Shoshi, Lily and Tamar feel they are gaining strength. In their opinion, the Women in Black vigils have an important role in creating new modes of struggle for the future. "Women in Black is a group of hundreds and perhaps thousands of typical working women", Shoshi sums up. "It is a non-revolutionary group without a firm program. Yet the high degree of commitment indicates a very high potential around which a front fighting for a just society may be built. We are not men involved in political ego-tripping and seeking leadership roles. There are no leaders in Women in Black, just a great deal of solidarity and readiness to go forward. That is the secret of our strength".[2] [Translation: Ofir Ilan.]

Women in Black from other vigils are invited to write to Challenge/Elgar about their own experiences.[=]


In the archives of the future Palestinian state, Through the Veil of Exile will be given a place of honor. Among its attributes, it was the first documentary film on Palestinian women to breach the walls of the occupation and capture the hearts of the Israeli audience. Its producers, director-photographer David Benchetrit and his wife and editor Sini Bar David, devoted five years (1987 - 1991) of hard work and some $130,000 from their personal income, persevering without any support from the establishment and despite massive interference from the military authorities. Miraculously, their project became the most talked about entry in the Ninth International Jerusalem Film Festival.

The Israeli press lavished the film with superlatives: "A wonderful movie in my opinion, maybe the best of the documentary films made in Israel in recent years." (Yaron London, Yediot Aharonot, June 5, 92). "One of the most clever and moving films ever made about the Intifada and contemporary Palestinian society." (Roni Parciack, The Jerusalem Post, July 3, '92).

The movie opens with a projection of black and white photos portraying Palestinian refugees from the '48 War against the background of a Palestinian lullaby. This prologue establishes the political framework of the film, as if to say, "These are 'our own' refugees in whose houses and on whose lands we live." From the prologue on, there are no more political declarations, no moralizing, no images of suffering or violence. Just simple people and the artist, who documents them faithfully and lovingly.

For ninety minutes the women tell their stories, in the first person, in their own voices, looking straight into the camera, conversing with members of their families, engaged in their everyday chores. "While men tend to make only political declarations, these women were willing to speak also about their personal experiences and difficulties, to adopt a critical stance and to take stock of themselves," says Benchetrit. "Women are braver and more humane than men, especially in a society immersed in a struggle for national liberation," he adds.

Mary Khass, aged 60, is a teacher born in Haifa to a Protestant family. After the '67 war she moved to Gaza, her husband's home town, so that her three children could grow up in a Palestinian society with no confusion about their identity. Dalal Abu-Kamar, aged 33 and single, is from the Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. She served 12 years in the women's prison "Neve Tirza" for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Im Muhammad, a widow of 53 and mother of eight children, lives in the Ein Sultan refugee camp near Jericho. She is a third-time refugee, farming the land of a wealthy Palestinian family but dreaming of the day when she will work for herself. To make a film that would express the tragedy of the Palestinian people in human parameters became almost an obsession for David Benchetrit. "The human standpoint is stronger for me than the political one," he says. "This is not an Intifada film and not a militant film. This is a film about the junction where exile from the land meets with exile from identity and with internal exile. I decided to take as a subject those who are the most outcast of all - the women. Only by this means can I manage to bring the
audience to identify.”

Benchetrit interviewed about 120 Palestinian women, intellectuals, fellahin and political prisoners, as he says, “almost every woman who had been in an Israeli prison and remained in the West Bank or Gaza.” He chose the hard and weary face of Um Mohammad, the most outcast of the outcast, to put on the film’s posters. “What appealed to me in Um Mohammad, was that her identity has become intertwined with the land, that she is dark-skinned, which places her in the lowest ranks of society, even among the Palestinians, and that despite her status as a refugee, she maintained her dignity.”

60780. Lahav, Hadas. “Film Review: Through the Veil of Exile: Part 2”, in Challenge, September-October, 1992, p. 36. Benchetrit and Bar David spent a whole year in the Gaza refugee camp without once producing a camera. “A camera is a kind of weapon. One must know when to use it,” he explains. The special relationship which was formed between the Israeli crew and the Palestinian women is well expressed in the calmness of their monologues and by the openness with which they speak and behave in front of the camera.

Eyebrows were raised in some quarters over the seeming audacity of Benchetrit’s project: an Israeli man dealing with a subject that no Palestinian director has dared to approach. But in Benchetrit’s opinion there is nothing strange about his involvement. “Palestinian directors living under the occupation are primarily making political statements. I can permit myself to make this criticism of them after having taught 60 Palestinians in a cinematography course. I did not make this movie out of any desire for commercial success, but out of principle. It almost cost me my job with the NUTC (the Israeli Association of Video Photographers). Palestinian directors of today are putting their efforts into producing films that are full of blood and violence which will sell abroad. They do not look for a deeper level and avoid the confrontation with themselves. It may be that they will have to wait a little in order to gain a proper perspective on what is happening to them.”

“In approaching the Palestinians, I did not want to make another film from the Israeli perspective of ‘come, let’s see what is happening on the enemy’s turf and show a little consideration for him,’” says David Benchetrit, who is fluent in Arabic from the days of his childhood in Casablanca. “The movie’s intimacy is the product of a relationship of equality and mutual respect established between us. I think only a Sephardic director, like me, born in Morocco and carrying the required cultural conditioning and aesthetic and human sensitivity towards Arab society could reach such a degree of identity with and nearness to the Palestinian vein.”

Benchetrit has been criticized for not introducing Israeli women into the film for the sake of “balance.” “If I were to make a film about Israeli women, would people also ask why I did not introduce Palestinian women?” Yet it is precisely within the lack of balance that the power of Through the Veil lies. The creator’s subjectivity also distinguishes Benchetrit’s film from others dealing with the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. This is the first film on the subject, I think, that presents Palestinian society that handed out a 12-year prison sentence to a 16-year old girl for her half-conscious and nonviolent participation in the liberation struggle of her people. Now this same Israeli government denies her the freedom of movement so taken for granted by us as Israelis, long after her punishment was duly served.

The film was shown to full houses in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem (in Hafia to a mixed Arab-Jewish audience), and it is scheduled to travel to Nazareth, East Jerusalem and Ramallah. With the removal of the censors’ restrictions at the beginning of August, Benchetrit hopes to screen the film for school children - particularly those approaching conscription age and already much interest has been shown.

Through the Veil of Exile is not a political document. Benchetrit’s creation is one of those rare products of humanist culture which do not conform to prescribed cultural limits and conventions. The dynamic that it generates is beyond prejudice, outside chauvinism, one of free and open discussion that circumvents those conventions and helps to rewrite them. It is art like Benchetrit’s that works toward the creation of a true culture of peace, one that may someday show Israeli society the way to break the closed circle of war and occupation. Translation: Howard Shippin. [–]

60782. Lahav, Hadas. “Mother of Soldier Killed in Lebanon Wins Battle to Change Son’s Epitaph: Peace for Galilee, R.I.P.,” in Challenge, July-August 1991. p. 28. In the ninth anniversary of the Lebanon war, Efet Spiegel won a small victory in the struggle she has been waging against the Ministry of Defense and the political establishment since she lost her son, Yoav, in the war in 1982. A new tombstone was erected on Yoav’s grave in the military cemetery near Tel Aviv, inscribed with the words, “Fell while performing his duty in Lebanon.” The previous inscription, which is engraved on the tombstones of others killed in the same war, read, “Fell during Operation Peace for Galilee.” For Spiegel, who has visited her son’s grave every single week for nine years, this was more than semantics. She explains. “The words, ‘Operation Peace for Galilee’ embody the entire fraud of that war. It was not an operation, but a war which lasted three years in which people - soldiers and many Lebanese and Palestinian civilians - were killed. It had nothing to do with peace or with the Galilee. For my sake, so that I would be able to look at my son’s grave, and for my son’s honor, I had to remove those words from the grave.” The first time Spiegel raised her demand to change the
inscription on her son's tombstone was seven years ago. At that time, she was a member of a group of 13 families who demanded that the government establish a commission of inquiry into the Lebanon war. Spiegel was the first and was joined by the others, all parents of soldiers killed in the war. After knocking at every door and meeting with every public figure who agreed to grant them some time, they found themselves facing a brick wall. “The last straw was the meeting with Shimon Peres. Spiegel recalls. “He told us that if we demanded a commission of inquiry the government would fall - in short, that his chair was more important than his conscience. Then I decided to take this step of demanding to change the inscription on our loved ones' graves. I said that I didn't care who else would join me, and that even if I was alone, I was going to start a battle for my son's memory and honor. That was two years after he was killed and I felt strong enough to withstand it. It was not easy. I did not have support from anyone. The public was totally indifferent. There was just me and my conscience, and the knowledge that that was what my son would have wanted, that was what he expected from me.”

The first reply she received from the memorial division of the Ministry of Defense was that the inscription could not be changed because the uniformity of the graves had to be maintained. “A soldier, even when he is killed, they still think he belongs to them, whether it is the religious or the political establishment. They dictate the inscription and form to the family and it's forbidden to oppose them,” says Spiegel. The memorial division referred her to a public committee for the remembrance of fallen soldiers, which apparently existed alongside the Ministry of Defense. The committee had no address or telephone number, and the names of its members were not known, nor who appointed them. Moreover, any contact with the public committee had to be made through the Ministry of Defense memorial division. “We saw that we had no choice, and decided to petition the High Court of Justice. The first High Court session took place exactly one year ago. The judge, Dov Levine, ordered the Ministry of Defense to reply within 60 days as to why it would not allow me to change the inscription on my son's tombstone. The Ministry of Defense's reply was delayed again and again until the 60 days had become a year. During that year pressures were brought to bear on me and they tried to induce me in various ways to give up. The first offer was passed on to me through my lawyer. Even now I find it hard to overcome the outrage it aroused. It was the proposal that I transfer my son's bones to a civilian cemetery and there to erect any tombstone I wanted. That is how far their pettiness and insensitivity reached. I told my lawyer, "You shouldn't have told me, you're just hurting me." My Yoav was a soldier and he will remain next to his friends. He is not an exception.”

The second compromise they offered me was to erase the words 'Operation Peace for Galilee' and leave only, 'Fell while performing his duty.' I did not agree to that either. Our entire message was that if they had not taken him there, to Lebanon, he would still have been alive, he would not have had to die. I told my lawyer that the only compromise I was willing to agree to was for them to inscribe, 'Fell while performing his duty in Lebanon.' I gave up the word 'war,' but I announced that if they did not accept this compromise, I would return to my original demand, 'Fell in the Lebanon war,' and fight it to the end. The next High Court session was supposed to take place on Wednesday, 5/15/91. On the Sunday before it they notified me that the Ministry of Defense had accepted my proposal for a compromise and that the tombstone would be changed.” Why did they ultimately accept this? Spiegel does not know. Perhaps they despised of her insistence, and perhaps they feared that too much stubbornness on their part would create a negative impression of the relations between the Ministry of Defense and the bereaved families. After all, Spiegel is not alone. Three months ago the family of a soldier killed in Gaza, Shahar Ginosar, demanded that the Latin date of his death, not only the Hebrew date, be inscribed on his tombstone. Spiegel knows of four or five other families of soldiers killed in the Lebanon war who intend to approach the Ministry of Defense in order to change the tombsstones on their loved ones' graves. "For me this was only a partial victory," says Spiegel, "because they cannot bring back my son. I would consider it a victory if a mass movement of bereaved families would arise and force the government to establish an official commission of inquiry. Those responsible for that war, from Begin and Shamir to Rabin and Peres, should be forced to pay the price for their policy, to pay for their not seeking a peaceful solution, then or now. I am sorry that all of those people who are indifferent, who regard me and the left as Don Quixotes and 'PLO lovers,' will be forced along with us to bear the terrible outcome of the next war." (Translation: Rayna Moss) [c]

60783. Lahav, Hadas. “Persecution of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center, Maj al-Krum Life After Abu Geoge: Part 1,” in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 34. It has been a hot summer for the eight thousand inhabitants of Maj al-Krum, an Arab village in the foothills of the Western Galilee in Israel. The summer, if not the heat, started with a mass gala in early June, celebrating the Muslim feast, Id al-Adha, sponsored by the year-old Al-Baqa Cultural Center, the event attracted about 2,000 villagers. The center's debka dance troupe performed, accompanied by musicians and singers; young people read poetry; and everyone exchanged blessings in honor of the holiday.

The audience loved it. This was the first time in most people's recollection that the village had celebrated the Id al-Adha with such a popular fete. The significance of the evening showed in the generous, cooperative spirit of the village: the construction of the stage, the campaign for contributions, the hundreds of chairs lent to the auditorium. The amount of funds collected during the gala itself to support the activities of the Al-Baqra center was above expectations. The municipal council of the village also made a contribution, personally presented by the head of the council, one of the guests of honor. It was a big event for this out-of-the-way village, suffering from the effects of 45 years of governmental neglect.

The heat of the summer arrived soon after the celebration of the Id. For the next few weeks the town was abuzz with talk of the evening, but enthusiasm for the celebrations was distinctly lacking in one quarter: the General Security Services (GSS) chief in charge of the Galilee. Someone in his shadowy chambers at a police headquarters in the Galilee has evidently decided to put a stop to the activities of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center. Before the end of June, several teenage boys from the village were summoned for questioning at a police headquarters, including the man in charge of "security" in the Arab villages of the Galilee, known to the villagers as Abu George (the real names of GSS personnel are unknown).

The six youths who were summoned were all involved with the Al-Baqa center and had all been present at the Id al-Adha celebrations. All but one were under 20 years old, and none had had any previous political or public experience - nor did any of them hold any responsible positions in the Al-Baqa center. The lead singer and lead dancer of the debka troupe were among them; the others had participated in hikes and day trips organized by the center or had seen films screened there.

The ostensible reason that these boys were called in to Abu George appeared in the summonses as "clarifications." No "clarifications" were sought from any of the youths who showed up at the police station. Two of them were kept waiting for hours and then sent home. Those who did speak to a representative of the GSS found themselves engaged in a bizarre conversation, half threats and half dangled inducements. If the authorities had ever intended to "clarify" the extent of any alleged "illegal activities," or to warn the youths against violations of the law, they would have been summoned to the police station in Carmiel, the offices in charge of criminal law enforcement in the district.[=]

60784. Lahav, Hadas. “Persecution of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center, Maj al-Krum Life After Abu Geoge: Part 2,” in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 54. The first time Qasem Kreim (24), one of the main activists at the Al-Baqa center, was summoned to the police station was at the beginning of June, along with his father. The GSS official known as Abu George greeted them cordially and inquired after the health of their family. He inquired about the health of a brother, who studies in Italy but was in Israel for a visit - he asked about the health of his uncle, his
father's brother, who had arrived from Lebanon for a visit. He then asked about the people who visited the Al-Baqa center and gave the impression of omniscience and omnipotence. He told Qasem's father that although the State of Israel is a democracy and the activities of the center are not illegal, he would nevertheless bring its activities to a halt. Finally, he hinted to Qasem that if Qasem did not agree to collaborate with Abu George, he and his family would be hurt. For example, Abu George could prevent his brother from returning to Italy; only a small delay would cause his brother to lose a year of studies. A week later, Abu George called Qasem at home and set up a meeting to take place in an apartment in Carmiel. Inside the apartment, a number of men were waiting for Qasem, and they again threatened him that if he continued to refuse to work with them, they would ruin his life. After a few days, when it became clear that Qasem was continuing his work at the center, his father was summoned again to the Acre police station. Abu George told him to take Qasem's uncle immediately to the Rosh Hanikra border crossing to Lebanon and send him back there; giving Qasem's work at the Al-Baqa center as the reason. "We will crush Qasem's bones," Abu George said to Qasem's father.

This was the last time Qasem's family heard from Abu George. Qasem's father didn't carry out the instructions concerning his brother. Qasem's uncle remained in Maid al-Krum, Qasem's brother returned to Italy unhindered and for now Abu George's threats remain unenforced.

Muhasen Kreim (22) (distant relation of Qasem) was another of the youths summoned to the police headquarters in the weeks following the Id al-Adha. Muhasen had previously been summoned to the Acre police station twice. He did not go. Last June he was summoned to the Police Station a third time. The GSS officer told him that they were aware of the nationalistic poems Muhasen had written in his school notebook and the nationalist slogans he had written on the walls of the school. Muhasen was reminded of the time he had come to school in clothes the colors of the Palestinian flag. The officer threatened him that if he wished to study at university he had better collaborate with them.

Muhasen was then told that the GSS knew he had taken part in the gala sponsored by the Al-Baqa center to mark Id al-Adha, and that he had attended a film at the center. The screening in question was of the 1981 BBC documentary on children in the Gaza Strip: "Do They Feel My Shadow Under The Sun?" The representative of the GSS explained that this was an "inciting film and hostile propaganda." Muhasen was warned to stop attending events at the Al-Baqa Cultural Center, a center of anti-state subversion masquerading as a cultural center, according to the GSS officer.[=]

60785. Lahav, Hadas. "Persecution of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center, Majd al-Krum Life After Abu Geoge: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 35. Another of the youths summoned in June was the lead dancer of the debka troupe. He chose to discontinue his involvement with the center after being questioned by the General Security Services at the Acre police station. The GSS promised him a munificent budget and an impressive-sounding title if he would agree to remove the debka troupe from the Al-Baqa center and place it under the aegis of the Histadrut (the official Israeli labor union) club in the village. For years of the Histadrut club has been completely dormant and has never sponsored any cultural or social activities whatsoever. The supporters of the government in the village would be overjoyed if the Al-Baqa center's debka troupe would dance under the club's sponsorship, especially now, two months before a municipal election.

This has not happened. The lead dancer went from door to door to convince the rest of the debka troupe to join him, claiming that the Al-Baqa center was about to be shut down and that the troupe would break up as a consequence. Although he promised generous working conditions, good money, and expense-paid foreign tours, no one took the bait. Only two other people formerly at the center came to the Histadrut meeting, and the plan was a dismal failure.

The General Security Services took over where the military left off. Though military administration of the Arab population in Israel, which began immediately after the formation of the state, of ficially ended in 1966, the GSS has suplanted the military. The GSS feels no constraints in their actions in the Arab villages in Israel. Every activist with national feelings, every singer whose repertoire includes nationalist songs, every university student who goes abroad to study, will sooner or later find him or herself sitting across the table from Abu George. This bizarre ritual has been taken for granted since the days of the military administration and is considered to be one of the normal hazards of life, along with unemployment, land expropriations, and income tax. Until now, the GSS have not ceased their attempts to intimidate Arab youth in Israel and discourage them from undertaking independent thought.

The purpose of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center is to fill the social and cultural void that has inevitably developed among Arab youth in Israel, due in part to the crisis in the traditional Arab political leadership. The center was also founded to enable the expression of Palestinian identity, through various activities, independent of the suffocating grip of the Israeli authorities. Such activities are why the center has attracted the attention of the GSS ever since it was founded.[=]
Palestinian society. It is clear that the alternative is social disintegration, the spread of crime and drugs, and the loss of national identity.

A day of solidarity with the Al-Baqa center was held on July 31, 1993. Among those in attendance was a delegation of some 40 peace activists Jews, Arabs, Israelis, and foreigners. The guests were warmly received by the center’s activists. They met with the head of the local municipal council and enjoyed the best of traditional Arab village hospitality: a meal prepared by students at the Mother’s School. Also in attendance were members of the municipal council from all the political parties, well-known artists from the Galilee, educators, and many local and area residents, who all came to express their support for the Al-Baqa center. T-shirts bearing the symbol of the center have become popular in the village. Dozens of Jewish and Arab artists and intellectuals have signed a petition in support of the center. Among the signatories were the distinguished authors Emil Habibi and David Grossman. To express the demand: “for freedom of cultural activity and freedom of speech,” letters of protest were sent to Israeli embassies abroad and to the office of the Prime Minister.

On August 2, Benny Shilo, the Prime Minister’s Advisor on Minority Affairs, responded to one of the letters, denying that the government of Israel is in “[any] way preventing the construction of the Al-Baqa Cultural Center,” and claimed that “no complaints of harassment from the residents of the village” have been received.

The Al-Baqa center defense campaign has already established one important truth: in Majd al-Krum, the days are gone when the government can use intimidation and terror to wipe out independent Palestinian cultural activity. The days of the military administration will never return! Translated by Yochanan Lorwin.

60788. Lancaster, John. "Two Women, Three Child Refugees Killed By Israelis" [Israel] In “Israel helicopter gunships destroy ambulance crowded with refugees as they fled Israeli air raids on civilian targets throughout southern Lebanon; tens of thousands have fled the Israeli attacks; Israel states all ambulances are ‘Hezbollah’ and therefore legitimate targets], in Seattle Times, April 14, 1996. pp. A1, A2.

60789. Latendresse, Anne. Jerusalem: Palestinian Dynamics, Resistance and Urban Change, 1967-1994, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) (Post Office Box 19545, Jerusalem; tel: 972-2-894426; fax: 972-2-282819), April 1995. Includes map of Jerusalem. [Document includes full text in both Arabic and English] PASSIA is an Arab, non-profit Palestinian institution with a financially and legally independent status. It is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization. PASSIA seeks to present the Question of Palestine in its national, Arab and international contexts through academic research, dialogue and publication. PASSIA endeavors that research undertaken under its auspices be specialized, scientific and objective and that its symposia and workshops, whether international or intra-Palestinian, be open, self-critical and conducted in a spirit of harmony and cooperation.

Urban movements in East Jerusalem take place in an unusual environment of occupation and the imposition of decisions by outsiders by force on the urban populace. Nevertheless, the spontaneous responses of the Palestinian people of East Jerusalem demonstrate the ability of a broad range of Palestinian institutions to respond to the Occupation. These responses of the urban populace have been able to moderate the action of Israeli national and municipal institutions that have often been viewed as the sole determinants of urban change in East Jerusalem.

In 1967, Israel conquered East Jerusalem and stated its goal was to “reunify” Jerusalem as the sole and “eternal capital” of the Jewish race. This process of “Israelization” of East Jerusalem [also termed Judaization] has two elements: geographic annexation and the creation of a Jewish demographic majority. These policies started with the annexation of 28 Palestinian villages and the construction of Jews-only settlements around East Jerusalem; the Palestinian Mughrabti quarter of the Old City was leveled to allow the building of the Jewish Quarter; and the construction of a network of roads and residential complexes for Jews only.

The context of the Palestinian institutional resistance to Israelization has four elements: (a) geographic centrality (Jerusalem has always been the central place in Palestinian society and has been the base of most major Palestinian institutions, so the close of East Jerusalem in 3/1993 placed an effective partition in Palestinian community life); (b) political and symbolic centrality (politically Palestinians regard Jerusalem as their capital); (c) dual dimension of resistance as national and local (the centrality of Jerusalem to Palestine makes its resistance at the local level acts of national relevance); and (d) status of the Palestinian Community of East Jerusalem (the ‘resident’ third class citizenship granted to Palestinians of East Jerusalem by the Israeli Municipality gives them some legal rights not extended to other Palestinians, but these rights to not extend to include urban planning services, the right to build, the right to develop lands; Palestinians in East Jerusalem are subject to harassment by Jewish settlers, are subject to a new housing quota, and are discriminated by a ‘zoning’ system that restricts Palestinian land use; some 87% of Palestinian land in East Jerusalem has been confiscated, allocated to Jews, or forcibly turned into ‘green belts’—that is, Palestinian-owned lands on which no development is allowed). Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem have passed through several periods which are differentiated by their response to Israelization: the period of mere preservation (1967-1974) (as meron benvenisti notes: “The political guidelines followed by all Israeli bodies dealing with East Jerusalem led them to dismantle any form of independent Arab organization, while refraining from the creation of any special body to deal with East Jerusalem, so as to reinforce the failure of total and unambiguous [Jewish control], sududisme versus Popular resistance (1975-1987)[the emergence of a more Palestine-centric struggle by Palestinians]; Intifadah (1987-1991) (which starkly renewed the division of East Jerusalem from Israel); and negotiations (1991-1994) (in which the woken and isolated Palestinians were forced into unequal negotiations by the United States). The response of Palestinian institutions in the 1967-1974 period illustrates the commitment of these institutions to resist Israelization: The East Jerusalem Municipality refused merger with Jewish West Jerusalem; the Sharia Court resisted its annexation by the Israeli Ministry of Religions and instead formed the still independent Islamic Committee; the East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce refused offers of merger into three Jewish merchants’ associations; the refusal of the Jerusalem Electric Corp. to allow the Jewish municipality to seize the company (albeit being forced to make some concessions, such as accepting two Israeli [Jewish] directors, printing bills in Hebrew, and forcing JEC to buy electricity at widely inflated prices from Jewish power plants [after refusing to allow JEC to build new power plants]); the resistance of Maqassed Hospital to being seized by the Israeli Police Ministry [for offices?] by prompting international protests; resistance of students to an Israeli imposed Judeo-centric curriculum; the refusal of professional associations to accept the Israeli requirement that Israeli licensing would be required to practice their professions.

Palestinians in 1967-1994 in East Jerusalem developed two main strategies to respond with Israeli apartheid: the principal of non-cooperation with the municipality and Israeli national institutions (Teddy Kollek never found collaborators to speak in the name of the Palestinian community of East Jerusalem), and the protection of socio-economic, religious and cultural institutions in the face of Jewish repression. These institutions included the Chamber of Commerce, Maqassed Hospital, and the Jerusalem Electric Corp., as well as professional and charitable associations. At the same time, the establishment of new grassroots institutions, such as the Islamic Committee, and human rights, women’s, education, health, unions, and economic development groups, have enabled Palestinians to resist encapulation by Israeliization. Israeli power and repression has enabled them to reshape the physical structure and population of East Jerusalem, but they have failed to crush the Palestinian people and their independent institutions of that ancient Palestinian city.

Seattle Times, November 17, 1994, p. A16. The Jewish terrorist group Kach has established and maintains its segregated settlement of 450 in the core of the Palestinian city of Hebron. Mass murderer Baruch Goldstein is widely worshipped in the community for his slaughter of Palestinians at prayer at the Tomb of the Patriarchs; his portrait is everywhere in the community. Last month, Elisheva Federman trained her 3 year old daughter in the correct protocol for murdering a Palestinian when a Palestinian was gunned down in the street by the Israeli Army: Elisheva observes that such education in killing of Palestinians is essential for her Jewish daughter. Federman notes that the land of Hebron belongs to the Jews.

60791. Laub, Kevin. “Gaza Strip Students Ill-Prepared for Employment; Uprising Has Disrupted School, Created Ragtag ‘Army With Attitude’”, in Rocky Mountain News, November 7, 1993, p. A12. The students at Nusserat Refugee Camp in the Gaza Strip have almost all been beaten, shot or detained by the Jewish occupation troops. Many of the students have spent most of the last six years fighting heavily armed Jewish soldiers with just stones and their dignity. However, due to Israeli army closures of the schools, most have lost hundreds of days of school, in a calculated Jewish policy of trying to prevent the education of Palestinian children. Only 30% of 12th graders are expected to graduate this year; most of the young people are simply headed for manual labor: unemployment stands at 50% in Gaza and 30% in the West Bank. One child notes he became politically active when his uncle was arrested by the Israeli secret police when he was 8 years old (his home study while the school was closed will make him one of the few graduates). Army curfews, school closings and strikes have kept nearly half the 550000 Palestinians youth out of school for the last six years. [=]

60792. Laytnor, Anson, Rabbi. “A Solution To The Settlement Conundrum”, in Seattle Times, March 22, 1994. p. B5. Palestinians must give their consent to the Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, despite the imposition of the Jewish settlements by force on the Palestinians. This force of Jewish arms, for example in Hebron, gives the Jewish settlements the eternal right of occupation. This can be the basis for supporting the Jewish right to live anywhere in the Occupied Territories. Such Palestinians acceptance of the heavily armed Jewish settlers will be the basis of ‘consensual coexistence’.

60793. Lebracht, Hans. “Peace Now or Peace Later? The Contradictions in Israel’s Largest Peace Movement: Part 3”, in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 31. But none of this should obscure the fact that real peace forces were active throughout this period. We have to praise such steadfast movements as Women For Peace and Yesh Gvul, the movement of army reservists who refuse to serve in the Occupied Territories. Except during the first week of the US-led attack on Iraq, the vigils of Women in Black, calling for an end to the Israeli occupation, took place around the country each Friday at noon, despite the hateful collapse of the medical system, and are ‘criminal violations of the Oslo Accord’, in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), March 9, 1996. p. 3. On 3/3/1996 another suicide bomb was set off in Jerusalem, killing 19 and seriously wounding 10. Hamas claimed responsibility. Rightwing students marched in protest chanting: ‘Death to the Arabs’, and ‘No More Peace Talks With Palestinian murderers’. Other chantied for the death of PM Peres. Pres. Ezer Weizman called for an end to peace talks. Peres called for total war against Palestinians, demanding Arafat disarm all Palestinian dissidents. There was a total closure of the borders of the occupied territories. The first 130-mile segment of an electronic fence will be built to ghettoize Palestinian enclaves in the West Bank.

However, several hundred Israeli Jewish peace activists, including the Center of Israeli-Palestinian Peace, Gush Shalom, Peace Now, Women in Black and Hadash, were joined by Arabs in pro-peace demonstrations in Tel Aviv. Meir Vilner of the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party told, ‘The [Peres] definition of ‘War against Hamas Terror’ is an empty cliche without any practical content concerning truly fighting terrorism’ [sic: provided out of context, it is hard to say what this quote means: is Vilner saying Peres’ measures are too harsh or too weak?].

60795. Lebracht, Hans. “Closing Palestinian Territories Violates Accord”, in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), March 30, 1996. p. 4. Protests against the closure of the Gaza Strip and West Bank continued. The closure has economically isolated two million Palestinians, resulting in tens of thousands of them losing their jobs. Daily protests have been lodged in Tel Aviv. Saeb Erekat stated the closure was creating situations of mass hunger and starvation and causing the collapse of the medical system, and are ‘criminal violations of the Oslo Accord’. Some 245 medical centers have been closed, lacking staff and supplies; unemployment has reached 80%; and parents cannot find bread of baby food for their children. The Palestinian Ministry of Health has been forced to suspend the WHO polio vaccination program because Israel will not allow the vaccine to be moved through Israel. Cancer and kidney patients are being barred from treatment. The seven Palestinian pharmaceutical plants have been shut down since their workers are isolated in one of the hundreds of tiny ghettos into which the Occupied Territories are now divided (those plants produce 60% of the pharmaceuticals used in Palestinian clinics). Demonstrations took place throughout the Palestinian ghettos; in Nablus a protest was organized by the National & Islamic Institutions Committee, with similar protests in Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Gaza, Jenin, Ramallah, Qalqilia, and Jericho. [TXT]

armed Jewish fanatics, remain in the heart of Hebron, the Palestinian city of 160000. The number of Jewish settlers which is often used in the press, some 450, is wildly exaggerated. The pretext for the settlement in the heart of the Palestinian city is the destruction of the Jewish center there in 1929, during the Palestinian uprising against the British. At that time, the Jewish community of 500 (which had lived in the town at peace with their Arab neighbors for 500 years) was attacked, and 49 Jews were killed; the remainder fled.

In response to this historical crime, the Palestinian local government has embraced the descendants of the actual Jews of Hebron. Mayor Mustafa Natsha stated: "These Jews and their descendents are our brothers and sisters, legal citizens of our town and heartily welcomed by all of us. Natsha spoke to a delegation of the true Hebron Jews about desire of the Hebron Palestinians to atone for the ancient wrongs: the true Hebron Jews were led by Haim Haneghbi, Peace Now activist who was born in Hebron. Hanegbhi led a peaceful protest in the center of the city, stating their willingness to honor the rights of the Palestinians, and denouncing the Jewish fanatics who falsely claim the homes of the real Hebron Jews, "using this lie as a pretext to sabotage the peace process and good neighborly relations in the town". This protest followed a march by 2000 Jewish Ultras from several places in Israel but mainly from Brooklyn, who demanded that Hebron be Judaized with the expulsion of the Palestinians of Hebron.

The same day two other peace actions were undertaken by Israelis and Palestinians in hebron: (1) a four person Meretz delegation met with Natsha and three PNA officials to signify their adherence to the Oslo Accords, and (2) a small peace vigil by 120 Arab and Jewish leaders and activists of the Israel Democratic Hadash Front. The Hadash vigil was attacked by Jewish Ultra settlers, and this was followed by an intense police and army attack on the demonstrators. Member of Knesset Mahameed was injured by a roof tile thrown by a Jewish settler woman. The demonstrators were mercilessly attacked with great brutality.

On 11/12/1996, Ultra Orthodox Jews attacked reform Jewish women who tried to pray at the Wailing Wall, angry that the women dared wear skullcaps and carry Torahs. [TXT]

60797. Lebrecht, Hans. "Histadrut Elections Point to Israel's Political Future", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), April 23, 1994, p. 15. On 5/10/1994, deputies will be elected to the Histadrut National Convention. This body in turn elects the leadership of Histadrut for four-year terms. Over 80% of Israeli wage earners and their spouses belong to Histadrut and its 18 member trade unions; since Histadrut voters make up two-thirds of the national electorate, the Histadrut elections are an important indicator of trends in national politics in Israel. The seats in the Histadrut Congress, its Central Committee and Executive Committee are divided among Histadrut factions representing the nation’s political parties, in proportion to the votes each receives nationwide. However, the 25-member Central Committee has always been held by the Zionist, social-democratic Labor Party and the left-Zionist United Workers Party; Communists have always been excluded. Benjamin Gonen of the Israeli Communist Party's trade union section is again a candidate of the Joint Jewish-Arab List (Joint List). Histadrut functionaires have always acted as an agent of the government: 'suppressing the workers' interests, discriminating against the Arab minority, favoring foreign and domestic big capital.' Gonen stands against the current government policy of privatization, arguing that such moves do not help the Israeli economy. Joint List candidate Jamil Abu-Ras notes that Labor Party policies have failed to reduce unemployment in Israel, which is especially high among Arab workers. Abu-Ras called for the creation of Histadrut local Workers Councils to extend Histadrut protections to Arab workers. For the first time this year, an Arab woman, Rudeina Jerassi from Nazareth heads the Joint List. She observed that 'Israeli women, and Arab women in particular, face gross discrimination which neither the Histadrut nor the Womens Union have addressed'. [TXT]

60798. Lebrecht, Hans. "Israel-PLO Talks Jeopardized By Violations of Accords", in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), August 31, 1996. p. 13. Bilateral talks between Israel and Palestine will probably be renewed again next week, for the first meeting after the election of the new government. Reportedly, Pres. Ezer Weizmann has invited Yasser Arafat to visit him at his seashore villa palace in Cesaria. The invitation follows a letter sent by Arafat to Weizmann that detailed the Israeli violations of the Oslo Accords. The invitation to Arafat is seen as creating a dilemma for Netanyahu. The Israeli commitments under Oslo II that have not been honored by the Israelis include: (1) establishment of four free access roads through Israel to allow free travel for Palestinians between Gaza Strip and West Bank, as well as between the Palestinian self-ruled cities in the West Bank and East Jerusalem; (2) the release of thousands of Palestinian political prisoners from the Israeli concentration camps, beginning with all women political prisoners; and (3) opening of talks for the final settlement. [TXT]

60799. Lebrecht, Hans. "Israelian Women Wins Alternative 'Nobel Prize' For Aid To Palestinian Children", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), December 11, 1993, p. 11. Arna Mer-Khamis, the founder and head of 'Care & Learning', set up to provide care for children in the Occupied Territories, will receive this year's Royal Swedish Nobel Award Committee's alternative Nobel Prize of 'Right Livelihood Awards' for 'Womens Courage in Crisis & Conflict'. Mer-Khanis was born in Jordan in 1929, and joined the Israeli Communist Party. She married Saliba Khamis, one of the founders of the Union for Defense of Arab Lands that opposed the massive confiscation of Palestinian properties and their expulsion. Care and Learning was started after the beginning of the Intifadah, when Israeli authorities closed the Palestinian schools and libraries. Now, more than 30% of Palestinian children aged 10-12 are illiterate; in Jerin, the rate of illiteracy among children is 50%. Many of the children he aids have been brutally beaten and tortured by Israeli troops: many of the children will be handicapped for life. Some 2500 children attend her centers. The centers are aided by Birzeit University, Al-Najah University, the International Union of War Resisters and UNESCO. [TXT]

60800. Lebrecht, Hans. "Israelian Women March Against Violence and Discrimination", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), November 18, 1995, p. 14. Thousands of Israeli women marched in Tel Aviv to protest an epidemic of domestic violence, including murder of wives by their husbands, rape, sexual harassment at work places, and a wage structure that discriminates against women. Despite a law requiring equal pay for equal work, women rarely receive such equal wages. The march was led by Knesset members Yael Dayan (Labor), Naomi Hazan (Meterz), and Tamar Gozanski (CPI-Hadash), and included hundreds of women. For Aid To Palestinian Children", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), December 11, 1993, p. 11. Arna Mer-Khamis, the founder and head of 'Care & Learning', set up to provide care for children in the Occupied Territories, will receive this year's Royal Swedish Nobel Award Committee's alternative Nobel Prize of 'Right Livelihood Awards' for 'Womens Courage in Crisis & Conflict'. Mer-Khanis was born in Jordan in 1929, and joined the Israeli Communist Party. She married Saliba Khamis, one of the founders of the Union for Defense of Arab Lands that opposed the massive confiscation of Palestinian properties and their expulsion. Care and Learning was started after the beginning of the Intifadah, when Israeli authorities closed the Palestinian schools and libraries. Now, more than 30% of Palestinian children aged 10-12 are illiterate; in Jerin, the rate of illiteracy among children is 50%. Many of the children he aids have been brutally beaten and tortured by Israeli troops: many of the children will be handicapped for life. Some 2500 children attend her centers. The centers are aided by Birzeit University, Al-Najah University, the International Union of War Resisters and UNESCO. [TXT]
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60801. Lebrecht, Hans. "Israeli-Palestinian Accord Leaves Questions, Problems", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), September 30, 1995, p. 14. The second stage of the interim period in the Israeli-Palestinians peace process, long delayed, has been started with the signing of the new, 400 page document. The plan calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from seven Palestinian major towns in the West Bank and redeploymnet around 140 illegal Jewish settlements, and all major roads connecting the settlements. In six months, Israeli troops will withdraw from 80% of Hebron, but 20% of the Palestinian city of 120000 will remain occupied to protect the 450 [Kach] Jewish settler-terror cultists who live in 'settlements' carved out of the core of the Palestinian city. The Palestinian West Bank is carved into hundreds of isolated and defenseless ghettoes, surrounded and sealed off by networks of Israeli army posts [most manned by extremist Jewish settler-reservists]. Israeli security zones, Jews-only roads, and strategic Jewish settlements: the entire West Bank has been transformed by the 'peace agreement' into a network of virtual concentration camps. Some 5600 Palestinians remain in formal Israeli concentration camps: while Palestinians seek release of all these political prisoners, Israel will only agree to release 700 in the next six months, and immediate release of 34 women prisoners. The Israeli government has stated that no Palestinian political prisoner [none of whom have had trials], the 'hands of whom are stained with Jewish blood', will ever be released. The new accord is not the long awaited peace accord, due to Israeli rejectionism. [TEXT]

60802. Lebrecht, Hans. "New Israeli Peace Bloc Urges New Steps Toward Peace", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), May 8, 1993, p. 14. Gush Ha'Shalom (Peace Bloc), including Arabs and Jews, has been established in Israel. Its founders include Uri Avineri, Prof. Binyamin Cohen of Tel Aviv University, Uzi Burstein, spokesman for HADASH, Bedouin rights campaigner Nuri el-Oqbi, Hanna Knaz of the Women in Black, Adam Keller of the Yesh-Gvul, Arab social worker Arabiya Mansour and Amnon Abrahamson (crippled in a 1989 Palestinian bombing of a bus). The Peace Manifesto of the group states: 'The occupation of Arab territories has become an intolerable burden for both peoples... Peace requires withdrawal from all territories occupied since the 6/1967 war; and recognition of the principle of two states for the two peoples. Obly a just peace can guarantee security for both peoples... Therefore, a new mobilization is needed. Peace seekers must be united into a body with a clear message. The Peace Bloc undertakes this task'. Specific goals of the group include: (1) end to violence, oppression and colonialist settlement; (2) fill and direct peace talks between Israel and the PLO; and (3) full equality between Jews and Arabs in Israel. [TEXT]

60803. Lebrecht, Hans. "Palestinian March Demands Removal of Collaborators", in people's Weekly World (New York), January 21, 1995, p. 4. Thousands of Palestinian Israelis marched through the streets of Nazareth protesting the settlement of 2000 Palestinian collaborators from the occupied territories among them. The collaborators were settled in Nazareth to protect them from the Palestinians they preyed upon. Many of the collaborators, many of whom are criminals, continue to work for the Israeli secret police (Shabak) and inform on their Palestinian neighbors: 'their special assignment is to undermine the moral and social integrity of Israel's Arab minority's social life, introducing drugs and enforced prostitution, and spreading libelous rumors about them'. The main demand of the march was to send the collaborators back to the occupied territories for treason trials. The march was organized by Hadas Mayor of Nazareth, Ramez Jeressi, members of the Knesset, members of the Communist Party of Israel, the head of the Union of Arab Mayors, Christian and Muslim priests, and other clergymen. In his address, Jeressi stated the Israeli government is responsible for the 'foul crimes' of the relocated collaborators, and called for their speedy removal. Jeressi also called for the release of YCL activists, noting: the only 'crime' allegedly perpetrated by these youngsters was that that they uncovered immoral crimes committed by collaborators, such as rape, drug-dealing and enforced prostitution, and acting against them in the interest of public order. [TEXT]

60804. Lebrecht, Hans. "Palestinians Outraged By Collaborators Atrocities", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), November 13, 1994, p. 14. Last weekend there were mass demonstrations in Nazareth, Umm-el-Fahm, Taibe, and Tira to protest the human rights abuses committed by Palestinian collaborators with the Israeli occupation. Mayors of these communities and Arab members of the Knesset have called for the resettlement of such Israeli agents inside Israel to reduce tensions. In one example of the conduct of collaborators, a Shabak agent replaced raped a Nazareth Palestinian girl with impunity. Israeli police refuse to investigate this and other similar cases. The matter was aired in the Knesset by HADASH to no avail. [TEXT]

60805. Lebrecht, Hans. "Palestinians and Israeli Peace Groups Demand Government Action", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), March 13, 1993, p. 14. Representatives of forty peace groups, including the Democratic HADASH Front, Israeli Communist Youth League, Stop the Occupation, Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, Women in Black, Women for Peace, Ad-Ka'an (Tel Aviv University academics), and Yesh Guval. The statement signed at the 3/4/1993 meeting called for direct negotiations with the PLO. Speakers included: Palestinian peace delegate from the Inion of Arab Mayors, Christian and Muslim priests, and other clergymen. In his address, Jeressi stated the Israeli government is responsible for the 'foul crimes' of the relocated collaborators, and called for their speedy removal. Jeressi also called for the release of YCL activists, noting: the only 'crime' allegedly perpetrated by these youngsters was that they uncovered immoral crimes committed by collaborators, such as rape, drug-dealing and enforced prostitution, and acting against them in the interest of public order. [TEXT]

60806. Lebrecht, Hans. "Peace Forces Unite Against Rabin's Anti-Palestinian Designs", in Peoples Weekly World (New York), June 10, 1995, p. 15. The Haddash faction in the Knesset is threatening a no-confidence motion on 7/1/1995 against the Rabin government if all Israeli forces are not withdrawn from the West Bank as required by the agreement with the PLO. Hashem Mahameed, head of faction that includes the Israeli Communist Party, stated that the agreement was meaningless if Israel could choose to violate this most important part of the agreement. Israel is continuing provocative actions, including sealing off of occupied areas, the broken promise to withdraw Israeli troops from Palestinians towns and cities, the continued detention of 6000 Intifadah dissidents in concentration camps. Tamar Gozansky of the Communist
Party notes that by the agreement, withdrawal of Israeli police and army forces should have happened a year ago; elections in Palestine have not been allowed because of the Israeli veto of democracy. The large rally in Jerusalem was also attended by Muhammad Barake (secretary of Hadash), Prof. Benjamin Cohen of the Gush-Shalom, Dr. Ruhama Marton (chairwoman of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians Association), and Ruth Cohen of Women in Black. [TXT]

60807. Lebrecht, Hans. “Protest Against Israeli Bombing Spreads”, in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), April 27, 1996. p. 4. There has been more protests in Israel after the massacre of Lebanese refugees at the Qana refugee at the UNIFIL camp. The dissent is mainly among the 18% of the Israelis who are Arabs. The refugees had fled their village by earlier Israeli artillery attacks. During the first eleven days of this attack on Lebanon, some 500000 refugees have been forced from their homes by more than 18000 artillery shells and airraids. Lebanese authorities estimate that 330 civilians have been killed so far. The economic infrastructure of southern Lebanon has been almost completely destroyed. The Clinton Administration has supported this new Israeli attack on Lebanon. A general strike was organized by the Monitor Committee of the Arabs in Israel. Demonstrations and mourning ceremonies have been conducted in all major Arab villages and towns in Israel. The largest Arab demonstration was in Nazareth, which even included a few Jews from Nazareth-Eilt and Haifa. Nazareth Mayor Ramez Jereissi, a member of Hadash, representatives of the Democratic Women Movement, and Hadash chairman Hashem Mahameed called on Peres to return to peace talks, end the closure of the Occupied Territories, and to withdraw from all Occupied Territories. The massive demonstration in Nazareth was attacked on three sides by Israeli police and border guards, who tear gassed people and beat many. Many demonstrators were severely injured. In Kafr-Mukha, near Nazareth, Mahameed, Hadash member of Knesset Tamar Gozansky, Communist Party of Israel General Secretary Muhammad Nakfa’a, and former CPI General Secretary Meir Vilner conducted addressed protesters, denouncing Israeli atrocities and recalling that Haddas and the Communist Party were the first political parties to criticize the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. [TXT]

60808. Lederer, Edith M. “Women For Peace: Women Stake Their Claim; Casting Off Their Role As Victims of War, Women Are Demanding a Part In Peacemaking in Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe; A Key Issue At The UN Womens Conference in Beijing Will Be The Effect of War On Women”, in Olympian, August 28, 1995. p. A6. A growing number of peace movements worldwide are composed entirely of women, such as the Women in Black in Yugoslavia (where Serbs hate them, calling them traitors and prostitutes). Such women’s groups are growing in Angola, Nicaragua, Russia and the Philippines. In 1992, women on both sides of the fighting in Moldova succeeded in stopping the fighting where politicians had failed. Fifteen women’s peace groups attended the PrepComs from African countries such as Sudan, Libya, Mali, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi; Sudanese Women for Peace, based in Nairobi, is trying to show women how to end the fighting in a civil war that has killed 1.3 million people in 12 years. The Association of Friends of Angolan Women is forming its own political party to try to end the civil war. Women in Black in Israel was founded to protest human rights violations by the Israeli army during the Intifada. The Soldiers Mothers Committee in Russia has played a major role in stopping public opinion in Russia against the war in Chechnya. [TXT]

60809. Lemish, Dafna. “Marginality and Dehumanization: Women in Israeli media: Part 1”, in Challenge, November-December, 1991. p. 23. To the naive viewer of Israeli television women are marginal to the political, cultural and economic development of society. Women appear on the screen less than men. They are frequently younger and often framed in traditional feminine occupations. Women are presented as less logical, ambitious, active, aggressive, independent and dominant than men. On the other hand, they are portrayed to be more romantic, emotional, dependent and vulnerable. And, on the infrequent occasions when this traditional portrayal of gender is replaced by a more “liberal” model in which women are presented more like men—the uniqueness of feminine work styles, values and experience are still ignored.

While these patterns have been well documented in many societies, the Israeli media environment raises some unique issues. Since the Intifada began, women on both sides have gradually started to realize their potential to influence the political situation in the region. Much of it—such as demonstrations, disseminating information regarding human rights violations etc.—is directed towards creating regional and worldwide public awareness.

The news media, which can be influential in creating public awareness and concern for certain issues should have become a crucial arena for their activities. Yet, a recent study revealed that neither the unique contribution of Israeli women nor of Palestinian women—not to mention their joint efforts, found their way into the news coverage. Women, it seems, were ignored by television news, when they developed a rival approach to the crisis (as in the case of women’s peace efforts in Israel) or were interpreted as meeting a crisis situation where “even” women were allowed to join in (as in the case of the Palestinian)

Overall, women were interviewed in the Intifada-related news items on only one out of eight interviews, and even then they were squeezed in between two other men interviewees. Men were more often introduced by their professional roles and titles, women by their dependency roles (“mother of...”). Aggressive traits were more often attributed to men, while women were shown displaying emotion more often. In this respect, television news coverage of the Intifada appeared to be an additional case in which women’s unique experience and contribution to society are misrepresented.

Similarly, a study of portrayals of women in the Israeli 1988 television election campaign found that traditional male biases frequently appear; with centrality to the major issues addressed in the campaign, in age related considerations, and in representations of particular societal roles. “Even a special broadcast by the Labour Alignment, devoted to its four women politicians had three of these candidates address feminine "soft" areas—care of the elderly and the young, health reform and contact with Arab women. This broadcast ended with Peres and Rabin presenting the party’s program on the “hard” issues of peace, security and foreign affairs.[–]

60810. Lemish, Dafna. “Marginality and Dehumanization: Women in Israeli media: Part 2”, in Challenge, November-December, 1991. p. 23. These findings are particularly interesting in light of the fact that most parties included in their political platforms issues of gender equality with varying degrees of emphasis and detail. However, this aspect of the parties’ platforms was not presented in their television campaign. Exceptional to that were the Left-wing parties—those generally more concerned with equality issues, especially Ratz and Hadash; here representations of women on the television campaign was indeed more equal to that of men.

Women’s stereotyping in the media, however, goes far beyond news and politics. One omnipresent agent socializing us to misconceptions of women is advertising, in all its forms. Regardless of the specific product advanced, advertising “sells” us a worldview of ugly stereotypes through pretty women.

The so desired yet unattainable “beauty ideal” guarantees women an everlasting feeling of inadequacy. Objectifying women (and little girls, for that matter) through the presentation of fragmented body parts, sexually provocative poses, indirect or subliminal sexual hints and the like—duces women to their sexual functions and stripthem of their human dignity and potential to feel, experience and contribute to society. Moreover, Israeli advertising is rich with violent hints: sadomasochistic gadgets (such as whips, belts, chains); women in distress (screaming, tied up, screwed in a light bulb, blinded with patch); women as provocers—“asking for it” (presented as a mattress, surrounded by men in a bar, posing like a an animal on the beach).

The roles of the media in shaping individual understandings and participation in society have been of primary interest in

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communication studies. This research has argued that the selective mediatization of reality employed by all media is a powerful process through which ideologies are mediated and reinforced, values and belief systems redefined and social myths transmitted and legitimized.

In Israel, it is crucial to consider the general context in which such images are flourishing. The Intifada has brought about a general escalation of violence and a deflation in the concern for human rights, free speech and democratic values. A significant increase in the number of weapons in the hands of civilians as well as the higher levels of frustration and social tension all are possible contributors to an increase in crime. Women in particular are a population at high risk due to their lower status in society and the lack of serious treatment of crimes such as rape and battering. The Gulf War, in particular, brought about a significant increase in violence against women within the family, including 22 murders of women within the first four months following the break of the war. A significant increase of complaints of battering and sexual crimes such as rape and incest was reported by the centers providing assistance to victims.

It is in this socio-political milieu that such images of women should be examined and re-evaluated as possibly legitimizing violence against women and maintaining a status quo situation of inequality and dehumanization.[=]

3. Lemish, D(1991) Pretty women - ugly stereotypes: Images of women in Israeli advertising In Y. Horinik and Y. Liberman, AdvertisingManagement: Unit 1 Tel Aviv: The Open University (Hebrew)
4. For more information contact the Institute for the Study of Media and Family, at the office of The Israeli Women's Network, Haibonim 14, Jerusalem The institute is supported by the New Israel Fund.
5. Dr. Daftna Lemish is active in the Institute for the Study of Media and Family, in conjunction with The Israeli Women's Network, Jerusalem[/=]


Jews and Palestinians achieve much greater academic success abroad than in Israel. If you are thinking about moving, consider the fact that over half of the Oriental Jews in France and 90% of the Ashkenazim in America attend universities, while 20% of the former and 50% of the latter attend in Israel. What Shlomo Swirski wants readers to understand about this finding in his most recent work - is how social policy determines opportunities for Israelis.

The comparison of educational achievement in different social settings enables Swirski to argue that ethnic origins and class status determine educational achievement, particularly when government policies differentiate and discriminate. Since such policies have been implemented in Israel, it is the educational system, not individual abilities, that has limited tens of thousands of children and adults in Israel from realizing their academic and economic potential.

Swirski's work should be read because it is an excellent example of a genre of critical social policy analysis sorely missing in Israel. Consistent with the Critical Approach, Swirski focuses on a significant problem in contemporary Israeli society - how the educational system produces social inequality. In particular, he delineates how the interests of northern or European-oriented and middle class populations were advanced while southern population groups - Oriental Jews and Palestinian Israelis were proletarianized.

Thus, juxtaposed against the image of Israeli education as a modern system which has implemented progressive, welfare-state policies to insure equal educational opportunity, Swirski demonstrates how two classes of education are provided to citizens of Israel: a quality university-based education for elitist professionals and a second class education for skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Despite over twenty years of school integration, Ashkenazim are the overwhelming majority of the student population in academic tracks in elementary, middle, and high schools, as well as in the universities. Oriental Jews dominate lower achievement groupings in elementary schools and therefore, most finish their education after comprehensive vocational high school. Palestinian Israelis have the same level of educational achievement as Oriental Jews although they are educated in a separate system. Three to five percent of Palestinian Israelis enter the university. Practically, this means that with knowledge of ethnic or national origins one can predict students' scores on the third grade nationwide reading and math tests, their placement in middle school achievement groups, their specialization in high school, whether or not they are likely to attend the university, as well as their economic status twenty years from now.

According to Swirski, class status too, determines academic and economic success. Middle class Jews and primarily Christian Palestinians can afford to send their children to private or elite gymnasia in order attain a university oriented education or to avoid integration. In elementary schools, parents supplement public funding in order to hire better teachers or to provide tutoring and enrichment programs. On the other hand, Oriental Jews, Moslems, Druze, and Bedouins are dependent on the local school and government funding. The second class education their children are provided is commensurate with their economic status.[=]

60813. Lemish, Peter. "Second Class Education In Israel: The Myth of 'Cultural Deficiency' Perpetuates the Status of Oriental Jews and Arabs: Part 2", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 22. Critical Studies not only unveil problems in contemporary society, they also present holistic, contextually-based explanations. Swirski explains that social inequality is produced in the educational system through four processes. First, education was an essential means to advance the technocratic, capitalist ethic advocated by Labor party leaders in the late 1950s. Since then, the primary role of education is to separate and to prepare both the "wheat and the chaff;" the small number of academically trained elite engaged in creative and managerial work from the large semiskilled workforce. The reforms implemented in the 1970s reinforced the emerging economic pyramid through academization of grades 7 and 8 in the form of the Middle School, the use of tracking to circumvent integration, the upgrading of upper level curricula, academization of teachers and administrators, and by providing two separate forms of high school education, academic and vocational tracks.

A second process is the use of government policies to advance narrow political interests. Ben Gurion disbanded the pre-state Labor Movement Educational Trend in order to gain total control of secular education. Coalition bartering enabled the religious zionists to build a separate religious education system populated primarily by Oriental Jews, the precedent for their "automatic" takeover of the education received by Ethiopians. Similarly, the 1970s reforms were defined and implemented, selectively, according to the narrow political interests of Golda Meir and Minister of Education Aran.

Differential implementation of social policy is the third process identified by Swirski. Jewish schools have received from five to ten times more funds than Palestinian schools. No curricula for systematic study of Oriental Jewish or Palestinian Arab cultures have been initiated. Curricula for the academic track were developed but none appropriate to lower achievement groups can be found in schools today (i.e., universal matriculation exams). The compulsory education law was not enforced unilaterally in Oriental communities in the 1950s and 1960s nor is it today in Palestinian schools where only 50% of Palestinian Israelis go on
to secondary schools. Community involvement was never fostered in lower class communities, but middle class Supplementary (Gray) Education has attained official status after being "overlooked" by Ministry officials for over a decade.

The fourth process identified by Swirski is the fostering of the ideology of compensatory education developed during the reforms of the 1970s. This ideology was a publicly acceptable and politically astute rationalization for the continuation of separate education by class and ethnicity. It is based upon two myths: individualism and cultural deficiency. The myth of individualism claims that all students should advance according to their needs, interests and achievements. Homogeneous achievement groups and comprehensive high schools with multiple tracks were necessary in order to concentrate teaching according to ability. Qualified students, it was promised, could transfer between achievement groups or specialization trends. This is an interesting half-truth. In practice, few students rose to higher groupings, though many descended. As a result, most lower class Oriental Jews and Palestinian Israelis fail to complete the full matriculation exam and are trained in semi-skilled professions which have limited life expectancy in a technologically driven economy. For most students, finding their "right" place in the educational system also determines their future economic status.[1]

60814. Lemish, Peter. "Second Class Education In Israel: The Myth of 'Cultural Deficiency' Perpetuates the Status of Oriental Jews and Arabs: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 23. The myth of "cultural deficiency" is the basis of the government's major compensatory program for the educationally disadvantaged. An industry of psychologists, special education teachers and researchers developed to identify, assist and evaluate these students, most of whom lived in development towns and the southern neighborhoods of the major cities. "Cultural deficiency" was the scientific explanation provided by Professor Carl Frankenstein and others to explain the lack of educational achievement of Oriental Jews as due to difficulties encountered by persons from "primitive" cultures adapting to modern civilization in Israel. However, it was Ben Gurion who most accurately captured the essence of the cultural imperialism and elitism of this ideology when he characterized the Oriental Jews who arrived in the 1950s as "not knowing their ABCs, without any sign of Jewish or human education" (Swirski, pg. 35; Ben Gurion, Eternal Israel, 1964, p. 34). Unfortunately, neither he nor other government leaders have been held accountable for the significantly lower educational achievements of Oriental Jews in Israel.

Finally, Swirski's work is guided by a clear set of social interests and values which, as the foundations of Critical Social Policy studies, are used to judge social policies:

Pluralistic Perspective: As in other Critical Studies, Swirski applies a pluralistic, human rights perspective which assumes that democratic states must serve all of their citizens equally. Discrimination develops when the state and social policies are defined through ideologies which advance the political interests of the group in power. The importance of Swirski's study is that he documents the historical development and mechanisms through which such discriminatory policies are implemented.

Life Chances: As opposed to the liberal, welfare state perspective which emphasizes equal opportunity, Swirski examines social outcomes and finds not individual but group differences in educational achievement. The causes are found to be discriminatory allocation of state services as well as differential educator expectations and practices (such as the myth of cultural deficiency). As a result, each child's life chances are determined on the basis of the ethnic and class status they inherit from their parents.

Power Relations: Critical Studies presume that society functions through a web of power relations, which envelops both the disenfranchised and those in power. Swirski explains how the state succeeded in limiting resistance to its discriminatory policies through, for example, advancing the compensatory ideology. Similarly, one can understand from his argument that, aside from a shared cultural background Oriental Jews and Palestinian Israelis also have in common their status as the groups which are disenfranchised and discriminated against in Israel.

Civic Participation: The right of each individual or group to intervene in order to influence policies and power relations is a fundamental assumption of Critical Studies. Swirski demonstrates how educational policies in countries of origin were strongly influenced by community interests and were impotent to influence the situation here in Israel. In particular, he bemoans the Oriental's loss of leadership and lack of involvement. He also sees in the activities of the Education Commission of the Arab Municipalities a possible mechanism through which power relations may be reconstituted by strengthening civic and group participation through resistance to discriminatory state policies.[= ]

60815. Lemish, Peter. "Second Class Education In Israel: The Myth of 'Cultural Deficiency' Perpetuates the Status of Oriental Jews and Arabs: Part 4", in Challenge, September-October, 1991, p. 24. In each of these interests, Swirski stands clearly apart from the approach to research implemented by most of his academic colleagues. In fact, it is his reinterpretation of what they have and have not analyzed, along with the chronological unfolding of his study, which suggests that education in Israel is part of the emerging genre of revisionist history being developed by Ilan Pepe and Benny Morris. However, beyond historical analysis, Swirski has provided us with one of the few Israeli contributions to the development of the Critical Studies approach to the study of social policy. He shares with us alternative information and interpretations of an important social problem. Now it is our turn to ask what we can do to change the policies and practices of social inequality in the educational system in Israel.

1. Oriental Jews refers to Jews whose countries of origins are in North Africa and the Middle East. We use his term for the sake of clarity in communication while acknowledging that like Mizrahim, Sephardim or Jews from Moslem countries - it too is problematic.

2. Ashkenazim are Jews from European or American countries.

3. Peter Lemish is a research fellow in the Jewish - Arab Center, University of Haifa.[=]

60816. Lentan, Esther. "The story of a Palestinian woman in exile: Neither Kings nor Princes nor Politicians: Part 1", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 39. Rawia, a young Palestinian woman in exile and a member of the Swedish Women in Black, and I, a member of Women in Black in Tel Aviv, met at the Hotel Intercontinental in Stockholm. Two strangers—generations apart from worlds apart; different cultures, different customs, traditions and ways of life—we bridged the differences and distances between us and ate, drank, smoked and talked together for five hours. It wasn't difficult; we had so much to talk about.

We were interrupted by a female employee who told us smoking was forbidden in the restaurant. "Ok, is it?" I replied, feigning innocence. "Sorry about that. I promise I won't smoke any more after I've finished this cigarette. " Since, from her accent, she was obviously not Swedish, I went on: "Where are you from?" "Beirut, Lebanon," and, curiouser and curiouser, "Burj al-Barajneh"—the same refugee camp in which Rawia had lived.

I took a back seat while Rawia and she jabbered away in a flood of Arabic, until I noticed her look at me and ask Rawia a question which made her burst into laughter. I asked Rawia the cause for her mirth. "She wants to know whether you are also a Palestinian from Israel." I joined in the laughter, and thoroughly enjoyed the woman's consternation when I replied that I was not only not a Palestinian, but a South African, Jewish, and presently living in ISRAEL!" I explained.

Rawia spoke about her life with her family in a P.L.O. refugee camp in Lebanon. Rawia's parents formerly lived in a village in the Galilee, like their parents and grandparents, for many generations. During Israel's War of Independence in 1948, Rawia's parents, sister and two brothers moved to Lebanon, like thousands of other Palestinians, and were reconciled by the P.L.O. and UNWRA. Rawia was born in the village of Tel al-Zatar, where her mother worked in a textile factory and her father opened a bakery. Life was comparatively comfortable and
Peaceful until 1976, when Lebanese Phalangists (Para-militia squads of ruling Maronits in Lebanon,) attacked the village. Rawia’s family moved to Burj el Barajneh and again took up the threads of a relatively normal life.

When she was ten years old, Shi’ites bombed Burj el Barajneh, relentlessly and ceaselessly, day after day after day, until the place was a shambles of havoc and destruction. A mass of dead bodies lay in the streets, a mass of wounded, people bleeding, people with shattered limbs, people crying for help, for water. But there was no help, no food, no water, no medical supplies. There were just skeletons of what had been homes and shops, and broken water pipes, with the precious liquid gushing out into the gutters. Those who were able to do so, walked or crawled and helped those who could not, to get out of the inferno in which men, women and children were being callously and wantonly murdered. Rawia’s mother, who had sustained “only” a shattered forearm, was one of the ambulance who went in search of water, in search of anything to relieve the horrible suffering and anguish. All the men were taken away, including Rawia’s father, and were never seen or heard of again. Her old and ailing grandfather was the only male survivor of her family.

At the age of 18, Rawia met and married a young Palestinian who decided he’d had enough of life in Lebanon and made his way to Stockholm. Rawia was torn between reluctance to leave her family and friends and everything familiar and dear to her and the desire to live with her husband. After six months of hesitancy and indecision, Rawia followed her husband to Sweden. And life in their newly adopted country spelled the doom of their marriage. Because of living in exile, they were simply not the same people. They lost their identity. They hovered on the periphery of a different milieu. They were confronted with a totally different kind of people, different customs, different climate. Their alienation, and the forces militating against them, took over their relationship and vanquished the love between them, almost inevitably leading to divorce.

Rawia was very lonely. She joined the Swedish-Palestinian Friendship Society, and later the Women in Black, where she met and was befriended by an Israeli woman, who became her mentor and her closest friend.

Talking about Israelis and Women in Black brought us to the burning issue of peace in the Middle East—the primary, crucial item on today’s political agenda, not only for the region, but for the whole world. Rawia is angry, and anxious that the Palestinians may be side-stepped in the peace negotiations looming on the horizon. “We are the problem, and no one can remove us from the equation. The P.L.O. is six million Palestinians...whether in Lebanon or Syria, in Jerusalem or the West Bank. And only the P.L.O., not Syria nor Jordan, not America nor Israel nor Russia nor any other Arab state, has the right to talk of peace for the Palestinians or to decide their fate and future.” [=]

60818. Lentan, Esther. “The story of a Palestinian woman in exile: Neither Kings nor Princes nor Politicians: Part 2”, in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 35. Rawia is very much afraid that the Palestinians will be sold down the river by those who agree to a peace conference which excludes the P.L.O. “We are being used by the princes and kings and politicians for their own political ends. We do not want, nor do we need, others to speak for us. We can speak for ourselves. We want to control our own destiny and not have our destiny decided by those who would use us for their own devious political purposes and betray us or jettison us when our usefulness has been exhausted.”

Esther Leviatan is a member of the African National Congress=[=]

60819. Leo, John. “A reason To Drag Reporters Through Some Trailer Parks”, in Seattle Times, January 21, 1997. p. B5. The Feminist establishment has denounced the case of Paula Jones, ignoring that there is genuine evidence to support her claim of sexual harassment by Bill Clinton. While it is true that the Clinton Administration has been dogged by ‘venomous’ attacks from the right, the hypocrisy of the Left on Jones is unprecedented. Gloria Steinem in a speech in Ottawa in 1994 said that while Clinton probably did demand sexx from Paula Jones, that the absence of actual rape exonerates Clinton from any guilt since “we’re not the Ayatollah here”, apparently arguing that only an Ayatollah would seek justice for a powerless woman of the lower classes like Jones [?]. Steinem’s embrace of sexual harassment by Clinton is just like her embrace of Bob Packwood’s sexual harassment: if the politician is an ally of the feminist-Zionist Steinem, she winks at their sexual harassment of women: that is, for Gloria Steinem, only Jewish women have any right to protection from sexual harassment. Clinton operatives have intensified this brutality: Clinton’s lawyer Bob Bennett calls Jones “tabloid trash”, and administration hatchet man James Carville sneered: “When you drag hundred-dollar bills through trailer parks, there’s no telling what you’ll find”. However, when the case of Jones is examined, it often seems very convincing: Newsweek’s Evan Thomas who once dismissed Jones as “some sleazy woman with big hair coming out of trailer parks”, now admits her case is strong, but her chances have been ruined by intense Clinton Administration propaganda: “by playing on class and partisan prejudices of reporters... Clinton’s operatives have done a brilliant job of discrediting Paula Jones and her case.”

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Palestinian, others are ultraorthodox Jews, married women, or people with health disabilities. In fact, only 55% of the 18-year-old population performs their compulsory service. Israel Remains the only country in which military service is compulsory for women as well as men. Contrary to the common image, however, the Israeli army does not promote gender equality. Most female soldiers do office work, training, education, health and welfare services—all of which fall within the traditional female role. In a combat-oriented military, female soldiers are excluded from combat positions. A lack of combat experience limits women's advancement in the military ranks, even in the non-combat professional jobs.

Behind the opposition to women's participation in the combat service lie racist and chauvinist attitudes. In a 1991 conference, the head of the Israeli Women's Corps explained, "I do not envy the American female soldier who was taken captive, and I don't want to be in a situation in which a Jewish girl will be taken captive by the Arabs." The fear of captivity depends on demonization of the Arabs, who are identified as cruel, habitual rapists.

This construction of Arabs reveals a vicious paradox. Penetration of a Jewish woman by an Arab man is viewed as claiming ownership on what rightly belongs to the Jewish man, hence a threat to him, not to her. Almost every female soldier in the Israeli army is sexually harassed. Officers charged with rape or other forms of sexual harassment of female soldiers have received ridiculously low sentences. It seems that the Israeli public is hardly bothered by rape or other kinds of sexual abuse of female soldiers as long as it is done by "our" boys.

The army is a major institution in Israeli society. It reflects norms and determines them. Many Israelis, men and women, spend an important part of their lives in the army. For most of them, it is their first experience away from home. Military service greatly influences the norms and values of every generation, including assumptions about the malefemale relationship. As such, it is one of the main institutions reinforcing inequality and sexist norms in Israeli society.

By nature, an army is a hierarchic and masculine system. Women's service in the military perpetuates a pattern of relations wherein a woman's role is to serve men. The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) glorifies men's duties whereas women's duties are generally disregarded. The army educates the younger generation not only to occupy and disregard Palestinian aspirations and rights, but also to accept a society in which women adore masculine strength and toughness and are subordinate to men.

The traditional women's roles in the army do not spare female soldiers from participating actively in the oppression of the Palestinian people. Female soldiers mistreat Palestinians as clerks in military installations and the Civil Administration; as jurists in the military courts, when they bodysearch Palestinian women at the borders passes. They are placed where physical confrontation with Palestinian women is expected. On 12/6/93, Basima Tamimi from alBireh died from injuries suffered when a female soldier in the Ramallah prison violently shoved her as she arrived to visit her detained son.

The norms established by the army penetrate civilian life, forming obstacles to women's equality. One's military record is crucial to advancement in the professional, social and political spheres of Israeli society. Whether in universities, factories, in political parties, or municipalities, the person at the top is always a retired male officer. A retired officer has recently been elected mayor of Haifa. Another one ran as Labor's candidate for mayor in Tel Aviv. Not even one female mayor has been elected in Israel.

The militaristic norms permeate even the Zionist peace movement, most notably Peace Now. Peace Now began in 1977 with the Officers' Letter, asking Prime Minister Menachem Begin to give peace a chance, even at the cost of returning the territories. The writers used pseudo-militaristic lingo. "We know that real security can only be achieved by peace."

The militarism went beyond the rhetoric. Only officers signed the letter because Peace Now estimated it would be more effective because ex-soldiers, especially officers, have greater influence in the public debate. These citizens believe they have a larger than equal share of civil rights. Yael Tamir, professor of philosophy at Tel Aviv University and a founding member of Peace Now, was among the initiators of the letter. Tamir served in Sinai as an intelligence officer and participated in the 1973 war. Peace Now decided not to allow her to sign the letter. She may have been an officer, but she remained a woman. Her voice could not be of the same value.

Because of the dominance of military service in Israeli life, some feminist Meretz Knesset members support women's equality in the IDF in the hope that it will improve equality in society at large. The demand for women's equality in the army, however, only reinforces the army's artificial status as an institution that can promote equality. It ignores the army's role as an oppressive machinery which maintains Israeli occupation and further marginalizes and delegitimizes those Israeli citizens who do not serve in the IDF, particularly Palestinians. [=] 60821. Lerman, Hava. "Women Must Play the Political Game: Part 1", in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 26. The Gulf crisis and war confronted us with a new reality. The traditional division, according to which men's place was on the front lines and women's place on the home front, was blurred. No longer were the men fighting at the front to defend us while we women remained safe at home. Instead we all shared the fate of powerlessness and uncertainty in our sealed rooms. This reality shattered a number of masculine myths and damaged more than slightly the image of the callous sabra male, shunning open shows of fear or weakness. In this war, fear became legitimate for the first time. This is an achievement not to be scorned, perhaps the only positive achievement of the war. Yet the Gulf war also emphasized and made acute the price we women pay in times of war. The saying "women are the true heroines of war" became a hackneyed phrase. Accurate in itself, it came to sound self-righteous and irritating in the current context because it concealed a grave reality: the increase in incidents of violence against women, the rise in the number of rapes, and the lowering of the minimum wage, at a time when the number of women living below the poverty line is constantly increasing. The attempt to obscure the potential of our—women's—strength, by means of sentimental outpourings and all sorts of mystifications, goes on all the time. Wars, like the occupation, don't distinguish between victims. It has been proven that war injures all of us, both in body and in soul. When a city is bombed or conquered, women and children are also injured, and therefore we women are not prepared to accept compliments while sitting on the sidelines watching the men's "war games," which have always gripped their imaginations and aroused in them a strange ardor. In the past, men went to war and conquest over women and land [both having the feminine gender in Hebrew] with weapons [one Hebrew term for which is "penis"]. This use of language is not coincidental. . .

The question remains: Are we prepared to continue to serve as a pretext for men to go off to war, and to continue to live in a society perpetually at war? Is it not that we are unable to take an active part in wars—all the more so when in the future it will be possible to destroy a city or wipe out a military division by remote control, by pushing a button. But we are not prepared to be part of a society which clothes its army in myths of holiness and boastfulness towards the enemy through the latter's dehumanization. Such a society also takes it for granted that women are a separate class, one to which special laws apply and which it is permissible to deprive of its due. There is no doubt that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of militarism in a society and the equality of rights and status of women within it. The connection is clear. [=] 60822. Lerman, Hava. "Women Must Play the Political Game: Part 2", in Challenge, May-June, 1991. p. 27. Just as the subject of war and...
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conflict is a political issue, so too is that of the status of women. Both touch on all issues and influence both the continuation of life and its quality. To the degree that we do not take an active part in the fashioning of peace and of society, adopting a passive role, we are in effect deciding to voluntarily hand over control of our lives to others, accepting the fate decreed for us, of living in a land where one war follows another. Today, when the world is changing at a dizzying pace, everyone is talking about a new order. The Jewish society has a feeling that we are being driven into a situation comparable to the one set forth in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion to the thinking of Christians are a mere smear). The author seems untroubled by the desire of rightwing Jews to President Yasser Arafat met with the US Vice-President Al Gore in


a Christian State in America (his dark hints about the importance of the 60826. Lutfi, Hatem. “Talks in Jericho: Elections, Economic Aid on

Christians to the Jewish state in Israel, but the deplorable fact they want

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adversaries of the military, which took place in Tel Aviv on March 22 on the occasion of International Women's Day. Translation: Maxine Kaufman Nunn.[=]

60823. Levitas, Daniel. “ADL and the Christian Right”, in Nation, June 19, 1995, pp. 882-883. The Christian Coalition, led by Ralph reed, with 1.5 million members, has been granted an imprimatur of anti-anti-semitism by the ADL and Abraham Foxman as a consequence of its new political alliance with the righthwing Jewish organization (which has long targeted "hate groups like the skinheads, the KKK and the Nation of Islam as well as perceived enemies of Israel"). While many Jews despise Christian fundamentalists, they have been loyal to Israel and the emigration of Soviet Jews to the West Bank. As then ADL national director Nathan Perlmutter noted in 1982, this commitment of fundamentalist Christians to the emigration of Soviet Jews to the West Bank was an important element in cementing the alliance of these two deeply rightwing political forces. Other key Jewish advocates of the rightwing Christian-Jewish alliance are Rabbi Daniel Lapin and Michael Medved (co-founders of Toward Tradition [which shares the Christian fundamentalist agenda, for example, in opposing Gay Rights]), Houston ADL director Gary Pollard, Irving Kristol and Elliot Abrams (all backers of Toward Tradition), and former senator Rudy Boschwitz (Honorary VC of ADL). At the 4/3/1995 meeting of the ADL, Ralph Reed confirmed the loyalty of the Christian Coalition to Israel.

The author concludes that the core problem in politically unifying Christians and Jews in America is not the laudable allegiance of Christians to the Jewish state in Israel, but the deplorable fact they want a Christian State in America (his dark hints about the importance of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion to the thinking of Christians are a mere smear). The author seems untroubled by the desire of rightwing Jews to demand a state based on Jewish domination in Palestine, while demanding the majority in the United States accept Zionism as their operative ideology; and is equally oblivious to the Jewish refusal to grant non-Jewish human rights in the Jewish-majority Greater Israel, while demanding special rights for Jews (non-Christians) in the Christian majority United States. While eager to characterize Christians as racists for wanting a Christian state, he seems unable to conclude that the Jewish desire for a Jewish state might also be a precisely comparable racism. Levitas' thin polemic concludes that Jewish leaders are the natural enemies of Christian fundamentalists, even as he embraces the Zionist doctrine of Jewish racial supremacy that is the only basis for Jewish political power in Palestine (the Jewish State of Israel) and in the United States. Levitas merely uses his article to attack the Christian-Jewish alliance on the basis that the Christian fundamentalists are unworthy, and bases that conclusion on his refusal to examine the ideology and agenda of the rightwing Jewish Zionists he adores. [Levitas is director of the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, a private intelligence service in Kansas City that spies on the 'radical right']. [TEXT]

60824. Li Xiguang. "1.3 Million a Year Die in Childbirth, Research Finds", in Seattle Times, July 25, 1995, p. A3. About 1.3 million people die every year in childbearing or from problems related to reproductive health, most in countries where abortion is banned or where governments restrict family planning, such as Ghana, Zaire, Mali, Somalia, and Congo (where maternal mortality rates are about 1 per 100 births), reports Population Action International. An estimated 20 million unsafe abortions take place each year, resulting in 50000-100000 deaths per year. In terms of reproductive health, Italy ranks first, US 23rd, China 26th (above Israel, Costa Rica and Chile). China's high standard is largely a product of the very low level of teenage birth rate. In terms of prenatal care, the US ranks below China, Cuba and Mongolia. [TEXT]

60825. Lief, Louise. "World Report: Second Class In The Israeli Military; Women Are Fighting For Equality In The Ranks; Women Teach Men How To Drive Tanks But Cannot Go Into Combat Vehicles; Most Senior Posts Are Closed To Women; The IDF Has Begun Keeping Statistics on Sexual Harassment Complaints"; in US News & World Report, May 22, 1995, pp. 47-48. Israeli women in the IDF live within an unequal system: they are allowed to perform many servant functions, but are restricted from higher ranks and from combat. In a move backed by all eleven women members of the Knesset, a bill has been introduced to allow women to volunteer for combat units. The status of women in the army has become an issue after a 20-year-old Russian women immigrant in the army was seduced, the seduction was videotaped by her commander, and the tape was widely circulated in the army. The military is investigating the case.

Since Israeli society is highly militarized, and status in society is derived from military service, restricting the role of women in the military makes them a permanent underclass. The image of Israeli women as 'Uzi-toting female sabras' is just a myth: women were never allowed to drive tanks or to volunteer for combat units. The status of women in the military is a product of the very low level of teenage birth rate. In terms of prenatal care, the US ranks below China, Cuba and Mongolia. [TEXT]

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Since Israeli society is highly militarized, and status in society is derived from military service, restricting the role of women in the military makes them a permanent underclass. The image of Israeli women as 'Uzi-toting female sabras' is just a myth: women were never allowed to drive tanks or to volunteer for combat units. The status of women in the military is a product of the very low level of teenage birth rate. In terms of prenatal care, the US ranks below China, Cuba and Mongolia. [TEXT]
the way of the elections especially in Hebron and Jerusalem. Gore promised to help find a solution. During the press conference that followed, Arafat said: "In the talks with the Vice-President, we brought up the issue of the release of the prisoners, especially the women prisoners. We also discussed the Palestinian economy and US aid in all areas." Arafat applauded the American role during last week's Donor Conference in Paris and commended American peace efforts on all tracks and in all deployment phases. Arafat stated: "We signed in Oslo I must be properly implemented. There is no going back: what we signed with the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, we shall complete with Prime Minister Shimon Peres." For his part, Gore described the talks as positive. He also praised the stability the PNA has introduced into the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Gore said that the achievement of the PNA has astonished the world. He stressed it is required of all parties at this time to make a success of the peacemaking process. "Our aim is to ensure justice and equality for all," Gore said. He congratulated the PNA on the organization of the elections so they could be conducted in a democratic way. He noted the US is supportive of the process of by which a democratic Legislative Council is being formed. Commenting on the elections, Gore said Arafat had referred to a series of obstacles. He noted the elections are essential for the future of democracy in the Middle East. "The world will be astonished by the results," Gore said. Gore also said he had informed Arafat of President Bill Clinton's interest in economic development in the area, especially in Palestine. American businessmen, who accompanied Gore, met with Palestinian businessmen on the fringes of the Arafat-Gore meeting. This is the second time that Arafat met Gore in Jericho. They held talks about a year ago, on 3/24/1995. During that visit, two protocols were signed. Each granted $4 million towards road construction in Gaza, and for the needy in the refugee camps. At the time, Gore presented the PNA with a special trade arrangement by which goods exported to the US from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank would be exempt of custom dues. (=)

60827. Magnes, Judah; Buber, Martin. Arab-Jewish Unity: Testimony beforethe Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for the Ihud (Union) Association:Part03: Statement to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry by the Ihud (Union) Association of Palestine:London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1947. Immigration: The First Period: 100000 Immigrants Now: Everyone is deeply concerned with the fate of the many thousands of Jewish displaced persons who are at present languishing without a home, or unable or unwilling to go back "home," and eager to come to their true Home, where brothers and sisters are ready to welcome them with open arms. We regard it as imperative that an interim ad hoc compassionate immigration of the 100,000 refugees recommended by President Truman be made possible without delay. As far as practicable, these refugees might be divided into 25,000 children, 25,000 parents, relatives and older persons, and 50,000 young people. This would bring creative forces into the country, and also be an historical act of great mercy. The financing of this immigration and its accommodation in Palestine might be shared by the Jewish Agency, the American Joint Distribution Committee, the Hadassah Women's Organisation of America and other Jewish bodies, together with UNRRA and/or the Social and Economic Council of U.N.O. The number of Jewish displaced persons exceeds 100,000, and we assume that other countries besides Palestine will open their gates.

Arab Opposition: The immigration of 100,000 persons will without doubt be opposed by Arab spokesmen. We do not think, however, that this opposition need take on an extreme form. We base our opinion on the following:

(1) 100000 additional Jews are not a threat to Arab numbers. In 1936 the Arab population was increasing at the rate of 24000 per annum (Royal Commission, p. 282). It is conjectured that the present rate of Arab increase is about 30000 per annum. It has been established that, during the five years 1939-44 the total Arab increase amounted to about 150000, and the total Jewish increase to about 83000. Thus in these five years the net Arab increment exceeds the Jewish by about 67000. If, therefore, 100000 Jews were now to come in, the actual proportionate growth of the Jewish population would be no more than about 33000. This is not a particularly frightening number.

(2) If 100,000 Jews come in, the total Jewish population would then be about 700,000. This is less than a figure agreed upon just about ten years ago, in 1936, in talks between some leading Arabs and some leading Jews. These talks took place after the outbreak of the Arab revolt and in an atmosphere of endeavour to find a compromise. The provisional agreement was that after ten years the Jewish population, which was about 400000 at the time, might become 800,000. Had this agreement come into effect, there might be 800,000 Jews here now, instead of 600,000. The agreement was, most unfortunately, not acceptable in some quarters. But if in 1936 the idea of 800000 Jews by 1946 did not frighten leading Arabs then, it is difficult to believe that 700,000 should frighten them now.

(3) Whereas it was possible for Arab leaders to get the Arabs to revolt in 1936, it would not be so easy now. The plain Arabs have had their fill of fighting. It would not be so easy as in 1929 to trump up the religious issue. The fellah and the Arab worker have learned a great deal since then, and they are not quite so naive politically. Moreover, an Arab youth is growing up, which, if nationalistic, is at the same time open to progressive political and social ideas. A mere exercise in arithmetic will suffice to dampen insurrectionary ardour: 1.2 million Arabs minus 700,000 Jews = a majority of half a million Arabs. That is a large enough figure to keep even the most unlettered from getting excited, much less, ready to risk their lives.

(4) The argument of some Arabs, that they oppose the entry of a single extra Jew, because that is one step nearer to the Jewish State, may seem attractive theoretically. But it is, in fact, only a figure of speech, symbolising their very deep opposition to the Jewish State. For a Jewish State there would have to be a majority of Jews. An additional 100000 is not equivalent to setting up a majority.

Parity in Numbers: As a long-term immigration policy, we propose that, in the bi-national Palestinian, the Jewish population should have the chance through immigration of becoming one-half of the population. That means that the Jews would, upon the basis of present population figures, have the opportunity of doubling their numbers, there being about 600,000 Jews here now and about 1.2 million Arabs. It would really mean more than that, since the Arab natural increase is higher than the Jewish (2.7 to 1:3), thus leaving room, even after parity had been achieved, for additional numbers of Jews to catch up each year with the greater Arab natural increase.

Rate of Immigration: How long it would take, approximately, under favourable circumstances, for Jews through immigration and natural increase to reach parity can be estimated upon the basis of the populationtrendspi. 281-282 of the Royal Commission's Report. Although these calculations were made in 1936, it would appear that the ratio of Arab increase and Jewish increase has remained stable. We can therefore take the figures of the Royal Commission as roughly correct for 1946. Upon that basis it would take twelve years from now, i.e. up to 1957, for the Jews to reach parity at the rate of 60,000 immigrants a year fourteen years, i.e. up to 1960, at the rate of 50000 a year; eighteen years, i.e. up to 1964, at the rate of 40,000 a year; and twenty-four years, i.e. up to 1970, to reach parity at the rate of 30,000 Jewish immigrants a year. Any annual Jewish immigration below 30,000 would never let the Jews catch up with the Arabs.

Economic Absorptive Capacity: We continue to support the principle laid down in the Statement of Policy of 1922 that immigration is not "to exceed whatever may be the economic absorptive capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals." In view, however, of the basic importance of this principle, we hold that a change should be made in the method of determining this absorptive capacity. In effecting this change, there seem to us to be three main elements.

Immigration Board: First, a special body, an Immigration
Board, is to be set up to determine economic absorptive capacity. This body would consist of representatives of the Mandatory (or of the Administering Authority under the Trusteeship System) and of the Jewish Agency and of the Arab.

Jewish Achievements: Second, account must be taken, not only of the views of economic, financial, agricultural and other experts, but also of those imponderables which have enabled the Jews to extend the economic absorptive capacity of the country beyond anything the experts had considered possible. When Sir Herbert Samuel was High Commissioner in 1920-5, it was the accepted view that Palestine, with agriculture as its chief industry, could not hold more than 3,000,000.

There were 805,000 inhabitants at mid-1924, of whom 628,000 were Moslems. But now Lord Samuel, in his recent speech in the House of Lords, with the general tendency of which we are in accord, mentions the possibility of a population of 4 million within a generation. The conviction that Palestine can absorb economically a much larger population than had at one time been considered possible, is due primarily to the work of the Jews through their zeal and science and capacity for sacrifice have already shown to be the possibilities. These achievements would hardly have been possible by any other people, simply because we know of no other people with the same enthusiasm and love, and the same determination for developing the capacity of Palestine to absorb their brothers and sisters, their own homeless people. Moreover, we think that the Jews could not have achieved this anywhere else. These are factors that must be reckoned with in determining economic absorptive capacity.

Development Plan: Third, a systematic effort must be made, and not by the Jews alone, to develop the economic potentialities of the country. There has been much talk of a Plan of Development for the benefit of the whole country and all its inhabitants. In order that this may be made a reality, we favour the appointment of a Development Board, consisting, as before, of representatives of the Mandatory (or of the Trusteeship Council) and of the Jewish Agency and of the Arab League. The Development Plan might be financed by a loan at a low rate of interest. Provided there was political peace here, this loan might be attractive to the vast amount of accumulated capital lying idle in lending countries, more especially the United States. The appointment of these two special Boards—immigration and development—with Jewish and Arab representatives to deal with fundamental problems, illustrates what we mean when we say that Jewish-Arab co-operation should be the objective of major policy.

If Parity is Reached: We propose further that, when and if parity is reached, the two peoples are to review the immigration situation in the Legislature of the time, and that further Jewish immigration (beyond the difference in natural increase) is to be encouraged if agreement can be reached between the Jews and Arabs. This would mean that Jewish immigration beyond parity would be dependent upon whether the two peoples had found the way of peace and understanding together.

Immigration: Third Period: We propose, further that, if and when there be a union of the bi-national Palestine with neighbouring countries, the question of an enlarged Jewish immigration is to be taken up again in the Palestine Legislature, as well as in the Federal Council of this Union. With the widening of the Arab background through union with other countries, the Arabs of Palestine would no longer need to fear being "swamped" by the Jews. The present acute importance of majority-minority in Palestine would have lost its main point, and the Arabs of Palestine could then afford to look at Jewish immigration with greater liberality. Indeed, by that time a normal admission of Jewish settlers to the other countries of the Union, without, of course, extending the boundaries of the Jewish National Home, might well become a question of practical politics. Arab statesmen have expressed a similar view on more than one occasion. The Jews could certainly be of great service in helping the development of backward parts of the Union.

Land: This is basic for both Jews and Arabs. For the Jews a return to the soil is essential in order that this city people may be restored to normal health. Land is also of immediate importance in order that new settlements may be established for the absorption of new immigrants. For the Arabs it is important in order that their basic industry—agriculture—may be safeguarded. From every point of view, we think that land reform of a progressive nature is essential. We see every reason why Jews and Arabs should co-operate in this. We assume that if an answer be found to the question of immigration, a settlement of the land question will inevitably follow. This is bound up in large measure with the Development Plan which we have mentioned. One of our members, Mr. M. Smilansky, who has lived in this country for over fifty years and who was for a long time head of the Farmers' Association, is ready to testify before you on the land problem. Having discussed the question of immigration which is nearest the heart of the Jews, we now come to the question of self-government, which is nearest the heart of the Arabs. These are the two main factors to be weighed against the other. [=] 60828. Maile, Florence R.; Selzer, Michael. The Nuremberg Mind: The Psychology of the Nazi Leaders. Brooklyn College of CUNY Research Group. Interdisciplinary Applications of Psychoanalysis. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1977. Although the Nazis tried to deny it, they are "sub-human beasts, insatiable sadists" rather than ordinary men, argue the authors of this bizarre and deeply flawed study. This is logically necessary, since "ordinary people are basically decent" and Nazis were sub-human in every aspect. Even [Zionist] Hannah Arendt argues that Eichmann lacked a "fanatical hatred of Jews, or fanatical anti-Semitism" despite the research of Dr. Szondi, using the Szondi test, that concluded Eichmann was "perverted, sadistic ... with a dangerous and insatiable urge to kill". Yet no one has been able to prove that the Nazi leaders are not sadistic sub-human Jew Killers.

Quite the contrary, Rorschach card ink-blot tests prove that the Nazis were sub-human. The 'scientific' tests were conducted by their jailers (with some comments in parentheses) on: Hans Frank (fragmentation of his emotional adaptive responses, primitive; he is accused of being a homosexual), Hans Fritzsche (violent, his cooperation with the tester is seen as a pathological willingness to obey orders, inconsistent, a compulsive generalizer although with 'still some desire to fly'), Walther Funk (aggression, violence, conflict, protest; the masculine side of his personality is aggressing against the feminine and impeding its freedom': a 'jackal ... half-monkey, half-man'), Hermann Goering (bifurcated, primitive, brutal, cruel, unequivocal, a weakness of male sexuality, ludicrous and impotent; the expert criticizes Goering at one point for saying that smoked fish are made from sea animals, since the tester smugly knows, apparently, that fish are sea plants; father cuckolded by a Jew), Rudolf Hess (an eerie dead man: his unwillingness to cooperate with the tester is proof of being a low-level psychopath), Ernst Kaltenbrunner (commander of the Einstazgruppe that killed '2 million' [sic] [p. 111] ('a creature adapted to the bottom'; disturbed by symmetry, distorted, primitive, irrational, psychopathic, 'confused and distorted yet cunningly effective at masking this' (meaning that his responses were not what the tester desired)), William Keitel (empty, striking loss of judgement, violent, lack of substance as a human being, poor capacity to generalize (note that Fritzsche is criticized as a psychopath for being a generalizer and Keitel is criticized as a psychopath for being unable to generalize), fragmented, has the ability to see apes, quite psychotic, limp, primitive), Constantin von Neurath (low level of psychosexual development, passive, filled with the devil (sociopathy); he is confused and distorted yet cunningly effective at masking this (meaning that his responses were not what the tester desired)), Joachim von Ribbentrop (his irritation at the tester is proof of being self-centered; 'dull, sparse, depleted', crazy), Alfred Rosenberg (a psychopath, comical even stupid, but probably part-Jewish Estonian German), Fritz Sauckel (remarkable for lack of remarkableness; an inability to distort [an image on a card] into something grotesque, crazy), Hajmara Schacht (psychopathic, banal, primitive, childish), Baldur von Schirach (has an inability to perceive Sant Clauses, cagey with extreme problems in psychosexual identity, experiencing ego-alien forces, devoid of substance, vapid, cuckold). Artur Seyss-Inquart (weak, grotesque, primitive, predatory, psychopathic), and Albert Speer (crawling,
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insignificant, verminous; a 'small personality encased in a protective shell'; his disininterest in answering questions about the test images demonstrates that he is a psychopath, primitive and undeveloped like a sea horse (it is noted in an appendix that Adolf Eichmann is deficient in sea horse metaphors). Much of the characterization of the test subjects is by mere hypothesis: "Thus, a Goering, for example, when confronted by a man pleading for his life or for an end to torture, might fight against his unconscious softness by kicking him in the face" [p. 43]. However, Turk-Mongol societies have dominated the core of Eurasia and the Middle East for a millennium. Even more relevant is the special importance attributed to Central Asia in Nazi historical linguistics and geopolitics. So, while the test subject used a metaphor that was drawn not only from his specific world view, but as well as from a major historical period/model, the test subject is attacked by the authors out of merest ignorance. In most sciences, ignorance and poor research is not usually seen as the basis for credibility: such ignorance must be so much more damning in such a highly subjective disciplines with marginal methodologies rooted in understanding the world views of the test subjects. One interesting aside is the assertion in the appendix, which covers the testing of a 'normal American', that it is normal to believe that black cats are evil [implying, unecessarily, that people who like black cats are mere primitive psychopaths, perhaps even lacking the ability to perceive apes]. Further, while scientific studies are typically evaluated on their predictive ability, that is the ability to forecast the future in some narrow sense, this use of psychiatry demonstrates an inability to even be able to accurately describe the near past. It is worth considering that despite this court-sanctioned research that purports to demonstrate every Nigerian and Japanese as a mental ill subhuman, not one defendant was granted a pardon due to such purported psychopathology; the conclusions of this study, ignored as meaningless by the court, are mere polemic.

60829. Mana, Ata. "Palestine and People: A Show of Heritage", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 24, 1995, p. 14. Usama Odeh, a Palestinian lawyer, officially opened heritage exhibition organized by the Chinese Communist Party. The nationalist spirit in China flamed into being in 1925 as a result of a spark let fly from an industrial dispute in Shanghai. British-controlled police fired upon a crowd demonstrating in protest against the dismissal of some workers delegated to negotiate with the management in connection with a strike. The Shanghai proletariat retaliated with a general strike in which nearly a quarter of a million workers were involved. Hundred strikers were killed and ten thousand were arrested. There were general strikes in Canton and Hong-Kong, and again British police fired on the crowd, this time in Canton, where a demonstration of protest against the Shanghai shooting was being held. What had begun as an industrial dispute flared into a revolution for the liberation of China from the hands of her exploiters. The Russian Revolution had had great influence in China, and the Chinese Communists dreamed of a free China, the land belonging to the peasants, the factories belonging not to Japanese, or American, or British, or Chinese masters, but to the workers, and everything was ripe for the Revolution. Where the Chinese proletariat made its fatal--and tragic--mistake was in trusting to and allowing itself to be led by the Moscow-dictated leadership of the Communist Party, which formed a "united front" with the bourgeoisie under the Nationalist banner of the Kuomintang. Stalin regarded a coalition of the workers and the bourgeoisie as "both necessary and expedient", provided it did not shackle the activities of the Communists or "impair the Communist leadership of the revolutionary forces". What it did was to betray the social revolution of the proletariat for Communism in the interests of the bourgeois revolution for democracy. A split in the ranks of this impossible united front was inevitable; it was a coalition of necessarily conflicting elements, for nationalism is one thing and social revolution quite another; a strong nationalist movement may effect revolutionary changes and still hold itself aloof from the real revolutionary movement which seeks the overthrow of the capitalist system which makes imperialism possible. By its very nature, embracing as it did factory-owners, landlords, "gentry", as well as working-people and poorpeasants, the Kuomintang could never have been a revolutionary party, never had stood for the seizure of the land by the peasants and its collectivization; it was always a Government party, and by 1927 the revolutionary elements within it had split with the purely nationalist elements, and the nationalist leader, Chiang Kai Shek has since broken with the workers and peasants who had trusted him and had set up the reactionary Nanking Government. By 1928 the Nationalists had become thoroughly respectable and bourgeois, and in the words of C. L. R. James, "the name of the International stank in Shanghai and Canton", but one does not have to be a Trotskyist to see clearly that it was Stalin's policy of a two-class party which ruined the proletarian revolution. The effect of this betrayal of the Revolution upon the Chinese Communist Party is given by James in the following figures:--In April 1927, the party had nearly 60,000 members, including 53.8 per cent workers; by July the percentage of workers in the party was 75. On November 8,1928 a circular of the Central Committee stated, 'The party does not have a single healthy party nucleus among the workers.' In 1930, not two per cent were workers." [In: World Revolution (Secker & Warburg, 1937)]. When the essentially bourgeois nature of the Kuomintang was finally revealed, Madame Sun Yat-Sen, the widow of the Nationalist leader and "president of the Chinese Republic", left it and became a Communist. The desertion of the Revolution by Chiang Kai Shek, and by other Nationalist leaders, was not the end of the revolutionary movement in China. Chinese Soviets arose out of the remnants of the Revolution, organized mainly by rebel peasants and ex-Kuomintang soldiers and the Red Army--those wandering hordes of "Communist bandits" which have served the fiction-writers so well. Every drive made against the Soviets and the Red Army by the Kuomintang, whose slogan was once 'Down with imperialism', was assisted by the money and munitions of foreign imperialists--yet so little does humanity learn by the lessons of past experience that to-day we find the Chinese Communists once more supporting Chiang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang, once more forming a United Front with the bourgeoisie, this time not in a revolutionary struggle but in the democratic struggle against Japanese aggression.

Is there any more reason for the proletariat to trust Chiang Kai Shek now than in 1927? Actually there is a great deal less reason, since he "got off the train of the Revolution" he has relentlessly persecuted the revolutionary movement--buying Japanese guns so that Nanking troops might shoot down their own countrymen; in his intensive concentration on the crushing of the "Red peril" to the utmost of his resources, in 1931 he even declared a policy of "non-resistance" to Japan. In recent events, the Imperialist one China, the complete reversal of Communist policy, with its agreement to drop all revolutionary propaganda and line up once more with the betrayers and persecutors of the Revolution. "A Call to Arms Against Japan", issued in August 1934 by 3,000 prominent Chinese men and women led by Madame Sun Yat-Sen, is of considerable interest. The manifesto states that through their own bitter experience the people of China have learned that the Kuomintang Government cannot be dependent on to save the country from the bloody hands of Japanese imperialism, and calls upon them to rise and demand or seize arms from the Government and force it to lead against the invaders. In a letter to "The American Friends of the Chinese People" written in January 1935, Madame Sun Yat-Sen appealed to them to start a vigorous campaign against American intervention in China. "The sending of munitions, aeroplanes, bombers, pilots, loans, to the decadent and corrupt Nanking Government blatantly exposes the active collaboration of American imperialism in massacring millions of Chinese workers and peasants, and further provoking and prolonging internal chaos and destruction. American gun-boats and cruisers in China's waters have repeatedly been used to hold Nanking in power against the revolutionary Chinese masses. In face of the Japanese militarist invasion in China, instead of fighting back the hostile imperialist armies, Nanking troops are ordered to turn their guns on their own countrymen who heroically attempt to repel the invaders. Japanese imperialist aggression in China is aided by International Imperialism." [Quoted by Anna Louise Strong in China's Millions.] Despite this "bitter experience" of only a few years ago, once more at the dictates of Moscow the Chinese Communist party unites with the bourgeoisie. Even if Japanese aggression is defeated as a result, what do the Chinese masses stand to gain? They will be no nearer the Revolution, which alone can give them real freedom. Imperialism, vested interests, exploitation, are still as much the enemies of the Chinese proletariat as the Japanese, but the 1931-34 period only served the purpose of awakening the masses to the realization of their wrongs, and to the fact that liberation was in their own hands. The Nationalist Revolution taught them to organize and demonstrated to them their own fighting power; millions of men and women organized in industrial unions, and even more organized millions of peasants, were taught the force of collective power. It was a vital experience, and for women the opening up of new worlds whose gates could never again be closed to them. In the early days of the Revolution, the Nationalists organized intensive and far-reaching propaganda for the education and liberation of Chinese women. They organized women workers in trade unions, rescuing them from incredibly inhuman conditions of labor--they could be beaten by the foreman for small offences and shut up in wooden cages in which there was not room to lie down; they were required to work twelve or sixteen hours a shift--and wash and cook and clean at home, and always they were paid at far lower rates than the men. On the social side there was bound feet, forced marriage, no education, no divorce (though a husband could get rid of a wife he did not want by sending her back in disgrace to her parents, and to the tyranny of brothers and father) no inheritance of property, and women sold like slaves which, indeed, at home and at work, they virtually were; everywhere there was the utmost degradation and oppression. The Nationalist Movement gave women freedom of choice in marriage; it gave them divorce, education, rational clothing, protection in industry, the right to inherit property, a sense of responsibility in the shaping of their own destiny.

The woman movement in China to-day has flowered amongst the ruins of the Revolution; rooted in revolution it is a part of the great revolutionary struggle of the world-proletariat, part of the struggle for a freedom and equality which a capitalist democracy, however anti-imperialist, however Nationalist, can never give. For the Socialist nationalism as an end in itself is of no interest: it is of value only as a means to an end, as in India, as in Ireland, as in Spain, as in Palestine. It is important to appreciate that nationalism may be a good thing or a bad according to circumstances; that is to say, according as whether it is a liberating movement, as in India to-day, or an aggressive movement as in Germany. In India it is an anti-Imperialist movement; in Germany it is an Imperialist one. In China, as we have seen in the 15-70s, in 1925, nationalism served the Revolution, was a progressive, liberating movement; by 1927 it had become reactionary and the Nationalists the enemies of the Revolution. Jewish nationalism, expressing itself through the Zionist movement which seeks to make Palestine the Jewish national home, whether the Arabs like it or not, is the tool of British imperialism, and completely Imperialist in spirit and methods, its aggressiveness backed by British troops, and the Arab Nationalist leaders deported to remote islands in the Indian Ocean without trial in the interests of preserving "law and order". With every Nationalist movement, it is important to realize its ultimate aims; it may stand for freedom and progress--in which case the woman movement marches with it--or for aggression and reaction, in which case the woman movement receives a serious set-back. [319]
establishment and inside electoral politics, has failed to articulate the rage and anger of the Hip Hop Generation, the unemployed and marginalized black workers. Second, some of Farrakhan's primary arguments-black self-sufficiency, vigorous opposition to drugs and black-against-black violence and black-business ownership-are generally constructive and positive. We need to make a critical distinction between black 'militancy' and 'radicalism.' Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam may be viewed as 'militant' and 'radical.' The term 'militant' is a leader who strongly favors economic solutions within the framework of American capitalism, just like Booker T. Washington did a century ago. Farrakhan supports sexism and homophobia. Nothing in his entire program would radically transform the real power relationship between blacks and those who control the American corporate and political system. And this is exactly why Farrakhan must be invited into dialogue with other American leaders.

If we refuse to speak to Farrakhan, we are saying that we do not value the opinions or perspectives of those thousands of black people who support him, or the millions who reject his anti-Semitism but who do agree with part of his program. If Israel can dialogue with Yasir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization, certainly African Americans can dialogue with each other, despite very real differences on ideology and ethics which may divide use. Farrakhan must be allowed to speak, and black progressives must be ready to critique his program and to reject his anti-semitism. [Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Political Science and director of the Institute for Research in African American Studies, Columbia University. "Along the ColorLine" appears in over 250 publications and 75 radio stations internationally.] [ = ]

60832. Maraya, Ragheb. "Mounting Protest Over Women Prisoners," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 19, 1996, p. 1. Some 25 women prisoners have been on hunger strike since 1/11/1996 to protest the fact that the present prisoner release program has not included them. The official in charge of the Prisoners' File, Hisham Abdel Razzaq, said the issue of the release of the women prisoners has been put on hold, and will be discussed at a later stage. In Ramallah, the Mandela Institute, a human rights organization, said on 1/16/1996 that the conditions of the women prisoners at Tel Mond has deteriorated to a dangerous level, as a result of the daily harassment to which they are exposed. A hunger strike occurred on 1/15/1996 when prison authorities used oxy-acetylene welding torches to burn their way into the cells in which the women had barricaded themselves. Mandela attorney Lu'ai Okeh, who visited the prison on 1/15/1996, reported the women had doused themselves with incendiary material and had threatened to set themselves on fire if prison authorities continue to force their way into their cells. In another development, the prison authorities cut off the water supply and electric current to the two rooms into which the women had withdrawn to prevent a raid on their cells. In the prisons of Beersheba and Ashkelon, prisoners went on hunger strike on 1/14-15/1996 in solidarity with the imprisoned women. Mandela attorneys Lu'ai Okeh and Nidal Ikrimawi said the prisoners intend to step up their protest if the demands of the women prisoners are not fulfilled. Throughout the week, demonstrations were staged throughout the West Bank in solidarity with the women. In Bethlehem, a number of candidates announced on 1/17/1996 they were suspending their electoral campaign for a few hours in order to join a protest march. [=]

60833. Marchetti, Victor; New American View. "Editor's Page: Who's On First?", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9 (12), August 1, 1994. Things are a mess, and getting messier, in the Jewish lobby. Nothing seems to be going right for the Zionist zealots these days. The Israeli government of Prime Minister Rabin continues to promote the peace process, instead of expanding the land of Zion or building the Third Temple in Jerusalem. This has thrown many of the American Zionists into a snit, so they refuse to support the Israeli government's peace policies. Of course, it doesn't help matters that the Israelis keep telling the American Jews that they're not real Jews because they don't live in the Jewish state and they have shiksa (non-Jewish) spouses. To be treated like unwanted relatives, and after all that the American Jews have done for Israel. It's enough to make a Jew wish he had never heard of Zionism. It's rather pathetic how so many Jewish intellectuals, especially those of the neoreactionary ilk, are now trying to twist Zionism into some sort of a remedy to cure what ails American Jewry—assimilation and anti-Semitism. But where would American Jewry be without Zionism anyway? They were the ideal "militant" and "radical." To have become the identifying-and-unifying cause for Jews for the past two and a half decades. The Holocaust and anti-Semitism were only secondary, supporting issues. Zionism Israel was the big attraction. Now it's disappearing right before the Jewish lobby's eyes, and the zealots can't do anything about it. Without Israel to promote and fight for (and the Arabs to hate), the lobby really doesn't have much going for it. The Holocaust Museum in Washington is just another tourist attraction, like the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on some visitor from Iowa or New Mexico, but it doesn't do much for organized Jewry or the Jewish political lobby. "Schindler's List" was a good movie, but the hero was a reformed Nazi. His story was more interesting than those of the Jews he saved or didn't, as the case may be. The movie may have made a lot of Jews feel good in some weird way, but it had no lasting effect on the movie-going public—that 14-28-year-old section of society which is already overdosed on MTV, rock band concerts and other forms of high culture. Trying to drum up interest and support by trying to revive the anti-Semitism bogeyman has been even less successful. The ADL—the heavyweight champion of Jewish "defense" organizations—keeps stumbling from one disaster to another in its never-ending search for antisemites. First, it was last year's San Francisco spying scandal. Not only were the ADL's amateure spies sticking their noses into the affairs of Arab American groups but liberal Jewish organizations, too. And it became widely known that the varmints were in cahoots with the local cops—not only in "Frisco, but in several large cities across the country. It's hard to say who looked dumber—the ADL's zanies or the gullible cops. Next, ADL head honcho Abe Foxman decided to pick a fight with the African Americans. He said he was only trying to punch out Louis Farrakhan and his Nation of Islam, but we all knew better. It was an obvious attempt on the part of the Jewish lobby, using the ADL as storm troopers, to punish the leadership of the black community for having abrogated its tattered alliance with the Jews. And it has backfired! The black leaders are not at all appreciative of the welfare state the Jewish lobby has provided for their people. Finally, in another sensational backfire, Foxman attacked the Christian conservatives, claiming he was just trying to protect the First Amendment from the likes of such TV evangelists as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. The only people dum enough to believe this swindle were a handful of Jewish newspaper editors and the Democratic Party. The Democrats who joined up with the ADL got burned and quickly dropped out of the fray, leaving Foxman to go it alone. We all know that Foxman isn't really worried about those Christmas creches in front of the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on the public. The Holocaust Museum in Washington is just another tourist attraction, like the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on the public. The Holocaust Museum in Washington is just another tourist attraction, like the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on the public. The Holocaust Museum in Washington is just another tourist attraction, like the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on the public. The Holocaust Museum in Washington is just another tourist attraction, like the Air and Space Museum. It might make a temporary impression on the public. 

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60834. Marcus, Amy Dockser. "If You Want a Baby, have a Seat in Aisle 6 By The Handi-Wrap: Israeli Market's 'Holy Chair' Helps Customers Multiply: 'Best Sex in the World'", in Wall Street Journal, May 4, 1994, pp. A1, A8. Two years ago, Rabbi Yitzhak Kaduri, an unorthodox Jewish mystic, sat on a chair during the grand opening of a supermarket in Ashdod: since then, women in the supermarket have become pregnant with blessed ease, even one woman who had given up...
after 12 years of fertility treatment. Hundreds of births have followed for the women who line up to sit in the chair, which has acquired its own group of guardians. Fertility is an 'obsession' in Israel, where the number of in-vitro fertilization rate is the highest in the world, nearing 0.003%. Women without children in Israel are frequently lectured by strangers about their racial responsibility to have children. Women who are allowed to sit in the chair must agree to follow every law of Jewish sexual and family purity: women who deviate in the tiniest detail have been known to miscarry. Some women add special touches to their ten minutes to an hour sitting on the holy chair (a cheap metal office chair with a red cloth on it), including red cloth tied around the waist to ward off demons, lighting olive oil candles (which are known to make the birth of a boy more likely), or ask for surrogate women to sit on the chair for them. Jewish gynecologists, such as those at the Schlesinger Institute for Medical Halaic Research at the Shaare Tzedek Hospital in Jerusalem, support the scientific value of the holy chair. Many women, even if they are fertile, shop at the blessed grocery store, since a month supply of food (e.g., Kellogg's Corn Flakes) purchased at the store will last a month and a half. [TXT]

60835. Marcus, Raine. "Briefs: Man Gets 5 1/2 Years for Shooting Arab Youth [12 year old Munir Matzri was shot by David Shervit, 32, who suspected the boy was going to stone his car. Matzri was operated on for liver and spleen damage].", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 17, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

60836. Marcus, Raine. "Briefs: Policeman Fires Shots to Protect Mother [by stopping his father from beating her. The incident is being investigated].", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 29, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

60837. Marcus, Raine. "Briefs: Test Acquits Suspect in Baby Dumping [A 29 year old woman was acquitted of dumping a new-born in the trash after blood tests showed it wasn't her child. A neighbor had led police to her].", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 22, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

60838. Marcus, Raine. "Divorce Refuser Dies After 32 Years in Jail", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 17, 1994. p. 20. YehyeYehye, age 70 or 80, died after spending 32 years in jail for refusing to divorce his wife Ora Yehye. Many had tried to get him to change his mind, but he refused.

60839. Marcus, Raine. "Inequality of Sexes Even in Prison", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, November 26, 1994. p. 5. Likud MK Naomi Blumenthal says women in prison can earn only $233 while men make up to $666, have a choice of only 2 jobs, and vocational training only in hairdressing.

60840. Marcus, Raine. "Police Cracking Down on Domestic Violence", in Jerusalem Post, December 24, 1994. p. 5. Police Minister Moshe Shalal is training 30 officers to head domestic violence units that will pursue and follow-up on complaints. He says 1 out of 5 families in Jewish and Arab communities has a problem with domestic violence. In 1993, 22 women were killed by their husbands and since 1989 and in Jaffa in 1991. In addition, the Home of the Arab Child offers a training program for young women to become professional childcare workers; over 450 young Palestinian women from all over the country have successfully completed the program thus far and it has recently received recognition from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

60841. Mari, Khalil S. "Creative Education in Oppressive Surroundings: Early Childhood Education for Palestinians in Israel: Part 1", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 24. Since the creation of the state of Israel on what used to be Palestine, Palestinian Arabs have been living in an unusual situation. On the one hand, they are Arabs sharing the language, culture, and history of millions of Arabs living in neighboring states, yet they live in Israel — the country that was created on their ancestors' lands and is now defined as the homeland of the Jews.

For the past 43 years, the Palestinian population of Israel has been going through an extremely severe and often times harsh process of social change and national re-socialization. Being a national and cultural minority and having to integrate into a Western dominated mainstream culture poses serious threats to Palestinian identity. Education in Israel is in the hands of the Ministry of Education, which develops curriculum for Arab schools since formal education in Israel is segregated. The school curricula are developed for Palestinians insofar as they are citizens of Israel with little respect for their Arab identity. The study of their own history and geography is from an entirely Jewish point of view. Most of the textbooks in Arab schools are translated from Hebrew. In addition, Arab schools receive far less money and are far less developed than Jewish schools.

Because the policies of the government are difficult to change, Palestinians have taken it upon themselves to make up for what the government refuses to provide in all areas of their lives, especially education. Over the past two decades, the Palestinian population of Israel has become more educated and organized. It developed educational programs as a better means of preserving its national and cultural identity.

Most of these efforts have been concentrated in the field of early childhood education (ECE), since the best place to start is usually at the beginning - in this case, the beginning of life. An excellent example is the Acre Arab Women's Association (AAWA), a non-governmental, non-profit organization that was established in 1975 by a small group of women in Acre. These well educated women felt a strong need to organize and act quickly and effectively to meet the pressing needs of Palestinian women and children. The organization set goals and objectives applicable to all Palestinians, here and abroad. Among the organization's most important objectives are:

1. Supporting Palestinian women in the process of development, education and entering the work force, while strengthening their national identity and preserving their cultural belonging;
2. Researching the living and educational conditions of Palestinian children in order to raise their levels;
3. Putting forth an educational program of high standards while stressing development and authenticity at the same time.[=]

60842. Mari, Khalil S. "Creative Education in Oppressive Surroundings: Early Childhood Education for Palestinians in Israel: Part 2", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 24. The AAWA has since established itself as the first and strongest in its field. Its list of achievements includes establishing a kindergarten in 1976, a nursery school in 1983, and ECE Centre, "Home of the Arab Child" in 1984, a resource library on ECE in 1986, a children's library in 1987, a follow-up program for teachers working in the field of ECE in 1988, and branches of the Centre in An'ara in 1989 and in Jaffa in 1991. In addition, the Home of the Arab Child offers a training program for young women to become professional childcare workers; over 450 young Palestinian women from all over the country have successfully completed the program thus far and it has recently received recognition from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

The kindergarten and nursery school were established to provide Palestinian women with suitable facilities for their children. Until 1976, Palestinian children attended either Jewish nurseries or kindergartens or those belonging to religious groups, neither of which are suitable linguistically or culturally. Today, the kindergarten and nursery school provide services to many children from Acre and neighboring villages.

In addition, these facilities serve as an educational laboratory in which the educational programs developed in the ECE Centre are
implemented and tested. These services allow Palestinian mothers to seek employment and pursue careers with the assurance that their children are well cared for and educated during the day. This is another vital step towards the liberation of women in their on-going process of modernization.

An independent study during the mid 1980s found that only 2,674 (3.9 percent) out of a total of 68,000 Arab children attended kindergarten, while in the Jewish sector the figure was 90 percent. In another survey conducted by the AAWA during the same period, it was found that 99 percent of Arab childcare workers working with Palestinian children between the ages of one month and four years did not receive any training. In addition, there was no follow up programme of any kind, a vital aspect of any educational programme.

In answer to these pressing needs, the AAWA established the "Home of the Arab Child" Educational Centre specializing in ECE for Palestinian children. The Centre's Executive Board set and achieved the following goals:

1. Understanding the plight of Palestinian children's daily living conditions and specific needs through surveys and field research, and submitting proposals for development.
2. Starting a training programme based on modern educational theory while preserving the unique cultural identity.
3. Creating a follow-up programme to ensure that childcare workers remain abreast of the latest developments in the field of ECE on both theoretical and practical levels.
5. Establishing an ECE Educational Centre in the Triangle area in 1989.

60843. Mari, Khalil S. "Creative Education in Oppressive Surroundings: Early Childhood Education for Palestinians in Israel: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 25. In October of 1990, the "Home of the Arab Child" organized and hosted a national conference on the subject of early childhood education in the Arab sector in Israel. The three day conference hosted leading figures and scholars in the field from Israel and abroad, and offered a forum for the presentation of programme proposals, their documentation and implementation.

There are other on-going projects within the centre, such as the work-shop, in which specially trained staff members make educational games and toys, in addition to preparing children's books. This staff also teach these techniques to young women enrolled in the training programme that has received recognition from the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

Despite the significant success of the AAWA, especially as a national minority in a small country, it has also had to overcome tremendous difficulties. One problem shared by most non-governmental, non-profit organizations is the issue of funding. As it is, large amounts of time and energy are invested in seeking financial aid and support, time and energy that are desperately needed for the development of the centre's many programmes.

As if this were not enough, the AAWA, along with other Palestinian NGOs in Israel, faced a life threatening situation when the Minister of Justice, Dan Meridor, introduced a bill last year as an amendment to the "Anti-Terrorist Act." The bill attempted to stop the flow of foreign aid and funds to the Palestinian NGOs in Israel for fear the money came from the PLO through European organizations. Fortunately, the NGOs lobbied vigorously and stopped Mr. Meridor's proposal, for children tells a great deal about the nature of Israel's occupation. But numbers alone don't reveal the full measure of violence these children endure--as witnesses and victims--every day of their lives. According to Palestinian sociologist Nariman Awwad, Israel's attempt to subdue the Palestinian people has trapped tens of thousands of children in a landscape of unremitting hostility and deprivation. The resulting damage to the minds of young Palestinians may be one of the most dangerous and far-reaching consequences--for both sides--of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Awwad and two assistants spent several months collecting

Women in the Middle East and North Africa
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Statistics and conducting interviews in the Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Hebron, some of 7150 Palestinians, nearly a third of whom are children. Her report, financed by the Swedish Diakonia Church and published by the Palestine section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, describes the devastating effects on children of the abuse they suffer under occupation and stresses the urgent need for psychiatric and counseling service to help undo the damage. Awwad, who holds degrees from Bir Zeit and Hebrew Universities, calls on the UN for help in providing remedial services in demanding an end to the occupation. But she makes clear that outside help with the training of child-care workers and treatment of traumatized children will only be a stopgap measure until Palestinians achieve full control of their lives and their society.

Awwad describes refugee camps such as Dheisheh as "concentrated sites of deprivation and misery." Since the intifada began, camp residents have played a major role in confrontations with Israeli forces and have suffered accordingly. Even before the intifada, Israeli authorities isolated Dheisheh by surrounding it with a high steel fence. Now, with all but one of the entrances sealed off, the camp is virtually a prison, with heavily armed Israeli soldiers constantly on guard. The afflicents imposed on the inhabitants would have taxed the endurance of even most stoic men.

In just two months last winter, Israelis killed 19 Palestinian children in similar shooting incidents (see Steveosebee's article in the March issue, "Gaza: Where Being a Palestinian Child is Punishable by Death"). Of the 1100 Palestinians killed by Israeli forces since December 1987, at least 280 have been children. Some 50000 children have been injured by gunshot, beatings, killings, deportation and torture. None of the Camp's residents, from the youngest infants to the oldest adults, are spared from either witnessing or undergoing these horrors. -

According to an Israeli army spokesman, troops deliberately fired on the other racial groups, and that, in effect, the Holocaust bars criticism of Israel, by omitting any mention of the charges Farrakhan makes against the ADL. McGrory only mentions the ADL to praise its activities.

Finally, there is a notable correlation between candidates who are rejected by the army and groups considered to be socially inferior such as the physically disabled or delinquent youths. A relentless genre of Israeli newspaper articles tells the stories of handicapped or delinquent youths who have put up a stubborn fight to be allowed into the army. Such people know, though sometimes subconsciously, that the army is a ticket into society; that a man who is rejected by the army is, to a large extent, rejected by society. -

Women - mothers, wives and others - in Israel, play a role which is typical of initiation rites. They provide an accepted, legitimate channel for the expression of fear and feelings concerning the men's ordeal. They may cry, externalizing the full, stark truth of the ritual and imparting to the rites much of their significance. Their tears and protests thus form an inherent part of the rite rather than challenging it as they may seem to.

In the Challenge, July-August 1993, p. 37.  The role of compulsory military service as a rite of passage in Israel society can be discerned at a recording of a lecture given by Dr. Margaret Mead at the Theodor Herzl Institute, New York City, On 10/3/1957.  I'm not a specialist on any of the

Mazali, Reha.   "Military Service as Initiation Rite: Part 3", in Herzl Institute Pamphlets. New York: Herzl Institute, 1958.  [This pamphlet contains the unrevised text as transcribed from a tape recording of a lecture given by Dr. Margaret Mead at the Theodor Herzl Institute, New York City, On 10/3/1957. I'm not a specialist on any of the problems that you are accustomed to deal with. I spent only three weeks in Israel, although I realize a great many people who have spent less time have written more. Nevertheless I was there under exceedingly fortunate auspices and no inch of my time was wasted. Representatives of each experiment or each agency took me aside to tell me that I mustn't let any other agency wear me out. At the same time they requested me to spend a few more hours or days looking at what they themselves were doing! So I did have a remarkably intensive experience from one end of Israel to the other, but still three weeks is only enough so that when one hears words like the Negev or Tel Aviv one has some concrete visual images in one's head, and they are not places only on the map or words in people's letters but are places where I had walked and seen people and had things happen to me. So I can speak with a certain amount of vividness and read with a certain amount of vividness the things that have been written about Israel. And when I was asked in Israel what in the world I thought I was doing there in three weeks—I was supposed to be a consultant to the Health Department, actually, but what else I was supposed to be doing there--I simply said that I hoped that I would be able to read more intelligently when I left. Because even if

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60848. McGrory, Mary. "You Cannot Chop Bigotry Like Liver", in Daily World (Aberdeen), February 8, 1994, p. A4.  McGrory attacks Louis Farrakhan as a racist through selective quoting of his words, and by censorship of some his statements. She attacks him for his racism against (as noted by Rep. Kweisi Mfume of the hard-pressed Congressional Black Caucus) 'Jews, Catholics, homosexuals, women', while omitting his anti-Arab comments; apparently McGrory endorses Farrakhan's racist attacks against Arab-Americans. She distorts his charges against the Bnai Brith Anti-Defamation League, which Farrakhan correctly stated was running a national spy network directed by Israel, by omitting any mention of the charges Farrakhan makes against the ADL.  McGrory only mentions the ADL to praise its activities.  McGrory states that the Holocaust allows Jews unique rights to criticize other racial groups, and that, in effect, the Holocaust bars criticism of Jews.  McGrory even tries to argue that Sen. Fritz Hollings' racist remarks against Black Africans should be seen as comparable to Hollings' characterization of Sen. Howard Metzenbaum as the 'senator for Bnai Brith'.  McGrory rejects without examination any criticism of the ADL's lobbying activities, seeing any criticism of such lobbying activities as anti-semitism.  After her contorted defense of the ADL, in which she established one standard of judgement for the Bnai Brith-ADL and a second standard for non-Jews, she argues that everyone should be judged by the same standard.  [TXT]

60849. Mead, Margaret. Israel and Problems of Identity: Part 1 of 2.  Herzl Institute Pamphlets. New York: Herzl Institute, 1958.  [This pamphlet contains the unrevised text as transcribed from a tape recording of a lecture given by Dr. Margaret Mead at the Theodor Herzl Institute, New York City, On 10/3/1957. I'm not a specialist on any of the problems that you are accustomed to deal with. I spent only three weeks in Israel, although I realize a great many people who have spent less time have written more. Nevertheless I was there under exceedingly fortunate auspices and no inch of my time was wasted. Representatives of each experiment or each agency took me aside to tell me that I mustn't let any other agency wear me out. At the same time they requested me to spend a few more hours or days looking at what they themselves were doing! So I did have a remarkably intensive experience from one end of Israel to the other, but still three weeks is only enough so that when one hears words like the Negev or Tel Aviv one has some concrete visual images in one's head, and they are not places only on the map or words in people's letters but are places where I had walked and seen people and had things happen to me. So I can speak with a certain amount of vividness and read with a certain amount of vividness the things that have been written about Israel. And when I was asked in Israel what in the world I thought I was doing there in three weeks—I was supposed to be a consultant to the Health Department, actually, but what else I was supposed to be doing there--I simply said that I hoped that I would be able to read more intelligently when I left. Because even if
one has been in a place only for a very short time, it assumes a great deal more reality. You realize, of course, I am speaking as a goy, who has a goishe kopf. I became extraordinarily conscious when I got to Israel of the difference between knowing things with your head and really knowing them. Of course I’ve known, I suppose, since I was ten that Hebrew was written in the reverse order from English. I even knew about Adler’s theory that the superiority of the Jews was due to the fact that the word Jewish had been forced upon the Jewish people from without. It seemed to me that it would have been much better if it had been the other way around. I had known all this; I could have answered an examination perfectly. I didn’t realize I had never seen anyone sign his name in Hebrew, and how extraordinarily surprised I was when I saw it. I was, I suppose, in Israel less than a week before my eyes began always at the right and moved to the left over things I couldn’t read, but I now knew which way the movement went. I began to get the kinesthetic feel of things that I had known with my mind, but which had nevertheless not had any concrete meaning. But I don’t know enough about Israel to give you any kind of an authoritative lecture such as you are accustomed to have here from many specialists. So that when I was asked to speak by my friend Dr. Patai, who sent me a cable to Portugal so I didn’t have much chance to argue, I tried to think what I could say that might be useful and meaningful within this context. I decided that perhaps the best thing I could do would be to consider different ways in which what was happening in Israel was making a contribution to the world. We spent a great deal of time discussing what the world better do for Israel, which is also a notable endeavor. But it’s useful sometimes to reverse it and ask what is Israel doing for the world? What is the significance of the very fact that Israel is there? What is the nature of the experiment in Israel? What is it contributing to our thinking about the whole problem of world politics, of a world community? How is it contributing to what we need to know about the relationship between an individual and a national sense of identity, which is so important today?

This question of identity [nationalism] which, as Dr. Patai says, has agitated Jewish thinker’s for a very long time, has just begun to agitate the goyim. It is virtually a post-WWII problem: the active attention to the question of identity. Now in practically any journal you pick up, psychiatric, psychological, you are likely to find discussions of identity, suddenly become something very important. It isn’t surprising that it has become important in this period in history, when so many people are uprooted, so many people are moving, and when we have a discussion in the press on the meaning of Israel and what national identity in Israel means. This keeps before us a problem that in the past we didn’t pay very much attention to. Right after the war, when we were doing a series of studies on different nationalities, in a project called Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures, directed by the late Professor Ruth Benedict, we did a study on Eastern European Jews. We hadn’t intended to do it that way. What we had intended was to do a study of several countries and take the Jewish group within them and the Catholic group within them and also, if they had any,Protestants, and Moslems, and see how the different religious groups fitted into Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc. But when we started to work on Jews in Poland, Jews in Romania, Jews in different parts of Eastern Europe, we found that we were dealing with a single culture. In spite of the fact that they were in one national group instead of another end subject to one set of national/government instead of another, and of course ate rather different food and had a long tradition of use of the local languages nevertheless we were dealing with something that was continuous and coherent and it could rightly be called Eastern European Jewish Culture. And out of that study came a book called Life with People, by Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog (International Universities Press, 1952). We began looking at the question of what kind of identity was found among Eastern European Jews. At the same time we were also doing a study of Syrian Jews. I had a certain amount of difficulty with my Eastern European Jewish Staff, when we had to try to understand the culture of the Syrian Jews, where the position of women wasn’t the same, and the position of intellectual life wasn’t the same. We encountered the difficulty of people who identified themselves completely with the Eastern European Jewish type of tradition, who had then tried to understand suddenly Syrian Jews whose tradition was exceedingly different. They were faced with the problem of how they were going to keep their sense of identity while at the same time studying another group whom they regarded as part of themselves but who did behave rather differently, and where a great many of the values that they associated with their position were reversed. In the course of this study we also were confronted with some other things. For instance, we tried to understand the Poles, and we were extraordinarily impressed with the sense of Jewish identity that the Pole had. It seemed to me that if we studied the Poles carefully, that one of the things that you can say about Poles was that they went to bed as Poles and they got up as Poles and they ate dinner as Poles and they studied as Poles and they got married as Poles and they quarreled as Poles and they made up as Poles. Right through Polish behavior, as much as through Eastern European Jewish behavior, there was a continual pervasive sense of identity, governing their pride and their behavior, which was extraordinarily different from anything that one found in America. Americans hardly ever do anything as Americans unless they are abroad. But when they are in America they do things because they are “Harvard Men,” or “Marines,” or in favor of the “Yanks,” or something. And they refer their behavior to a great variety of memberships and groups and allegiances, very seldom behaving as members of the United States. When they go abroad they become self-conscious and they don’t like the way other Americans behave. But it isn’t something that operates at home, as it has operated right through the ages for every Jewish group in the world that has preserved its identity and its heritage, and as it operates for some non-Jewish groups. I want to put this early in this discussion so that we’ll be able to sort out the difference between the Jewish sense of identity and other types.

This Jewish sense of identity has been preserved without a homeland, without complete physical continuity; there was of course a period when physical continuity was assumed, but you won’t have to look to see that it somehow didn’t quite work, unless you assume that people get bleached into being blondes in Germany and baked into being dark in other countries. It’s more likely that these physical differences must be explained in another way. Actually through the centuries, in addition to adapting in custom and sometimes in language and in manners and food, to the countries in which they lived, there also has been a considerable amount of mixture, so that if you go back to Israel today where you see the gathering in from the four corners and the ends of the earth you find representatives of almost every physical type in the world, all living side by side and all seeing themselves as Jews. In order to define a little more clearly the difference between this Jewish sense of identity and other kinds of national identity, I want to mention two or three others.

One of the conspicuous groups of people who have acted in terms of identity, in somewhat the same way as the Jews have, are the Scots. And it’s interesting that especially in northern England a great number of the kind of frictions that occur between the English and the Scotch are very much like the frictions that occur between Jews and other people. The Scots are said to be too bright, they do too well on examinations, they can’t have done it honestly! And the Scots again, in Scotland, are brought up by their parents to be Scots and to realize that if you are born to be Scot, you’re born to possible perfection. You have to work hard, but you are perfectable. The ideals of the Old Testament, of a special people with special characteristics that make them perfectable and more perfectable then other people, were carried over in Scotland, taken from the Jewish historical tradition. We find that Scots can go abroad to other countries and remain Scots for generations. They have borrowed, in a sense, the ideas inherent in the Jewish sense of identity. I’m stressing this because I think it’s valuable to know which parts are known with my mind, but which had nevertheless not had any concrete meaning. But we have of course no instance in history comparable to the Jewish sense of identity and other types.
four years ago, that it was his duty to explain to any member of the goyim who, usually for reasons of intermarriage, was anxious to become a Jew, that it was much too difficult. He would be failing in his duty, he explained, if he failed to warn them that this was too heavy a burden for anybody who wasn’t born with it, and they shouldn’t be expected to take it on. This is a very special position that has been passed on from generation to generation so that parents have been able to do it successfully. Four years ago, that it was his duty to explain to any member of the goyim who, usually for reasons of intermarriage, was anxious to become a Jew, that it was much too difficult. He would be failing in his duty, he explained, if he failed to warn them that this was too heavy a burden for anybody who wasn’t born with it, and they shouldn’t be expected to take it on. This is a very special position that has been passed on from generation to generation so that parents have been able to do it successfully.

However, there is one characteristic of this identity which may not be one that is continuing always, and I think it is worthwhile looking at it. The traditional Jewish identity was that of one people in a sea of non-Jews. If you looked at the world, it was sort of a great seething mass; in the middle of it were the Jews and outside were the goyim, undifferentiated, Red, Black, Yellow, Christian, Moslem, Buddhist, Savage, Pagan, Ani'mist, Existentialist, etc., masses of people outside with one single group identified in this great mass. The only thing that was completely necessary to identify a group of Jews was to have some goyim. It’s been impossible, I think, within historical time, to identify a Jewish group without some non-Jews. The non-Jews did not need to be further identified. You didn’t need to know what they looked like, what they ate, what they believed, and whether they were pig eating, wife beating hunters, or whether they were low grade traders, or whether they were the ignorant this or the ignorant that. They didn’t need to be highly identified in any way. They could be dismissed as something less, as something evil, something contrasting. But any group who happened to be the other people, who happened to be around, could be absorbed into this picture of a great outside world, that didn’t have to be too highly specified. (This doesn’t mean, of course, that they weren’t often more highly specified.)

This is rather different from what has happened in many parts of the world where peoples’ identity has depended on defining somebody else’s identity. The commonest illustration one can bring up, of course, is the quest of how do you define a man if you don’t mention a woman. And how do you define a woman if you don’t mention a man? Well, some people simply define men by what they can do and what they are, others define men as being not women as is so often done in the United States. There are many societies that define women as being not men, but the men, made of the rib of a man, low-grade creatures whose low-gra-dness is defined in terms of men. If you look at any of these identity points, you see that there is a great difference between defining people, just as what they are, or defining them as one of a series. If one asked for instance, what is the white race? Some would say, the people that matter, or the only people who ought to inherit civilization, or the people that invented civilization. But others will say, one of the three or four major races of mankind, in which case their existence is defined as being one of a series, instead of being out in the middle with a great, seething, low-grade something outside. Traditionally, I think, in any given place Jewish identity usually included a vague knowledge of the special low-grade practices of the other people in the country they lived in which were used to define for Jewish children the thing they didn’t do. Jewish children learned that their parents didn’t act like, talk like, walk like, eat like, hunt like, or whatever the goyim did in their particular society. Nevertheless, in general, one did keep this image of a great undifferentiated mass of people with the Jews as a single group in the middle. If a whole group of the people were asked to finish this sentence, “I am a Jew and not a,” they would have completed it in terms of an outside world. Now we tried this sentence with a great many different people. We tried it on Americans. The commonest answer is “I am an American, not a foreigner.” The great differentiation for them was Americans versus foreigners. If the question is phrased religiously, we get: “I am a Catholic, not a...” “I am a Protestant, not a Catholic.” “I am a Jew, not a Catholic.” “I am a non-Catholic, not a Jew.” “I am a Jewish, not a Catholic.” “I am a Jewish, not a Catholic.” The tendency to treat groups in this way in this country, has tended, on the whole, to bring Jewish groups into one of a series. So in small suburban communities in this country there are synagogues, Protestant churches and Catholic churches. The synagogue or the temple and the church may look different, but the parish houses all look exactly alike. And the dances look exactly alike, and the furniture is exactly alike, and the office of the clergy is exactly alike, and the lectures they have are exactly alike. There has been this great area of imitation, of accommodation, that has tended to make the Jewish group one of a differentiated series, instead of an entirely separate people, with an undifferentiated world outside.

We looked at the parts of these sentences which complete the clause, “I am not a...” “I am an American, not a foreigner.” “I am a girl not a boy.” “I am a boy not a girl.” On the whole we find the “note” are the socially disruptive, less desirable, part of all these sentences. If the principal thing about being a member of any group is that you’re not something, else, that has to be reiterated over and over again and becomes a cause of conflict and difficulty. By and large what we want to move towards in the world today is a world in which each person says “I am something,” and does not define what he is with any “note” whatsoever: “I am an American, I live on the continent of North America. ” “Not I am an American not a foreigner.” “If you just listen to that sentence “not a foreigner,” it is denigrating and derogating other people. It’s saying the language we speak is a real language and they talk funny, it’s treating languages of other people as if they were translations, and low-grade ones at that, of the right words for things. It’s equipping people not to be able to speak foreign languages, which we do terribly successfully in this country. The constructive part is “I am something.” “I am an American,” or “I am a Scot” or “I am a dew” with no “note” in it at all. I don’t think I have to argue very heavily for this, it’s very apparent. It’s the “note” that makes the trouble. A boy whose major definition of himself into he is not a girl, gets into a great deal of difficulty. A girl whose major definition of herself is that she is not a boy, also gets into difficulty. And this is even truer of any kind of national identity. [–]

60850. Mead, Margaret. Israel and Problems of Identity: Part 2 of 2. Herzl Institute Pamphlets. New York: Herzl Institute, 1958. What then happens, when after these hundreds and hundreds of years Israel is finally founded and there is again a Jewish homeland and the possibility of the kind of nationality that most of the other national states in the world have, with, of course, some rather extra special bits? There are very few peoples that have the relationship to their roads and trees and sand, to the contour of their land and to the names of hills and cities, that the people of Israel have today. There is a kind of passionate finding again of a landscape that one had only read about and heard about and endless to in poetry over many generations, that we haven’t seen before in the history of the world. It contrasts very sharply for me, for instance, with the position of the colonists in Australia. The English colonists who went to Australia from England and many of the European Jews who went to Israel, were on a purely geographical basis, facing somewhat the same sort of thing, going to a strange new, barren, hot country that didn’t look like anything that they had ever seen, didn’t have a bird or a flower or a tree that was familiar. But where for the English people who went to Australia and became Australians this was a tremendous ordeal, to learn to love this country that was like nothing they had ever known, and for which they had no names and no way of seeing it or looking at it, for the people who have gone to Israel every stone and every tree and every hill has been invested with meaning out of the words that they heard all their lives. In many ways, it’s rather like a dream coming true, something one has dreamt all one’s life, and suddenly, there one is. The words that have been so important are come alive. So there are these unique aspects of
the founding of a national identity in Israel. One of the things that are so striking are the little Natural History Museums in the smallest little schools and tiny little kibbutzim somewhere, in a new community, or a new moshav. There may be hardly any equipment at all to start teaching, but there will be a little bit of a Natural History collection or a shell or two, or a feather or two, of the natural history of this landscape, this new world that is so completely a part of a people who move there, who have heard about it in echoes kept through hundreds of years.

There are other questions about a people who have had such a long and persistent and intractable sense of identity. This sense of identity made them study and made them love learning under the most adverse conditions Mark Zborowski wrote a vivid article on "The Place of Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture" which describes the conditions under which little boys studied in Eastern Europe. With old dog-eared books, in a cold room to which they were carried when they were so little that they could hardly leave their mothers. Scolded and berated and mocked and made fun of by teachers with an unparalied gift for epiphlet, with one day a year in the country. One day a year they were allowed to play. You get a picture that would make any American progressive schoolchild's blood run cold, and then at the end of it a sentence that says here are "nourished the roots that will eventually blossom into a veritable passion for studying." [Mead, M., and Wolfenstein, M., Childhood in Contemporary Cultures. The University of Chicago Press, 1955.] It's extraordinary to read of people not experienced the driving force of such a sense of identity, of the belief of the parents in the possibility of the child's learning and learning, and of the tremendous rewards that were given for learning, to recognize just how such apparently unfavorable conditions could give birth to the love of learning.

So we have the situation of a people who have kept this unique sense of identity not as one of a series of groups. The series: Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, that's a nice invention of the mid-twentieth century in the United States, but it is not part of the traditional Jewish picture of a sense of identity. There were Jews, and there were other people with the wrong religions, if they were to be regarded as religions at all, which in many instances they weren't. Such a completely unique group is now settling down on land and be coming a nation and becoming comparable to other nations. This means in a sense joining a series, joining a group of nations. What will we be able to learn from this combination of the unique, driving and persistent sense of identity, and the beginning of an identity as one nation among many? Even groups who are not Jews, but who have been highly influenced by the Jewish Scriptures have had a tendency to have a sense of destiny from time to time—Americans have shown signs of feeling very unique and borrowing from the Scriptures. So one of the things that happens in Israel is that there is a preoccupation with a continuing sense of identity, with Israel's unique mission, with Israel's particular position, with the beginning of a feeling that Israel is taking its place as one of the nations of the world, a feeling which makes an Israeli not define himself as "not" being something, but define himself positively as an Israeli; and if he met anyone who didn't happen to know where Israel was, he then would say "I am an Israeli from the Middle East." He would say, "I am an Israeli from the Middle East." This would be a completely positive identification. This is of course the danger that the contempt and the political situation will block that out again, and that we will have instead, "an Israeli not an Arab," where the definition of an Israeli will include a "not," of another group, instead of being a completely positive thing. This would be a tragedy for the world, because what the world needs at present is the best inventions we can make on how to fit each people into a total world picture as one of a group of peoples.

One of the great barriers to doing anything of this sort in the world is, of course, the problem of race, people's habit of defining themselves in terms of the color of their skin and the contours of their faces and the kind of hair, lips or heels or beards they have, and to define other people in these terms. One of our great problems in the world today is how to learn to think of race in the sense of physical stock, as something quite irrelevant, and how to learn to think about culture instead. Most of the thinking that is done about race is based at least on a partial reality. I mean, it is a reality that Africans in Africa are darker, most of them, than Swedes in Sweden. Or, members of the Mongolian race in Asia can be identified by special folds in their eyes and by their relative hairlessness, etc. Now, as long as groups of Jews were limited to one country or a few adjacent countries, they might have been able to think that they did belong to one race; they looked more like each other than they looked like other people, at least some of them did. Every time we've tried to test it, we've found that Jews usually can't tell Jews from non-Jews, even in the same nationality, for certain. Nevertheless the sense of a physically homogeneous group was fairly strong. But when you go to Israel now and look at the people, all of whom are Jews, all of whom are proud to be Jews, almost all of whom have suffered as Jews, end many, many of whom have made an effort to go to Israel as Jews, you see virtually every kind of physique in the world. There are no pygmies there, to be sure, but I don't think that that is necessarily going to last! You go to a village of Indian Jews and you find people that are just like the people from India. There are so many blondes and so many redheads that all sorts of mythologies have sprung up about it. I've met lots of people who have told me I should go to Israel and explain the redheads. One suddenly sees representatives of all the races of mankind, the great races, all defining themselves as members of one "race" and somehow physically related to each other, cutting across every physical trait that other people are using to draw racial lines. A complete definition of complete brotherhood is being substituted for genetically determined traits like frizzy hair or skin color. This gives us a chance for a resolution of most of the things that have been worrying other peoples. There are people with all the prejudices of Europeans (and, as Dr. Patia suggested, these are not absent in Israel). Quite a number of the Ashkenazim came in with a full fledged sense of prejudices against non-European peoples and they haven't all completely recovered. There are groups of Jews in Israel, like the Yemenites, who combine such an excessive sense of superiority with such an excessive sensitivity to possible insult that they lead a precarious and interesting life, in the midst of all this.

But what we are actually seeing in Israel today is an attempt to mold a people who will be one people among other peoples. They will be the citizens of a country represented in the United Nations, taking its part in the world, on a complete par with every other country. The extent to which they are playing their part on a complete par with every other country may be judged by the fact that they don't shirk a thing of the problems that is worrying the rest of the world. They have the charm of the people from India. There are so many blondes and so many redheads that all sorts of mythologies have sprung up about it. I've met lots of people who have told me I should go to Israel and explain the redheads. One suddenly sees representatives of all the races of mankind, the great races, all defining themselves as members of one "race" and somehow physically related to each other, cutting across every physical trait that other people are using to draw racial lines. A complete definition of complete brotherhood is being substituted for genetically determined traits like frizzy hair or skin color. This gives us a chance for a resolution of most of the things that have been worrying other peoples. There are people with all the prejudices of Europeans (and, as Dr. Patia suggested, these are not absent in Israel). Quite a number of theAshkenazim came in with a full fledged sense of prejudices against non-European peoples and they haven't all completely recovered. There are groups of Jews in Israel, like the Yemenites, who combine such an excessive sense of superiority with such an excessive sensitivity to possible insult that they lead a precarious and interesting life, in the midst of all this.

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part 11: instilling system of justice. Palestinians are arrested, they are interrogated, trials

Jordan Valley, Jericho and other places in the West Bank that they had upwards. According to James Graff in his 1991 book Palestinian were taught the basic principles of photography: how to take pictures, the ages of 15-55 and more than one thousand women have been arrested and the French Cultural Center. During the two weeks, the teenagers Rights Information Center. One in five male Palestinians between the

workshop was attended by six boys and six girls between the ages of 13 a particular person be detained." In 1967-68 more than 2000 Palestinians the refugee camp by French photographer Pierre Devin, director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, at the French Cultural Center in East Jerusalem 4/4/93. you cannot compromise on even the smallest point" (Ha'aretz, April heritage." Colonel Zvi Poleg, IDF Commander in the Gaza Strip, against the occupation: "To demonstrate that you are the ruler, that you

children themselves, are their perception of the world they live in, seen Submission: A Facade of Justice. A Special Report By The Middle East

sophistication and experience to record them, but we're not making anything like the number of studies that we ought to be making and we're letting priceless material disappear because it isn't being studied. [=]


The exhibition, "Teenagers at Work," which was first shown last year in Dheishe, features pictures taken by children from the camp during a two-week long workshop.

The photographs shown at the exhibition, selected by the children themselves, are their perception of the world they live in, seen through their own eyes and captured in their own way. They show images of the Dead Sea and Aqabat Jabr refugee camp, as well as the turnstile entrance to Dheisheh refugee camp and the young photographers themselves:

Due to the military closure of the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities, which has entered its second week, the children were turned back at a checkpoint on their way to Jerusalem and so were unable to attend the opening of their own exhibition. The exhibition was the result of a workshop held last year in the refugee camp by French photographer Pierre Devin, director of the Centre de la Photgraphie in Nord Pas-de-Calais, France. The workshop was attended by six boys and six girls between the ages of 13 and 15.

Devin's course was set up with the cooperation of UNRWA and the French Cultural Center. During the two weeks, the teenagers were taught the basic principles of photography: how to take pictures, the workings of a dark room and how to use their own little "black boxes."

They were then taken outside the camp to Bethlehem, the Jordan Valley, Jericho and other places in the West Bank that they had never visited. So many of them, it was the first time in years that they had even left the camp.

Speaking at the opening, Anderson commented on Devin's initiative saying that "It's important that the children get the opportunity to express their feelings...not only through throwing stones." [=]

60852. Middle East Justice Network: Twenty Years of Occupation: The High Cost of Israel's 'Colonizing Adventure': Part 11: Instilling Submission: A Special Report By The Middle East Justice Network. N.D. [1992] Many Americans learned about Israeli practices in the West Bank and Gaza for the first time during the early months of the intifada. Those who had uncritically accepted Israel's carefully-cultivated image of a "benign occupation" were shocked when, on 1/19/1988, the Israeli Defense Minister, now Labor Party head, Yitzhak Rabin, ordered the Israeli army "to use force, might and beatings" to put down an unarmed civilian population. But Rabin's resort to massive collective punishment to eradicate the uprising was nothing new. For 25 years Israel has attempted to extinguish any sign of nationalist aspirations among the occupied population. The methods used to put down the uprising may represent a new intensity of purpose, but to Palestinians under occupation, the only real difference was that for once the world was watching. Since 1967 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been ruled by some 1300 military orders in the West Bank and more than 900 in the Gaza Strip, decrees which, though seldom translated into Arabic and rarely made accessible to Palestinian lawyers, control every aspect of Palestinian life. Israeli military rule is perhaps unique in the world in its methodical attention to detail, and the cumulative weight of its bureaucratic regulations. Palestinians have no freedom of expression, or of assembly, or of movement. They will be arrested if found outside without their identity cards and need permits to move past many checkpoints, to plant a new olive tree or paint a house. They have no political voice. There has not been a municipal election in the West Bank since 1976, and there has never been one in the Gaza Strip. Any manifestation of nationalism - such as raising a Palestinian flag, or painting a picture in the flag's colors, or having the doodle of a flag on a child's bookbag - is viewed as "incitement" and the grounds for severe punishment. Raising the fingers in a "Vsign" is also incitement, even if the fingers belong to a four-year-old. All works are banned that "express, instill or foster Palestinian Arab national feelings and national heritage." Colonel Zvi Poleg, IDF Commander in the Gaza Strip, explained to an interviewer why he had to break up peaceful protests against the occupation: "To demonstrate that you are the ruler, that you are in charge of the territory, of the population, of everything everyday, you cannot compromise on even the smallest point" (Ha'aretz, December 8, 1988). [=]

60853. Middle East Justice Network. Twenty Five Years of Occupation: The High Cost of Israel's 'Colonizing Adventure': Part 12: Instilling Submission: A Facade of Justice. A Special Report By The Middle East Justice Network. N.D. [1992] Palestinians have no due process rights. "Security offenses" are no where defined, but have included stone-throwing, the refusal to pay taxes, and being found without an identity card. Any soldier can arrest any Palestinian without giving a reason. He or she can be held for up to 30 days without seeing a lawyer or up to 90 days if a military judge decides that the process of interrogation requires it. He or she can be repeatedly sentenced to terms of administrative detention, without any charges or trial, provided for by Military Order 1281 which allows military officers to order the detention of a Palestinian for renewable terms of up to one year if he has "reasonable cause to believe that reasons of security of the area or public security require that a particular person be detained." In 1967-68 more than 2000 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip were held without trial. During the first four years of the intifada the number surpassed 16000, according to the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center. One in five male Palestinians between the ages of 15-55 and more than one thousand women have been arrested during these same four years and nearly 120000 seriously wounded, or one in every 15 of the population. Both numbers continue to spiral upwards. According to James Graff in his 1991 book Palestinian Children and Israeli State Violence, an estimated 10000 children under the age of 18, or 2% of all the children in the territories, were detained for prolonged periods during the first two years of the uprising, the youngest being five years old. Anyone 12 years old and older can be given 20 years in prison for throwing stones. Rivca and Haim Gordon describe the law of military occupation in the 3/1992 newsletter of the Foundation for Democratic Education in Israel: "Israel has created a facade of a system of justice. Palestinians are arrested, they are interrogated, trials
take place, judges make decisions. But underneath this facade of order, a total disorder reigns whereby terrible violence against Palestinians occurs daily with almost no government official being in the least concerned. The Security Service and the army know that they can continue with the violence and injustice, they can sadistically beat and torture innocent people, they can hold mock trials, they can brutally oppress and exploit. Even if their deeds are exposed, the facade of order will always constitute a cover up for them....New Israeli and American Jews are debating the meaning of the election of Netanyahu. As Rabbi Avraham Ravitz of United Torah Judaism Party states that Israel will not be another 'Iran', Jewish-Americans state that they will terminate their own and US aid to Israel if Orthodox Jews discriminate against non-Orthodox Jews. Prof. Joel Kraemer of University of Chicago notes that all Jews agree that Israel is the Jewish state, but he warns that the Orthodox seek to build a Jewish fundamentalist state and will parallel to Islamic fundamentalism. He notes that Orthodox Jews see democracy as a way to abolish democracy. Liberals in Israel see the first Likud steps the denunciation of the rights of women and [Jewish] minorities.

60854. Middle East Justice Network. Twenty Five Years of Occupation: The High Cost of Israel’s ‘Colonizing Adventure’. Part 13: Instilling Submission: Torture. A Special Report By The Middle East Justice Network. N.D. [1992] On 6/19/1977 Britain’s The Sunday Times published an “Insight Report” on “systematic torture” practised by Israel, the result of a five-months investigation. The report chronicled techniques which have become routine practice today, according to studies by the Israeli human rights group B’Tselem, Palestinian human rights groups and Amnesty International: beatings, prolonged hooking, confinement in tiny spaces, being suspended by pulleys, tied in distorted positions, use of electric shock, threats of rape. In the words of The Sunday Times report: “Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of ‘rogue cops’ exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy. Torture seems to be used for three purposes. The first is, of course, to extract information. The second motive, which seems at least as common, is to induce people to confess to ‘security’ offenses, of which they may, or may not, be guilty. The extracted confession is then used as the principal evidence in court: Israel makes something of the fact that it has few political prisoners in its jails, only those duly convicted according to law. The third purpose appears to be to persuade Arabs in the occupied territories that it is least painful to behave passively.” [=]

60855. Middle East Justice Network. Twenty Five Years of Occupation: The High Cost of Israel’s ‘Colonizing Adventure’. Part 14: Instilling Submission: Collective Punishment. A Special Report By The Middle East Justice Network. N.D. [1992] This also seems to be the point of forms of collective punishment which have been used against Palestinians since the beginning of the occupation, including the demolition of homes, extended curfews, school closures and permanent expulsion. Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that “no protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed; Collective penalties and likewise all means of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.” Collective punishment is used to instill fear and pain in the mass of the population, so they would be cowed into submission. “Force, might and beatings” injured nearly 30000 children during the first two years of the uprising, according to a Save the Children study. A third of the beaten children were under the age of 10. Since 12/1987 over 10000 people have been left homeless by house demolitions. In 1/1989 the Israeli High Court ruled that it was permissible to demolish the house of a stone-stopper. Six months later the Court allowed houses rented by suspects to be destroyed within 48 hours of a notice being served to the proper owner. On 2/24/1989 the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot reported that Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin had told visitors from the group Peace Now that US officials assured him Israel had nothing to worry about from the US dialogue” with the PLO. It was intended to buy Israel time to crush the uprising both militarily and economically. In the end, Rabin stated, the Palestinians “will be broken”. [=]

60856. Millard, Betty. Women on Guard: How The Women of the World Fight For Peace: Part 16: In Israel. New York: New Century Publisher, February 1952. IN ISRAEL, women have come out into the streets by the thousands to protest the revival of the German army. The Progressive Women of Israel leads a campaign of aid to the children of recent immigrants, who live in tents under wretched conditions. The only women's organization which unites Jewish and Arab women, it issues a magazine in five languages: Hebrew, Yiddish, Arab, Bulgarian and Rumanian. [=]

60857. Miller, Judith. "Israel's Fundamentalist Thing: List of demands", in New York Times, June 9, 1996, p. 5. Almost immediately after the election of Benjamin netanyahu as prime minister, the 400 Jewish extremists of Hebron seized an ancient Turkish bath from Palestinians, and gathered for male only dancing to Hasidic music. They see the triumph of the Israeli right as ending any peace process in preference to crushing the Palestinians under the 'Hand of God'. Both 'Israeli and American Jews' are debating the meaning of the election of Netanyahu.

60858. Miller, Marjorie. "Palestinians Refuse to Leave Prison; By Staying Put, the 21 Women Are Protesting an Israeli Decision To Rethink Four Inmates Who Were Supposed to Have Been Freed", in Oregonian (Portland), October 9, 1995, p. A5. "The peace process" has received another blow as 21 women Palestinian political prisoners have refused to leave prison in solidarity with four other women political prisoners that the Israelis have stated they will continue to hold. The women refuse to sign a declaration that states they renounce terrorism, an Israeli requirement for Palestinians to be released. The women hung the Palestinian flag from their cells. PLO Leader Yasser Arafat send a representative to Sharon Prison to try to persuade the women to abandon their moral stance. Ezer Weizman has stated that he will never pardon two of the women since they have '[Jewish] blood on their hands'. Israeli Gen. Ilan Biran then refused to release two additional women, also because they are alleged Jew-killers. PLO spokesmen term the Israeli action a "violation of the peace process" but not that it is not important enough of an issue to slow implementation of the accords. [TEXT]

60859. Miller, Marjorie. "Passover Cleanup Can Exhaust Orthodox Jewish Women", in Seattle Times, April 20, 1997. p. A5. Passover requires the discarding of every crumb of old bread (‘hametz’, or leavening) for many Jewish women in Israel it has become a stressful toil. The 'peace process' has received another blow as 21 women Palestinian political prisoners have refused to leave prison in solidarity with four other women political prisoners that the Israelis have stated they will continue to hold. The women refuse to sign a declaration that states they renounce terrorism, an Israeli requirement for Palestinians to be released. The women hung the Palestinian flag from their cells. PLO Leader Yasser Arafat send a representative to Sharon Prison to try to persuade the women to abandon their moral stance. Ezer Weizman has stated that he will never pardon two of the women since they have '[Jewish] blood on their hands'. Israeli Gen. Ilan Biran then refused to release two additional women, also because they are alleged Jew-killers. PLO spokesmen term the Israeli action a "violation of the peace process" but not that it is not important enough of an issue to slow implementation of the accords. [TEXT]

60860. Mira, Levi. "Palestinian Unionists Denounce Layoffs as Economic Blockade; Assert Unions' Growing Role in the Occupied Territories Since the Intifada", in Challenge, January-March, 1991. pp. 10-11. The Israeli government’s moves towards the economic separation of Israel and the Occupied Territories have been widely condemned by the Palestinian labor movement, including the General
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Federation of Trade Unions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (GFTU). Union leaders Amana Rimawi and Adnan Kilani spoke to Challenge about the implications of the new Israeli policy: In a formal sense, one could claim that the decision about the closure of the Occupied Territories serves our struggle against the occupation and returns the Green Line to its place. In fact, this is a disastrous step whose goal is, through an economic blockade, to weaken our stamina and our ability to fight the occupation. It’s no secret that for a long time now Israel has been trying to get rid of its dependence on Palestinian workers from the occupied territories in various ways, not as a preparation for a political solution of separation, but as a punishment for the Intifada. At the same time, it is a hopeless experiment in solving the [Israeli]-unemployment problem and providing jobs for [Soviet Jewish] immigrants at our expense. The first stage in this attack was the distribution of magnetic cards to residents of the Gaza Strip, which deprived 30,000 Gaza workers of the right to work in Israel. The next stage was the issuing of green identity cards to former administrative detainees. The cards are valid for a period of six months, and the holder of such a card is not only prevented from entering and working in Israel, but has his movements limited in general. A resident of Nablus, for example, cannot travel to Gaza or Bethlehem since he would have to pass through Jerusalem, which is within Israeli territory. Factory owners who are interested in shirking their responsibilities to their Palestinian workers receive full legal support. Since the outbreak of the Intifada, any employer can fire a worker of his without any compensation, even if he was absent from work because of a curfew, for instance. Responsibility for absences is placed entirely on the worker’s shoulders. According to Rimawi and Kilani, the attempt to push workers back into the territories contradicts the Fourth Geneva Convention, which states that the occupier is responsible for the livelihood of the occupied. At the same time, the unionists admit that the Intifada has given an unprecedented push to the labor movement in the Occupied Territories. If the life of a Palestinian worker in Israel is characterized by submission to the arbitrariness and abuse of his employers, in the territories themselves he finds himself organized and protected. The unions have also become an inseparable part of the Intifada, implementing a series of rules and principles announced in the leaflets of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. One of the leadership’s earliest steps was putting food and drug companies with more than five employees on a 24-hour, three-shift production schedule. Union representatives began to act as exclusive mediators in work disputes and the signing of labor agreements. Explains Kilani: Before the Intifada, it was acceptable for factory owners to call the police to throw us off the factory grounds. Today not only is such an action unthinkable, but the employers themselves invite us to mediate between them and the workers. They complain that work disputes have increased since the outbreak of the Intifada. For example, in the Silvana candy factory, which employs 250 workers of whom 65 are women, the principle of equal pay for equal work was put into practice for the first time. The owner of the factory could do nothing but grumble that even in America and Europe, this kind of equality doesn’t exist. The unions obtained additional rights: a minimum wage, fixed working hours, a ban on arbitrary firings. Detained workers are now kept on the payroll throughout their prison terms, and May Day has been declared a paid holiday.

Employees also receive salaries on strike days called by the leadership, and for other absences a system of rules divides responsibility between worker and employer. “Labor agreements obtained through the mediation of the trade unions are much more progressive than what was customary under Jordanian law, says Rimawi. “More importantly, they are suited to the changing needs of the workers during the Intifada. Garden of Eden for workers, Gehenna for employers?” Not so, say the two unionists. As national institutions, the unions must take into account the employers’ ability to function under the occupation. For instance, the recent decline in the standard of living of the occupied territories has eaten into consumers’ buying power, leading some factories to ask unions for permission to decrease production. The unions’ central problem is, of course, their inability to deal with labor disputes inside Israel, which determine the fate of the majority of Palestinian workers. On occasion the unions have intervened by hiring Israeli lawyers, and have scored rare successes in questions of compensation for fired workers. In any case, they say, it is the Palestinians who will determine Rimawi and Kilani believe the problems of workers in Israel can when and how the final separation takes place. be solved only on the national level, and are certain that withdrawing their right to work will only inflame the Intifada. Translation: Judith Green

60861. Mishhirawi, Ahmad. “Gazan Woman Gives Birth to Quadruplets”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 8, 1995. p. 12. A Palestinian woman from Gaza gave birth on 12/5/1995 to four female babies after undergoing a successful cesarean conducted by a team of Palestinian doctors at Shifa Hospital. This is the first time in 25 years that a woman has given birth to more than three babies at once in the Gaza Strip. Saed Abu Nour, 19, the mother of the four babies, expressed her deep happiness at having the female quads while her husband Naim Ayyoub, a doctor who participated in the cesarean operation himself, said he was very proud. The mother decided to name the babies, Ala’, Amira, Isamen and Arwa. She said that this was the first time she had given birth after three years of marriage. “I thank God for this blessing and this gift. I suffered a lot during labor, but now I’m very delighted and happy,” she said. According to the father, President Yasser Arafat had sent his congratulations and a symbolic gift to the family, before paying the mother and daughter a visit at the hospital. The father said that, as early as the fourth month of pregnancy, he had known there were four fetuses, but that he had refrained from telling his wife to keep it a surprise. [-]


Every woman should have at least five sons: two to go to prison one to die one to go to Kuwait to make money and one to do what he wishes. - West Bank Palestinian Saying

We’re continually being told that we are so few and the Arabs so many - the way to do something about it when not many Jews come from abroad is to have more and more babies. - Carmit Ge

A woman’s body is her own. It is not there to service the State the army or the nation. To make children is very easy. To bear them is harder and to bring them up is harder still. Every woman has the right to decide for herself whether she will do so or not. - Shulamit Aloni

Israel’s newspapers are filled with stories of brave Israeli women who risk all to have babies. A policewoman, completely paralyzed from jumping out of a car in pursuit of a terrorist gives birth to a son through artificial insemination. Twins are born to a 51-year old woman, after she’s undergone hormone therapy, ovary donation from a younger woman, 13 failed IVF treatments, bed confinement throughout her pregnancy and a caesarean section. In both cases the women insist that despite these many hardships they are already thinking about their next child.

These individual stories do not occur in a vacuum. Rather they must be placed in the context of the larger society’s obsession with fertility. Israeli society has been preoccupied with reproduction since its founding. In the 1950s, Ben-Gurion instituted a system of rewards for “Heroine Mothers” 100 Israeli Liro to those women with ten or more children. In 1967, the Demographic Center was founded as a unit attached to the Prime Minister’s office; its official objective was “to act systematically to encourage a [high] birth rate, which is so vital to the future of the Jewish people.” The center promoted various pronatal institutions, one of them the Fund for Encouraging Birth, established in 1968, which provided subsidized housing loans and increased child allowances to families with more than three children. These “inducements” were designated specifically for Jewish families under the euphemism of “families who have relatives who have served in the Israeli army.” These few examples should not be construed as having a
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Women in Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. On Friday, January 1, the Women and Peace Coalition held its annual conference. Over 100 women from all over Israel attended the half-day event in Jerusalem featuring presentations on occupation and societal violence, right wing movements, human rights abuses in the territories, and women struggling for peace. The deportation of 400 Palestinians just two weeks prior significantly affected the tenor of the event. Zuhaira Kamal, leader of the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees and a member of the Palestinian negotiating team to the peace talks, said that she debated whether to participate in light of the ban on dialogue with Israelis following the deportation. Ultimately, Kamal said, she decided to come as she knew she would "be among friends." Several women suggested that women become even more involved in activism against the deportations. Following the conference, women marched up to Women in Black Square to join Jerusalem's weekly vigil - this time in rain and snow. Following the vigil, many Women in Black joined with other male and female demonstrators for a march through West Jerusalem to protest the deportations and call for the immediate return of the deportees.[=]
Women in the Army: Women in the Army Studies. Army Historical Series. Center of Military History. United States Army. District of Columbia: GPO, 1990. p. 373-374. While the MAX WAC study was in progress (1975-1978), successive assistant secretaries of defense (M&RA) - William K. Brehm, John F. Ahearne, David P. Taylor, and John P. White - continued to prepare the Army to meet its numerical objectives and fill the manpower gap. At the end of 12/1975, the Army had the enlisted strength of 16200 enlisted women. Meanwhile, WAC numbers surpassed their FY 1975 goal by 5800 women, and, by the end of the next fiscal year, the Corps exceeded its higher programmed strength by 3000 enlisted women. [DA Historical Summary, FY 1976, p. 35.] It was not hard for General Moore, then the DCSPER, to guess that the continuing success of the WAC expansion would lead the Department of Defense to direct another big increase in women. He, however, was convinced that a higher density of enlisted women would undermine Army readiness, even though no study had proven this - the WEEM, TRADOC, and MAX WAC studies supported up to 35% in TOE units and almost 50% in TD units. On 1/1/1976, to prepare for another Defense Department request to increase WAC strength, General Moore directed his staff to "validate the program for the expanded utilization of women in the Army." [DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to directorates, ODWAC, and DA staff divisions, 1/6/1976, subject: Women in the Army Study, ODWAC Ref. File, Studies, Women in the Army, 12/1976, CMH.]

The study was published in 12/1976 and was known as the Women in the Army (WITA) Study. It examined the expansion, women's policies and procedures, and research on women. The study group reviewed old opinion surveys and also sent major commanders a questionnaire on personnel policies that affected utilization of women. In their responses, the commanders reported that to date neither pregnancy nor single-parent policies had presented problems. They recommended that women be permitted as close to the battle zone as necessary to perform their noncombat duties. They also felt women needed additional physical, weapons, and tactical training. Some thought that women could fill MOSs in some of the Category I (combat) units - units that did not enter the battle zone. Only physical strength, in their opinion, appeared to be a differentiating factor between the performance of men and women. They also agreed that men accepted women in leadership roles when they demonstrated supervisory and physical competence. [DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to directorates, ODWAC, and DA staff divisions, 1/6/1976, subject: Women in the Army Study, ODWAC Ref. File, Studies, Women in the Army, 12/1976, CMH; Study, DCSPER, Women in the Army Study, 12/1/1976, ODWAC Ref. File, Studies, CMH. Study cited hereafter as WITA Study.]

As part of the WITA studies, the Army Center of Military History (CMH) reviewed historical instances of women in combat and combat leadership roles. Its report covered conventional as well as guerrilla wars and nine foreign countries, among them Russia, France, Italy, Great Britain, Israel, and Vietnam. Each of the countries chosen for the study had experienced times when women had entered combat to help their country repel attack or resist occupation by a foreign power. Russian and Israeli accounts showed that women had been successful leaders as tank commanders and infantry platoon leaders, but such instances were rare and no stories of unsuccessful female leadership could be found. In Israel, after the 1948 War of Independence, legislation had established a separate women's corps and also banned women from combat tasks on the battlefield. The legislation was based on statistics that showed higher casualty rates in mixed as opposed to all-male units. The CMH study concluded that insufficient evidence existed to determine whether women would be successful in combat or as combat leaders. [CMH, "Women in Combat and as Military Leaders: A Survey," 1978, CMH Library.]

Completing its work in 8/1976, the WITA study group found that the two computer models, WEEM and WOSM, provided "sound approaches" to establishing recruiting objectives, training, and MOS requirements for women. However, the issues of pregnancy and single parenting needed more data before any changes in policy could be considered, and additional research was needed to evaluate the physiological, psychological, and sociological factors affecting women in nontraditional roles and their reaction to combat stress. The group recommended that six of the MOSs involving combat support then open to women be closed to women and that thirteen others be temporarily closed until rotation and some long-range career programming problems could be resolved. The WITA report concluded that "while there is considerable work left to do, the Army is on the right track. The current [WAC expansion] plan for women is acceptable and will not lead to an organization which will be ineffective in time of war." In 12/1976, General Moore distributed the 322-page report throughout the Defense Department, the Army, the other services, and interested former military personnel. He disbanded the WAC Expansion Steering Committee and, on 1/1/1977, replaced it with the WITA Review Committee. [WITA Study; DF, Asst. DCSPER to ODSPER Directors and ODWAC, 12/6/1976, subject: Women in the Army (WITA) Review, ODWAC Ref. File, Studies, WITA Issues, CMH.]

60867. Morello, Carol. "", in Seattle Times, March 17, 1996. p. A3. In Ramallah, the crackdown that has cut the Palestinian areas into 465 enclaves, has claimed nine lives, as ambulances carrying people with medical emergencies were held at checkpoints until they died: these potential criminals included newborn twins who died after a difficult delivery at a checkpoint. Israeli officials have deied treatment to 60 cancer patients and 30 renal patients unable to reach dialysis machines; Israel still refuses to all 1.1 million polio vaccines into the Palestinians ghettos. The closure, with the misery it inflicts through denial of medical services and through the growing famine, is more severe than any closure during the Intifadah or Iranian Gulf War. Israel has stated it would 'ease' its embargo by allowing Palestinians enter Israeli factories at the edge of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel will allow some food covos to enter Gaza Strip and will allow a partial restart of Gaza fisheries. Among those affected by the sealing of Palestinians into the 465 ghettos are 30000 Palestinian-Americans: the US has expressed no concern over their loss of rights by the Israeli embargo. Palestinian unemployment has reached 80% with the closure, many small businesses are on the verge of bankruptcy, and many people are selling their last possessions or going into debt to be able to fed their children. Amidst this intense suffering, Palestinians ignored Pres. Clinton hysterical insistence that the Israelis were the real victims. [TXT]

60868. Moss, Rayna. "Little Red Riding Hood in a Kaffiyeh: Palestinian Children Retell Fairy Tales: Part 1", in Challenge, October, 1990. p. 10. Little Red Riding Hood took molotovs and threw them at the soldiers... ", "Cinderella's father was a collaborator...

When East Jerusalem teacher Khulud A. asked elementary school students to tell their versions of popular Western children's stories, this is what they told her. She and other teachers in the Union of Democratic Teachers were not surprised.

"Since the beginning of the intifada," she says, "it has been impossible to teach the same way as before. Now, when we read these stories to the children learning English in the lower grades, they just burst out laughing in the middle. The stories have no relation to their lives. All the teachers I have talked to said the same thing.

"For example, they hate kings and everything concerning royalty. They think that Cinderella is ridiculous. One boy insisted that Red Riding Hooad was a communist, because of the color of her hood. I try to make the lessons interesting, using slides and other methods, but they are bored and uninterested in the material."

The problems of teaching these children in a way which relates to their experience, coupled with a need for alternative education programs, led a group of teachers in the UDT to conduct a study in which 400 children (to date) have been asked to write their versions of the tales they were taught. Most of them, in cities as well as refugee camps, came up with "intifada stories. " The following were translated into English by Khulud A. Note: Red Riding Hood is translated into Arabic as Leila al-Ahmar, or 'Red Leila'.

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD AND THE SETTLER WOLF IN BALLATA CAMP

Once upon a time there was a girl called Leila. She was
walking in Ballata camp. A settler wolf saw her and shouted: “Come here, girl.” She stopped and asked: “What do you want, you wolf?” He said: “I want to see your ID card.” She said: “Take it and look.” The settler wolf looked at Leila’s ID card and told her: “Come with me.” Leila asked the wolf: “Where do you want me to go?” He told her: “To prison.” She immediately ran away and called her friends, who gathered around her. She told them what had happened to her and suggested they throw stones at him. When they reached the place where the settler wolf was walking there were a lot of soldiers, who began shooting bullets at the children. Some of the children were martyred. Others were injured and the rest ran into the alleys of the camp and hid in houses. Red Leila was among the children who hid in the houses.

After the clashes stopped, Leila slowly left the house where she was hiding and went to the bushes where she had a special hiding place. Leila was hiding molotovs there. She thought: “If I go by myself to do something, it’s better than going in a group, which would be noticed and make noise.” So Leila took some molotovs and walked by herself to the place where the soldiers were and threw the molotovs at them until some of the wolf soldiers died.

Leila said to herself: “I will gather some of my friends who ran away and hid in houses.” She called them and told them: “Let us take some of the wolves who died and make bags for stones from their furs.”

HANIN, aged 8, Ballata refugee camp. Hanin first told this story in school and was punished by the principal; for an entire day she remained standing outside the classroom for giving a “wrong” version of the tale she had been taught.

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD AND THE SOLDIERS
Leila was walking in the forest. She saw a child who fell on the ground. She helped him and went on her way. She was picking flowers as she walked. Suddenly she saw the wolf soldiers who came and arrested her. When they arrested her she was not afraid. They held her for one week, during exams. [High school students are frequently detained during matriculation exams, forcing them to repeat an entire school year-RM.] She missed her exams and had to repeat the school year.

When she was released she went out into the street and hid among trees while putting stones in her pockets. Whenever she saw any of the wolf vehicles she threw stones at them. Then she shouted twice (her voice became very sharp during the week in prison because she had cried a lot about missing her exams). The children gathered around her and began chanting: “We love Palestine and will redeem it with our souls.” After she finished she went to the forest to rest and began walking again. From far away she saw the same wolf soldiers. This time she immediately began throwing stones at them. They died and she dug a grave for them. She continued throwing stones and walking in the forests of Palestine until Palestine was liberated.

When Palestine was liberated, life was normal, peaceful and beautiful. Leila spent her time visiting all those who had participated in defending the country. The rest of her time she spent beautifying her house with flags and beautiful banners.

RUBA’, aged 7, Jerusalem.

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD AND THE FLAG
Leila went to her grandmother’s house to visit her uncle who was released from prison. She was wearing clothes in the colors of the flag and put a kaffiyeh over her head. On the way she saw two soldiers beating a boy. She went over to them and told them to stop beating him. Suddenly, she felt a bite on her back. She looked and it was the wolf officer. She told him: “How dare you tear my shirt which is a symbol of my flag?” She ran quickly to the jeep to tear the ugly flag which was hanging on the jeep. The wolf officer ran after her and was very afraid that she would tear the flag. So he shouted at the soldiers to stop beating the boy. They told her that they knew where her house was and that they would make her sorry for what she did.

Then Red Leila went to a friend’s house and phoned her grandmother’s house. She told her uncle what had happened to her. She told him to tell his friends to run to the mountains and to prepare their sleeping bags because the soldiers would come to the house that night.

She told him that she was afraid the wolf officer would take revenge on her uncle.

She took a car and went to her grandmother’s house. She found all the children and girls and shabab [youths] gathering around her uncle’s house. They dug a trench around his house and put grass over the trench. Everyone took their sleeping bags and took tomatoes and cheese and yoghurt and torches and went to the mountains, laughing at the wolf officer, who would come and fall in the trench and not find anyone.

NIVEEN, aged 8, Jerusalem.

Cinderella’s father was a collaborator and he used to hate Palestinians because they killed his collaborator son. Then Cinderella’s father was killed and the one who killed him was an Israeil; he killed him on purpose. Cinderella knew that even Israeilis hate collaborators. That night Cinderella left her house and went from one house to another calling the children to come at two in the morning to hold a big demonstration near the cemetery. When soldiers came to disperse the demonstration Cinderella threw a bomb at them. She had taken the bomb from her father’s things, which the Israelis had given him. Cinderella became very famous and Shamir heard about her and was very angry at her. So he sent a lot of soldiers to kill Cinderella and her comrades. But Cinderella was very clever. She used to watch her father when he used his rifle. She left the neighborhood with the children and they ran away on a secret path near the cemetery. They went to Shamir’s house. Shamir was sick in his heart. When he saw Cinderella in his house with her comrades he was very angry and had a heart attack. Shamir died. God killed him and not the children. God hated him more than the children did. There was a festival for all the Palestinian children called the Day of the End of the Deceitful Shamir.

RANIM, aged 9, Jerusalem.

CINDERELLA AND THE WHISTLE
Cinderella was a very beautiful girl. Her hobby was to participate in wars against the enemy with her friends. Once the Zionist forces came to the camp. The youth on guard duty began whistling to warn the camp that there was a raid. There was water in the whistle so its sound was low. Not all the people heard the whistle. A soldier raided Cinderella’s house. He entered the main gate. When he came to the yard and tried to open the inner door Cinderella refused to open the door and pushed it with all her might. But the soldier began to climb through the window. Cinderella brought a big bowl and waited near the window. When the soldier put his head through the window she beat him with the bowl on his head. He fainted. She pushed him to the ground. He fell on his head and died.

Meanwhile, the water in the whistle dried and the guarding youth climbed a tree and began to whistle. There was a big demonstration and several struggling were injured. Soldiers came to arrest Cinderella. The youth who was on guard saw the soldiers from the tree. He ran to the house and told them that it was his house and that he was the one who had killed the soldier. The soldiers tied a rope around his neck and pulled him by the rope. They stopped breathing and died. They left the camp.

Cinderella was very sad and she insisted on resisting the soldiers, using all her efforts and her love for her country, Palestine. She went to the main road outside the camp and threw stones at military cars. The soldiers shot at her and she was martyred. Everyone in the camp was very sad. Anata became very ugly without Cinderella. All the children, especially the girls, decided to continue fighting for the sake of the country.

LAMA, aged 8, Anata refugee camp.

“These children have no memories prior to the intifada,” says Khulud. “They hear their parents talk about ‘normal life’ or ‘the way things were before’, but they have no clear idea about what that means. Some of them think that before the intifada life was wonderful, peaceful. This is also how they imagine life after liberation.”
After that we went home happy. We prepared some meat. It was a nice smell coming from the meat. We went to the USA the next day. We became sad, but at 3:00 they kissed us and enjoyed our time. We swam for 3 hours. We bought some sticks and went to Tel Aviv on a picnic trip. The weather was fine. The streets were clean. We played this week was exciting and full of adventures. I and my friend student to describe a pleasant outing. The mental affects of occupation frequently-called strikes than they do; they are simply glad to have a Another internationally common assignment requires the occupation affects all aspects of life and pervades the thinking of the occupied. Away from the overt expressions of occupation: army, demonstrations, prison - the mental effects are ever-present. An occupying force keeps the occupied population off-balance. These psychological effects are the long-term legacy of occupation and cannot easily be reversed.

This week trouble happened in Jerusalem. Some problems happened between the soldiers and the people. The soldiers killed many people in the West Bank. The people burned many cars in the street. They threw the stones on the soldiers' cars. In this week many things happened in Jerusalem. The soldiers didn't want us to go back to our homes. The people were very angry about this problem. They were looking for the USA to say to the soldiers to let the people go back to our homes. I wanted from the soldiers to let the people go back home. There was no problem in Israel. Let the peace be in all Israel.

At 5 pm my friend came to me and I went with him to walk around the country. I saw many girls and boys but I don't like any girls in the world because I go to the mosque. Suddenly two jeeps of Israeli soldiers came. The jeeps stopped and called me and my friend. The soldiers wanted to know where we were from and they wanted to know our nationality. After 10 minutes they went away. My friend was very happy because they didn't take us to prison.

Today is a strike. All the shops are closed. I don't know what to do.[=]
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and we had half an hour to leave. I went there by myself. I entered the
bathroom - it was very dirty and dark so I ran out of it. I was astonished
when I saw a strange sight. I saw a man with a huge body and big eyes.
He was very tall. He had a gun in his hand which was full of blood. I was
afraid and I didn't have enough time because my friends were going to
leave. He put his hand on my head with great force. I didn't know what
to do. He began beating me hard. Then he raised his gun and was going
to shoot me. Then I woke up and got off my bed, after my mother came in
and told me to go to school. This was a bad dream, and I thanked my
mother.[=]

60873. Moulton, J. "Lessons of Occupation: Part 4", in Challenge, May-June 1993. p. 27. One of the many psychological effects of occupation is
never feeling in control of your own destiny. My students try to avoid
getting into trouble, both with the army and with Intifada activists, but they
never really know if they will succeed. This boy was going shopping
when there was an incident on the street.

Usually, if something happens all the people around would go
to the civil administration to be punished by the soldiers. At last the
minister in the civil administration took my name and printed it on the
computer, then he looked at my life and it is from the help of God that my
life was clear so I left the civil administration with a good luck and I
thanked God for this help.

Another student, who works in his neighbor's shop, wrote about
a day when a Palestinian had been killed and a strike as called.

After half an hour some men came and told me to close the
shop. I replied "OK." They said they would come back and if you don't
close the shop you know what will happen. I went to my house to bring
the key, but I didn't find it. I looked for it in the of fice, in my sister's
room and in my father's room. I didn't find it. I began to think what will I do,
they will destroy the shop and I will be in trouble. At last my little sister
found it. I went at great speed. I closed the shop. After a few minutes the
men came, they saw that the shop was closed. They thanked me. I was
so happy after that.

One would hope the likelihood of being physically harmed or
killed would be remote for these students. But for them it is all too real.
Two of my students have been detained by the army in the past three
months. The other boys make jokes about their empty desks, but their
bravado dissolves in their writing. They know that their classmates
weren't put in prison for any criminal act but simply for being in the
wrong place at the wrong time. Every student, however well-behaved or
well-off, could be similarly apprehended. The quietest student in class,
with the most gentle personality, wrote the following piece, completely
irrelevant to the assignment.

I am a big boy. I love Palestine and the people in Palestine. The
people do not want Israel. I promise and other people promise to hit
and kill the man [a collaborator] to who told it [to] Israel. I work a big plan to
hit a soldier who took the Palestinian life because the soldier hit the
people. So when I make a plan in this way I can hit and make many
things without being killed, or I can take the soldiers' lives and tell them
don't come to Palestine but if the Palestine told him to come. When the
people hit the soldiers one of the people died and another wounded.
Nobody helped him and the people ran away. The Israeli soldier put him
in a car in a choking leash. I am very very despairing because my friend
died and I cannot work anything without him and I promise to hit any
soldier and throw the stones to him until the soldiers and the Israeli
people leave Palestine. And thank everybody who help his friend or
anybody in Palestine.

The insidious tactics of Israeli occupation have engendered
a mentality of impotence, paranoia, and hatred in this generation of
Palestinians. When will all these boys overcome their mental conditioning and be able to live peacefully with their Israeli neighbors and
with themselves? Real, full peace will be achieved only when the
psychological effects of occupation are overcome.[=]

60874. Movement of Democratic Women in Israel; Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. "Palestine: Arms in Babes", in Connexions. Women
Organizing Against Violence. An International Women's Quarterly, n. 11,
December 1, 1984, p. 8. (The following was written by the Movement of
Democratic Women in Israel and presented at the UN International
Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, B/29/83-9/7/83.) The
lives and development of Palestinian children are shaped by the
phenomenon of growing up generation after generation in exile.
Palestinians of the diaspora, and in and outside the occupied territories,
constantly dream of returning. For many, life has been a refugee-camp
existence with an absence of security and elementary rights. There are
few Palestinian families who have been spared the traumas of violent
death, imprisonment or forced division.

For Palestinians under occupation, the slogan is zumud
(holding on): stick to your village, your refugee camp, your piece of land
and your olive tree (if it has not already been taken away)! Do not let
them rob you of what is left! One also lives in the hope that one day he or
she will be home again. It is in this atmosphere that Palestinian children
are growing up. Hearing their parents constantly express their longing
for home is only part of the story. What shapes their conscience is not
only the unsettled existence in refugee camps or temporary lodging, but
the outright aggression of the occupying forces. For many occupation
means the Israeli soldiers enforcing curfew or making arrests, manning
road blocks or searching people. They know the Israelis in the shape of an
oppressive enemy who continues to deprive Palestinians of land, home
and freedom.

At an early age Palestinian children develop primitive weapons
to defend themselves against the Israeli soldiers. They collect stones
and are trained in hurling them. Older boys or girls with prison
experience instruct their friends on "how to behave" under interrogation
or when they are beaten up. Under curfew, children are used to rush food
supplies to those in need; they man lookouts or observation posts; they
invent new methods of survival. Israeli settlers claim that stone-throwing
Palestinian youngsters are as dangerous as sharp-shooters and,
therefore, should be punished as such, with long jail terms or deportation
to neighboring countries.

What do Palestinian children dream of becoming when they
grow up? Who are their heroes? Their answers are freedom fighters,
guerrillas, "pilots for liberation." These visions are also expressed in their
drawings and games. Naturally, they play "war," "police," "torture"-
-all those things that have become part of their families' lives. But even
playing "hide and seek" becomes a war game of sorts as they pretend to
hide from soldiers.

Palestinian children participate in pupils' committees and
demonstrations at an early age, although conditions demand that they
help at home or take jobs as low-paid agricultural workers. At home, in
over-crowded dwellings, tension and chaos frequently prevail. Experiential lifestyles disintegrate, but there is also more emancipation--
girls become more independent and publicly active as equals in work,
and your olive tree (if it has not already been taken away)! Do
not let
they will destroy the shop and I will be in trouble. At last my little sister
found it. I went at great speed. I closed the shop. After a few minutes the
men came, they saw that the shop was closed. They thanked me. I was
so happy after that.

One would hope the likelihood of being physically harmed or
killed would be remote for these students. But for them it is all too real.
Two of my students have been detained by the army in the past three
months. The other boys make jokes about their empty desks, but their
bravado dissolves in their writing. They know that their classmates
weren't put in prison for any criminal act but simply for being in the
wrong place at the wrong time. Every student, however well-behaved or
well-off, could be similarly apprehended. The quietest student in class,
with the most gentle personality, wrote the following piece, completely
irrelevant to the assignment.

I am a big boy. I love Palestine and the people in Palestine. The
people do not want Israel. I promise and other people promise to hit
and kill the man [a collaborator] to who told it [to] Israel. I work a big plan to
hit a soldier who took the Palestinian life because the soldier hit the
people. So when I make a plan in this way I can hit and make many
things without being killed, or I can take the soldiers' lives and tell them
don't come to Palestine but if the Palestine told him to come. When the
people hit the soldiers one of the people died and another wounded.
Nobody helped him and the people ran away. The Israeli soldier put him
in a car in a choking leash. I am very very despairing because my friend
died and I cannot work anything without him and I promise to hit any
soldier and throw the stones to him until the soldiers and the Israeli
people leave Palestine. And thank everybody who help his friend or
anybody in Palestine.

The insidious tactics of Israeli occupation have engendered
a mentality of impotence, paranoia, and hatred in this generation of
Palestinians. When will all these boys overcome their mental conditioning and be able to live peacefully with their Israeli neighbors and
with themselves? Real, full peace will be achieved only when the
psychological effects of occupation are overcome.[=]
existing abyss that prevents dialogue. A dialogue which is necessary for peacemaking based on a just solution of the Palestinian issue. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 543-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.] [≡]

60875. Mufson, Steven. "Chinese Executive Explains Visit; Wang Jun Says Finances and the Lehman Brothers Investment Bank Brought Him To The White House", in Oregonian (Portland), March 16, 1997, pp. A1, A22. A Chinese arms dealer, Wang Jun [NORINCO, Poly Technologies Corp.] who attended a White House coffee with Pres. Clinton states the visit was arranged by New York brokerage house Lehman Brothers Inc. Wang notes his goal was not to bribe Pres. Clinton, but rather was a perk provided by Lehman, which was competing to provide financing to Chinese state companies. Initial reports on Wang focused on his role in the Poly Group, a firm under investigation for its role in smuggling automatic weapons (AK-47s) to California gangs. However, Wang's account makes his purpose rather to establish ties between China International Trust & Investment Corp. (CITIC), the central state owned conglomerate, with powerful and well-connected Wall Street firms. This account contradicts the story told by the Democratic National Committee (DNC), that the visit was arranged by Charles Yeh Lin Trie, and was the sign of natural Chinese effort to funnel at least $2 million in illegal campaign contributions to Clinton. Wang notes that Trie may have played a minor role, noting that he was aware of Trie through Ng Lap Seng, a Macao businessman who has real estate development ventures with CITIC. Premier Li Peng has denied that any such campaign existed.

The day after Wang's visit, his contact at Lehman Brothers, Ernest G. Green, paid $500,000 to the Democratic National Committee. Green has stated the timing of the contribution was a coincidence; the check was signed by his wife Phyllis Green. Green, a longtime Democratic activist and fundraiser, [and Zionist activist], has been interviewed by the FBI as part of the investigation; Green is a longtime friend of and fundraiser for Bill Clinton; Green is also a longtime friend of Trie. Wang's account suggest that access to the US president was routinely provided by influential US firms as a perk for foreign businessmen. Wang notes that he has been actively courted by the Clinton's: while in Beijing for the UN Conference on Women, Hillary sought his company at a reception, but he was too busy. [TXT]

60876. Mutfi, Sheikh Akrameh Sabri. "Feature: Transgressions Against Islam," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 1, 1995, p. 7. The international, Arab and local media have been analyzing and commenting on the Women's International Conference in Beijing. Many of the analysts have concluded that the organizers are meeting to make up for what they were not able to accomplish in the Housing and Population Conference held in Cairo last September when during the course of the conference the Palestinian, Pakistani and Iranian delegates began to cooperate and act constructively and the voice of Islam was raised against all forms of sexual scandal and abortion. The danger in holding the Beijing Conference is the proposed document on the agenda. It includes points against Islam and against all of the monotheistic religions. What follows are among the most embarrassing points proposed: (1) The document does not acknowledge that the family is made up only of a man and a woman, but the family can, as they claim, be made up of two men or two women! (2) It calls for the abolition of differences between man and women, for the father to do the mother's work and vice versa, saying that the differences between them are based on traditions and cultures, and not on real biological differences. (3) It avoids pronouncing the word "husband" but calls him "partner," for example, the document calls for sexual intercourse outside married life. (4) It uses the word "the other," discarding the differences between men and women. (5) It allows women to use their bodies without any constraints, aiming for sexual freedom. (6) It allows abortion, saying that the fetus belongs to the woman, and is hers alone, and that she has the right to abort any time she wishes.

The slogan raised in the Beijing conference is the "Development of Women." It is a deceitful slogan because what it suggested for discussion are only dangerous issues that touch on the honor of the family and the society. It is known that it is easier to destroy than to build. The nuclear family in the West is fragmented and under the threat of collapsing. So why do these countries in the West want to bring this fate to other countries in the world? Besides, what suits one nation does not suit the other. It is very dangerous for a nation to lose its self-confidence and trust in itself and to start imitating other nations until it is overwhelmed by the negative elements of other societies. I ask the Palestinian women in general and the Arab and Muslim women in particular to prepare a memo to include the following: (1) To respond to the judicial errors and perversions that were mentioned in the document. (2) To bring to light the rights in Islam given to Muslim and non-Muslim women. Women begin life as a fetus in the womb of their mothers, become wives and mothers then die. They have rights in all sectors of life. (3) To elucidate the place of the family in Islam, which is based on purity and mercy, on love and harmony, to keep it joined and strong in the spirit of society and for the sake of the human race. Our Islamic religion is the only religion which is complete and comprehensive. It applies to all walks of life including the family. It is the only practical religion which explains the details of family life and clarifies the rights and duties of the woman. Allah shows the way. [≡]

60877. Mughrabi, Nidal. "Palestinians Denounce Speech By Netanyahu", in Seattle Times, July 11, 1996, p. A18. Palestinian leaders are critical of Netanyahu's statements that all of Jerusalem belongs eternally and exclusively to the Jews, shouting 'Never!' repeatedly in a speech to the US Congress. Netanyahu's statement that the basis of the peace process was now abrogated was greeted with wide applause and cheering by the American Congressmen. Hanan Ashrawi described Netanyahu's speech before the adoring US Congress as 'dangerous': "What was even more dangerous was the response of the standing ovation he was given when he was, with impunity, uttering statements that are in direct violation of international law... and objectives of the peace process and Palestinian rights". Arafat responded by noting that Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. [TXT]

60878. Muhaisen, Muna. "A Point of View by Muna Muhaisen: Revolt of the Hungry, Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), August 16, 1993, p. 16. While delegates can claim that they don't have the time to be out among the people, to give them moral support at this critical time and make them feel that the leadership cares about the masses. Not once has Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi or any other delegate bothered to make his or her presence felt in the cities, towns, villages and refugee camps of the occupied territories.

Why isn't Faisal Husseini walking in the streets of Nablus, Rafah, Anata and Jalazon making people sense that he cares about their hunger? Is it so hard to give moral support to the people he supposedly represents at the peace talks?

How often has Hanan Ashrawi been seen walking in the streets of Bethlehem talking to a shop owner or a street sweeper? Or is Ashrawi a face Palestinians only get to see on television?

The Palestinians in the territories are watching the unemployment rate grow by the minute. Their feelings that they are all alone out there cannot be neglected.

Delegation members, PLO officials and wealthy Palestinians - both here and in exile - have to do something about the fact that many Palestinian families eat dry bread for a meal and don't have sugar to put in their tea.

They must address the real hunger going on out there. They have to realize that in one or two months, the revolt of the hungry will erupt. And when it does, it will be like a volcano, throwing hot lava in every direction.

Palestinians are sick of reading about individuals getting tens of thousands of dollars to open new institutions in the territories. They want to know why no one is asking for tens of thousands to buy meat for the hungry children. Or don't these children count anymore?
The children of stones who shook the mighty Israel with their Intifada are now the forgotten children of Palestine. Their pictures, with stones in their tiny hands, were sold to the world a few years back. But no one wants pictures of a child with hungry eyes. You just can't sell hunger to the world. [=]

60879. Muhaisen, Muna. "Human Rights Situation Degenerates During May: Delegate Accuses Israel of Blackmail, US of Indifference: Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 31, 1993. p. 1. A total of 35 Palestinians ranging in age from 18 months to 50 years were killed in the occupied territories up until 5/27/93. This is one of the highest number of martyrs recorded in one month since the outbreak of the Intifada in December 1987.

Of the victims, 28 were from the Gaza Strip; the remaining 7 were from the West Bank. Six children aged 16 and under were among the martyrs.

"The trend now is to shoot people execution-style," a field worker at the Gaza Center for Rights and Law told Al-Fajr. Describing the bodies of 10 of the Gazans, he said: "They were riddled with bullets," rather than shot once to facilitate arrest.

He want on to explain that others were killed for not apparent reason.

Fouad Timraz, 20, was on his way to the Islamic University of Gaza at 6:30 a.m. 5/12/93, when he was shot dead by an army sniper from a nearby rooftop in Shate' refugee camp.

Mahmoud Ghouli was playing with friends on a street in the camp 5/16/93, when a passing army unit gunned him down. Ghouli, 13, was shot in the chest.

Soldiers shot and killed an 18-month old baby, Faris Kurdi, as his father held him in Jabalya refugee camp in the Strip 5/16/93. According to a recent report by B'Tselem, an Israeli human rights group, 35 Palestinian children have been killed by army gunfire since 12/9/92.

"Never have so many children been killed," the report stated.

"The increase in the shooting death of Palestinians in the territories is indicative of the Rabin mentality: to escalate the Iron Fist policy to break the Palestinian [political] position and Palestinian steadfastness." This was the assessment of Mamdouh Aker, a member of the bilateral Palestinian delegation who heads the working group on human rights.

The working group was created during the ninth round, but was boycotted by the Palestinians after a few meetings due to persistent Israeli violations of human rights in the homeland.

"The Israelis are trying to blackmail the Palestinians," Aker told Al-Fajr. "They are using the human rights situation in the occupied territories as a bargaining chip in the negotiations to pressure the Palestinians."

Aker, a West Bank physician, explained that during the human rights group's meeting in Washington earlier this month, the Israeli delegation tried to deal only with individual cases of human rights violations in the occupied territories, as if the violations were an exception to the norm.

"They are not ready to talk about human rights within its framework and according to the Geneva Convention and international law," he explained. [=]

60880. Muhaisen, Muna. "Human Rights Situation Degenerates During May: Delegate Accuses Israel of Blackmail, US of Indifference: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 31, 1993. p. 1. Human rights groups report that the situation has been in steady decline for months. Studies by the Gaza Center for Rights and Law indicate that there has been an increase in injuries by live ammunition compared to less lethal kinds of bullets.

"More than 500 Palestinians in Gaza were injured by live bullets in May, compared to 80 injuries by rubber and plastic bullets," said a field worker at the center.

In January 1993, 480 Gazans were injured by live ammunition while 149 were injured by rubber-coated metal bullets and plastic bullets.

Asked why the sponsor of the peace process, the US, has not pressured Israel into alleviating the worsening situation in the occupied territories, Aker responded, "The US administration is insensitive to the situation on the ground and to the increase in child killings."

He explained that the Americans are linking the living conditions in the territories with the negotiations. "In other words, they want us to make progress in the negotiations in order for the situation in the territories to improve." [=]

60881. Muhaisen, Muna. "Israeli Multilateral Refugee Committee Chief Yousef Hadass: Israel Will Not Absorb 2 Million Palestinians: Part 4", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), May 31, 1993. p. 8, 16. Q: That can happen down the road if enough trust is built and if there is proof of good intent. A: Let me ask candidly; Who has to trust whom?

Q: Both sides have to trust one another. But the Palestinians have to trust you more. But where did it start? It started from the Arab side not wanting peace. I'm not saying it has to be put only on the Arab side or the Palestinian side, but on both sides. So we proposed a joint committee to discuss what you call violations of human rights in the occupied territories. We said OK.

Q: You are only willing to deal with individual cases of human rights violations, and not with human rights within the framework of international law. A: you cannot impose, in negotiations your point of view on the other side. It will lead to a deadlock.

Q: Israel and the United States can afford to take their time in dealing with the issue of human rights. But reality on the ground in the occupied territories prove that the Palestinians do not have such time. A: The Palestinians are wasting time because of the attitude they are adopting. You have got to look at the other side. When you have someone like the lawyer [Ian FINEBERG] who went to Gaza to help the people and help the European Community and was killed there, what do you expect of the Israelis?

Why can't the Palestinians leaders stand up and say, publicly: "We are against violence"? Let's give ourselves 6 months to see what can be done.

Q: Why don't Israeli leaders say the same thing? A: We are saying it.

Q: How? Just this month in gaza, an 18-month-old baby was killed, as well as an 11-year-old boy. In fact, 6 children under the age of 16 were killed. A: The Israeli side was ready, is ready, and will be ready to make a statement against any kind of violence. We know that we cannot contain every act of violence. Even though violence is going on, we could have achieved much more together than is being done because of the refusal on the Arab parties to talk to us sincerely and directly and to do it in the region. Why not? Why can't we meet on the border somewhere?

Q: Meanwhile, you want to keep people in the territories living under the tight noose of the closure? A: What do you mean meanwhile? We didn't start the war.

Q: Israeli authorities charge 120 Jordanian dinars for each violation of human rights. Why don't Israeli leaders say the same thing? A: We are saying it.

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offers from the merchants. Sometimes some of them don't find work until the afternoon hours. Sometimes they wait a whole day only to return home in the evening empty handed.

An investigation conducted by Kol Ha'ir revealed that due to the large demand for children, the wage which they are paid is very low: 20 shekels for a full day of work. Whoever leaves in the middle of the day's work doesn't get a red cent. In addition to this, it seems that almost every stall in the market employs Arab children. The children relate stories of the way in which their employer's exploit, degrade, humiliate, and physically abuse them. Sometimes, after a few hours of work, the employer sends them away without compensation, and they are forced to start the whole process over again. The child who finishes his work ahead of time is sent away without getting the money he earned.

The older children, between the ages of 14 and 15, have a higher status among the child workers and can defend the other members of their family who work with them. They are not the ones who get beaten. It's the other children, primarily the new ones who are trying to move up in the system, who get beaten by the other children who send them away from the place, taking the better jobs, or taking from them the jobs which they got by force or by accepting a cheaper wage. =] 60883. Mula, Shush; Tsazanah, Shlomo. "Palestinian Slave-Children in West Jerusalem [from story in 7/16/93 Kol Ha'ir originally titled 'Child Slave Labor in the Mahane Yehuda Market'], Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 10. Last Thursday afternoon, the owner of a vegetable stand violently beat an 8-year-old boy who had been working for him unloading produce from crates. "A," an eyewitness, relates:

"By chance I happened to be passing by on my way to do some shopping. I saw a lot of people gathered around a vegetable stand. As I got closer I saw the owner of the stand viciously beating an Arab boy. He hit him on his back, on his head, on his face, yelling and cursing at him. The child was crying and covering his head with his hands. I was surprised to see that the people who were watching what was taking place didn't even try to break them up.

"Apparently the child did something wrong and the owner of the stand lost control and beat him up. The boy walked over to one side and I went after him to try to talk to him. The child turned around, wiped the tears from his eyes, and went back to work."

The boy didn't come back to work the next day. The owners of the stands where the incident occurred say that it's none of their business. "Everyone does whatever he thinks best. Why get involved with him over a boy - and an Arab boy at that? The boy probably did something wrong. Nobody gets beat up for nothing."

It doesn't seem to bother the customers much either. Eti Ben-Tovim from the National Council for the Welfare of the Child says that they get a lot of anonymous complaints about child beatings, but when they ask those same people to go to the police to file a complaint they hang up the phone.

During the early hours of the morning the children work mainly unloading produce. The ones who don't get work unloading produce wander among the owners of the stands begging for work. They lie about their age and are willing to do any type of work, even though it is sometimes beyond their physical capabilities.

When we arrived at the market and asked about the going rate for unloading a truck, a number of children leaped towards us thinking mistakenly that we had something to offer. One of the stronger ones among them forced the others out of the way - landing one of the smaller children onto the floor along the way - and offered to work for 40 shekels. Another older boy, who was sitting with the others, yelled at him in Arabic: "Are you crazy? What are you offering such a cheap price for? These guys look like they don't know what's going on. Tell them 60 shekels and they'll give it to you." =] 60884. Mula, Shush; Tsazanah, Shlomo. "Palestinian Slave-Children in West Jerusalem [from story in 7/16/93 Kol Ha'ir originally titled 'Child Slave Labor in the Mahane Yehuda Market'], Part 3", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 10. In the meantime, several boys aged between 9 and 11 agilely climbed into the back of a truck loaded with watermelons and quickly passed the heavy watermelons from hand to hand while the owner of the stand watches them.

Najib from Jebel Mukaber:
Question: How old are you?
Answer: Eleven.
Question: How much money do they pay you for work like this?
Answer: 15 to 20 shekels.
Question: How long does it take to unload a truck like this?
Answer: It depends on how many workers there are and the type of produce. It usually takes one or two hours.
Question: Do you have brothers who also work here?
Answer: Yes, of course.
Question: Who is the money for?
Answer: For me.
Question: And how do they treat you?
Answer: Well, sometimes not very good. A few times they didn't even give me the money; they gave me a beating instead. One time the other children stole from me the money that I had earned. But it's good here - there's lots of work. =] 60885. Mula, Shush; Tsazanah, Shlomo. "Palestinian Slave-Children in West Jerusalem [from story in 7/16/93 Kol Ha'ir originally titled 'Child Slave Labor in the Mahane Yehuda Market'], Part 4", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 26, 1993. p. 10 & 15.

On the main street of the market sits Nabil, 10 and a half, selling eggs. He is considered to be the most famous Arab kid in the market because in spite of his young age he already has steady work. He sits on a high chair next to the owner of the stand.

"I've been working in the market for two and a half years. In the beginning I used to get beat up a lot. They said I was too little, I don't have strong shoulders for loading things, the children would laugh at me, and the bosses didn't want to give me work. I did it all and they gave me pennies. I once worked for half an hour, then the boss beat me and told me to leave without giving me any money. Now I have a steady job and respect."

Question: How much do you earn?
Answer: Three-hundred-and-fifty shekels a week.
Question: But the merchants say that they pay the children by the carton.
Answer: I don't know.
Question: Do your parents know that you work here?
Answer: Sure. I give them part of the money.
The owner of a fruit stand, who refused to identify himself, says that the business is simply disgusting. "I don't hire small children, only the older ones. I would like to see which one of those merchants would let his own children work like horses under the sun. Their children are all off in summer camps."

Question: Why do they beat them?
Answer: Sometimes those kids make a lot of noise, or drop produce in the street, or steal cigarettes, so they beat them. But only when they do something bad.

Question: The children say that they are being exploited.
Answer: That's not true. I know that in the Carmel market [Tel Aviv] they pay them one or two shekels for unloading produce; here they can make up to 40 shekels - is that exploitation?"

The owner of a local steak house doesn't understand what all the ruckus is about: "We're helping young workers who have a difficult time at home to earn a few shekels. They are temporary workers who work one or two hours. There's no coercion or slavery. They do it of their own free will. You can find the very same things in every market in the country." =] 60886. Mula, Shush; Tsazanah, Shlomo. "Palestinian Slave-Children in West Jerusalem [from story in 7/16/93 Kol Ha'ir originally titled 'Child Slave Labor in the Mahane Yehuda Market'], Part 5", in Al-Fajr
Mansour, an artist living in Birzeit, said. As an Israeli artist in Israel, "you're not working for a cause colors of the Palestinian flag red, black, white and green, Suleiman Tamara Getter, an artist from Tel Aviv, discussed this struggle.

freedom under a military occupation gray puffs of clouds in a scene that evokes a post-nuclear holocaust were finding it difficult, and in some cases impossible to enjoy artistic Moshe Gershuni's "From that Day and Later on," which depicts pink and artists expressed their support for their Palestinian colleagues, who Madrid peace talks in 1991. Other pieces are more abstract, such as

have a state for themselves and the occupations is done," Azoulay said. alongside scenes of Israeli soldiers. Amon Ben David, Taleb Dweik, Moshe Gershuni, Tamara Getter, Pamela Levy, Jawad Mahmoud, Suleiman Mansour, Khalil Rabah and David Reeb.

Just as the peace process has been difficult, so too have been the artists' efforts to present joint exhibitions. In the beginning, the artists could not show in the West Bank and Gaza because of the military censorship, Mansour recalled. Showing in Israel also had its problems, Moshe Gershuni, an artist from Tel Aviv added. "We showed once in Haifa and a member of the Knesset tore down the paintings. We had many difficulties," he said.

Despite these hurdles, the artists perceived in their work a commitment to peace and understanding. "We know that working together as artists is really important to make the peace. We have been working since 1981. Since that day, we have had wars in the Middle East all the time, but it didn't affect our work," Mansour said.

For the Palestinians, the joint exhibitions allow them to showcase their culture and gain recognition of their plight, said Taleb Duweik, a Palestinian artist from Jerusalem.

"Most of the exhibitions on the part of the Palestinians stresses on the nationality of the Palestinian culture," he added. "As an artist, I am interested in spreading of my own culture as much as possible."

Cooperating with Israeli artists helps to break down barriers between the Palestinians and the Israeli people, he said. When Israelis come to see the joint exhibitions, it is much more than people just coming to see art, he said. For the Palestinians, it means "a kind of recognition of our problems."

Duweik stressed that for Palestinian artists it is impossible to separate art from politics. "We are living in an occupation regime and there's no way to prevent it," he said. His collage paintings on exhibit at the Meridian Center reflect this mingling of art, culture and politics.

In one collage, one sees the outline of the Old City of Jerusalem in the background of a golden window frame. In this collage, Duweik explained, he is saying the future of Jerusalem "is not clear, it is blurry." Another collage depicts a woman and a man looking upwards to the sky surrounded by bars. Here, Duweik said, he is expressing a message about Palestinian exiles.

"Their families are waiting for them and looking through the sky, and they can't see them...the bars represent the jail bars that cannot be broken, forcing the Palestinian people into a corner," he said. Then he read the verse he had written in one corner of the collage: "If the people want life, life will be achieved and the bars must be broken."

Duweik noted that he often paints a golden moon in his paintings, symbolizing hope: "With the new moon, there is new hope. Always there is hope."

An interesting example showing the mingling of art and politics from the Palestinian perspective is Khalil Rabah's untitled piece which features traditional Palestinian embroidery on a UN Works and Relief Agency food aid canvas bag, a reference to the refugee status of many Palestinians.

Israeli artist David Reeb--in a painting that resemble contact paper of photographic negatives depicts children playing soccer alongside scenes of Israeli soldiers. Amon Ben David's paintings are of the Israeli and Arab negotiators sitting at the conference table at the Madrid peace talks in 1991. Other pieces are more abstract, such as Moshe Gershuni's "From that Day and Later on," which depicts pink and gray puffs of clouds in a scene that evokes a post-nuclear holocaust world.

Clearly, these conflicts in the region pull at these Israeli artists. Tamara Getter, an artist from Tel Aviv, discussed this struggle.

As an Israeli artist in Israel, "you're not working for a cause you are working for your art...but it is very difficult in this historical
We went first to the house of Adham Radhi, now nine months old. When he was only four months old he was beaten by soldiers, who pummelled his pregnant mother and put a cigarette out on her head. The baby was sick for a week afterwards. After one week the soldiers left the town. But they didn’t say they were leaving and didn’t declare the curfew over so everyone stayed inside their houses for another two or three days. When asked about the Committee for Beita, formed by a group of Israelis to help re-build the houses and campaign for reparations, we got a mixed response. One youth said: “We don’t need their help; we can do it ourselves” a fact borne out by the heavy machinery doing construction work while we spoke. Someone else said: “They are good, we know they are trying to help.” How effective they are is another matter. The Committee members are usually turned away at army roadblocks when they try to reach the village. And meanwhile the pregnant Munira Daud remains in prison: but she will not, after all, be charged with murder for throwing a stone. [↩]

The deposed mayor of the Qabatiya, Khalid Al-Awad, told us that in the first few days of the curfew people left their houses around three or four in the morning and went to work in their fields. But after five days or so the army used helicopters to search the area and their methods became more brutal. They blocked the roads used by men who tried to leave his house and was caught would end up in Al Fara’s Prison. People couldn’t open their doors. Women were not allowed to dry clothes on the roof. It was very difficult to feed animals. After several weeks all food reserves were gone and there was starvation in the town. The people of Qabatiya—who those who are not in prison—are getting used to enforced house arrest, day and night. They have been without electricity for seven months now, and they are getting used to that too. But the Israelis are always thinking up new things to do to them, and there is no getting used to that. During the course of several months the villagers have been denied birth and death certificates by the Civil Administration; they have not been allowed to renew their car licenses. Students from the village have not been able to attend school—though in their five church schools, the Israeli government demanded Beita’s destruction in “retaliation” for the killing of an Israeli girl by her Israeli guard, Beita is fully alive and thoroughly militant. We sat and listened as the story of that April day unfolded: the shooting in the fields, the decision of the villagers to protect the hikers and escort them into town, the anguish of Munira Daud who threw a stone at the guard who had killed her brother, and the death of the Israeli girl when Romain Al Dubi fired into the crowd in response of Munir’s stone. In all, two villagers died on that day, and one on the next—but only the name of the dead Jewish girl is known to the world.

We then heard about the invasion of the town by 4,000 soldiers, who imprisoned all the men between the ages of 15-40 in the school where they were held for three days without food and drink. They arrested at least 60 people and deported six villagers to Lebanon. During a week-long curfew, the soldiers broke into houses and destroyed everything they could find—furniture, mattresses, pictures, plates. We visited the house of Adham Radhi, now nine months old. When he was only four months old he was beaten by soldiers, who pummelled his pregnant mother and put a cigarette out on her head. The baby was sick for a week afterwards. After one week the soldiers left the town. But they didn’t say they were leaving and didn’t declare the curfew over so everyone stayed inside their houses for another two or three days. When asked about the Committee for Beita, formed by a group of Israelis to help re-build the houses and campaign for reparations, we got a mixed response. One youth said: “We don’t need their help; we can do it ourselves” a fact borne out by the heavy machinery doing construction work while we spoke. Someone else said: “They are good, we know they are trying to help.” How effective they are is another matter. The Committee members are usually turned away at army roadblocks when they try to reach the village. And meanwhile the pregnant Munira Daud remains in prison: but she will not, after all, be charged with murder for throwing a stone. [↩]

60888. Murray, Nancy. “Part 10: Images of the Occupation: Beita”, in A People Under Siege—August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. On August 29th we tried to reach Nablus, but were turned away at an army roadblock. A week-long curfew had been imposed on the city. We had no difficulty winding up a mountain road to Beita, which on the day we visited had the appearance of being in a “liberated” zone. PLO flags dangled from rooftops and the effigy of a PLO fighter was propped against an electricity pole. A youth from the village took us to see the remains of houses that were totally destroyed by the army during its ferocious incursion in early April. A total of 14 houses had been obliterated, and 16 others damaged. One woman who stood outside her demolished house spoke bitterly of the 25 years it had taken to build a home and the few minutes it took the army to blow it up. Why, she asked us, does America continue to fund the Israelis? Nearly five houses were damaged when the Israeli government demanded Beita’s destruction in “retaliation” for the killing of an Israeli girl by her Israeli guard, Beita is fully alive and thoroughly militant. We sat and listened as the story of that April day unfolded: the shooting in the fields, the decision of the villagers to protect the hikers and escort them into town, the anguish of Munira Daud who threw a stone at the guard who had killed her brother, and the death of the Israeli girl when Romain Al Dubi fired into the crowd in response of Munir’s stone. In all, two villagers died on that day, and one on the next—but only the name of the dead Jewish girl is known to the world.

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gas which on August 22nd covered the camp like a cloud. Each canister gave off the gas for something like 90 seconds. Meanwhile it glowed with fire, making it impossible to put it out or throw it back. It seems that this new type of gas must have killed 42-year-old Khalil Balousha, who was dead on arrival at Gaza's Shifa Hospital. During the invasion some 15 canisters were dropped from a helicopter on Mr. Balousha's house and the house of his neighbor which was destroyed by fire. We were told that at least 15 people from Jabaliya camp have died from poison gas during the intifada. [=]

60891. Murray, Nancy. “Part 15: Images of the Occupation: Hospitals: Shifa Hospital”, in A People Under Seige-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. We visited this filthy, run-down government hospital twice during our stay in Gaza. A few days before our arrival, the army had entered the hospital, shot randomly and dragged two patients from their beds and arrested them. They had been injured by soldiers, not by a “clan feud” as the Jerusalem Post had claimed. On September 1st there were eight beds in a ward full of the injured from the night before, mostly shot with dum dum bullets. In one bed there was a 21-year-old student staff nurse who told us that he had been shot while returning home to Shatti Beach Camp after working in the hospital. Shatti Camp was, he said, crowded with soldiers. He was trying to avoid them when they told him to stop—and then shot him in the right thigh from a distance of two meters as he tried to run away. They shot him again with three high velocity dum dum bullets under the knee camp. After that they beat him on his back with sticks and carried him to a jeep. They said they would deport him to Lebanon. They then took him to a military post outside the camp, put on a dressing and gave him an infusion solution before laying him on the grass outside the tents. He was still bleeding and asked for an ambulance. They lied both his hands and legs together and cursed him. Their leader, an army captain, refused to summon an ambulance until the camp was quiet. At midnight they finally took him by jeep to Shifa Hospital, insisting him all the way. In the operating room doctors removed bullets from both his legs and bandaged them. His wounds were very deep; he would need a skin graft before leaving the hospital. In the next bed was a 20 year old who had been shot in the face as he was carrying a wounded friend. The bullet had exited through his eye and he had lost his hearing. Another bullet was still lodged in his back. When we returned to the hospital the next night we found that there were four new patients with gunshot wounds, all hit with high velocity bullets. All were from Shatti Beach Camp. One woman from Jabaliya still withied in pain from being repeatedly kicked in the stomach the night before. Her six children had also been beaten. As they left her house the soldiers told her: “We will be back. And next time prepare tea for us.” [=]

60892. Murray, Nancy. “Part 16: Images of the Occupation: Hospitals: Ahli Arab Hospital”, in A People Under Seige-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. This private hospital in Gaza, run by the Anglican Church of Jerusalem, was a good deal cleaner than Shifa. There is a small fee for treatment but 40 beds are paid for by UNRWA. We were taken around the wards by a doctor who told us that on August 22 about 60 soldiers invaded the hospital, shot it up and threw tear gas canisters inside the emergency room. The doctor told us that they try to discharge beating cases after 24 hours—the patients are afraid to stay because the soldiers might come and arrest them (this has happened on six occasions at the hospital). In fact, many people don’t go to the hospital at all when they are injured because they are so afraid of the soldiers. He said that at the beginning of the uprising they saw 60 beating/shooting cases per day; now perhaps 25 week. There were now many razor cases, and instances of patients who had been beaten with barbed wire. There were also many new poison gas cases. He believes that the Israelis are experimenting with gas, since canisters have been found which according to their date stamp are only a few weeks old. On average, the hospital gets gassed about twice a week when it blows over from the center of town. This usually happens just before the market is due to close. During curfew times, the doctor told us, the hospital remains open. The staff needs official permits to go in and out. About 150 permits are needed, but only 20 or so issued, so most of the staff stays in the hospital for one week or more. There were a few empty beds in the men’s ward when we toured it, but most were filled with gunshot cases. In one bed was an 11 year old boy with a shattered right arm who had been hit in the stomach with a dum dum bullet. Two colostomies had been performed on him to save his life. During our last night in Gaza we heard that the army had pushed a man into a burning tyre. He was brought to the Ahli Arab Hospital with burns over 40% of his body and was not expected to live. [=]

60893. Murray, Nancy. “Part 17: Images of the Occupation: Hospital: UNRWA Hospital”, in A People Under Seige-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. We heard from a doctor at the UNRWA clinic in Jabaliya Camp about the difficulties of being under curfew. For its duration the camp had no medical care and little food. As a result children develop malnutrition and gastroenteritis although the clinic tries to keep their families supplied with powdered milk. The clinic's vaccination program has been ruined by the curfew, with soldiers preventing mothers from bringing their children when vaccinations are due. There have been instances of soldiers beating mothers when they caught them coming to the clinic with sick children during a curfew. Patients with chronic diseases like diabetes and asthma have also suffered greatly. [=]

60894. Murray, Nancy. “Part 18: Images of the Occupation: Hospital: Mokassad Hospital”, in A People Under Seige-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. Mokassad Hospital is a 200 bed hospital on the Mount of Olives in East Jerusalem. It has a small intensive care unit. Seventeen year old Mohamed Niam Abuk Aker of Dheisheh refugee camp had been removed from the intensive care unit when we saw him on August 31st. Having been hit in the chest with a dum dum bullet a month previously, he was dying slowly. They could not stop the internal bleeding. At least ten of the other patients we saw had nearly identical injuries. They had been shot in the leg or legs with dum dum bullets which smashed the bone and often required skin grafts and other operations. Seventeen year old Nuris was shot when he was simply standing on the street with two other people. There was no demonstration going on. One sixteen year old from Dheisheh camp was caught by the soldiers and beaten. They then held him while another soldier shot him in the leg with a dum dum bullet. One youth from the Gaza Strip had a dum dum injury which had turned to gangrene. An operation didn’t work and he had to have skin grafts with his legs bound together so the blood could circulate between them. A fifteen year old from Khan Yuni told us that he was shot in the upper leg two weeks ago. The soldiers had ordered him to clear stones from the street, and when he refused they shot him. If it is the intention of the army to cripple young Palestinians and make sure they can’t return to the streets for several months, their current tactics seem to be effective. We met one youth who has been in the hospital for a year. He lost his right leg and his left one is severely mangled. Others have had to have operations over a period of several months in order to repair the damage caused by dum dum bullets exploding in the body. But if it is also their intention to break the morale of the intifada’s children, they had better think again. We saw boys with fresh wounds who were cracking jokes and enduring their pain without any sort of medication. And when we asked: “Your spirits, they are good?” “But of course!” was the reply. [=]

60895. Murray, Nancy. “Part 19: The Way Forward: Fighting the Intifada Day By Day”, in A People Under Seige-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. By all accounts, the intifada has radicalized Palestinian society, bringing into active involvement men, women and children of all ages. The role of women has been fundamental to the intifada’s success. Women, we were told, are fighting simultaneously on two fronts: against the Occupation and against traditional restrictions.
The women activists we talked to are convinced that when a peace is achieved women will not go back to their old subservience. As Haneen Awad explained. “This is not a simple wartime emergency where women are drawn into the workforce for the duration of the war only. This is an uprising in which every part of society is working together. We are developing new cooperative forms.” Taking a prominent part in the neighborhood popular committees, women have organized food production, distribution and storage, have set up substitute schools in the Intifada, and made decisions on the distribution of the aid they have received, food, blankets, medical supplies, and have set up prisoner support groups. They also alert residents to impending army invasions and take an active part in demonstrations. Women have been killed and injured in demonstrations and beaten by soldiers. In the words of Amal Wahdan, a founder member of the Palestinian Federation of the Women’s Action Committees, “women are not afraid to stand up and say no. Women are beaten and insulted; their houses are demolished. They are facing and fighting the intifada day by day.” Amal Wahdan lives in a small village outside Jerusalem called Abu Diz. The night before I met her there, the women of Abu Diz organized a demonstration. Two of them were wounded by soldiers. Amal Wahdan herself has been arrested, interrogated and thrown in jail for two years. In April this year she was arrested and tortured and held for 40 days in isolation without being able to contact her family or lawyer. Her husband and brother-in-law are both facing deportation. Currently there are 50 women in administration detention, a number which reflects more the chauvinist perceptions of the Israeli Defense Force than the extent of participation of women in the struggle. Amal Wahdan has little doubt about what lies ahead: “Women are making themselves ready for a worse time to come. The harassment is going to accelerate from now on.” For how long? Amal said it would be 2 to 3 years before the Israelis would agree to negotiate for peace. This view seemed to be generally shared—no one expected an immediate solution, although several people were encouraged by the termination of the Iran/Iraq war, the possibility of an end of the occupation, the cease-fire, and the expected withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. Since then it has become clear that neither of these events will come about in the near future. The men who breed the intifada do not believe that there will be an end to the occupation. The men who breed the intifada do not believe that there will be an end to the occupation.}

60896. Murray, Nancy. “Part 21: Postscript”, in A People Under Siege-August 25-September 3 [1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. On October 5, some two months after we visited 17 year old Mohammed Abu Aker at the Mokassed Hospital in Jerusalem, he arrived in Boston by hospital plane. Surgeons are considering his fitness to undergo a intestinal transplant, which is still in its experimental stages. Mohammed, from Dheisheh refugee camp outside Bethlehem, was hit in the abdomen by a high velocity bullet on August 6th when he was walking near his house to visit a friend. A demonstration which had taken place earlier in the morning was over when he was shot by a soldier who took aim from the roof of a near-by building. If he had not doubled over in pain from the first bullet, a second bullet could very well have hit him in the head. A high velocity bullet has an enormous wounding capacity. The bullet which hit Mohammed exploded on impact, sending fragments and shock waves throughout his abdominal cavity. A few weeks after an initial operation at Mokassed Hospital to try and repair the damage, gangrene set in and another operation had to be performed to remove the remains of his intestines. Since then he has been kept alive by an IV which supplies nutrients directly into the bloodstream. His weight, once 143 pounds, fell to 90 pounds. Two months ago no one expected Mohammed to survive. But he has displayed an inspiring courage which made him a legend in Dheisheh camp and Mokassed Hospital. A group of concerned Americans and Canadians heard about him and thought that if he could come to the United States for treatment he might have a chance to live. They located doctors in Boston who were willing to undertake his treatment. Meanwhile, the Naim Foundation, which helps Arab get medical attention in the United States, agreed to pay for his transport and to raise money for his hospital expenses. Since Mohammed has been at the New England Deaconess Hospital he has shown clear signs of improvement, gaining 12 pounds in less than a month and managing to walk for the first time since his injury. His future is still uncertain. The costs of intravenous feeding could amount to nearly $20000 a year and would be difficult in the conditions of a refugee camp. Doctors are still debating whether to wait until he has gained more weight and then attempt a precedent-setting intestine transplant. Whatever medical decision is made, one thing is clear enough: Mohammed, as a symbol of the struggle that the occupied people must wage, remains an inspiration to all those who oppose the oppression of the Israeli settlers. He is a symbol of the determination of the Palestinian people to fight on for a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian question. He is a symbol of the determination of the Palestinian people to fight on for a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian question. He is a symbol of the determination of the Palestinian people to fight on for a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian question.
soldiers as thugs would be an abomination. There are Palestinians who
tell of humane behavior on the part of many soldiers." Unfortunately, he
failed to give a single example. So small and isolated are the groups that
make up the serious Israeli peace movement, and so seemingly
different the Israeli public to the means used to suppress the intifada,
that neither the government nor the press has to put much effort into
sanitizing terror tactics for public consumption. The all-purpose
explanation "for national security" justifies just about anything. [a]

and Beit Sahour", in A People Under Siege-August 25-September 3
[1988]. District of Columbia: ROOTS-Friends of the Palestinian
Prisoners, N.D. [1989?]. Beit Jalla and Beit Sahour have been made
twins by their grief. On July 18th soldiers on a rooftop in Beit Sahour
dropped a slab to crush a young man below. On July 24th a
demonstration to protest this killing set out from the church in Beit Jalla.
What started as a peaceful protest turned deadly when the army
surrounded it and began shooting and firing teargas. On August 28th the
curfew imposed on Beit Jalla was lifted and we were able to visit the
family of Jeryis Qunqr, murdered by the army on July 24th. The
family traditionally held 40 days after a death had been scheduled for
August 27th, but had to be postponed because of the curfew. We sat in
Jeryis Qunqr's house with all his family and listened as his brother told
us what happened: "When the army came to break up the demonstration
everyone scattered. One of the soldiers shot my brother in the leg. He
told us to freeze, and bloodstains with the imprints
yards from the house. The Jensalem Post repeated this story and it was
lodged in his pelvis. Eyewitnesses said they saw soldiers step on
the main Jerusalem road. This is a lie. He was shot just here, a few
seconds after we passed the spot where he was killed, under pomegranate trees. A
neighbor came out of her house and told us that she had been an
eyewitness to shooting. She said that Jeryis Qunqr had left the
demonstration and was on his way home. He had tried to avoid the
soldiers by leaving the road but he was shot anyway. The soldiers left
his clothes and took him away naked. His mother and sister later found his
identity card on the ground. Afterwards, she said, the soldiers
arrested her and other neighbors and took all their money. The grave
overlooks a beautiful valley with Jerusalem in the distance. It is marked
by a cross and the PLO flag. When we finally said goodbye, the wife of
Jeryis Qunqr was still weeping. At nearby Beit Sahour the 40 day
ceremony for Imdon Elias Ghanem, the youth killed by the stab, had
brought the village to the Greek Orthodox church. Mostly Christian, Beit
Sahour, like Beit Jalla, had been targeted by the Israelis seeking to use
religion to divide and rule. But attempts to divide the town along religious
divides never succeeded, as Christians and Moslems mourned each
other's martyrs and shared a determination to resist. Throughout the
intifada Beit Sahour has distinguished itself by its militant unity and
efficient popular committees. In July some 350 people from the town
turned in their identity cards rather than pay taxes. The army
immediately launched an offensive against the town to smash the tax
boycott and the popular committees. Cars of "tax evaders" were seized,
merchants threatened, shops closed, scores of people arrested and a
lengthy curfew imposed. But judging from the 40 day ceremony in the
church and the demonstration which followed, the repression had done
nothing but break the spirit of the people. The church, filled beyond
capacity, was illuminated with hundreds of candles and fiery speeches.
After the church ceremony a march formed and the army waited.
Allowing Beit Sahour to honor its dead in a procession through its streets
was apparently, unthinkable to the IDF. Wherever people were gathered
they had to be dispersed, if for no other reason than to show who
is boss. A clash occurred. Young girls and women taunted the soldiers
and chanted PLO! PLO! while steering clear of tear gas clouds. Soldiers
in jeeps chased after the demonstrators, who dodged around the narrow
streets. We ended up drinking coffee with a family who acted as if what
was going on outside their walls was too routine to worry about. We later
heard that the soldiers had cornered some children and shot a young boy
in the leg. [a]
according to the army. When the students started to run away, the soldiers shot at the crowds, injuring two: Wism Barabarawi, 17, of Halhoul near Hebron; and Ali Ahmed, also 17, of Yitma near Nablus. Barabarawi, who was shot in the elbow and thigh, was in critical condition in Augusta Victoria Hospital after undergoing lengthy surgery. By late last week, his condition had stabilized and doctors were saying he would be released in April.

The Lutheran World Federation described the soldier's shooting as "indiscriminate," while the Israeli government justified the action as being in compliance with army open-fire regulations, which call for lethal force as a response to "threats."

Staatset called upon rabin "to order an immediate discontinuation of this heavy-handed policy" and "establish those conditions which will allow for a negotiated end to the occupation itself."

60900. Najjar, Orayb Aref. "Preface", in Portraits of Palestinian Women. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992, pp. ix-xiv. In 1984 Sayigh and Warnock, as part of the Nairobi End of the Decade Conference of 1985, quickly assembled several biographies of Palestinian women. Later the Israeli government would bar Palestinians women from attending the Nairobi conference. Gradually more interviews were done, although the project was limited to women who were willing to be portrayed and named, since Palestinian women are frequently seen as symbols (of the land, as ‘mothers of sons’, as ‘the sisters of men’ and the widows of heroes) rather than as individuals. In addition, Palestinian women have to overcome the ‘Arab-Muslim-Middle-Eastern’ woman who lives in the shadowy world of Middle Eastern experts: these women are veiled and have no interest in politics. Real Arab women, and especially Palestinians, live in a real world, and are far complex than the stereotypes that have long concealed Arab women. These portraits that follow do not include Gaza Strip since the authors have never lived there and that survey if left to others with direct experience there. The accounts given by some of the women of their activities in the Intifadah were not printed here for obvious reasons.

60901. Najjar, Orayb Aref; Warnock, Kitty. "Conclusion", in Portraits of Palestinian Women. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992, pp. 254-265. On 11/15/1988, the Palestite National Council issued a declaration of independence that recognized the full equality of women. However, in practice women are constrained by social expectations of age 16 her education ended. In 1956, after realizing that no one could help the war against the Jews, she organized the Union of Arab Women of Al-Bireh, which developed embroidery as a way for women to earn money. She gave her first protest speech at age 13; on her arranged marriage at age 16 her education ended. In 1956, after realizing that no one could help the war against the Jews, she organized the Union of Arab Women of Al-Bireh, which developed embroidery as a way for women to earn money. She was active in the protests in 1956 that led Jordan to dismiss the British commander of Jordanian forces. With the establishment of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW), she was elected general secretary; in 1965 she established the Inash al-Uusra (‘Society for the Rehabilitation of the Family’), starting with modest resources, but responding to emergencies, like medical aid to Palestinians wounded in the 11/13/1966 Israeli terrorist raid on Sammu. After the 1967, the Israeli razing of Yalu, Emmaus, and Beit Nuba created 100000 immediate refugees; the Israeli army harassed the society’s efforts to aid the refugees. The group diversified into producing food products: the budget of $500 in 1965 grew to $180000 in 1989. One activity is knitting 400 sweaters per year for political prisoners. While the society has received several large donations ($500000 from Palestinian philanthropist Zein El-Mayyasi; $220350 from the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), Association Medicale Franco-Palestiniennne ($150000), she has always refused any funds, even indirectly from the US government, since she sees the US as supporting the genocide waged by Israel against the Palestinians. The society school graduates 200 students each year, and has a library. In 1981, the society’s protests to UNESCO forced El Al Israel Airline Ltd. to end its plan to use Palestinian-nation costume to dress its Jewish stewaradies. The Israelis constantly harass the school, for example, imposing high taxes on the export of embroidery to Jordan to make it hard to export these goods. She has been imprisoned six times by the Israelis; she has been barred from leaving the country to speak at the Nairobi Women
women, an international institution. When UNRWA fired her, to forestall raising the political issue of why she was fired, UNRWA spread rumors that she was fired due to immoral conduct. Finally starting the Early Childhood Training Center, she developed methods and teaching materials to address problems of children, especially of midnight raids by the Israeli army and of problems such as children's bedwetting from nighttime gun fire and explosions.

Vera Tamari (ceramicist) (pp. 207-214): with both her parents interested in art, it was easy for her to become an artist, especially after her brother became an artist. After attending college in Beirut, she became an art teacher at the UNRWA school at the Women's Training Center in Tireh, Ramallah. She started to make tiles and pottery, despite the general decline of Palestinian pottery making, which was conventionally seen as not modern. Later, she taught at Birzeit University, until it was closed by the Occupation army; then she turned her studio into a school for neighborhood children.

Fadwa Hussein (Birzeit graduate, Burnahm village) (pp. 215-220): a Birzeit graduate living in a small village, she found her expectations of her future dashed both due to the conservatism of her village and the limits placed on Palestinians by the Occupation. Her relatives fought her to prevent her from obtaining her education by preventing her from having any money; her uncle even tried to lock her up to prevent her from taking her exam. She did manage to become the educated wife of a professional man which meets her ‘fairly traditional view of success’. Her husband works in Kuwait, from which she is banned from permanent residence, after a Shi’ite attack on the US embassy in Kuwait led Kuwait to restrict such entry, and she is now in Jordan.

Tahani Ali (university student, Burnahm village) (pp. 221-227): studying engineering and then physics, her education was disrupted in high school by closure of the school by the Israeli army; her education was disrupted again with the closing of Birzeit University by the Israelis. The frequent closures disrupted education of the students and demoralizes them severely. The effort of the university to continue classes in rented houses encouraged the students; professors risk arrest every time they teach a class. At the same time, her village was constantly under attack by the Israeli army: imposing collective punishments, refusing to allow travel abroad; harassing women; raiding homes; kidnapping children and then charging families the transport bill for their return. The Intifadah brought a new awareness of self-sufficiency and frugality: many students participated in the movement of villages to increase vegetable production. The Intifadah also gave the students a tough new realism: even confronting the heavily armed Occupation troops with firebombs.

Mary Shehadeh (retired journalist) (pp. 228-242): born in 1901, she was the first women in gaza to speak to an all-male audience. As a child she was exposed to a wide range of Arab thought, a din while her education was disrupted by WWI, her family’s move to Damascus brought her to begin writing for newspapers. She was always a confirmed feminist (seeing in the status of women the status of society as a whole), agitating in 1925 for the formation of Palestinian women's organizations: this led to the formation of the non-sectarian Committee of Arab Women. She observes how the gulf between men and women has narrowed as more women have received education. In 1941, she started writing a radio program that addressed women's issues on the Palestine Broadcasting Service, and she notes that the severity of present Israeli censorship has damaged the quality of modern Palestinian journalism.

Wafa al-Baher Abu Ghosh (journalist) (pp. 242-253): aspiring to be the first Minister of Information of the Palestinian state, now married with two children, she writes news stories that are always vetoed by Israeli Army censorship. After getting a journalism degree, she had trouble finding a job: she found that most Palestinian women journalists were not reporters but were assigned to tasks like greeting guests. Her first job paid one-third of the minimum wage recommended by the Association of Arab Journalists. She focused on reporting on social issues. Palestinian journalists censor themselves since anything that Israelis reject to simply cannot be published; this has resulted in the general exodus from the Occupied Territories of Palestinian political analysts (most have gone to Kuwait). This has also transformed
journalists from being strictly journalists to being rather more like political cadres, especially since Palestinians are not allowed to have a radio station, television station, free newspapers, or any kind of political assemblies. Unfortunately, the talents of Palestinian women remain underutilized. Later, she developed a women's page in Al-Shaab: it covered women's literacy, the condition of women in Balata Refugee Camp, women in non-traditional careers, women in professions, feminism (such as an article by Syrian Ghada Samman, whose daughter had previously been tortured during detention), sporadically, on women in other countries. She then moved on to Al-Bayader al-Siyasi, a bi-monthly magazine. She continues to work as a journalist under the heel of Israeli censorship.

60904. Najjar, Orayb Aref; Warnock, Kitty. “Encounters with the Occupation Authorities”, in Portraits of Palestinian Women. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. pp. 84-119. The resistance of women to the Israeli occupation began in 1967, when women started documenting torture, mass arrests and administrative detention. Women, still focused on their traditional role as guardians of tradition, in 1968 protested the opening of night clubs, gambling and prostitution in Jerusalem. Women took on an early, public role in protests, where the role of supplicant was seen as appropriate to women. However, women gradually became more radical and autonomous, becoming strong leaders and activists. Women played a major part in the uprisings in 1976 and 1981, but became even more important in the Intifada. However, women still remain concentrated in movements that seek peace, while men are disproportionately in more confrontational movements. As Palestinians shifted from confrontation with Israelis to the development of institutions that would enable Palestinians to stay on the land, women played a more important role.

Dedi Zucker of the [Israeli] Citizens Rights Movement notes that the new policy of Israel of house demolitions is "vandalism movement carried out by the state": between 1967-1982, 1265 houses were demolished; since 12/1987 some 337 more houses were demolished, with B'Tselem finding that in only 1 of 173 house demolitions in the West Bank was there a conviction associated with the demolition. The effect of these house demolitions has been to profoundly radicalize women: the direct assault by Israel on every aspect of Palestinian daily life has created an environment in which activism by women is almost inescapable.

Rawda Basir (one of the prison movement leaders) (pp. 87-95): she worked in an institution for the deaf in Bethlehem until being sentenced to eight years in prison for carrying explosives; in prison she led a nine month strike to establish then right of women to be treated as political prisoners. She was arrested after a bomb her group tried to build exploded: she was captured and placed in a horrible cell without medical treatment. She was forced to hear screams of people being tortured (she believes it was a tape). She was interrogated for 35 days; the Israelis tortured her by beating her broken and bloated hand for ten days, before she was allowed treatment. After being sentenced to eight years, she was moved to the main women's prison, Neve Tirza. In prison she met women such as Aisha Odeh: she was one of the first Palestinian women political prisoners, and one who had come forward early to tell Palestinian women that the routine Israeli use of rape to humiliate women (a technique especially effective on women who defined themselves in terms of traditional roles) was nothing they should be afraid of: this knowledge made Palestinian women overcome this role of supplicant was seen as appropriate to women. However, women gradually became more radical and autonomous, becoming strong leaders and activists. Women played a major part in the uprisings in 1976 and 1981, but became even more important in the Intifada. However, women still remain concentrated in movements that seek peace, while men are disproportionately in more confrontational movements. As Palestinians shifted from confrontation with Israelis to the development of institutions that would enable Palestinians to stay on the land, women played a more important role.

Naimah al-Asad (teacher, union activist) (pp. 96-99): one day Israeli troops found a slogan sprayed on her garden wall; when her family refused to take the slogan down (noting they did not write the slogan), Israeli soldiers started to destroy their home and possessions: when she tried to stop an Israeli soldier from destroying her family photograph album, a soldier threw a concussion grenade at her and her daughter (her daughter had previously been tortured during detention). Her husband was arrested (perhaps because the garage was filled with books after they had been forced to close their bookstore, or perhaps because he was the head of the Union of Palestinian Writers). Her husband was released later.

Haniyeh Ghazawneh (first female martyr of the Intifadah) (pp. 100-104): Haniyeh, 25, went to see what Israeli soldiers were shooting at in her small village of al-Ram. She saw an Israeli soldier stoking a Palestinian child mercilessly, so she tried to rescue the child. The Israeli, crazed with fury stomped the child on the neck and killed her with two shots to the chest. She was buried 'under the cover of night, with [Israeli] guns trained to our heads'. Later the village held an exhibit for the martyrs of the village: the Israeli troops smashed the exhibit and destroyed almost all the portraits of the Palestinians they had butchered.

Salima Kumsiya (Beit Sahur homemaker) (pp. 105-119): quite apolitical, she was radicalized by collective punishment imposed on her family and by learning of the brutality inflicted on Palestinians teenagers by the Israelis; she led a hunger strike and suddenly became a leader in the Beit Sahur tax strike. Their home was demolished when her son Wald was suspected of throwing a rock; their appeals met Israeli responses that they were just following orders; for Palestinians there are no legal appeals to such orders. When her husband refused to sign the demolition order, he was mercilessly beaten. Their possessions were smashed by the Israelis in order to ensure their complete destitution. Their home was destroyed by explosives: the notes on a book on theology their tenant was writing was destroyed: the Israelis observed that anyone who rents from a criminal is a criminal. Her son's trial was postponed because the signs of torture were too visible. Her son was sentenced to seven years in prison. Her son was transferred to the Jniad prison, which was a brutal concentration camp with torture and arbitrary beatings being routine. Israelis escalated their war on people by occupying almost all the small vegetablegardens cultivated by the Christians of Beit Sahur impoverished by Israeli repression; people were forbidden to feed their chickens; the pharmacy of Elias Rashmawi was raided and Israeli soldiers stole his inventory of $120000 in health care products and pharmaceuticals. After destroying the economy of Beit Sahur, Israelis intensified repression to collect taxes from the impoverished community, but the spirit of the people was not broken.
Siham Barghuti (math teacher, founder of PUWWC) (pp. 124-132): growing up in Jordan after the Catastrophe, she grew up very aware of Palestinian nationalism, and became a feminist in the twelfth grade. The example of Algerian women in their revolution left a strong impression on her. Being a university student in Egypt, she became a refugee again in 1967, since Israelis refused to allow any Palestinians to re-enter unless under an Israeli permit. In 1974-1974, with other women she studied the works of Nawal as-Saddawi. The first project of her new group was to repair a playground in the Al-Amaar Refugee Camp, run by UNRWA: but the project failed to attract local women. They tried working with traditional women's organizations like An-Nadhah al-Nisa'iyya and Inash al-Ustra, but continued to work toward their more broad-based women's organizations. An open letter in 1978 brought 15 women to join the new group: the group was flexible, changing its strategies to discovery what would work; inevitably, early efforts were fragmented, but growth grew the group from 20 in 1978 to 5000 in 1986. Israelis troops have repeatedly attacked the groups offices and imprisoned its leaders, but that harassment has changed nothing. She was sentenced to two and half years in prison without a chance to defend herself, after 40 days of interrogation without access to a lawyer. The night after her wedding, her husband (a trade unionist who had himself been imprisoned) was deported to Jordan; at the same time her sister's husband was deported (their trial would not consider international law and they were allowed no defense). She notes that Palestinian women have pursued their struggle in an isolation maintained by the Occupation, even barring their access to UN conferences, such as the Nairobi Women's Conference.

Zahira Kamal (physics teacher; member of the executive director of the PFWAC, previously the PUWWC) (pp. 133-147): She was under town arrest from 6/1980-3/1986, two years after the creation of the PUWWC (which she stresses is a nationalist, not a feminist group), the first Palestinian organization to seek the mass recruitment of women. Typically, such harassment only made her convictions stronger. One major role of the PUWWC is to educate women, with literacy training a major priority (Israelis often imprison women who teacher other women). Arab women are quite unlike the stereotype of the housebound Arab women: a large number of Palestinian women are the sole supporter of their families. Unlike most Third World areas, since the Palestinians are under Occupation there is no government assistance at all. So women's organizations must earn monies to finance their own development projects. Throughout the Occupied Territories, they try to address particular problems of women (e.g.-since many villages do not have high schools, and since a multi-kilometer walk might not be seen as safe for girls, the PUWWC may negotiate a bus route change to allow the girls to go to high school). The group has also taken a stand against rape and sexual attacks during torture and beatings against Palestinian women (even pregnant women) by Israeli soldiers: the group has refused to allow the women to be silenced by shame and has worked to shame the attackers (in this PUWWC has worked with Leah Tsemel and the Organization for Women Political Prisoners).

Anam Khreisheh (mother and leader) (pp. 148-155): she joined the Union of Palestinian Working Womens Committees (PUWWC) in 1981; she was introduced to gender issues through her nationalist activities. When she was in the Union of Jordanian Women in Amman key experience was witnessing a man in the Schneller Refugee Camp beat his wife because she had been delayed at work and had not prepared dinner. UPWWC was set up to address problems of female workers that were not being addressed by men's organizations. Male unions initially objected but recognized that in a socially conservative environment women workers needs could be better met by UPWWC: for example, some factory bosses, in the name of 'protecting' their unmarried female workers would prevent them from talking to outsiders: hence, barring efforts to unionize them. Palestinians in Israel do what Israelis term 'black work', or undesirable work, and are typically paid half of what Israeli women receive for the same work; the 30% of wages deducted from Palestinian wages for 'benefits' is used for social and health services that are provided only to Jews. Most Palestinian workers are poor women who have been driven into the workplace by the poverty of their families. Israeli attacks have ended their publishing of a newsletter and now they communicate by word of mouth, the 'Oral magazine'. Despite progress by Palestinian women in unions, teachers and writers unions, the leadership of Palestinian institutions remains patriarchial and this must change.

Amal Khreisheh (mother and leader) (pp. 148-155): she joined the Union of Palestinian Working Womens Committees (PUWWC) in 1981; she was introduced to gender issues through her nationalist activities. When she was in the Union of Jordanian Women in Amman key experience was witnessing a man in the Schneller Refugee Camp beat his wife because she had been delayed at work and had not prepared dinner. UPWWC was set up to address problems of female workers that were not being addressed by men's organizations. Male unions initially objected but recognized that in a socially conservative environment women workers needs could be better met by UPWWC: for example, some factory bosses, in the name of ‘protecting’ their unmarried female workers would prevent them from talking to outsiders: hence, barring efforts to unionize them. Palestinians in Israel do what Israelis term ‘black work’, or undesirable work, and are typically paid half of what Israeli women receive for the same work; the 30% of wages deducted from Palestinian wages for ‘benefits’ is used for social and health services that are provided only to Jews. Most Palestinian workers are poor women who have been driven into the workplace by the poverty of their families. Israeli attacks have ended their publishing of a newsletter and now they communicate by word of mouth, the ‘Oral magazine’. Despite progress by Palestinian women in unions, teachers and writers unions, the leadership of Palestinian institutions remains patriarchial and this must change.

Rita Giaeamman (biology professor, development planner) (pp. 156-171): working with rural Palestinians, she now advocates a health infrastructure that is compatible with people's needs; adjusting the system in this manner has allowed Palestinian doctors to meet the immense needs of Palestinian casualties. He radicalization began when she was exposed to refugee students at Bir Zeit in 1968-1969: this led her to turn from Elvis Presley to Palestinian activism. Her political education continued at American University of Beirut. Gradually, working in health services, she came to understand the social and political context of health for Palestinians. However, the medical infrastructure remains poorly configured for Palestinian (e.g. 33% of Palestinian hospitals are in Bethlehem, which has 11% of the population). UNRWA provides health care in the refugee camps: while health care in the camps is often better than in villages, UNRWA personnel are often cruel; UNRWA planning for Palestinian health is done in Vienna, which guarantees a lack of responsiveness. These problems are compounded by the Occupation, which affects ‘every aspect of Palestinian life, including health’: Israelis often withhold basic services as collective punishment, which complicates public health questions. In 1979 the Union of Palestinian medical relief Committees was established to help people improve their own health condition. One major initiative is her profiles of village health, to identify local problems as the basis for specific health service planning (so in three Ramallah villages there was a 52% malnutrition rate among girls and a 32% rate for boys; in the Ain Dyouk area 61% of mothers, 51% of girls, and 43% of boys had anemia). She found villages just a few kilometers outside Bir Zeit with an infant mortality rate of 91:1000: this is a product both of the Occupation and class differences within Palestinian society-however, the Occupation has prevented the normal social development that would have resolved such problems.

Mona Rishmawi (lawyer, humans rights and international law; head of Al-Haq) (pp. 172-181): When she returned to the West Bank after a law degree in Egypt, she decided to work towards mobilization of women on gender issues at the grassroots level. The Occupation affects every area of life from birth to death: from arrests, to killings, to housing demolition, to holding students to prevent them from taking entrance exams-delaying their schooling for a year. She has always resisted the argument that addressing gender issues is too divisive in the context of the repression of the Occupation (even if women’s committees are aware of the need to address gender issues in a feminist manner in the future). However, the burden on women now, when they have to deal with the daily crises of the Occupation, is a barrier to formulating plans and demands for the future of women in a Palestinian state. One fundamental problem is the need to address the legal system; the system of laws that Jews term ‘Naz’ when applied to them is now the law imposed by the Israelis on Palestinians. Since Sharia cannot be challenged, it must be reinterpreted and constrained by women’s consciousness. One problem that Palestinian women have is they feel as a people that they face extermination: this has placed a premium on their families. Israeli attacks have ended their publishing of a newsletter and now they communicate by word of mouth, the ‘Oral magazine’. Despite progress by Palestinian women in unions, teachers and writers unions, the leadership of Palestinian institutions remains patriarchial and this must change.

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6.6% of the land. Using British and Israeli laws enacted between 1945-1953, almost all Palestinian lands within Israel were confiscated and the owners expelled. Typically, the Israeli law allowing confiscation of lands for Palestinians expelled from Israeli allowed any Jew to keep lands seized even if that lands were mistakenly declared to be absentee. After 1967, Israeli Military Order No. 59 allows any land of ‘the enemy’ to be confiscated; Military Order No. 364 allows Israelis to seize lands by declaring the time that the land belongs to the state of Israel. In 1979, the Office of Absentee Property declared that 60% of West Bank land did not have proper deeds and so belonged to ‘Jews’. Schemes by Israeli speculators (including Israeli officials Avi Taur and Claude Malka) to seize land, including one in 1982 in which Palestinian signatures were found to have been forged, are routinely upheld in Jewish courts.

Palestinians who are attacked by armed Israeli settler gangs have absolutely no legal rights or recourse: even self-defense is illegal for Palestinians.

Umm Ayyash (farmer from Abu Qash) (pp. 70-75): her mother was a Druze who was brought to Palestine by her Palestinian husband; of 20 pregnancies her mother had 3 living children; after the death of her husband she became a farmer. Now most people in the village are working off the land for wages. Like her mother, Umm Ayyash’s husband died and left her with four children. She worked for years at a school, but it was difficult without a union to protect the workers’ rights. Ayyash moved to Ramallah to live with her daught; she was hurt by being hit by a car driven by an Israeli and has sued for damages.

Ashesh Shamlawi (farmer from Hares) (pp. 76-83): her family fell into poverty when Israelis confiscated their farmland and their quarry (the quarry was no longer worked since Israeli regulations made it impossible to export the stone) in the village of Hares. In 1982, Israeli surveys showed up on their land; efforts to find out what was going on were initially fruitless; soon they were told that the land had been confiscated by Israel in 1981 since it was abandoned; their efforts to appeal to the Israelis were long but fruitless. One morning, heavily armed Israeli troops bulldozed their olive orchard; her sons were arrested and beat. The local Israeli police chief gave his soldiers to summarily execute anyone who opposed the destruction of the olive grove. Her family members were frequently beaten by the Jews when they tried to protest to the police and Israeli military authorities. The Israelis destroyed everything on their land, uprooted all the trees, and seized the farmland. The family has been plunged into poverty and despair, now burdened by the large legal fees imposed by the Jewish courts for the presumption to protest these injustices.

60907. Nasriyeh, Mohammad. “Modernizing Jericho,” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 6, 1995, p. 12. Several months ago, the Municipal Council of Jericho, headed by Nazih Amereh, was appointed to implement projects in the areas of commerce, economy, and tourism to improve the overall economy and standard of living in Jericho. The historical city of Jericho is considered the oldest city in the world. There are many historical sites such as the Hisham Palace, the Tayruba Mountain where Christ fasted for forty days, the Kamaran Area near the Dead Sea and other historical sites that have recently been discovered. The council has begun a number of projects in the last few months. From day one, the council has organized all employees from all sections of the municipality, hired an additional fifteen employees with more advanced degrees, increased salaries and increased the number of public sanitation workers so that they are on call twenty-four hours a day.” Amereh said. Among the many projects, the municipality has begun a housing development. The municipality approached donor countries for financial support in order to maximize the projected number of housing units. The council has hired a doctor to inspect meat before it goes to market. In addition, they have hired a water specialist to oversee the new water network, donated by the UNDP. The council will also begin improving the sewage system with the help of $1.5 million from the German Government. The French Government has indicated that it is willing to offer the council financial support of eight million dollars to build a factory for mineral water in Nabia Ain Sultan. The municipality has begun building a vegetable market at a cost of $675,000, donated by the German Government, near the old mosque. The market will include twenty-eight cabins and a modern restroom. The municipality has already finished a modern commercial market on the municipality grounds, on Maghitis Street, at a cost of $5 million. The contributions came mainly from the Samid Institution, headed by Ahmed Qrei, the Minister of Economics.

A women’s secondary school, Hisham Ben Abdel Malik is currently under construction on the road to Jerusalem. The electric network in the city will be expanded to reach homes that were formerly without electricity. The main street, starting from the Israeli checkpoint to the entrance of the city is being widened. The cost will be $5.2 million. The streets leading to the Hisham Palace and the presidential palace will also be paved, and traffic lights powered by solar energy will be placed in twelve different locations with the aid of the French Government. With the help of the Japanese Government, a soccer stadium will be built with thirty thousand seats. An agreement was signed with the Barcelona Municipality to provide the Jericho Municipality the financial support of $2.5 million, specifically to provide municipal workers with cars.

President Yasser Arafat has given permission to use six acres of government land to build a public garden, playground, rest area, and swimming pool. [6]
document concerning the "abnormalities" of the Independence War for the sake of "security of the state?" What need would there be to classify plenty of other relevant documents; e.g., all those which the former IDF archives director, Arie Yitzhaki, saw?

On the basis of these documents, still concealed from the public eye in the depths of the IDF archives, Yitzhaki now claims that "In nearly all villages conquered during the War of Independence, we committed acts defined as war crimes: the murders, the slashings and the rapes." [=]

60910. Neta-Zar, Daniel. "Right of Return is the Acid Test of Israel's Desire for Peace: Part 4", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), March 22, 1993. p. 5, 11. The Israeli myth-dispelling historian Uri Milstein says even more. "Yitzhaki claims that murders occurred in nearly every village. I would say that prior to the establishment of the state, every battlefield encounter ended up in a slaughter." (Ha'ir, as above)

In light of such evidence, the origins of the "purity of arms" myth suddenly become crystal clear. It was a deliberate lie, concocted in order to bury history forever.

This is what Ben Gurion said in an internal discussion in 1938: "Let us ignore the truth among ourselves." The truth was "Politically we are the aggressors, and they defend themselves...The country is theirs, because they inhabit it, whereas we want to come here and settle down, and in their view, we want to take away from them their country, while we are still outside." The revolt "is an active resistance by the Palestinians to what they regard as a usurpation of their homeland by the Jews..." Ben-Gurion said this when the Palestinian Revolt of 1936-39 was at its peak.

Ben-Gurion's revelation was true; Zionism hadn't yet realized the lie of "a country without a people, to a people without a country." It remains no less true today, 50 years later. The Jews came to Palestine to settle down, they expelled the Palestinians and they took away from them their country.

Addressing the Mapai Party council on 2/6/48, Ben-Gurion noted: "The war will give us the land. The concepts of 'ours' and 'not ours are peace concepts only. In war they lose their whole meaning."

But not the entire country was taken over. Not all Palestinians were stupid enough to follow "the Mufti's orders" to leave their homes and villages. Some accepted "the urgings of their Jewish neighbors and of the Haganah to say."

The disgraceful Plan Dalet, operational from April 1948, was expressly designated for this purpose. It was very convincing and, as proven in reality, over 80% of the native population fled. And in 1967, after the state of Israel territorially expanded, a great many of the 1948 refugees found themselves under Israeli occupation.

Moshav Dayan, by all means a certified expert on the subject, said several years after 1948: "Why should we wonder that they (the Arab refugees) loathe us so intensely? 8 years they are already sitting in the refugee camps, while seeing with their own eyes how we turn the ancestral lands of theirs into our patrimony." It would be interesting to know what Dayan would say today about the very same refugees in Gaza who remain under Israeli occupation 25 years later?! [=]

60911. Nevo, Jessica; Kan, Susan. "No Excuses For Male Violence: Part 1", in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 34. In a crowded sidewalk in front of the courthouse in downtown Haifa, in May of last year, a collection of weapons were arranged: tools which Israeli men have utilized to batter and murder their female lovers, provided, and the coverage that this This presentation was organized by the Israeli Women's Network, as part of a commemoration of the international day of protest against violence against women. The very presence of such a public display, the willingness of passers-by to stop and examine the literature which the Network had event received in the Israeli media, surely point to an improving trend in Israel to grant this issue the attention it deserves.

Unfortunately, statistics can not be ignored. In the first two weeks of January 1992, five men killed their wives or girlfriends. In 1991, 34 men killed their wives or girlfriends, accounting for one-third of all murders committed within the Green Line. This figure represents a twenty-five percent increase from 1990 when 27 women were killed by their male lovers.

As a result of the continual and persistent efforts of women's organizations, the media has begun to respond to male violence. The turning point was May 1991, when Eliyahu Ezra of Carmiel was sentenced to seven years in prison for the murder of his wife, Shula Ezra. (l) He claimed that he did not intend to kill her, but only to beat her following her provocations. (She had asked him why he had been late in returning home.) Isha L'Tsha, the Haifa Feminist Center, initiated protest in front of courthouses in Israel's major cities, and many women's organizations followed suit. The courts objected to these protests claiming that they unjustly influenced the procedures of trials related to the issue. Following this protestation, the media began to step up reporting on cases of violence against women, an issue that had previously passed relatively unnoticed.

During the Gulf War, male violence was popularly attributed to the war itself, and to the close quarters in which Israelis were forced to remain against their will. Underlying such explanations was the attempt to justify this violence by providing it with a rationale.

And when the war ended and the murders did not stop, other rationalizations were used and reported in the press.

Men committed violence with Israel often includes stereotypes based around the ethnic background of the perpetrator. If a Russian man kills his wife, for example, the act is attributed to his unemployed status, and his economic difficulties. If an Ethiopian commits a murders, it is attributed to inherent flaws in his thinking. If a middle-class Ashkenazi man kills his wife, than he is said to suffer from mental disturbance. These and other stereotypes prevail although the men themselves often do not hide their purely selfish and misogynistic motivations: the desire, for example, to punish a woman who seeks a divorce or an end the relationship, or as retribution when the woman's fidelity is in question. Not only does this stereotyping serve to excuse the men, but it does not address the fact that women rarely kill their husbands or lovers, although they may be unemployed or mentally disturbed.[=]

60912. Nevo, Jessica; Kan, Susan. "No Excuses For Male Violence: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April, 1992. p. 35. Another popular tendency in Israel is to connect male violence to the Intifada; again, not merely as a means of explanation but as justification and grounds for absolotuion. One example was the case of Gilad Shemen. In April of 1989, Shemen shot and killed 17 year old Amal Mohammad Hasin, a Palestinian woman from Gaza. Because the murder occurred during Shemen's military service, he was acquitted of the crime. Undeterred by a prison sentence, Shemen went on to murder his girlfriend, Einav Rogel, in July 1991, and was subsequently jailed. The first murder, because it was committed within the framework of his army service, was allowed to pass without reprimand.

This case marks the first time the media, and subsequently the public, articulated a possible connection between the Intifada and other forms of male violence. Generally speaking, the courts and the media participate in the stereotyping about and rationalizing of male violence.

The murder of a woman (Lam.Lam Abra) by her husband (Gad Lasse) was only reported in Hadashot two days after the event—on January 12, 1992-in a small article on page nine.

The issue of male violence within kibbutzim has also attracted the attention of the courts and the media. In a crowded sidewalk in front of the courthouse in downtown Haifa, in May of last year, a collection of weapons were arranged: tools which Israeli men have utilized to batter and murder their female lovers, provided, and the coverage that this This presentation was organized by the Israeli Women's Network, as part of a commemoration of the international day of protest against violence against women. The very presence of such a public display, the willingness of passers-by to stop and examine the literature which the Network had event received in the Israeli media, surely point to an improving trend in Israel to grant this issue the attention it deserves.
was questioned extensively about her sexual past, therein implicitly attributing blame to the victim. The team of defense lawyers brought up further irrelevant information, such as the size of the girl's breasts. Thus, the very line of questioning itself, is an echo of the original violence.

In 1975 when the issue of battered women was first brought to the Knesset by Marcia Freedman, then a member of the Citizens' Rights Party (Ratz), she was openly scoffed by the other Knesset members. In August 1981, the Welfare Commission of the Knesset made history by introducing the issue of wife killing to be seriously discussed. Yet this is only a beginning. Because the vast majority of the women who were murdered by their husbands or lovers, also have a history of battery or Mpe at the hand of these same men, it is crucial that "lesser" forms of male violence also be addressed on a governmental level and by the legal system, given that they often escalate to murder. In Israel, there are currently only four shelters which house battered women—a fraction of what is needed—and none of these shelters receive government subsidies.

Certainly, sexism is aggravated by the Intifada, high unemployment, cultural confrontations, the Gulf War, and other tensions. But these are not the roots of male violence. While there is some truth behind the explanations for male violence in Israel, many crucial questions are not being asked. Beyond the explanations of male violence is the presence of a sexist society that treats women as male property. When a man is fired from his job, why is aggression focused upon his girlfriend and not upon his boss? How does the violence become selective? In countries which do not have enemies as neighbors, in which service in the army is not mandatory, men are also killing their wives.

The status quo in Israel, on issues of violence against women, must be changed. The media and the courts need to participate in sending a clear message to society that the behavior of violent men will not be condoned. Wife killing is on the increase and even even peace in the Middle East will not put an end to this situation. 1. Ellyahl Ezra's sentence was recently extended to a twelve years. [Susan Kan is currently volunteering at Isha L'isha in Haifa. Jessica Nevo is a Women's Studies Coordinator at the University of Haifa.]

60913. New American View. ""A-to-Z' Bill Scares Lobby", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(9), June 15, 1994. A bill fast gaining support in the House of Representatives could result in slashing programs vital to the Jewish lobby—from foreign aid to funding for immigration, say Jewish opponents of the proposed law. Several Jewish leaders say they are ready to go to the mat to thwart the bill, which is known as the A-to-Z Spending Cuts Amendment, so named because it was first proposed by Reps. Robert Andrews (D-N.J.) and William Zelliff (R-N.H.). The proposed legislation now has 178 signatures. Only 40 more are needed to bypass the House's leadership—which has prevented the bill from going to committee—and have the proposal sent to the floor for debate and a vote. The A-to-Z Amendment would force lawmakers to vote on individual spending cuts, rather than on a package of reductions which would likely include the favorite projects of many members. Jewish leaders are worried that with the November elections on the horizon, House members may be willing to make some tough reductions in programs cherished by the lobby in order to appear as budget and deficit cutters to the voters back home. "This is a fairly brainless way to go about making economic policy," says Mark Pelavin, national director of the American Jewish Congress, one of the more outspoken opponents of the bill. "This threatens virtually all of the Jewish community's concerns. In the case of something like foreign aid, it is much easier to make a 30-second argument against it than a five-minute argument for it." Karen Senter, co-director for domestic concerns at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRA), says, "We all support balancing the budget, but it must be done responsibly. This amendment allows for cutting programs without thought or debate. There are a lot of Jewish groups opposing this because it hurts a common social justice agenda." But Rep. Zelliff's chief of staff argues, "The A-to-Z plan is the epitome of accountability. By separating spending item by item, you democratize the process. Each member must go on record, for or against, any spending." And "that is precisely what many Jewish groups fear," says the New York Jewish Forward. According to the weekly newspaper, in addition to the AJ Congress and the NJCRA, the American Jewish Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Jewish War Veterans are all strongly opposed to the amendment. Says Forward, "A sizable Jewish coalition also fought successfully against the Balanced Budget Amendment." In addition, the Jewish lobby help to defeat the Deficit Reduction Amendment. So, should the A-to-Z Amendment make it to the House floor, the Jewish groups are likely to be able to muster enough votes to defeat it. [c]

60914. New American View, ""Slick Willie' Is Back: And He's Hit the Ground Stumbling", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.8(3), February 1, 1993. It's been less than two weeks since he was inaugurated as the 42nd president of the United States and already Bill Clinton is displaying a风格 of style (if you can call it that) than substance. It didn't take long for his presidential campaign promises to be broken, for the White House doubletalk to start, and for the political stumbles and fumbles of the new administration to begin. No wonder the Washington cynics are already saying that "Slick Willie" is back. Surprisingly, it's been the liberal establishment news media that has been the most critical of Clinton's early flaws and failures. (What did they expect? JFK and Camelot?) A week after the inauguration, Dan Rather's CBS-TV news program blasted the new president for his plan to raise taxes on the middle class and his scheme to tinker with Social Security. Clinton was also taken to task for his failure to have a comprehensive economic program ready for Congress to review and his administration fully staffed—as he had bragged that he would do when he was on the campaign trail. The New York Times, a day later, similarly chastised him and suggested that his negative nickname, "Slick Willie," was not a misnomer. Some Washingtonwags, however, claim that Clinton may have once been "Slick Willie," but these days he is acting more like "Thick Willie," the dumb guy in the White House. His selection of Zoe Baird, the rich Jewish lady lawyer who hires illegal aliens and cheats on her taxes, for his Attorney General would certainly support their theory. So would the new president's not-so-brilliant decision to lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. Well, what are we to expect of a commander-in-chief who ducked the draft and never spent a day in the armed forces of the country he now leads? Not surprisingly, the Jewish lobby has its own, rather odd, view of President Clinton's early performance. According to the Jewishnational newspaper Forward: "The biggest threat to Israel in American politics right now is all the talk about President Clinton abandoning his long promised tax cut for the middle class. The most encouraging fact is that the president appears determined to lift the ban on gays in the military." The editors at Forward reason that if Clinton "can face down the Congress and the Pentagon on the gay question, which he made an issue in the campaign, it'll bring him regard. If he decides to trifle with a campaign promise as central as his vow to cut taxes—the economy, stupid—it won't take but a sneeze to turn him around on his central vow in the Middle East [i.e., to love and honor Israel]." A little weird, but worth pondering. The pro-Israeli lobby, meanwhile, remains less than fully satisfied with Clinton's appointments. It shouldn't be, but then these people tend to be greedy, as well as freaky. The pro-Israeli activists gripe that although almost 30% of Clinton's selections for top policy jobs are Jewish, they are for the most part "the wrong kind of Jews." They are not happy with American Jews who place America's interests above those of Israel. They demand that Jewish Americans who put loyalty to Israel above America should be running our government. The lobby Jews, who like to masquerade as neoconservatives, have been relegated by the Clinton transition people to largely second level policy positions. But in this capacity, they have a lock on the machinery which operates US Middle East policy. Former ambassador to the Jewish state Samuel Lewis, a pro-Israelite if there ever was one, has been chosen to head the State Department's policy
planning staff. Lewis is being counted on to keep Secretary of State Warren Christopher—who has already publicly sworn to his love of Israel—on the Zionist straight and narrow. Martin Indyk, the recently naturalized (the day of the presidential election) Australian Zionist and former American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) official, has been selected to head the National Security Council's (NSC) Near East staff. Indyk is expected to repair the damage done to US-Israel relations by pro-Liberal Richard Haass (R-Wis.), who served as President Bush's national security adviser, say lobby sources. Although the pro-Israeli crowd has decided to stop badgering Clinton for the time being and to try to make the most of what they've gotten from him, its Likud party buddies in Israel are still grousing.

The Jerusalem Post complains that "Clinton's appointees to foreign policy positions represent neither mainstream Jewish American opinion nor a centrist Israeli position. On Middle East issues, his administration is composed almost exclusively of Yossi Sarid and Shulamit Aloni [Israeli liberals] counterparts. "The American Jewish community is uneasy about these officials. But instead of demanding the appointment of known pro-Israel figures, it has decried the absence of Jews in the new administration. Considering the record of the Jewish 'gang of four' around former Secretary of State James Baker, this clamor for the 'right' ethnic identity seems ludicrous. [The Jewish gang of four consisted of: Dennis Ross, former chief of policy planning at the State Department; his aide Aaron David Miller; former deputy assistant secretary for Near East Affairs Daniel Kurzer; and NSC staff chief for the Near East Richard Haass.] "What Israel and its friends need is not Jewish officials who perform somersaults to prove they are impartial, but intelligent executives who will follow the eminently sensible policies articulated by Clinton in his campaign." Obviously, these die-hards don't know who "Slick Willie" is. Clinton has been so slow in putting his people in place at the sub-cabinet level that he now intends to take advantage of a little known law which allows him to retain appointees of the previous administration for 120 days to keep the government running. Where are all those yuppy babyboomers and policy wonks who gave the Democratic candidate his whopping 43% mandate? Aren't any of them qualified to help out their new president? Of course, after the MS. Baird affair, some of them may be a little gun-shy. Over at the State Department, Clinton has opted to retain the services, for the time being, of three of the four members of the "Jewish gang of four". Ross, Christopher and Lewis develop a reasonable Israeli-Middle East policy, and to restart the peace process. But the lobby is on guard to prevent a recurrence of what happened in the Bush administration. Then, as one pro-Israel type saw it, policy planning at State was Yossi Sarid liberal in outlook, and the NSC was George Ball tough. According to Forward, Sarid is "an Israeli patriot and Zionist who favors a deal with the Palestinians" and Ball "thinks Israel is a nuisance and [just] favors brokering an Israeli-Palestinian deal. One embodies critical love, the other loves being critical. One view has a place in the Clinton administration and the other does not." The fourth member of the gang of four, Haass, has not been kept on. Why? Says a lobby source, "Haass used to quote his NSC boss Gen. Scowcroft, that 'nothing Israel does for us is worth $3 billion a year.'" He also said that American Jews exaggerate Israel's strategic worth to the "US" Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin hopes to come to Washington to visit with President Clinton in March, and to speak at AIPAC's annual conference. The White House, however, has been stalling on agreeing to the meeting, in part because of the furor in the UN over Rabin's dumb decision last month to expel 415 Palestinians from Jewish state in retaliation for the murder of an Israeli secret police officer. Even the Jewish press in this country has criticized Rabin for his hasty and harsh decree of condemning these men to no-man's land in Lebanon. The prime minister has placed President Clinton and the US in a difficult and awkward position—in the UN, with the Palestinians and among the Arab states, who are now more fearful of Islamic fundamentalism than Zionism. "Slick Willie" better not let his new Jewish gang at State and the NSC get carried away with their love of Israel. Maybe he should consider hiring George Bush and Jim Baker as consultants. He could use their help. Already the Jewish press is rising to Israel's defense, dumb decision or not by Rabin. Forward

editorializes that "Israel's enemies are going to engineer an early test of Mr. Clinton's campaign promise" to support Israel, right or wrong, on every issue. Says Forward: "During the course of the presidential campaign, William Clinton, candidate, positioned himself well on Israel, taxes, trade and discrimination. The only way for him to protect himself politically is to keep the burden on those who would try to knock him off his promises. The new president will damage his entire tenure if after his election, as pro-Israeli planks in his campaign, he turns around and appeases those who want to establish sanctions against Israel."

Are these guys living on the same planet as the rest of us?

Martin Indyk, the recently naturalized (the day of the presidential election) Australian Zionist and former AIPAC official, has been selected to head the National Security Council's Near East staff. =]

60915. New American View, "A Worried Congress", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.7(19). October 1, 1992. "The chairmen of the Democratic and Republican House campaign committees, both of whom have felt the sting of anti-incumbent sentiment this year, laid out starkly different pictures of the November elections last week," reports Roll Call, the Capitol Hill newspaper. "Both agreed that the level of anger and dissatisfaction among voters is unprecedented." Both Reps. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, and Vic Fazio (D-Calif.) of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, were characteristically coy in their predictions about the shape of the new House class. Fazio projected a loss of between 29 and 35 seats for his party, which currently holds an advantage of 266 to 166 (with one Independent and two vacancies) in the House, while Vander Jagt wouldn't be even that specific, saying the GOP "could lose 10 seats [or] we could have a Republican majority. The thing is that volatile." Vander Jagt was defeated in his own August primary by a political novice, while Fazio faces a stiff challenge from former state Sen. H.L. Richardson in November. The picture for congressional Democrats appears to have brightened considerably, and Fazio conceded that "on a good day, we might do better . . . We might see our losses cut to something like 15" seats, but that the losses could mount as high as 40. Fazio said reapportionment and redistricting alone would cost Democrats 20 seats, while Vander Jagt said the 1990 census would cost the GOP 15 to 18 for the GOP. If the Democrats lose 20 seats, they will have their smallest majority in the House since the 97th Congress (1981-83). If they lose 30 seats, they will have their smallest majority since the 85th Congress (1957-59). The DCCC has raised a record $12.8 million so far this cycle, according to Fazio, while Vander Jagt predicted the NRCC would have only about $10 million to spend this cycle, as opposed to the $300 million spent in 1990. In a lengthy briefing last week, Fazio said the GOP had fallen into its old pattern of seeking "silver bullet" (in this case institutional) issues that could be used in campaigns across the country while Democratic candidates had concentrated on local concerns more important to voters. Fazio named dozens of GOP incumbents he thought could be beaten, including Reps. John Rhodes (Ariz.), Don Young (Alaska), Frank Riggs (Calif.), John Doolittle (Calif.), Elton Gallegly (Calif.), Wayne Allard (Colo.), C.W. Young (Fla.) and Clay Shaw (Fla.). Also on Fazio's vulnerable Republican list were House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Reps. Phil Crane (Ill.), Jim Ross Lightfoot (Iowa), Jim Bunning (Ky.), Bob McEwen (Ohio), Don Ritter (Pa.), Rick Santorum (Pa.), Bill Goodling (Pa.), Herb Bateman (Va.), Scott Klug (Wis.) and Tom Petri (Wis.). He also identified 36 open seats—not including majority-minority districts—in which he said Democrats were highly competitive. Fazio took the opportunity to point out what he said were seven GOP incumbents the NRCC had identified at a PAC briefing as highly vulnerable: Reps. McEwen, C.W. Young, Rogers, Allard, Ritter, Barbara Vucanovich (Nev.) and John Myers (Ind.). An NRCC spokesperson confirmed that "most" of those Fazio named were discussed at the meeting. In his briefing for reporters, Vander Jagt released some of the results of a national poll conducted for the NRCC and predicted that even
a massive defeat of President Bush on November 3 would not drag down GOP candidates. According to Vander Jagt, the NRCC surveycontinued to show Democrats with a 6-point edge nationally in a generic congressional ballot test, but he said the Democratic numbers received a boost from black majority districts mandated by the Voting Rights Act and that on the final night of the survey, the Republican vs Democrat congressional ballot was even, 39 to 35%. At the same time, he sought to play down the importance of those numbers. "No new goal in the Commonwealth of Virginia. New American View has been closely monitoring the lobby's ambitious activities and its expanding network in Virginia for some time.

While the lobbyists pay lip-service to carrying out a pro-Israeli agenda, their primary purpose is to develop a vast grassroots apparatus to promote a broader, generally liberal Jewish program. Their chief targets are Republican conservatives and the religious right. Working with AIPAC at the state level are the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, Zionist Organization of America, and several Jewish Federations and women's groups. Emphasis is on how to make less impact through involvement in party politics at the local level. Professional journalists and media experts are providing advice on how to work with the press. Coalition building with other minority groups and campus organizational activities also are part of the program. AIPAC has learned that it can create a cadre of volunteer political foot soldiers from among the many pro-Israeli Jews who are only too willing to serve the cause. With millions of dollars in funds donated by wealthy Jews and with its professional staff to provide guidance and assistance, this cadre of volunteers can be molded into a potent political tool. The apathy of the average American allows for anyone with a little energy and determination to easily become a precinct worker for either of the major political parties. In fact in many areas, just by showing up at local-level party functions, one can be named a delegate to the state party convention and become involved in developing the party platform. From there it's one small step to national conventions and still greater influence. AIPAC volunteers boast how they virtually dominate some state delegations, even in states such as Maine, where Jews are an almost infinitesimal minority.

Now that things are working out Israel's way in the Middle East, the Jewish pro-Israeli lobby in the US is reorganizing and retooling to promote a Jewish agenda in this country by becoming more active and influential at the state and local level. (–)

The new priority is a thin cover for a more insidious policy now being advanced by AIPAC—penetrating and manipulating local and state parties and governments for the benefit of the American Jews and their political agenda. And it all begins with stacking party organizations with Jewish activists and running, where feasible, Jewish candidates for office. The idea is for a minority group to gain control of the political system. It's an old trick. A case in point is AIPAC's present campaign to promote a Jewish member of the Democratic leadership in the Commonwealth of Virginia. New American View has been closely monitoring the lobby's ambitious activities and its expanding network in Virginia for some time.
waged a good campaign, even if he lost to Bush in 1992, he would gain a great deal of party loyalty from the rank and file. This would put him in position to prepare for the 1996 election—when his opponent might be current Vice President Dan Quayle, a far less formidable candidate than the sitting president. “The Jewish crowd is ready to make a run for it. That’s for sure,” said the source. “The real question is: Are the American people ready for a Jewish president?” At this point, only the New York Times had made it public for certain. Who his plans are, how his campaign is progressing, however, the excitement in Jewish Democratic circles is running high.

The Jewish caucus on the Hill and its horde of energetic young staffers are teaming up with AIPAC and the rest of the organized pro-Israeli movement to win the big budget battle for the Jewish state this coming September. Solarz will be one of the leaders of the campaign. At the same time, the National Jewish Democratic Council (NJDC) continues to prepare for its big effort “to promote Jewish involvement in the party from the executive to the grassroots level.” A power lunch is to be held by leaders of the NJDC with Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (Maine) and House Speaker Thomas Foley (Wash.) next month to discuss party priorities.

In addition, the NJDC is reaching out to both the Black Caucus and the Women’s Caucus in Congress. The NJDC is also planning a summer conference which is to be attended by representatives from all sectors of the Jewish pro-Israeli community, including AIPAC’s chief honcho Tom Dine. “There’s no doubt about,” the source said. “They’re getting ready for something big—and it’s not just gaining more seats in Congress. They’re going for the top spot, too.” [3]

60918. New American View. “Alternative Jewish Lobby”, in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.4(1). January 15, 1989. “We need a conference of presidents of minor Jewish organizations,” said Letty Cottin Pogrebin, founding editor of Ms. magazine, at the three-day conference of 1,500 progressive American Jews in New York last month. In making her declaration, Pogrebin said that she was quoting former Israeli diplomat and Labor Party minister Abba Eban, who also attend the conference sponsored by Tikkun magazine, the West Coast bimonthly Jewish critique of politics, culture and society. Pogrebin recommended support for the institutional initiatives discussed by the conference, including proposals to form a Committee on Judaism & Social Action, formed to promote the idea of social justice. Tikkun is promoting as new voice on Jewish public policy and an alternative lobby—to counter the influence of AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Although no votes were taken and no leaders elected, the Tikkun conference looked and sounded like a political convention. Wild applause greeted the speeches of such stars of the Jewish political left as Eban, Pogrebin, Todd Gitlin and Irving Howe. Special interest groups—students, feminists, animal rights activists, gays and lesbians —vied for attention. And a platform was adopted. Its first plank expressed the contempt of the conference participants for what the progressive speakers characterized as the “growing conservatism” of the organized American Jewish community. The second plank declared that Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is, in the words of Tikkun editor Michael Lerner, “irrational, destructive, immoral and must be terminated.” Lerner spoke also of organizing a national campaign for “negotiations now” to urge Israeli leaders to sit down for talks with the PLO. However, Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said that while he shared many of the criticisms of the status quo in Israel, he wondered if the formation of a new Jewish political action organization might be nothing more than a bid for publicity. David Gordis, former executive vice president of the American Jewish Congress, said: “The tone of our criticism cannot partake of Israel-bashing. We have to avoid seeming to agree with those whose objectives are to undermine Israel.”

But when he warned the participants that they might be “branded as illegitimate because of the fellowship in which they find themselves,” he drew hisses and boos. Gordis was hinting at the kind of charges made against the Jewish left in the past—namely, that it was possessed of an anti-Israeli bias—that caused many former Jewish liberals to abandon their principles and leap into the arms of neo-conservatism. But Lerner (an observant Jew who has a chest-length beard and wears a pie-sized yarmulke) countered by stating, “This is not an assemblage of self-hating Jews or people alienated from Judaism.” He said that the participants based their criticism of Israeli policy on “a profound insistence of our love for the people of Israel” and that “many of us will no longer accept organized Jewry’s criteria for how we have to talk or what tone to take.” [2]

60919. New American View. “American Arabs Counterattack,” in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(10). August 15, 1988. Continuing its counteroffensive against the excessive influence of the American Jewish pro-Israeli lobby on US public opinion, the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has hit them where it hurts with an ad campaign calculated to grab the attention of the Capitol Hill crowd in Washington. Posters, such as the one pictured above, showing Israeli troops brutally assaulting Palestinian women and children, have suddenly appeared on the Metro subway cars in the nation’s capital—the very same cars that most of the congressional staffers, as well as thousands of other Washingtonians, ride daily to and from work. And the pro-Israeli lobby is screaming, “Foul!” The posters graphically proclaim: “Israel putting your tax dollars to work!” They urge the viewer to “Please ask your congressperson to ‘just say no’ to unconditional aid to Israel. Only Congress can stop this madness.” The Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, which represents 215 synagogues and Jewish organizations, wrote the Metropolitan Area Transit Authority last week to complain about “the odious and misleading nature” of the ADC ads. Local chapters of Hadassah and the Zionist Organization of America have flooded Metro officials and board members with telephone calls opposing the posters. Even the Israeli Embassy has complained through the news media. In response, Metro spokesperson Beverly Silverberg announced that as long as the “actual details [are] verified” and not “susceptible to libel claims,” the subway system may not refuse to display the ad because of political objections to the content by Jewish organizations. Meanwhile, the ADC’s “Eyewitness Israel” program has begun to bear fruit. The first group of American “field observers,” sent to the West Bank and Gaza by the ADC to live with Palestinian families and see firsthand the effects of the bloody suppression of the uprising by Israeli military forces, has returned to the US to tell their stories and show their photographs. Members of the group are currently making public presentations of their findings “all across the country, from Los Angeles to Maine,” Abdeen Jabara, president of the ADC, told New American View at a presentation in Washington last week. The presentation, which drew a surprisingly large audience of more than 600 at George Washington University, was given by field observers Alice Winkler of National Public Radio and Tara Siler of the Pacifica Radio Network. Their 20-minute narrated slide show depicted in full color the pain, agony and horror of Israeli brutality even more dramatically than previously seen by Americans in TV and other news media reporting on the uprising. Most depressing was the pattern of brutality inflicted on the Palestinian people by Israeli troops without regard to the age or sex of their victims. “The repression is much worse than has been reported,” Siler said. “I consider myself an informed person on these matters. I knew it was bad, but not that bad.” The radio reporter said, “I talked with a 4-year-old girl who lost an eye to a rubber bullet and an 80-year-old woman who was beaten with clubs. There is a clear pattern to the injuries inflicted on the Palestinian [youths]—broken limbs, smashed hands to set an example for the children not to throw stones.” The slide presentation underscored the wrenching sorrow of the Israeli military repression with scenes of wounded and maimed children, expectant mothers who had lost their babies after tear gas attacks and uncountable demolished homes—an especially nasty trick favored by the Israeli military. One deeply touching set of slides showed a new clinic built by the Red Crescent (the Muslim equivalent of the Red Cross) to care for the vast number of injured Palestinians. The Israeli authorities, however, refuse to license the facility, a despicably inhumane act that ranks only below the army’s penchant for barging into hospitals and even operating rooms to drag out and arrest suspected demonstrators against the
Zionist occupation. Siler attributed the news media's lack of full coverage of the situation to "biased reporting in this country" in favor of Israel, which has been reflected in the longtime habit of unfairly stereotyping Arabs, particularly Palestinians, as terrorists; and Israelis as heroes—regardless of the truth of the matter. [↩]

60920. New American View. “Anti-Semitism or Pro-Israelism”, in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(14). October 15, 1988. Ever since the Democratic and Republican conventions this past summer, American Jewish pro-Israeli forces have steadily pounded the two political parties and their presidential candidates with spectacular but dubious accusations of anti-Semitism. The apparent intent of the highly publicized bombarding seems to be simple intimidation: The Jewish vote (and money) will go to the party that proves itself most subversive to the dictates of the pro-Israeli community. The offensive began last month with a double-barreled attack on the Republican Party, which six ethnic advisers to the Bush campaign were accused of having anti-Semitic backgrounds. This was quickly followed by allegations that Bush's choice to become vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, Fred Malek, had executed an anti-Semitic order from his boss, President Richard Nixon, more than a decade ago. George Bush, ever the obedient supplicant in matters Jewish or Israeli, immediately caved in to the demands that the alleged anti-Semites be removed from his entourage. Malek's letter of withdrawal from consideration for the national committee post was immediately accepted, as were the resignations of the accused ethnic advisers. But the attack has continued, in part because four of the ethnic advisers have remained connected with the Bush campaign through the GOP's ethnic department, known as the Republican Heritage Groups Council. And more importantly, because Malek, oddly, has been defended by Abraham Foxman, executive director of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Foxman's defense of Malek, at a minimum, suggests some confusion in the ranks of American Jewry, and perhaps even serious sub rosa disension on the issue of anti-Semitism. Sources within the Jewish community say that the ADL's priority policy these days is to promote George Bush for president—in order to strengthen US strategic cooperation with Israel, which began under the Reagan administration—rather than to pursue its traditional cause of combating anti-Semitism in American society. (Similarly, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which has always acted as an agent of Israel, has shown its true colors in recent weeks by shifting its support from Democrat Dukakis [the candidate with the Jewish wife] to Bush.) Meanwhile, the American Jewish pro-Israeli groups have now turned their media hired guns on the Democratic Party and Dukakis. The immediate focus of the attack is the Dukakis campaign's outreach effort to other minorities, which in the opinion of the Jewish community has gone too far. The community's zealots are particularly disturbed by the influence gained within the campaign by black and Palestinian activists, who have on occasion allied themselves against the oppressive influence of the Jewish forces. Thus, late last month, three Jewish Democratic congressmen, Larry Smith (Fla.), Barney Frank (Mass.) and Gary Ackerman (N.Y.), called for the resignation of Willie Barrow of Chicago from the Democratic National Committee (DNC) because he once expressed "love" for Israeli crowd. What's that you say about birds of a feather? [↩]

60921. New American View. “Big Apple”, in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(12). September 15, 1988. Braving withering heat and ice-cold stares from their fellow Jews, a small group of women from various pro-Israeli peace groups have been staging a weekly vigil on the sidewalks of New York. The site of the protest is 515 Park Ave., headquarters for a number of national Jewish organizations, including the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the World Zionist Organization, and the United Jewish Appeal. The women, who began holding their weekly vigils in mid-April, display signs and placards reading, "Seek Solutions—End the Occupation" and "American Jews Speak Out." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency.) [↩]

60922. New American View. “Bob Packwood's Friends In Deed”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israel Lobby in America, Vol.8(9). May 1, 1993. Whenever he needs money—whether to fight off a challenger for his Senate seat, or to defend himself against the accusations of the many women he has lusted after during his long congressional career—Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) always turns to his friends in the Jewish pro-Israeli community. And they always respond generously. During the first three months of this year, according to the Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call, Packwood raised $64410 in donations for his Legal Expense Trust Fund to fight the allegations of sexual misconduct for which he is now being investigated by the Senate Ethics Committee. More than a third of the funds—$24000—collected by Packwood came "from contributors who are highly active in the allegendi causes." One contributor to the Packwood Expense Fund is Washington attorney David Brody, who "formerly" worked for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith and is now registered as a lobbyist for BAFS Corp., a large German chemical firm. But when contacted by Roll Call, Brody's phone was answered, "ADL." Nevertheless, Brody claims that his association with the ADL "has absolutely nothing to do with my contribution." Says tax consultant Carl Cohen of Indianapolis, a major financial supporter of pro-Israeli groups and politicians, "I think Bob Packwood's a great American." Cohen, who chipped in $5000 for the Expense Fund, praises the Oregon senator for being "a staunch supporter of Israel" and an ideological moderate. "I espouse moderate goals and support the state of Israel, so for me, Bob Packwood's wonderful. If he asked again, I'd give him more money." The largest single contributor—$9000— to Packwood's current cause is Lester Pollack, senior managing director of the Wall Street investment firm of Lazard Freres and current chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Pollack says that he is a lifelong friend of Packwood "and I think that speaks for itself." Pollack, who donated some $47000 to various pro-Israeli congressional candidates in the 1991-1992 election cycle, recently met privately with Secretary of State Warren Christopher on behalf of the pro-Israeli community. Beverly Hills millionaire and former president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) Lawrence Weinberg kicked in $2000 to Packwood's fund. Weinberg and his wife Barney also are major contributors to the pro-Israeli Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Another former AIPAC president, Mayer Mitchell, gave Packwood $1000. Edward Levy, still another former AIPAC president, contributed $2000 to the Expense Fund. And the list goes on. Bob Packwood may be one of the sleaziest senators on Capitol Hill, but he certainly does have some good friends—particularly in the Jewish pro-Israeli crowd. What's that you say about birds of a feather? [↩]
citizens in the country. Police officials and newspapers commended them for their probity. Some of these Jews ascribed their high ethical standards to the tenets of Judaism and the strength of the Jewish home and family. Thus, it is not surprising that it took some time before these Jews and Gentiles alike realized that the tenements of the lower East Side of Manhattan were producing hundreds of Jewish prostitutes, pimps, madams, pickpockets, thieves, arsonists, gamblers and loan sharks. Eventually, however, the wealthy Jews of New York, who saw them with German backgrounds, took cognizance of what was happening in the Jewish community and tried to help. They blamed the evils, probably correctly, says the author, on the ghastly conditions of poverty under which the criminally inclined Jews were living in the golden land of opportunity. At first, the community leaders had one consolation: almost all Jewish crimes appeared to be directed against property, not persons. Jews were not committing the violent crimes. This did not last long, however. Blossoming as recoverers of usurious loans and installers of slot machines, they began to rely on so-called shikarkers, the Yiddish word for thugs. These were formed into formidable gangs. Competition between them resulted in violence and murder. Ultimately, in the 1930s, Louis Lepke and two other Jews, formed the infamous organization known as "Murder, Inc."—which killed for hire. Jewish gangsters moved into labor movement disputes, working both sides of the street. Some served as strike-breakers for the owners and others as strike-enforcers for the unions. They often ended up taking over the businesses and unions which had originally hired their services. Then came Prohibition, opening up enormous opportunities for the Jewish gangsters. That era produced some of the most notorious of the criminal Jews: Dutch Schultz, Legs Diamond, and the infamous Purple Gang of Detroit. The author notes that Sicilian and Italian gangsters, originating in the same slums of New York's East Side, were also on the rise during this period. Arnold Rothstein, the son of wealthy Jewish parents, and a great gambler, financed all types of criminal activity. (Rothstein was glamorized in fictional form as the character known as "the Brain" in many of writer Damon Runyon's short stories.) He was the first hoodlum to realize the importance of organizing and rationalizing crime. And he was the first to recognize the great profits to be made in narcotics. It was Rothstein who brought the Jews and Italians together as business partners in the high-profit world of crime. Rothstein would be followed in his efforts by another brilliant Jewish criminal mind—Meyer Lansky. According to the author, by the end of the 1930s, as WWII was beginning, Jewish crime was very much on the wane. There were still Jewish criminals, but their ethnicity had lost its significance. Jews had moved out of the lower East Side and had spread throughout New York, geographically, economically and socially—abandoning crime. This wishful conclusion, however, is not supported by the facts. Jewish involvement in crime—particularly organized crime—has remained steady since 1940. Jews are deeply involved in labor racketeering, gambling, loan1 sharking, money laundering and the narcotics trade, as are other ethnic elements of our society. The streets of Brooklyn continue to produce the Jewish foot soldiers of organized crime—some of whom, according to the FBI, are recent immigrants from Soviet Russia. [–]

60924. New American View. "Boomerang Effect", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(12), July 1, 1989. In its ruthless attempt to crush the Palestinian uprising, the Israeli government has imposed a number of harsh punishments on the Palestinians, leading some observers to conclude that Israel's ultimate goal is to permanently cripple the viability of the Palestinian people. This is, of course, the definition of genocide. And this is what the Zionist state seems to be intent upon. The chief of the Israeli general staff, Lt. Gen. Dan Shamron, recently admitted that there are "only three ways to eliminate the intifada: transfer of the Arab population of the areas, starvation, or physical elimination [and] that is Israel's genocide." The ironic aspect of all this is that the Israelis themselves are also suffering from the harsh punishments they inflict on the Palestinians in a curious boomerang effect. For instance, Israel has placed a wide range of economic sanctions on the Palestinians. One particularly odious action was to banish 120000-140000 Palestinian workers from Israel proper—that is, they were no longer allowed to commute from their homes in the occupied territories to their jobs in Israel. The result: Israel is now facing a severe labor shortage, particularly in the lowly, menial type jobs that Israeli citizens will not perform, but which were the only jobs available for Palestinians. Israel also placed embargoes on Palestinian products imported into Israel—which had been the primary market for these goods. The Palestinians responded with a boycott of their own, informally banning the purchase of any Israeli good. Israel provided many of the basic commodities found in Palestinian stores, such as dairy products, canned goods, cigarettes, etc. Most Israeli manufactured basics have been cleared from Palestinian shelves, and enterprise. Palestinians have moved into the vacuum created by the boycott. In fact, Israeli market analysts have estimated that Israeli sales to the occupied territories have declined in volume by 10-15% since the beginning of the uprising. Wealthy Palestinians living in foreign countries are investing in factories, such as clothing and textile plants, and are producing soft drinks, detergents and cigarettes. Local households are busy making clothes and shoes, and producing fruit and vegetables for sale from home gardens, thus creating the framework for a new, independent Palestinian economy. The Israelis take the threat of Palestinian economic independence very seriously. They have moved in bulldozers to raze Palestinian orchards, destroying thousands of ancient olive and orange trees—particularly galling to the Palestinians and ironic in that the Israelis so often boast of turning the "desert" of Palestine into the "garden of Israel. Meanwhile, the Palestinians, in diplomatic initiatives of their own, have begun to establish a relationship with the European Economic Community, which is due to become one gigantic market by 1992. They have met with great success, largely because of the sympathy for their plight generated by Israel's harsh tactics. The Israelis, of course, had been hoping to exploit the Palestinian economy as a subsidiary of its own, and deal with the EEC for the both of them. Another example of this boomerang effect is the policy of jailing Palestinian youngsters for throwing stones. Most of these are held in administrative detention, without trial, and are often simply rounded up during violent confrontations with the Israeli military, or are seized in military raids on their villages.

Although virtually all of them either took part in the uprising, or at least strongly sympathized with it, none of them were what the Israeli authorities claimed them to be: hardened terrorists. Yet that is exactly what they become after spending six months to a year in an Israeli prison. The Israelis have also blundered by forcing the closure of schools in the occupied territories. The 300000 Palestinian children in the West Bank and Gaza have lost nearly two years of their education. Ultimately, in the 1930s, Louis Lepke and two other Jews formed the sale from home gardens, thus creating the framework for a new, independent Palestinian economy. The Israelis take the threat of Palestinian economic independence very seriously. They have moved in bulldozers to raze Palestinian orchards, destroying thousands of ancient olive and orange trees—particularly galling to the Palestinians and ironic in that the Israelis so often boast of turning the "desert" of Palestine into the "garden of Israel. Meanwhile, the Palestinians, in diplomatic initiatives of their own, have begun to establish a relationship with the European Economic Community, which is due to become one gigantic market by 1992. They have met with great success, largely because of the sympathy for their plight generated by Israel's harsh tactics. The Israelis, of course, had been hoping to exploit the Palestinian economy as a subsidiary of its own, and deal with the EEC for the both of them. Another example of this boomerang effect is the policy of jailing Palestinian youngsters for throwing stones. Most of these are held in administrative detention, without trial, and are often simply rounded up during violent confrontations with the Israeli military, or are seized in military raids on their villages.

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60925. New American View, “Character Assassins”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(18), September 15, 1993. Next to chutzpah and whining, professional Jewish activists are particularly adept at sowing rumors and lies, especially in the news media where there is an overabundance of easily manipulated tribal members and numerous fawning fellow travelers only too willing to propagate the lobby’s disinformation. A recent example of this sort of slanderous rumor-mongering was the Anti-Defamation League’s (ADL) unsuccessful attempt this summer to stigmatize Dr. Sheila Widnall as an antisemite while her nomination as secretary of the Air Force was under consideration by the Senate. The reason for the ADL’s attempted character assassination of Dr. Widnall was her previously stated doubts about the operational feasibility of the US-funded Israeli Arrow antiballistic missile program. Thus, what the shabby incident revealed was that the ADL was not bravely defending American Jews against antisemitism. It was, instead, seeking to advance the Jewish state’s military R&D interests. (See New American View, 8/15/1993.) Now comes still another cheap shot by the Jewish lobby. This one aimed at Army General John Shalikashvili, President Clinton’s choice to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Late last month, the Washington Post ran a front-page story by staff writer Thomas Lippman carrying the headline: “Pentagon Nominee’s Father Served as Nazi SS Officer.” The information was attributed to the Simon Wiesenthal Center which had published a copy of the unpublished memoir of Gen. Shalikashvili’s father. And it quoted Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Nazi-hunting center in Los Angeles, as saying the general’s family “would not have gotten into this country in 1952 if there had been a disclosure of this.” Somewhat disingenuously, the rabbi added that his group’s policy is “never to blame the children for the misdeeds of their parents.” Gen. Shalikashvili was a young boy when his family immigrated to America. So what was the purpose of the center’s revelation concerning the general’s father? Said Hier: “As a research question, we would like to know how his father got into the US when he [had been] a member of the SS.” There is, however, another interesting facet to this sordid little story.

Rabbi Hier says the Wiesenthal Center was asked to look into the elder Shalikashvili’s past at the request of the Defense Daily, a trade publication which reports on military-industrial matters. Defense Daily is a competitor of Defense Weekly, which first publicized the Jewish lobbyist’s accusations of antisemitism against now Secretary of the Air Force Widnall. Both trade journals, along with Defense Week, are infested with Jewish reporters and editors who are noted in Pentagon circles for their virulent pro-Israeli sympathies. Whether there is some specific reason (as was the case with Air Force Secretary Widnall) why the Jewish lobby hoped to embarrass Gen. Shalikashvili, or whether the pro-Israeli crowd simply distrusts the probable new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because of his dead father’s politics is not known. What is clear is the fact that the smear artists have once again botched the job. A particularly inane claim by the cheap-shot meisters was the assertion, attributed to a representative of a Jewish group dealing with Nazi-related issues (guess who), that if information about Shalikashvili’s father had gotten into Soviet hands during the Cold War, the general could have been placed in a compromising position. Only someone completely ignorant of US security procedures—or overly impressed with the power of the Jewish lobby—could be capable of such a foolish statement. Recognizing that the lobby had no case against the general—and the fact that he has the full backing of the president, secretary of defense and the armed services—the mainstream Jewish organizations have reluctantly retreated from the attack on Shalikashvili, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. The ADL’s Washington representative Jesse Hordes is quoted as saying that the general has “served his country in a patriotic way [and] shouldn’t suffer” from his father’s actions. Gen. Shalikashvili, during his 35-year military career, has already successfully passed numerous security background investigations. His loyalty to the USA is beyond question—which is far more than can be said about many of the journalists covering the Pentagon and their friends in the pro-Israeli lobby. [=]
government than in local governments. Whether this faith in the modern centralized state will serve the long-range interests of Jews is, however, another question.

Jews "have a greater confidence in the national government than in local governments. Whether this faith in the modern centralized state will serve the long-range interests of Jews is, however, another question." [1]

60927. New American View. "Clinton 'Hires' His Administration: Feminists, Pro-Israeli Lobby Disappointed", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.8(1), January 1, 1993. Pretty much on schedule, President-elect Bill Clinton has "hired"—as he likes to say—his administration. It sort of "looks like America"—another of his trendy phrases—with five blacks and a couple of Hispanics. (Sorry, no Asians.) But the Arkansas travelin' man came up a little short on female and Jewish representation, seven each. Men, whites and Christians dominated the president-to-be's choices for the 29 key assignments. When Clinton himself, his special adviser and wife Hillary, and Vice President-elect Al Gore are added to the list, the male-to-female ratio (3 to 1) remains the same. But the white-to-black ratio grows, as does the Christian-to-Jew ratio. Women make up 51% of the US population; they represent 24% of Clinton's selections for his incoming administration. Blacks are 12% of the population and 17% of the appointees. Hispanics are 9 and 7% respectively. Jews are 2.5 and 24%, over-represented as usual—but not to the extent they had hoped for. Unhappy feminists publicly registered their disappointment with Clinton's selections during the process, angering the president-elect but not changing his mind. The Jewish pro-Israeli lobby, however, has held its collective tongue. Clearly, says the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish leaders are trying to put the best face on Clinton's appointments by expressing confidence in the new administration's commitment to Israel. Earlier this crowd had promoted its man Mickey Kantor (trade representative) to head the transition team, campaigning against Clinton's first preference, Warren Christopher (secretary of state). It lost that battle, and prudently pulled its horns. The pro-Israeli lobby and its neoconservative allies in the media had campaigned for defeated Brooklyn Rep. Stephen Solarz to be given the secretary of state assignment, and for a top position for Carter retiree and vocal Zionist Stuart Eizenstat. Both were bypassed by the Clinton team. The lobby is now putting its money on Martin Indyk for a key position in the State Department or on the National Security Council staff. Indyk, an Australian who conveniently became an American citizen on election day, is known as a "former" flaming Zionist who spent years with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). He now heads the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a staunchly pro-Israel think tank. Although seven Jews were chosen for top positions in the Clinton administration, five were given posts in the economic arena. Two, Robert Rubin (economic adviser) and Roger Altman (deputy secretary of the treasury) are Wall Street "new crowd" types who are more concerned with money and personal power than advancing Israel's parochial interests. Three, Sandy Berger (deputy national security adviser), Alice Rivlin (OMB deputy) and Robert Reich (secretary of labor), are academics more deeply involved with American economic issues than Zionism. Berger is, in fact, viewed with "distraste" by the pro-Israeli crowd because of his past criticism of the Jewish state. Only Kantor qualifies as a Jewish pro-Israeli activist. Thus, the lobby has begun shifting its emphasis to Congress, where it hopes to fare better. AIPAC and its allies are working diligently to stack the key committees of both houses dealing with appropriations, foreign affairs and defense with their people and assorted friends of Israel. Despite the disruptions caused by election defeats and retirements, the pro-Israeli crowd and its fellow travelers—bought and paid for by Jewish PACs and big buck contributors—probably will retain their strong position of influence in Congress. It is from Capitol Hill that the lobby will attempt to enforce Clinton's commitment to Israel. Within the administration, the lobby will try to place its people in the second and third level positions of influence. During the Reagan administration, the lobby came to dominate the National Security Council staff and Defense Department in this fashion, which led to Israeli infiltration of America's intelligence and defense systems—with such disastrous consequences as the arms-for-hostages deals with Iran.

Using the same techniques, the lobby also penetrated the Justice Department, where it continues to hold sway and from where it has infiltrated many of our state and local police departments. Clinton picked only one senator and two members of the House from among the available Democratic legislators. Among the disappointed was Rep. Dave McCurdy, the Oklahoma matinee idol who lobbied too hard, first for the CIA job and then for the secretary of defense selection. His self-promoting campaign may have cost him dearly in the House, where Speaker Tom Foley now indicates that he will not reappoint McCurdy to the chairmanship of the Select Committee on Intelligence. Another friend of Israel who lost out in the selection sweepstakes was resigned Sen. Tim Wirth of Colorado. Clinton just could not—or would not—find a place for him. Wirth's case was weakened, in part, because of the grilling he was likely to get from his Republican colleagues in the Senate during the consent process.

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60928. New American View. "Clinton's Economic Team: Wall Street Versus The Liberals", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.7(24), December 15, 1992. President-elect Bill Clinton has picked his starting line-up for America's economic Super Bowl, but does he have a game plan? He may be a committed policy wonk, but does he know what he's doing? Can he and his economic team produce the jobs, increase investment, reduce the deficit, hold down taxes, and "grow the economy" as he promised during the campaign? Probably not. But the new president is likely to give us a lively show during the first 100 days—until the built-in frictions of his economic team begin to grind, a self-centered Congress starts to buck, and the current global recession grows even worse. In choosing his economic team, Clinton gave the appearance of tilting toward the deficit hawks but actually leaned more toward the Wall Street superbanking crowd, who along with the big spenders in Congress helped to dig the hole America is now trying to crawl out of. Secretary of the Treasury-select is millionaire Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), a Democrat who thinks like and acts like a Republican on economic issues. He is not really concerned about the budget deficit. He wants to give tax breaks to business and is especially sympathetic to the big oil industries. He is on record as opposing the proposed balanced budget amendment that led to Israeli infiltration of America's intelligence and defense systems—with such disastrous consequences as the arms-for-hostages deals with Iran.

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is so anti-deficit that she openly endorsed Ross Perot's plan to fix the economy. The quarterback for the Clinton team will be his White House economic security adviser Robert Rubin, who, like Altman, is a member of the Wall Street Jewish "New Crowd." Co-chairman of the investment banking firm Goldman, Sachs and Co., his income this year is estimated to be $15 million.

Earlier this year, Rubin did a short stint as chairman of New York City's unproductive commission on poverty. A longtime Democratic fundraiser, he found millions of dollars to finance the Democratic National Convention. It will be his job to coordinate Clinton's promise to create jobs and grow the economy. Also named to the economic team were Laura D'Andrea Tyson, chairwoman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Robert Reich as Secretary of Labor-select. Tyson teaches economics at the University of California at Berkeley, heads the school's Institute of International Studies and directs the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy. She supports government intervention to steady some industries, which has persuaded some economists to label her a radical. Reich is a friend of Clinton since his Oxford and Yale days. He was (and may remain) the president-elect's closest economic adviser, wrote much of his campaign economic plan and was head of the economic transition team. Among other things, Reich advocates massive programs to retrain old workers and educate new ones to improve America's competitiveness in the growing global economy. He believes creating jobs is a short-term problem and sees improving incomes as a more serious, long-term challenge. (For more on Reich's views, see New American View, December 1.) There are many other, perhaps even more dangerous icebergs in the economic waters Clinton hopes to navigate. He has already been advised to avoid one he promised to deal with in the first 100 days of his term—a national health care plan. Another issue the president-elect is avoiding like the plague, as he demonstrated during the economic summit in Little Rock, is taxation. The trendy babboonermade a lot of general promises during the presidential campaign, but never produced an economic plan—and he still doesn't have one. With his quick selection of a strong, but potentially divisive, economic team and his recent "economic summit" in Little Rock, the president-elect has set the stage for the first 100 days circus. But already, he is peaking at the foreign policy presidential role—and an escape from the economic dilemma. His aides have begun to pave the way for the escape by quietly shifting the administration's emphasis to international issues while still selecting candidates for domestic assignments. The big jobs in the foreign policy area are still up for grabs but will soon take center stage and be fought over by the president-elect and the American public.

President Bush has contributed by leaving Clinton with the Cold War wreckage in East Europe and Russia, the stalled Middle East peace process and now America's intervention in the Somali swamp. But Clinton is nothing if he is not shrewd. He has roadblock in Gaza and not allowed to pass through to the other side. Stalling international affairs. President Bush has contributed by leaving Clinton with the Cold War wreckage in East Europe and Russia, the stalled Middle East peace process and now America's intervention in the Somali swamp. But Clinton is nothing if he is not shrewd. He has roadblock in Gaza and not allowed to pass through to the other side.

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When "A criminal underworld of Soviet emigres, some of them skilled in Response", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary In 6/1989, the New York Times ran a major story on the subject, saying:

"...the mobsters are alive and well and growing more..." [citing Christian principle, you would not have ventilated a charge so self-organizatsiya, operates in more than a dozen cities, but is particularly revealed to him my true nature, he publicly extolled my virtues, in your tourists who are involved in insurance scams, loan sharking, extortion, that my true sympathies were with the Soviet Union. And of course it is lawmen. They have been carving out a new and often violent life of crime that very late on that historic evening we spent together I confided to him these criminal immigrants used to be called "glasnost gangsters" by US (Editor's Note: In our October 1 issue, we ran an article by Joe Sobran, Shoot It Out: Buckley Wounded, Sobran Fired: Part 1: Letter of William F. Buckley", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(20). October 15, 1993. (Editor's Note: In our October 1 issue, we ran an article by Joe Sobran, critic-at-large for William F. Buckley, Jr.'s National Review, in which Sobran pointed out that his boss and mentor had long ago lost his conservativdependence—in large part because of his desire to please the powerful Jewish lobby. Sobran's article, which was originally written for the Wanderer, a Catholic weekly newspaper published in Minnesota, quickly caught Buckley's attention. It also got Sobran fired from National Review. In this issue, we reprint Buckley's angry letter to the Wanderer and Sobran's response.) To the Editor, The Wanderer, Dear Sirs: The column you connected with the Russian Mafia," he said, noting that these criminals generated enough money to run the orphanage and to provide food for hundreds of families in the refugee camps. When I arrived the morning after the closing took place, soldiers were standing guard outside the gate. While I watched from just a few feet away, one of the Israelis said to me, "Come here!" I slowly walked over to his jeep. "You want to make for me picture?" he asked. "Sure," I said, "Are you going to give it to your girlfriend?" "Well, I don't have girlfriend. Maybe you will be my girlfriend?" I quickly walked away, hoping he was only doing what soldiers all over the world do: flirting with a pretty girl. As these encounters with the Israeli army were so frequent, I soon became accustomed to them and was no longer intimidated by the soldiers. But then I am not a Palestinian. I don't have to deal with Israeli soldiers, heavily armed with M-16s, tear gas and truncheons every day of my life. [=] 60930. New American View. "Conservatives: National Review Pundits Shoot It Out: Buckley Wounded, Sobran Fired: Part 1: Letter of William F. Buckley", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(20). October 15, 1993. Sobran [=] those Irish Catholic nobodies. He did say it, and I quoted it at the time to at least two close friends. I had no reason to make it up. It was a small enough thing, expressing not so much a disdain for prayer as a sense of the correlation of forces in Manhattan. It was mean in the same way as a recent column of his about Moslems, in which he cracked that to all appearances, "the only time men and women get together in Islamic society is when they copulate." I think the recent course of Bill's career proved those people as much about the sensibilities of Catholics as he does about those of his current friends, he wouldn't write for Playboy and Penthouse; Hefner and Guccione. The surprising thing about his letter to the Wanderer is that, to my knowledge, it's his first appearance in a Catholic publication in years. In his younger days, he wrote for the Catholic press fairly often; and nobody dreamed he would later be writing sleazy spy novels, or regularly lending his name to the pornographic press. He has revealed his "true nature" quite publicly for some time now, and it doesn't become him to speak of anyone else's moral or spiritual decline. When he calls Gore Vidal an antisemite, for example, it isn't really a moral judgment, since he hated Vidal long before he discovered how useful that charge fit him. He calls his old enemy an antisemite because it's the most socially damaging charge he can think of, just as "you queer" was the most damaging thing that occurred to him in 1968. He's trying to put Vidal on the bad side of the crowd he's trying to stay on the good side of. It has nothing to do with any principled conservatism; it's mere social maneuvering. Bill's ambition has led him to play a positively malign role in conservatism, most notoriously in his attack on Pat Buchanan. (A good account of his function can be found in Justin Raimondo's excellent new book Reclaiming the American Right.) It has also muddied his own conservatism badly, reducing it to a set of reflexive mannerisms and rendering his prose almost unreadable, as witness his letter. There was a time when most conservatives and many Catholics looked to him for leadership; those days are gone. The most frequent comment one hears about him now is a regretful "I can't read him anymore." Another way to put it is that "those people" have decided they don't need him. Joseph Sobran [=] 60932. New American View. "Crime: The FBI Goes To Moscow: To Catch Jewish Crooks in the US", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(17), September 1, 1993. "The situation in Moscow is like it was in New York City in the 1920s and 1930s," the FBI's Jim Moody told a news conference in Moscow last month. The tentacles of Russia's Mafia-like organized crime gangs have reached into America's major cities, he said. "In the US, we estimate that some 2000 Russian immigrants are connected with the Russian Mafia," he said, noting that these criminals were organized into about 15 gangs. Moody said that the Russian gangs in the US were attempting to launder large amounts of cash accumulated in other criminal activities. One group of Russian gangsters is already under indictment in New York on charges that they owe millions of dollars in unpaid income taxes on profits earned from a gasoline racket. What Moody did not tell the reporters at the news conference is that most of the Russian criminals now operating in the US are Jews who came here when the Kremlin lifted the ban on Jewish emigration. In fact, these criminal immigrants used to be called "glasnost gangsters" by US lawmen. They have been carving out a new and often violent life of crime in America. They are Russian Jewish immigrants, refugees and even tourists who are involved in insurance scams, loan sharking, extortion, counterfeiting and even murder. Their criminal network, or organizatsiya, operates in more than a dozen cities, but is particularly entrenched in New York and Los Angeles. "In areas with large Russian [Jewish] populations, the mobsters are alive and well and growing more powerful," say FBI officials. "My gut feeling is that things are going to get worse," says an immigration official, "and we're trying to get ready for it." The Russian Jewish crime wave has been rising for several years. In 6/1989, the New York Times ran a major story on the subject, saying: "A criminal underworld of Soviet emigres, some of them skilled in white-collar crime and hardened by Soviet prison and labor camps, is reaching beyond its base in Brooklyn, using extortion and violence in its
own neighborhoods and engaging in multimillion-dollar racketeering schemes on an international scale." Intelligence agencies traced the Jewish criminals to the network of black marketers and other professional gangsters who plied their illegal trades in the old Soviet Union before winning exit visas as part of the large Soviet Jewish emigration to America. The Jewish gangsters were even four years ago fast outstripping the ability of local and federal law enforcement agencies to curb their criminal schemes. The Times story reported that the Jewish gangsters engaged in a variety of multimillion-dollar schemes ranging from fake credit cards to bootlegged gasoline. "These criminals have also forged antiques, passing some off as products of Faberge, the famous jewelers of czarist Russia; engineered insurance frauds; trafficked in illegal drugs; and resorted to assault, torture and murder where they found resistance." By 1989, the Jewish gangsters had spread far beyond their original base in the Brighton Beach area of Brooklyn to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Phoenix, Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Dallas, Miami, Wilmington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston and Providence. James Fox, director of the FBI's New York office said, "This criminal element starts by feeding on its own [people] and eventually, as it becomes bigger and feels it can evade the law, it spreads outside its community." Israel, too, is experiencing a rapid growth in crime, which is directly attributable to the huge Soviet Jewish immigration of recent years. More noteworthy, however, is the fact that Israeli criminals have been emigrating to the US, where they sometimes tie up with Russian Jewish gangsters. Last year, the Jewish weekly newspaper Forward focused on the problem. "Practitioners of drug-dealing, fencing, money-laundering and illegal slot-machine operations, the Israelis also traffic in prostitution, insurance fraud, tax scams and murder. They work mainly out of New York, Los Angeles and Miami," said the article. The Israeli gangsters give more notorious underworld figures a run for their money when it comes to violence. But while they have been involved in mob-style rub-outs, they have not fashioned themselves after such patriarchs of organized crime as Meyer Lansky and Dutch Schultz, says a Los Angeles criminal lawyer. "Israeli crime is disorganized. They work in small groups and, of course, they're very secretive. Some of them may call themselves 'Mafia' to impress their girlfriends, but that's it."

The FBI is cooperating with Russian police in Moscow to clamp down on organized crime, the tentacles of which reach into America's major cities. An estimated 2000 Russian — mostly Jewish — immigrants are operating in about 15 gangs in the US, says the bureau. [=]

60933. New American View. "Crucial Senate Races". In New American View—Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(7), July 1, 1988. Concerns growing among the major American Jewish pro-Israeli political action committees (PACs) over the outcome of a number of Senate races that are shaping up to be much closer than originally thought. The PACs are, therefore, already in full cry in their chase to maintain the strong pro-Israeli bias of the Senate by providing even more financial aid than usual to their preferred candidates in the upcoming elections. Among other factors, the PAC leaders are worried about the effect on American voters of the recent heavy TV and press coverage of the Palestinian uprising—which shattered Israel's fragile image as "the only democracy in the Middle East" and exposed it to the world as a brutal military occupier of Gaza and the West Bank. The three Jewish senators up for re-election this November all face particularly stiff competition, according to a survey by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. But while Sens. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) have received substantial support from 17 of the largest pro-Israeli PACs, Sen. Chic Hecht (R- Nev.) has been largely shunned. Hecht is out of favor with the American Jewish community for his past support of US arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The 17 PACs, whose objectives and contributions are undoubtedly—and illegally—coordinated by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), donate to campaigns solely on basis of the candidate's commitment to Israel. Thus far this year, they have already contributed well over $1 million to Senate races, according to estimates based on Federal Election Commission records. Metzenbaum's campaign alone has received almost $100000 from the big PACs, the largest of which is the Washington-based National PAC. The 71-year-old Ohio senator is being challenged by Cleveland's Republican Mayor George Voinovich, who is a threat to undercut Metzenbaum's traditional urban base of support. Chris Gersten, executive director of the National Jewish Coalition, believes Voinovich "has the best shot of any potential Republican challenger." Last year, story reported that the Jewish gangsters engaged in a variety of multimillion-dollar schemes ranging from fake credit cards to bootlegged gasoline. "These criminals have also forged antiques, passing some off as products of Faberge, the famous jewelers of czarist Russia; engineered insurance frauds; trafficked in illegal drugs; and resorted to assault, torture and murder where they found resistance." By 1989, the Jewish gangsters had spread far beyond their original base in the Brighton Beach area of Brooklyn to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Phoenix, Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Dallas, Miami, Wilmington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston and Providence. James Fox, director of the FBI's New York office said, "This criminal element starts by feeding on its own [people] and eventually, as it becomes bigger and feels it can evade the law, it spreads outside its community." Israel, too, is experiencing a rapid growth in crime, which is directly attributable to the huge Soviet Jewish immigration of recent years. More noteworthy, however, is the fact that Israeli criminals have been emigrating to the US, where they sometimes tie up with Russian Jewish gangsters. Last year, the Jewish weekly newspaper Forward focused on the problem. "Practitioners of drug-dealing, fencing, money-laundering and illegal slot-machine operations, the Israelis also traffic in prostitution, insurance fraud, tax scams and murder. They work mainly out of New York, Los Angeles and Miami," said the article. The Israeli gangsters give more notorious underworld figures a run for their money when it comes to violence. But while they have been involved in mob-style rub-outs, they have not fashioned themselves after such patriarchs of organized crime as Meyer Lansky and Dutch Schultz, says a Los Angeles criminal lawyer. "Israel crime is disorganized. They work in small groups and, of course, they're very secretive. Some of them may call themselves 'Mafia' to impress their girlfriends, but that's it."

The FBI is cooperating with Russian police in Moscow to clamp down on organized crime, the tentacles of which reach into America's major cities. An estimated 2000 Russian — mostly Jewish — immigrants are operating in about 15 gangs in the US, says the bureau. [=]
of the newly formed Women's pro-Israel National Political Action Committee (WINPAC), "We need Israel more than Israel needs us." [↩]

60934. New American View. "Et Tu, Congress", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(11). June 15, 1989. Congress, too, is beginning to break away from the Israel-first loyalty that for so long held sway—but it is all captured hidden from public view. It is, however, more to the intensity than the administration's about-face. When Shamir lunched with a few top-ranking senators during his April visit to Washington, according to one report circulating among insiders, he faced what was described as the "raw anger" of a number of members who were clearly fed up with Shamir's and Israel's arrogance and attempts to ignore American pleas for a let-up to the violence in the occupied territories. Shamir, who had been rattling on about the "unfairness" of US media coverage of the intifada, made the fatal mistake of referring to all those Arabs killed as "hardened terrorists, not innocents." Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) then produced a list of children 10 to 12 years old who had been killed by the Israeli army in the uprising. Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), a pro-Israeli stalwart who has previously not deviated from the Israeli line in his voting record, tried to get Shamir to look at the list. Shamir pompously refused, claiming that it was of no importance. (Chafee, by the way, was the wrong man for the Israeli prime minister to casually disregard. During the last election cycle, Chafee had been singled out for defeat by the Israeli lobby, which threw millions of dollars into the campaign of challenger Richard Lighth. and, through the use of innuendo, raised many inflammatory rumors about Chafee centering on his Lebanese descent and circuitous—through marriage-kinship with Jordan's King Hussein. Chafee has always advocated evenhandedness in US Middle East policy, thus making him a target for the Israeli lobby. The effort to unseat him failed, but only narrowly.) The shocked senators, angry now, were moved by Shamir's arrogant display to warn—and it was Dole who actually said it—that Israel must "get its act together" or face a crisis in its relationship with the US. Although few senators are willing to publicly voice their frustration with Israel, much less to act upon it immediately through the legislative process, there is no doubt that unless Israel does make a few concessions, overt criticism emanating from the halls of Congress is not too far off. And this could be devastating to Israel and to the pro-Israeli lobby. Already they are battling a profound shift in US public opinion in regard to the special relationship, brought about by the media coverage of the uprising and its daily scenes of casual brutality and murder by the Israeli army. Congress has been holding the line, but, in recent months at least, has also been forced to temper its usual enthusiasm for Israel with words of sympathy for the slain Palestinians or simply remaining quiet. It should be noted that the growing disenchantment—and disengagement—with Israel is not an overnight development, or even a sudden shift. It is more accurately a course correction, one made inevitable by the Reagan administration's ceaseless Israeli flag-waving and nearly religious devotion, which threw US policy seriously out of kilter in the Middle East, baffling and disheartening the Arab nations. That approach couldn't be sustained without seriously damaging US prestige and influence in the region—which it did, but from which the US can recover if it plots the right moves and sticks to them. The Bush administration began by signaling that its intention was, from the very beginning, to realign US policy, introducing their hero, secretary of state hopeful Rep. Stephen "Field Marshal" Solarz (D-N.Y.)—are now all too ready to send our sons and daughters into combat because their liberal sensitivities have been bruised by events in such God-forsaken places as Somalia. Next, they'll be going to walk away from the mess and leave it for Bill Clinton to clean up. And rightly so. For it is the bleeding hearts in the liberal media—the baby-boomers Clinton is always trying to please—who have created the atmosphere which allowed and encouraged Bush to do his dumb thing. Nowhere has this disturbing phenomenon been more graphically presented to America than on CNN's Crossfire news-talk show, where Michael Kinsley nightly holds forth. Gushing and giddy as usual, Kinsley interviewed Henry Kissinger on the subject of Somalia just days before the UN decision which paved the way for Bush's announcement of American military intervention. The morose Kissinger provided several obvious reasons why the imminent adventure was a bad idea. Obviously Kinsley looked at Kissinger as though he had lost his mind, but patiently proceeded to explain why this development, too, was beyond the power of the US to resolve. Kissinger accused Kissinger of suffering from the "Vietnam syndrome." The desire displayed by the CNN host to use American military strength to butt into everybody's business around the world and make things right is more than curious. It's hypocritical. Kinsley and his do-good friends in the media have never served a day in the US armed forces, because they were either draft-avoiders or couldn't qualify. Yet, these media mavens—and, of course, the likes of their hero, secretary of state hopeful Rep. Stephen "Field Marshal" Solarz (D-N.Y.)—are now all too ready to send our sons and daughters into combat because their liberal sensitivities have been bruised by events in such God-forsaken places as Somalia. Next, they'll be agitating for America to go back to Indochina—to invade Cambodia and teach the Khmer Rouge a lesson. And what about Congress, which is trying to get its act together for the coming Clinton First-100-Days show in 1993? Well, as usual, they're sitting on their hands—worried about maintaining their perks and privileges—while a lame-duck president marches our troops off on another dubious military adventure. [↩]

60935. New American View. "Foreign Policy: here we Go Again: Where Angels Fear To Trend", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.7(24). December 15, 1992. The US Marines have landed in Somalia—and America may have taken the first step into a political swamp in east Africa which will cost us billions of dollars badly needed here at home and possibly the lives of hundreds or thousands of American military personnel. To what purpose? "I understand the US alone cannot right the world's wrongs," President George Bush told the American people on national TV from the White House, "but we also know that some crises in the world cannot be resolved without American involvement." In Little Rock, Arkansas, president-elect Bill Clinton praised the man he is about to succeed for his leadership on this important issue, as if to say, "Well, we think America's intervention in the savage tribal struggles of Somalia are none of Washington's business. While we pity those who are starving and dying because of the brutality of their fellow countrymen, we believe America's only moral obligation is to provide food and medicine to these poor people. It is not this country's duty to attempt to resolve ancient tribal rivalries and animosities in Africa or anywhere else in the world. Neither our national security nor our national interests are at stake in Somalia. Besides, the situation there is one which the US cannot resolve without a long-term commitment—several months, at least—of men and money. Smart bombs and fancy flying machines will not do the quick trick. Thus, while our military intervention may be explainable as a humanitarian gesture, it is in no way justifiable. It is, in a word, lunacy. And it could prove to be a horrible disaster for America in one or more ways, while accomplishing little or nothing in the way of permanent good in Somalia. Some people in Washington want to blame George Bush for this foolishness. He is no doubt delighted to have something to do that he enjoys during the last days of his residency in the White House. He's good at this "let's all get together with the UN and do something dumb" kind of thing. But this time, he's going to walk away from the mess and leave it for Bill Clinton to clean up. And rightly so. For it is the bleeding hearts in the liberal media—the baby-boomers Clinton is always trying to please—who have created the atmosphere which allowed and encouraged Bush to do his dumb thing. Nowhere has this disturbing phenomenon been more graphically presented to America than on CNN's Crossfire news-talk show, where Michael Kinsley nightly holds forth. Gushing and giddy as usual, Kinsley interviewed Henry Kissinger on the subject of Somalia just days before the UN decision which paved the way for Bush's announcement of American military intervention. The morose Kissinger provided several obvious reasons why the imminent adventure was a bad idea. Obviously Kinsley looked at Kissinger as though he had lost his mind, but patiently proceeded to explain why this development, too, was beyond the power of the US to resolve. Kissinger accused Kissinger of suffering from the "Vietnam syndrome." The desire displayed by the CNN host to use American military strength to butt into everybody's business around the world and make things right is more than curious. It's hypocritical. Kinsley and his do-good friends in the media have never served a day in the US armed forces, because they were either draft-avoiders or couldn't qualify. Yet, these media mavens—and, of course, the likes of their hero, secretary of state hopeful Rep. Stephen "Field Marshal" Solarz (D-N.Y.)—are now all too ready to send our sons and daughters into combat because their liberal sensitivities have been bruised by events in such God-forsaken places as Somalia. Next, they'll be agitating for America to go back to Indochina—to invade Cambodia and teach the Khmer Rouge a lesson. And what about Congress, which is trying to get its act together for the coming Clinton First-100-Days show in 1993? Well, as usual, they're sitting on their hands—worried about maintaining their perks and privileges—while a lame-duck president marches our troops off on another dubious military adventure. [↩]
investigating a complaint by a 14-year-old Israeli girl who says a policeman forced her to remove and confiscate her T-shirt, which bore the slogan "Freedom of the Press" written in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The girl's complaint says she was wearing the T-shirt when she went to a bus station to meet a friend. People there began calling her a "whore" and a "traitor." Two military policemen detained her, and the policeman shouted at her and told her it was illegal for her to wear the shirt in public. [UP] [c]

60937. New American View. "Games in Guatemala", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.7(23). December 1, 1992. Nobel Peace Prize Winner Rigoberta Menchu, a Guatemalan Quiche Indian leader honored for her work on behalf of that nation's oppressed native peoples, told the Israeli newspaper Davar: "In the past, the Guatemalan army received very generous aid from Israel. Among other things, it received aid in computers and weaponry. If the government of Israel is continuing to grant this aid, we are pleading: 'Enough. Do not give a hand to continuing the violation of human rights in my country.'" The award of this year's Peace Prize to Menchu had one immediate effect: It focused welcome attention on the murky but extensive involvement of the Israelis in Central America. Israel's major exports to the region are weapons, training in intelligence, counterterrorism, crowd control, suppression of minorities and dissidents, and torture. Israeli involvement in the region over the years has been closely intertwined with US policy. In some cases, Israel has acted as a US proxy; in others, Israel pursued its own agenda—as in Panama, where the Mossad was busy arming, protecting and advising Manuel Noriega even as US troops were invading in 12/1989. While the US was busy toppling governments and installing friendly regimes, Israel was pursuing profits. Israeli Knesset member and former military intelligence chief Gen. Matiyahu Peled is quoted by Andrew and Leslie Cockburn in their book, Dangerous Liaison, as saying: "In Central America, Israel is the 'dirty work' contractor for the US administration. Israel is acting as an accomplice and arm of the United States." But a Guatemalan official has praised the Israelis for their willingness to cooperate with that country's brutal oppression of its people. "The Israelis do not let this human rights thing get in the way of business. You pay, they deliver. No questions asked, unlike the gringos." (immigration to Israel) or, at least, extended contact with Israel; greater exposure to Israel—"even though he loves the Jewish state more than life itself, or so he would have us believe. So, he comes up with a cute idea, which he thinks is like "taking a page from American Mormons." Eizenstat's suggestion: American Jews should finance "a one-year mission to Israel for our children to learn about Jewish culture and education." Eizenstat, of course, never volunteers these facts, preferring instead to maintain the charade that he has only the interest of America at heart. Occasionally, however, Eizenstat does bare his true colors, as he did in the April issue of Moment, the magazine of Jewish culture and opinion. He writes that "the sword of assimilation [is] aimed at the heart of American Jewry." But he sees "three alternatives to shield" against this deadly sword: "aliyah (immigration to Israel) or, at least, extended contact with Israel; greater exposure to Israel; and Jewish education." While Israeli government and Jewish Agency officials agonize over how to pay for the absorption of the thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants expected to arrive in the next few years, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) are gleefully preparing for the new infusion of manpower. The IDF plans to assign young women soldiers on active duty (many of whom speak Russian) to help teach Hebrew to the new immigrants at the absorption centers. Military service is compulsory in Israel, but immigrants of draft age are usually given a two-year period of grace before being conscripted. (JTA) [c]

60938. New American View. "Greetings", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 5(2), February 1, 1990. While Israeli government and Jewish Agency officials agonize over how to pay for the absorption of the thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants expected to arrive in the next few years, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) are gleefully preparing for the new infusion of manpower. The IDF plans to assign young women soldiers on active duty (many of whom speak Russian) to help teach Hebrew to the new immigrants at the absorption centers. Military service is compulsory in Israel, but immigrants of draft age are usually given a two-year period of grace before being conscripted. (JTA) [c]

60939. New American View. "Height of Hypocrisy", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.7(9). May 1, 1992. Pro-Israeli activist and Zionist zealot Stuart Eizenstat is nothing if he is not a hypocrite. The ex-domestic affairs adviser to former President Jimmy Carter is frequently, too frequently quoted by the print media and all too often shown on TV commenting on events of all sorts. Usually, he is identified as an erstwhile member of the Carter administration. But almost never is the reader or viewing audience told that Eizenstat is a pro-Israeli activist of the highest order and a flaming Zionist to boot. Eizenstat, of course, never volunteers these facts, preferring instead to maintain the charade that he has only the interest of America at heart. Occasionally, however, Eizenstat does bare his true colors, as he did in the April issue of Moment, the magazine of Jewish culture and opinion. He writes that "the sword of assimilation [is] aimed at the heart of American Jewry." But he sees "three alternatives to shield" against this deadly sword: "aliyah (immigration to Israel) or, at least, extended contact with Israel; greater exposure to Israel; and Jewish education." While Israeli government and Jewish Agency officials agonize over how to pay for the absorption of the thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants expected to arrive in the next few years, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) are gleefully preparing for the new infusion of manpower. The IDF plans to assign young women soldiers on active duty (many of whom speak Russian) to help teach Hebrew to the new immigrants at the absorption centers. Military service is compulsory in Israel, but immigrants of draft age are usually given a two-year period of grace before being conscripted. (JTA) [c]
some kind of an important battle for survival against the dark forces of assimilation. He writes: "Jews in Israel must defend their lives against external enemies. American Jews face a struggle to survive against the enemy within. It is time for a trumpet's blast to awaken us to the danger, before it is too late." Get real, Eizenstat! And stop with all the phony baloney, already! [=]

60940. New American View. "History: Jews That Are Not: Recalling the Kingdom of the Khazars", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(4). February 15, 1993. (Editor's Note: The following story is based on an article from Tel Aviv, Israel by Leo Heiman of the Copley News Service, which appeared in the San Diego Union on 8/28/1966.) "Nathan M. Pollock has a beef with the Israeli government," wrote Leo Heiman 27 years ago. "His elaborate plans to celebrate this September [1966] the 1000thanniversary of the Jewish-Khazar alliance were summarily rejected [by the Israeli government]." Pollock, who immigrated to Israel from Russia in 1923, was a translator of scientific texts and a historical researcher. For obvious reasons, reported Heiman, the Israeli authorities were not at all eager to give the official stamp of approval to Pollock's efforts to celebrate the Khazar connection. "For all we know, he may be 100% right," said a senior official. "In fact, he is not the first one to discover the connection between Jews and Khazars. Many famous Bashan Jews and non-Jews have been converted to Judaism as a result of their historical research works. But who can tell today what percentage of Khazar blood flows in our veins, if at all? And who can declare with any degree of scientific accuracy which Jews are Jews and which descendants of this Tartar-Mongol race?" The Khazar connection has long been an embarrassment to professional Zionists and the Jewish state. It is a central theme in the Arab contention that most European Jews have no right to be in Israel, or Palestine, because they are not descended from the biblical Hebrews. Rather, they are descendants of Tartar-Mongol nomad tribes who were converted to Judaism as a group 1000 years ago. Scientific opinion in Israel is divided on the subject. No one argues with the basic premise that 10 centuries ago a group of 12000 Jews, fleeing from the wars between the Byzantine empire and the Arabs, trekked overland through Persia to the Khazar Kingdom north of the Caucasus Mountains and found asylum. Circa 740, the pagan Khazar King Bulan III and his nobles embraced Judaism to avoid conversion to Christianity or Islam. A year later a royal edict was passed enforcing Judaism as the only legal religion in the kingdom. The Khazar tribesmen were forced to undergo circumcision, learn Hebrew prayers and recognize Jewish rabbis as their spiritual leaders—on pain of death. Later, rumors that the Messiah had arrived among the Khazars spurred several Jewish migrations to the kingdom from Persia, Greece and Poland, Pollock believed that Russian antisemitism probably stemmed from this era, when Hebrew-speaking Khazar raiders attacked Russian villages, killed the menfolk and abducted the women, forcibly converting them to their religion and marrying them in full-fledged Judaic ceremonies. This also would explain, according to Pollock, why so many East European Jews are blond and blue-eyed, with a slight Mongol slant to their eyes, as well as the total absence of Semitic features among many Israelis of European descent. The Khazars were defeated by a Russian-Byzantine alliance in 1016. According to The Jewish Encyclopedia published by Funk & Wagnall, "Mx. Hansen (R-Utah). In addition, several incumbents who have earned well-deserved reputations for their courage to criticize the House's constant catering to AIPAC survived to fight another day. They included Jim Grady (R-Fla.), William Schette (R-Mich.), Vin Weber (R-Minn.), Mike Espy (D-Miss.), Jack Buechner (R-Mo.), James Bilbray (R-Nev.), and Chris Smith (R-N.J.). Also so favored were New York Democrats George Hochbrueckner, Robert Mrazek and Louise Slaughter, North Carolina Democrats James Clarke and David Price and Republican John Cole, Edward Feighan (R-Ohio) and Donald Lukens (R-Ohio), Ronald Wyden (D-Ore.), Wayne Owens (D-Utah), and John Miller (R-Wash.). One incumbent supported by AIPAC, Republican Jack Davis, was upset by Democrat George Sangmeister in Illinois. Two challengers given the full support of the Jewish PACs were unable to unseat their incumbent opponents, Jack Hiler (R-Ind.) and James Hansen (R-Utah). In addition, several incumbents who have earned well-deserved reputations for their courage to criticize the House's constant catering to AIPAC survived to fight another day. 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for a civil war because he said that the religious settlers and other Ahronot. This will be done with the help of ancient lice which inhabited Washington Post. Israeli writer Amos Oz, in a rally in Tel Aviv, called problem of "Who is a Jew?" reports the Israeli newspaper Yediot. course [the results] did not make the New York Times or the University. In a short time we will be able, perhaps, to officially solve the Jews expect a civil war [among the Jews], and only 40% do not. Of concludes Professor Roselle Tekiner, an anthropologist at Florida Israeli newspaper, in [a recent] monthly poll, found that 58% of Israeli mobilizing genetic studies on populations for political purposes, genetics is the key to suppression of prostitution, the equality or near equality of women, all he wrote (for which he has not yet found a publisher). "What emerges was quite infected by drugs, especially in the Gaza Strip two years ago, Jew and his genes. "The purpose of evolution is advancing towards becoming more and more of the soldiers will become Goyim. Our genes must be cleaned and protected from new Gentile about the whole human race are simply incorrect. Because of the [Gentiles] are full of many more illnesses, and along the years some of us have been contaminated by all kinds of genetic influences from the Govim. Our genes must be cleaned and protected from new Gentile influences." An astonishingly complex network of researchers, ranging from the residents of the Orthodox neighborhoods in Jerusalem to respected academics, including professors of genetics, are giving the theory of the existence of specific Jewish genes a scientific seal of authenticity Mordechai Blum spent 10 years researching the eternal Jew and his genes. "The purpose of evolution is advancing towards more sophisticated creatures," Blum explains in the preface of the book he wrote (for which he has not yet found a publisher). "What emerges from the research is the whole theme. Jews will be the summit of the whole evolution. Not only from the mental aspect, but also from the moral aspect. Genetics is the key to redemption. When the genetic content is discovered, the question of 'Who is a Jew?' will be solved, and Jews will enormously increase their power. The Jews will be recognized as the source of inspiration for the Govim. "Blum is willing to take a chance and state that the real Jews from a genetic point of view are not his neighbors, the settlers, but rather the Jews of the Israel left Blum: "The sages explain that there is a list of Jewish characteristics, benevolence, mercy, shyness, love for people, pursuing justice, all the qualities that Jews are willing to die for. Among the Israeli left these characteristic Jewish traits seem to prevail, since they pursue justice for the Arabs more than pursuing our own security. They are ashamed to do justice without objectivity, justice for the Jewish people only: They want justice for all of humanity." Contrary to the religious Jews, whose faith brings them together in a defined group, the secular branch of the Zionist movement has faced difficulty in creating a united nation which would overcome the numerous differences between the various communities. Therefore, secular Zionism also finds it difficult to deal with the religious argument, that the right to the Land of Israel passes among Jews by inheritance from one generation to the next. From this was born the need of secular Jews to examine the unifying factor among Jews. Geneticists, politicians and the Jewish community in Israel and abroad have created a conspiracy and are mobilizing genetic studies on populations for political purposes, concludes Professor Roselle Tekiner, an anthropologist at Florida University in Jerusalem. The following are quotes from Dr. Shahak.). groups [in America] are now completely following the line laid down in Jerusalem, with the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads: If they are not willing to be loyal slaves, then the issue of who is a Jew will be reintroduced in the Knesset. I think it is a very bad policy to even have dialogue with organized Jews. [=] 60943. New American View. "It's In The Genes," in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.7(16). August 15, 1992. Quietly, without arousing much attention, a controversial answer to the eternal question "Who is a Jew?" is being formulated in various Jewish circles, reports Hadashot, an Israeli newspaper. A racist answer states: There are Jewish genes. This answer can be heard from some Jewish scientists working in biology, but the biological argument is not absent either from the statements of the Jewish religious believers, those who adhere to the belief of "the chosen people." Yehoshua Shiteinberger, the person in charge of health affairs of Haredi Communities in Israel, is already speaking about a detailed genetic improvement and a revolution. "Of course there are Jewish genes," he says, "but they can be improved, they can be made better. We should arrange this matter orderly, and we are working on that. Within five years there will be a great revolution here. We already now conduct genetic examinations before weddings. It is not that our genes are so bad, heaven forbid, obviously the genes of the Govim [Gentiles] are full of many more illnesses, and along the years some of us have been contaminated by all kinds of genetic influences from the Govim. Our genes must be cleaned and protected from new Gentile influences." 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Therefore, secular Zionism also finds it difficult to deal with the religious argument, that the right to the Land of Israel passes among Jews by inheritance from one generation to the next. From this was born the need of secular Jews to examine the unifying factor among Jews. Geneticists, politicians and the Jewish community in Israel and abroad have created a conspiracy and are mobilizing genetic studies on populations for political purposes, concludes Professor Roselle Tekiner, an anthropologist at Florida University in Jerusalem. A short time we will be able, perhaps, to officially solve the problem of “Who is a Jew?” reports the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot. This will be done with the help of ancient lice which inhabited the hair of the Jews in the first century AD. An anthropologist from the
Antiquities Authority, Joe Ziyas, recently sent a package of these lice to the genetic laboratory of Oxford University. The ancient lice, by virtue of the especially dry climate of the Judean Desert, were preserved on the combs found in the caves of that area. The Israeli authorities requested that the laboratory attempt to cut the lice in order to isolate the human blood they may contain. If this is successful, they hope to isolate the white blood cells in order to discover the genetic makeup of their DNA. (Translations from the Hebrew press provided by Dr. Israel Shahak.)

60944. New American View. "Jewish Politicking", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East, March 15, 1990. A group of prominent Jewish Democrats, led by Cleveland businessman Morton Mandel, have formed a study group to determine ways to improve ties between Jews and the Democratic Party. Members of the group include Howard Squadron, Stuart Eizenstat and Hyman Bookbinder. "There has been a very slow drift of Jews over the last 25 years into the Republican ranks," says Eizenstat. "It troubles me that two Democratic conventions in a row...failed to have a specific resolution in the party platform about antisemitism," says Bookbinder. According to the group's agenda, it will concentrate on women's reproductive rights, homelessness, civil rights, poverty, Soviet Jewry, and aid to Israel. (Washington Jewish Week.)

60945. New American View. "Jewish Soul Searching", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(7), May 15, 1994. Two columns in last week's Washington-Jewish Week point up the current depth of confusion in defining "Jewishness" for the tribal members in the new changing world. Israeli Be'er Zimmerman writes, "The secular option is the force that has kept the pendulum of Judaism moving over the last 250 years. All the major branches of Judaism today have been deeply influenced by the secular option...But only in Israel has the threat of secularism become a reality...Israelis have created a 'secular' Jewish culture that has influenced the entire Jewish world." According to Zimmerman, "The founders, although religiously inspired, were committed secularists. We cannot hide the truth. The state of Israel must learn how to study our Jewish sources while traveling on our 'secular' road...We are not 'Hebrew speaking gentiles.' We are Jews in search of our Jewish route." But in the final analysis, he says, "Religion is an option. But Jewishness is not. It is our natural situation." Jewish American Richard Siegel writes that all the panic concerning assimilation and intermarriage is balderdash. He says, "Does America at the end of the 20th century provide the condition for renewal of Jewish identity? Many in the Jewish community think not. I disagree because I believe that America is a remarkable host, not just for Jews but for Jewishness." Siegel argues, "If we were to add the cultural productivity of our internal Jewish institutions—our museums, libraries, theaters, publishing houses, community centers, synagogues and schools—to the mainstream of America—programs on radio and television, feature films, newspaper and magazine articles, books, plays on Broadway and off, museum exhibitions, university courses—the volume of our Jewish cultural 'Gross National Product,' as well as its quality, would certainly rival any time or place in Jewish history." He says, "Circling the wagons is exactly the wrong response to the openness of America...We need not be so defensive...As the largest, wealthiest, best educated and most successful Jewish community in the 4000-year history of the Jewish people, we have the potential to become a great Jewish civilization...but it will not look like Eastern Europe or Israel. It will look like America."
do not rank as high in importance among Jewish voters as the Bush campaign estimated. Only one-third of those polled ranked Israel as their highest priority in choosing a president. Almost two-thirds listed domestic social issues as their highest priorities. The AJC's poll, taken this past spring and surveying the opinions of 1,252 Jews and 1,217 non-Jews, shows that most Jewish voters continue to adhere to liberal causes and still favor a Democrat as president. But many are concerned about what they perceive as trùng problems in what they consider to be a growing anti-Semitism in America. Some 76% of the Jews surveyed this spring felt that anti-Semitism in the US is a serious problem for American Jews, compared with 54% in 1986 and 47% in 1984. (On this point, the respondents point to the prominence of Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primaries and Pat Robertson in the Republican run-offs.) Because of the Palestinian uprising, consciousness of Israel has risen among Jews some 13%, compared with 1984. But it has not yet reached the high level (78%) attained in 1983 during Israel's invasion of Lebanon. On the other hand, 15% said they were uncomfortable identifying themselves as supporters of Israel, up seven points from two years ago.

There are increased fears among Jews about US support for Israel, too. 54% said they were concerned the US might cease being a firm ally of Israel, up from 40% in 1986. On domestic social issues, Jews showed a "selective liberalism." Jews fell well below non-Jewish whites and blacks on such traditionally liberal issues as affirmative action and capital punishment. Jews also differed markedly with non-Jewish whites and blacks on such issues as banning all forms of pornography, legalizing abortion and permitting prayer in schools. Somewhat surprisingly, 60% of the Jews surveyed disapproved of President Reagan's performance, as opposed to 38% of the non-Jewish whites. All in all, the strong liberal strain among American Jews suggests they are more likely to support Dukakis than Bush in the presidential election. [Reprinted from Washington Jewish Week] [*]

60949. New American View. "Kahane Bombs", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(11). June 15, 1989. Rabbi Meir Kahane spoke in Washington this month to a group of the faithful—and New American View attended. The hotel where the meeting was held was prepared to accommodate over 200 people, but no more than 90 showed. The rabbi, to their respects to the radical rabbi. The meeting was scheduled to begin at 8:00. At around 8:30, Sol Margolis, the organizer of the event, stepped up to the podium and began to speak, but the sound system was inaudible. After Margolis regained his composure, he introduced Kahane as a "leader of the rank and file." Kahane reiterated his usual hypocritical contention that "not enough Jews are making aliyah . . . not enough Jews are going to Israel and making the sacrifice." At this writing, Kahane is desperately seeking to regain his status as an American citizen, after having been told by the Israeli government that if he wanted to run for election to the Knesset he would have to make "true aliyah" by renouncing his American citizenship. Kahane lost his bid for another term, and he and his Kach political party were banned from Israeli politics. Realizing what had happened, Kahane has come back to the State Department whispering about the loss of his US citizenship. Kahane's lawyers will argue before a federal judge that he gave up his American citizenship under "duress." The truth is Kahane renounced his US citizenship of his own free will when he swore his oath of office, during his first term in the Knesset. Originally scheduled for this month, the hearing on his citizenship has been postponed by Kahane's attorneys. In the meantime, the rabbi is shuttling between New York and Tel Aviv trying to drum up support in America for his Kach movement. Just three weeks ago in Jerusalem, Kahane was arrested for "incitement" when he led a Jewish march through the city. Kahane's message was bluntly stated: "One thousand Arab lives are equivalent to one life of a Jew." In his two-hour speech, Kahane revealed his dismay at the rising Arab birth rate in Israel: "We sophisticated Jews are having 30,000 abortions a year while the Arabs are having babies, babies, babies . . . their birthrate is enormous! The fact that the Arabs are winning the "war of the womb" has disturbed the Israelis for years. Projected population figures indicate that there will be equal numbers of Arabs and Jews in Israel by the year 2010. The highlight of the evening occurred shortly after Kahane began speaking. A bomb scare resulted in a mad rush for the door. Two Maryland state troopers quickly reassured the attendees. One trooper said, "All right, everybody back inside. You people are getting hysterical for no reason." They were then reseated to hear the rest of Kahane's speech, which closed with the admonition: "Before they destroy us from without with the support of these within . . ." well, you get the picture. [=*]

60950. New American View. "Lady Doves", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(6). April 1, 1989. Since the intifada (Palestinian uprising), Israeli women have become more dovish. Over 70% favor direct talks with the PLO, say two Hebrew University professors citing data from three recent surveys. Only 50% of the men favor such talks. Religious women are more hawkish than religious men, and secular women are more dovish than those with less education. (Jewish Telegraphic Agency) [*]

60951. New American View. "Lobby Report II: Weeds Among The Grassroots: Too Many Chiefs, Not Enough Indians", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(5). March 1, 1993. Years ago, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis told Jewish Americans of the Zionist persuasion that they should "organize, organize, organize." They took him at his word, and to this day, they continue to organize, organize, organize. But for some time now, there have been mutterings within the Jewish community that it is running out of bodies to people all these organizations. More importantly, however, there are growing indications that the Zionist zealotry which exists at the top of these activist groups and among their hard-core career workers is not shared by the bulk of the organizational memberships. In fact, in many Jewish organizations, membership is declining. "The Jewish community in America has lost its way," says a former activist, once an official in a leading Zionist organization. "They've lost touch with the grassroots. Jewish interests and concerns are changing, but the 'leadership' is still going down the same old road, singing the same old songs—Zionism, the holocaust, antisemitism. "They've got to get involved with the issues that are meaningful to American Jews, to the young Jews—American issues." But it's hard to teach old dogs new tricks. The Jewish leaders and storm troopers who made their mark by making Israel the centrality of their Jewishness are out of date, but they do not realize it yet. Take old war-horse Seymour Reich. Several years ago, he took over control of B'nai Brith International, hoping to revive the venerable Jewish fraternity. He brought with him a team of Anti-Defamation League professionals to juice up B'nai Brith, and promptly fell flat on his face. His new policies were predicated on old issues—pro-Israelism, holocaustism, anti-antisemitism—which may have had some meaning for the old-timers. But these causes did not attract the younger Jews. Besides, other Jewish organizations, activist groups with modern cadres, had a lock on these memberships. In fact, in many Jewish organizations, membership is declining. "The Jewish community in America has lost its way," says a former activist, once an official in a leading Zionist organization. "They've lost touch with the grassroots. Jewish interests and concerns are changing, but the 'leadership' is still going down the same old road, singing the same old songs—Zionism, the holocaust, antisemitism. "They've got to get involved with the issues that are meaningful to American Jews, to the young Jews—American issues." But it's hard to teach old dogs new tricks. 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Reich says, "We intend to be heard on issues relating to antisemitism, relating to the US and Israel, and to bring a different viewpoint than other Jewish organizations—which is the Israeli experience. We want to better market the need for American Jews to spend time in Israel and to send their children there, to promote Jewish-Zionist education. The Zionist movement is a sleeping giant." His Jewish critics view Reich's latest organizational effort with scorn. Says a Jewish fundraiser, "They [the Zionists] have won the war. They should declare victory and go home." Meanwhile, other old-time organizations, like the American Jewish Congress (AJC), are struggling to inspire what is left of their membership. Seymour Mann, a member of the AJC board of directors for the National Capital
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can help the Jewish state. Seminar offerings reflected the tools needed by this group. "Straight Talk: How to Make the Case for Israel" and "Fine-Tuning Your AIPAC "Pitch"" reviewed the basic strategies for the Jewish idealist who is trying to sell Israel and its lobby to his collegiate peers. The seminar on "Pounding the Pavement," forced to move into the balcony to accommodate an overflowing crowd, offered everything from resume-writing tips to lists of available congressional and party internships. Student brown bag lunches and "dealing with a problematic faculty" to "applying for university funding" and "staging a counter-demonstration."

AIPAC's new president, Steve Grossman, was particularly popular with the young AIPACers. In his pep talk to the conference, he affirmed that AIPAC was seeking to build its future leadership in a "time of relative calm and stability," rather than "having events overtake you." He observed that there is currently a "sea change in grassroots activism" which is "good news" for AIPAC. Grossman was head of the Massachusetts Democratic Party when he was tapped to be president of the pro-Israel lobby late last year—after the abrupt resignation of then president David Steiner. Steiner's mistake was bragging about AIPAC's influence with the Clintons to New York businessman Harry Katz, who taped-recorded their telephone conversation and handed it over to the press. At the conference, when the head table was introduced and past presidents and chairmen were acknowledged and praised for their pro-Israeli activism, Steiner was conspicuously absent. His presence in the back of the conference hall was, however, dutifully noted from the podium and then he was ignored. Unlike last year—when a tentative AIPAC gathered to discuss the merits of the US presidential candidates and to worry about the elections in Israel—this year's conference offered a victorious group of Jewish Americans celebrating the election of a sure friend of Israel. Executive director Tom Dine reflected the general mood more for tone than substance. Still, it was very positive for US-Israeli relations. Shiloh and Miller summed up the Israeli opinion of the recent Clinton-AIPAC conference live, via satellite transmission, followed by the new Israeli ambassador to the US, Itamar Rabinovich, in person. The subject foremost on their minds was the peace negotiations with the Arabs. Rabin acknowledged that "from time to time, we had differences [titters from the audience], but there is no more effective organization." He said he was "more than thankful" to AIPAC, and encouraged it to continue its "holy work" for Israel. He mentioned the fact that he was the target for Rabin's wrath last year— for having botched the loan guarantees deal with the Bush administration. This year's conference featured several sessions devoted to US-Israeli cooperation in cultural and economic fields. For the humanitarians and the social-oriented, there was a workshop explaining joint programs on everything from the environment to child care. HIPPY ("Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters"), for instance, began in Israel but has been expanded to 59 sites in the US and others in Turkey, Germany, Chile, New Zealand, Holland and South Africa. The success story of the Texas-Israel Exchange (TIE), a program of the Texas Department of Agriculture designed to foster cooperation in agriculture, was detailed for attendees who wanted to see their own state governments become inextricably involved in Israel. For older members with money to burn, there was a seminar on investment opportunities: "All you need to know to invest and do business in Israel—including joint venture, stock
market, real estate, and venture capital opportunities." This strategy of stressing multilevel US-Israeli relations is particularly appealing to the young Jewish American, who might need more than just Jewish ethnicity or religion to justify his or her single-minded support of Israel. The ability to point to joint educational, environmental or humanitarian endeavors makes pro-Israelism far more palatable and defensible, especially when one still must deal with the Palestinian issue. With the exception of the murder of State Warren Christopher, the 1993 AIPAC conference seemed lacking in big-name political luminaries. One might have expected President Clinton or Vice President Al Gore to speak, considering how fond this administration is of Israel, but this was not to be. There were some veteran lovers of Israeli present, however: House Minority Leade Bob Michel addressed the opening session, and Sens. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.) and Don Nickles (R-Okla.) spoke at the main banquet—which was attended by 45 US senators and 85 representatives. After weakly recounting the pro-Israel successes of the Bush and Reagan years, Michel hammered away at the Clinton policy of cutting military spending. Military strength equals diplomatic flexibility, Michel stressed, and the US must be strong to carry out a realistic foreign policy. This foreign policy must include support for Israel, which a Michel justified with the tired "shared values" argument. But he warned, "we must not lobby for continued aid just for the sake of continued aid." The conference's lobbying caucuses, broken down by regions, are usually coached by well-known congressional friends of Israel.

But this year, half of the regional caucuses were led by freshman members—Don Manzullo (R-Ill.), Eric Fingerhut (D-Ohio), Sam Coppersmith (D-Ariz.), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.)—with only two months experience on the Hill. And one caucus speaker was only a staff member of second-term congressman John Olver (D-Mass.). The member of Congress with the most legislative experience (seven terms) to speak at a lobbying caucus was Democrat Barney Frank of Massachusetts, whose claim to fame among most Americans is his alternative sexual lifestyle. Apparently, no speaker could be found for the Mid-Atlantic region, and executive director Tom Dine had to fill in. AIPAC members were encouraged to get more involved at the state and local levels of government and in the state political party apparatuses. The requirements for being a party delegate on the state level run the gamut from obtaining signatures on a petition to merely showing up at a particular function. It is not that difficult to get involved, if one can just spare the time. And the time is well worth the investment, if one can land a position on a state platform committee or on the staff of an elected official. With more and more states passing term limitation legislation, local and state elected officials are forced either to retire or seek a higher level of public service. Some will opt to run for Congress. Get to know these people now, and you'll be remembered later, the young Jewish activists were assured.

"You [AIPAC] have been stunningly successful, and you know it."—President Bill Clinton. [=]
it turns out that the ADL was even spying on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and passing the information along to J. Edgar Hoover. According to Henry Schwarzschild, who worked at the ADL at the time, the organization's spying on King was "common and casually accepted knowledge." But the biggest irony in all this is that many of the members and leaders of these liberal-leftist groups are Jewish. According to Robert I. Friedman in a recent article which appeared in New York's left-wing Village Voice, his love of Israel "is a universal things for Jews and anti-Israel Jews and community knew the ADL spied on right-wing groups. As long as the targets were antisemitic organizations like the Liberty Lobby and Lyndon LaRouche, no one seemed to be particularly troubled. But the Bullock [San Francisco] case reveals that the ADL has also spied on groups that have a nonviolent, progressive orientation. This apparent massive violation of civil liberties may end with the ADL's criminal indictment in San Francisco, where the investigation began."

Irwin Suall, a former national secretary of the Socialist Party, heads the ADL's Fact-Finding Division, which is headquartered in New York. With his newfound notoriety, a number of stories about him have emerged, illustrating his and the ADL's contempt for the political left which has attracted so many of their fellow Jews. Lenni Brenner, one of Suall's former communist cronies who had worked with him as an organizer during the 1950s, bumped into him at a Greenwich Village bar recently. Both men struggled for a moment to remember the other's face. Then Suall blurted out: "I know you. You're Lenni Brenner, and you belong to the National Association for Jewish Insurance. I'm Irwin Suall, the chief fact-finder for the Anti-Defamation League." After a night of drinking and telling stories (sometimes Suall's memory would fail him; "I don't have my files," he'd complain), suddenly turned on his long-ago friend, denouncing Brenner as an "assimilationist Jew who cared nothing about Israel or Jewishness." In another incident, Chip Berlett and Russ Berlant, researchers who work for leftist outfits monitoring right-wing movements, visited Suall in his office to compare notes with the great fact-finder Lyndon LaRouche. Suall, who had never met either of them, greeted them with a detailed rundown of their organizational affiliations, their professional pasts and their political activities—as if to tell them he had the goods on them, as well as on LaRouche. Suall then leaned forward, saying: "The right-wing isn't the problem. It's the American left that is the biggest threat to American Jews. You're part of the problem." Berlett said that Suall's rant left him "virtually in tears," because "this is not how I perceive myself." The ADL's distrust of the left began in the 1970s, when campus radicals began including Israel in their denunciations of imperialism. At the time, ADL general counsel Arnold Forster and national director Benjamin Epstein wrote in their book The New Anti-Semitism, "The left and the far right are again patent fellow travelers in their hatred of Israel." By the time the Reagan administration took over in the 1980s, many Jewish former leftists and Marxists realized that their real loyalty was to Israel rather than to the struggle for social justice. Reagan's devotion to Israel—which translated into the highest level of military and economic support Israel had ever received from its US patron—inspired a mass conversion among such Jews, Fort Knox, Kentucky—where they rode around on 67-ton M1-A1 heavy battle tanks, firing their 120-mm guns. Still more outrageous, considering that JINSA's first loyalty is to the Jewish state of Israel—not America—was what the Pentagon admirals did a couple of months later. Eight of JINSA's financial contributors were treated to a 30-hour cruise aboard the ballistic missile nuclear submarine USS Kentucky (SSBN-737). The group sailed from the Navy's Submarine Base at Kings Bay, Georgia to Cape Canaveral, Florida, and were entertained with demonstrations of weapons firing procedures and access to the bridge to observe operations above and below the surface. Members of the group even were permitted to man the helm of the sub—just for fun, of course. JINSA's day-and-a-half fun tour of the Fort Knox Armor Center was led by Major General Tom Tait, USA (Ret.), a former commander of the base. Gen. Tait was a participant in the JINSA-enhanced visit to Israel for retired US generals and admirals last year. The visit to Israel is an annual event in which about two dozen former senior officers participate every year. (According to a retired admiral who was on the JINSA visit to Israel a couple of years ago. "It's one of the biggest propaganda extravaganzas I've ever been exposed to.

most impressed, he says, with his first view of Jerusalem. "It was dawn as we flew over in a small plane, and the city glinted golden in the early morning sunlight." Of Masada, the fortified castle where, according to the legend, 960 Jewish zealots committed suicide rather than surrender to the Roman army in 73 A.D., he says, "I was so impressed with the courage and resolution of that little group of people and what they cost the Romans. What an extraordinary act." Now, we all know that the real Masada thing which may be the key to understanding Packwood's apparent death wish in his fight with his peers in Congress. In modern Israel, the Masada experience has led to something known as the "Masada Complex"—the conviction that it is preferable to fight to the end rather than to give up. And that appears to be exactly what Packwood has in mind. [2]

60956. New American View. "More Refugees?", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East, August 15, 1990. A small group of Jerusalem homeless camped on the grounds of the US Consulate a couple of weeks ago, declaring that they would apply for refugee status with the US because they cannot live normal lives in Israel. American officials distributed alien immigration application forms to the campers. Low-income Israelis, especially young couples, are competing for scarce housing with newly arrived Soviet Jewish immigrants. Hundreds of these new homeless are now living in tent cities all over the country. One homeless woman said she would rather live on the streets of New York than in a tent in Israel. (JTA) [2]

60957. New American View. "National Security: Pentagon Panders To Jewish Lobby: Pro-Israeli Group Plays on Nuclear Subs", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(20), October 15, 1993. Something is terribly wrong in the Pentagon. Instead of tending to its proper military business as professional soldiers and sailors should, the Defense Department brass is providing fun and games with expensive weapons systems for the big-buck contributors to the avidly pro-Israeli Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA). What's going on over at the Pentagon? A couple of months ago, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin was so concerned over the possible political ramifications at home of sending tank crews and other to help our troops in Somalia that he turned down the field commander's request for these vital needed weapons. But at the same time, we now learn, he thought nothing of allowing a group of 10 JINSA donors to play in the sandbox at the Army's Armor Center at Fort Knox, Kentucky—where they rode around on 67-ton M1-A1 heavy battle tanks, firing their 120-mm guns. Still more outrageous, considering that JINSA's first loyalty is to the Jewish state of Israel—not America—was what the Pentagon admirals did a couple of months later. Eight of JINSA's financial contributors were treated to a 30-hour cruise aboard the ballistic missile nuclear submarine USS Kentucky (SSBN-737). The group sailed from the Navy's Submarine Base at Kings Bay, Georgia to Cape Canaveral, Florida, and were entertained with demonstrations of weapons firing procedures and access to the bridge to observe operations above and below the surface. Members of the group even were permitted to man the helm of the sub—just for fun, of course. JINSA's day-and-a-half fun tour of the Fort Knox Armor Center was led by Major General Tom Tait, USA (Ret.), a former commander of the base. Gen. Tait was a participant in the JINSA-enhanced visit to Israel for retired US generals and admirals last year. The visit to Israel is an annual event in which about two dozen former senior officers participate every year. (According to a retired admiral who was on the JINSA visit to Israel a couple of years ago. "It's one of the biggest propaganda extravaganzas I've ever been exposed to.
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solving of Israel by these people gets pretty boring fast, but a lot of the participants are taken in by it.” On the Fort Knox tour, the JINSA gang learned the fundamentals of operating a tank by practicing on an advanced driver-trainer simulator and later participated in tank gunnery practice with live ammunition. In the real tanks, the JINSA members were given the gunner’s position and instructed in the use of the laser range finder and gun aiming controls. The loader inserted a 120-mm anti-armour round into the breach, and each visitor fired at targets up to three-quarters of a mile away. At much more cost to the American taxpayer than the tank exercise was JINSA’s nuclear submarine cruise in the Atlantic. The motto for these ballistic missile strategic attack boats is: “We Hide With Pride.” Well, maybe from the Russians and the American taxpayer, but certainly not from JINSA’s well-heeled pro-Israeli Jewish lobbyists. The JINSA group was briefed on the sophisticated weapons with which the Kentucky and its sister ships are armed, and on the underwater countermeasures, electronic intercepts, radar and sonar systems, navigation techniques and methods of communications used by these vessels.

The groups was treated to a simulated missile launch in the missile control room, and given complete access to the control room to observing techniques. One of the fun highlights of the overnight cruise for the JINSA visitors was to stand on the top of the sails on the conning tower while the sub traveled on the surface. The JINSA lobbyists seem to be particularly attracted to the US Navy, perhaps because ships at sea are more fun for its contributors. Over the years, JINSA has arranged with the Navy brass at the Pentagon to fly groups of donors out to aircraft carriers for a day or two of fun and games in the Atlantic. One such jaunt to the USS Coral Sea resulted in the JINSA representatives being made honorary members of the elite “Tailhookers Club” for their arrested landing on the carrier. It’s nice to have friends in high places. Secretary of Defense Aspin, who used to be chairman of the Armed Services Committee in the House of Representatives, was until recently a member of JINSA’s advisory board. These are your tax dollars at work. You paid for JINSA’s pleasure and propaganda. But, dear fellow American, just you try to get a free cruise from the Navy or even a ride on a tank from the Army and see what happens.

Eight financial contributors to JINSA were treated to a fun ride in the Atlantic Ocean on the USS Kentucky, a ballistic missile submarine, in August. Two months earlier, 10 JINSA donors toyed with M1-A1 heavy tanks at the Army’s Armor Center at Fort Knox, Kentucky. [=]

60958. New American View. “News Notes: Israel Bound”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.7(23). December 1, 1992. A trip to Israel will become as universal a rite of passage for Jewish American youth as a bar mitzvah or bat mitzvah under a new multimillion-dollar program. The five-year program will provide funds to local Jewish federations to finance summer trips to Israel and scholarships for interested teenagers. The program planners hope to increase the number of young Jews traveling to Israel from the current 8000 a year to at least 50000. There are an estimated 350000 Jewish teenagers in the US and Canada. “The Israel Experience holds great promise for heightening awareness, strengthening identity and making a significant contribution to contemporary Jewish life, education and Jewish continuity,” said Charles Bronfman, head of the Montreal-based program. One problem to be overcome, said a program official, is to convince American Jewry to send more than the current 5% of its children to Israel for a visit. (JTA.) [=]

60959. New American View. “News Notes: Jewish Democrats”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(7). April 1, 1993. The National Jewish Democratic Council (NJDC) is bullish on Bill Clinton’s economic plan “a refreshingly responsible approach to this country’s economic problems. It puts people first by placing politics as usual last.” And they just love what he’s doing for the homosexuals. “The civil rights of gay and lesbian Americans should be protected in every facet of life in the US, including the military; and the power of the White House should be used to educate the public.” And in Texas, the NJDC has formally endorsed Sen. Robert Krueger, who was appointed by Gov. Ann Richards, as their candidate in the special election to fill Sen. Lloyd Bentsen’s vacant seat. (NJDC Capital Communicate.) [=]

60960. New American View. “News Notes: Prostitution”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East. Vol.6(12). June 15, 1991. Israel’s Knesset gave initial approval recently to legislation that could legalize prostitution, provided the sex-for-pay transactions take place only in cars or boats. The bill, submitted by Avraham Poraz of the Shinui party, suggests prostitution could also take place in designated hotel rooms, but strictly forbids it in the streets or on the beach. Prostitution is illegal in Israel, but police often ignore it. Pimping, however, is severely punished. (Associated Press.) [=]

60961. New American View. “News Notes: Rabin’s Advice”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(23). December 1, 1993. Speaking to North American Jewry in Montreal, Canada last week, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said, “We should be preparing now for the day in which new issues will occupy our hearts and minds, because our support for Israel and our identification with Israel is based on more than the external threats to Israel.” Regarding Jewish intermarriage and assimilation, he advised, “We might lose our young people, and there is only one way to face this attrition—profound, indelible Jewish education coupled with Israel experience . . . This is the time to rewrite the covenant between Israel and world Jewry. The thrust of the covenant must be Jewish continuity and survival through the reclamation of our youth.” (Jerusalem Post.) [=]

60962. New American View. “News Notes: Selling Israel”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(7). April 1, 1993. “Enough about Jewish identity, Jewish continuity and fighting intermarriage. Let’s talk about self-esteem,” writes reporter Larry Yudelson. “Hoping to connect youth to their Jewish heritage and counter assimilation, the Jewish American community is increasingly looking to boost the enrollments of summer programs for teenagers in Israel,” he says. “But those at the center of an effort to send more students to Israel say that the first step may simply be selling parents and teens on all the other benefits a trip to Israel offers.” It’s not just Jewish identity. It’s self-confidence, awareness, decision-making and open-minded discussion, say the hucksters. (Jerusalem Post.) [=]

60963. New American View. “News Notes: Why Be Jewish?”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.9(7). May 15, 1994. Facing stiff competition from a multitude of Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Committee is looking to battle Jewish assimilation and intermarriage as its purpose in life for the coming years. But getting a handle on how to maintain Jewish continuity—now the hottest buzzwords in the Jewish organizational world—was easier said than done at the 88th annual convention of the group in Washington last week. The AJ Committee’s predicament is the new issues will occupy our hearts and minds, because our support for Israel and our identification with Israel is based on more than the external threats to Israel.” Regarding Jewish intermarriage and assimilation, he advised, “We might lose our young people, and there is only one way to face this attrition—profound, indelible Jewish education coupled with Israel experience . . . This is the time to rewrite the covenant between Israel and world Jewry. The thrust of the covenant must be Jewish continuity and survival through the reclamation of our youth.” (Jerusalem Post.) [=]

60964. New American View. “No Comment”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.9(7). May 15, 1994. Facing stiff competition from a multitude of Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Committee is looking to battle Jewish assimilation and intermarriage as its purpose in life for the coming years. But getting a handle on how to maintain Jewish continuity—now the hottest buzzwords in the Jewish organizational world—was easier said than done at the 88th annual convention of the group in Washington last week. The AJ Committee’s predicament is the new issues will occupy our hearts and minds, because our support for Israel and our identification with Israel is based on more than the external threats to Israel.” Regarding Jewish intermarriage and assimilation, he advised, “We might lose our young people, and there is only one way to face this attrition—profound, indelible Jewish education coupled with Israel experience . . . This is the time to rewrite the covenant between Israel and world Jewry. The thrust of the covenant must be Jewish continuity and survival through the reclamation of our youth.” (Jerusalem Post.) [=]
Israel. Vol. 4(5), March 15, 1989. Four Israeli Arab co-eds at Tel Aviv University were ordered to transfer from their originally assigned dormitory to another because the school's administrators decided that Arab and Jewish students should not room together. (Jerusalem Post.)

B'nai B'rith Internat'l (BBI) in Washington officially apologized to the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee for having sent out a fundraising letter to BBI members that said, "The Arab presence on campus [in the US] is poisoning the minds of our young people," (Washington Post.)

60965. New American View. "O.J. Simpson's Last Public Event", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(10). July 1, 1994. In what was apparently a last public appearance before his ex-wife and a friend were found stabbed to death, O.J. Simpson attended a $25 000-per-couple benefit dinner for Israel's Chaim Sheba Medical Center, according to Rabbi Yake Butler, executive editor of the B'nai B'rith Messager, Los Angeles. He was accompanied, Butler said, by a woman he described as "a new friend, a model. Simpson, a member of the Pro-Football Hall of Fame and a television celebrity, pleaded innocent at his June 24 arraignment to the murders of Nicole Brown Simpson, 35, and Ronald Goldman, 25 A report in the Los Angeles Times cited sources as saying Goldman's wounds indicated "he fought back fiercely when attacked." (Washington Jewish Week.)

60966. New American View. "On The Hill", in New American View- Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(10). June 1, 1989. The 41st anniversary of Israeli independence came and went, on May 10, and Congress didn't quite know what to make of it. Uncharacteristically muted in their singing of hosannas to Israel, the legislators also showed confusion in dealing with the issue of Israel's brutal response to the Palestinian uprising. The speeches they delivered on Israeli Independence Day ranged from utter devotion and defiance to doubts about Israel's policies and even to outright criticism of the Jewish state. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) defended Israel to the hilt. Yet he obviously felt that he had to respond publicly to the rising level of private misgivings among his colleagues, saying that he "reject[s] the suggestions that Israel is off on the road to repression. Repressive nations do not feel anguish about their policies . . . Israel, on the other hand, is anguished over the situation in the occupied territories. Israelis do care." Metzenbaum grandiloquently claimed that "Israel has contributed more to the intellectual, economic and cultural welfare of mankind during its short 41 years than many, if not most, longer-lived nations." He rejected any assertion that Israel ignores normal standards of democracy and human rights, saying, "A democracy in Israel's precarious position must make very tough decisions about law and order." And he concluded, "What we see in Israel is a vibrant democracy that is attempting to uphold normally high standards of human rights during a crisis of national security." Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) sang a different, more doubting, tune. Specter, one of the most ardent supporters of Israel in Congress—at least up until recently—managed to slip in some carefully worded warnings to the Israelis, and gave an indication that congressional support for that nation may be waning in response to US public opinion. Just returned from a "fact-finding" trip to the Middle East, Specter said he is hopeful that the Arab nations are becoming more conciliatory toward Israel, and that the US "should continue to support Israel with aid, assistance and perhaps suggestions, but without undue influence." He said he had always thought that time was on Israel's side, but, "Now, I am not so sure. I am personally concerned about the future of the $3 billion annual allocation from the United States to Israel. While congressional support remains strong, the potential is present for erosion, especially given the deficit, US budgetary constraints and the relentless adverse media coverage." Then, to top it off, he related how "stung" he was by the words "occupation forces" describing Israel's presence in the West Bank and Gaza, a term he heard used over and over again by Arab leaders. "If Israel is accused of occupying anything," he said, "it is not and must not be territory. It must occupy only that special place in the conscience of mankind which David Ben-Gurion envisioned when he called Israel 'a light unto the nations.'" Specter also uttered the heretical idea that peace in the Middle East might best be achieved through the framework of an international conference, a concept the Israelis have always forcefully rejected. To be sure, Specter's comments were couched in praiseful terms—constant qualifications of the PLO's negative role being the stark, a turning point for the senator, one that will certainly not go unnoticed by the legions of pro-Israeli lobbyists. Outright criticism of Israel's policies in the occupied territories was voiced by Rep. Howard Nielson (R-Utah), who introduced a resolution calling upon Israel to take immediate steps to reopen schools in the West Bank. "As we prepare to vote on a new $3 billion aid package to Israel in the coming weeks, it is time to let Israel know that Americans value the right of all people to an education." Adding salt to the wound, Nielson pointed out that "Under the terms of the fourth Geneva Convention an occupying power has the responsibility to do everything possible to promote the care and education of children. This responsibility is clearly not being met." The Nielson bill has three co-sponsors. There seems to be a new breeze blowing through Congress, and it is indeed refreshing for those concerned with America's one-sided involvement in the Middle East dispute. A broader range of opinion is being expressed on the Hill in regard to Israel. Yes, there are still the diehard loyalists who defend Israel to the hilt, but a growing number of dissenting voices are being heard, even among those who formerly toed the Israeli line. Even more encouraging, these new voices of dissent will soon express themselves in votes on issues affecting the Middle East. Then, hopefully, we will see real change. [+]
friends of Israel and political heavyweights committed to a strong international role for the US," reports the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA). Ester Kurz of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) says, "While the challenges the pro-Israel community faces in the coming years continue to be daunting, the news that so many friends of the US-Israel relationship will be sitting on key committees goes a long way toward helping meet those challenges." But just to make sure the pro-Israel community is prepared to win its usual battles, AIPAC is preparing a campaign of disinformation packets, briefings and free trips to Israel for congressional members and staffers. Says Kurz, "We're planning an intensified orientation, given the large number of new members." The Jewish lobby also is focusing its efforts on the Clinton foreign policy team. After complaining bitterly in the news media about some of the president-elect's top appointments and that not enough pro-Israeli Jews had been selected for his administration, the lobby has now changed its tactics. Under the auspices of Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), a meeting was arranged between Secretary of State-designate Warren Christopher and a group of Jewish organization leaders earlier this month in Washington. "We found that the meeting dispelled some of the concerns. We discussed a wide variety of concerns and found him [Christopher] very responsive," said Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Lieberman said that Christopher had asked him to arrange the meeting. He also said to the Jewish leaders at the meeting that Christopher, who has had ties with the Jewish community in Los Angeles, considers himself to be pro-Israeli. The Jewish leaders left the meeting reassured, reports the JTA.

"Much to the relief of the advocates for Israel, vacancies on the congressional committees charged with responsibility for foreign aid are being filled with trusted friends of Israel and political heavyweights committed to a strong international role for the US," reports the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. [=]

60968. New American View. "Only in Clinton's America", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(11). June 1, 1993. Born in Australia, he matured into a flaming Zionist who studied in Israel and then worked in Washington for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. With the financial backing of a rich Jewish woman from Los Angeles, he raised millions of dollars to create the staunchly pro-Israeli Washington Institute for Near East Policy. An ambitious, self-promoting Israeli loyalist, he served as CNN-TV's foreign policy expert during the Gulf War and the opening of the Arab-Israeli peace talks in Madrid, and as a contributing editor with the right-wing Jerusalem Post. After largely failing to tilt the Middle East policy of the Bush administration in Israel's favor, he worried his way into the Clinton campaign and was naturalized as a US citizen on the day of the presidential election. It was time for him to chuck his dual Australian-Israeli citizenship and become an American. It was the least he could do since Clinton had already asked him to prepare a policy option paper for the new administration—and was planning to name him the chief of Near East Affairs for the White House National Security Council (NSC) staff. Who is this mysterious, successful Zionist? His name is Martin Indyk.

The emphasis is on the Persian Gulf and protecting the friendly oil-producing states there rather than peace between Israel and her neighbors. This, in turn, calls for containing both Iraq and Iran. Ironically, the strategy reflects the thinking of Jewish Americans working in the White House and the State Department. [=]

60969. New American View. "Outlook: Search for Continuity: The Big Problem Facing American Jewry", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(14). October 1, 1994. Writing in the American Jewish Committee's flagship publication/Commentary(10/1994), Jonathan Sarna says: "Where for three decades the attention of the community had been focused on the dangers faced by Jews in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, and on the question of whether 'they' would survive, today attention is being paid to the dangers Jews face within their own community, and the wonder is whether 'we' will survive." Sarna, professor of Jewish American history at Brandeis University, notes that three years before peace between the Israelis and Palestinians was achieved, American Jews were warned that they themselves were in deep trouble. The National Jewish Population Survey of 1990 revealed that "assimilation and rampant intermarriage" was the major threat to Jewish continuity in North America. In worrying about intermarriage and the loss of Jewish identity, communal leaders may well be underestimating what they are up against, says Sarna. Not only is Jewish life in the US changing, but the larger American social environment as well. The professor cites four great developments as particularly significant for their impact on Jewish American continuity.

(1) Ethnicity: From their earliest days on earth, Jews have been considered and have considered themselves a separate people, different from their neighbors. In America today, however, the claim that Jews are a separate people, a minority dwelling apart, seems increasingly dubious. Where only a few years ago the central differences among Americans were said to be rooted in their ethnic particularities—Italian, Irish, Polish, Jewish—today the emphasis everywhere is upon race: white, black, Hispanic, Asian American, Native American. As one consequence of this shift, the lines dividing European white ethnic groups from one another in America have been blurred. Viewed through the prism of color, Jewish Americans are no different from Irish or Italian Americans. For Jews, nonrecognition of Jewish ethnic separateness poses a dramatic challenge, unprecedented in diaspora history. If ethnic differences between Jews and their white neighbors are primarily symbolic, and are anyway fast disappearing, can American Jews stave off invisibility?

(2) Religion: The world of American religion is also undergoing vast change. The model that most Americans grew up with—Protestant, Catholic, Jew—is on the decline. Jews are experiencing a decline in their status in the world of American religion. The days when Jews could pretend that they comprised, as it were, a third of religious America are over. How should Jews maintain their status in this new world of American religion? How can they ensure that Judaism is not lost amid the welter of contemporary religious options?

(3) Marital Patterns: Interracial and interreligious marriages of any kind used to be comparatively rare in America. In-marriage was the rule. Now, among white European ethnic groups, intermarriage has become the norm rather than the exception. Interreligious marriages are almost as common. Today, Jewish behavior again tends increasingly to the American norm, while Jewish leaders are virtually alone in continuing to call for in-group marriage. The question, from the point of view of continuity, is how Jewish leaders can justify setting themselves apart from the American cultural mainstream on this issue.

(4) Identity Patterns: Once upon a time, most people in this country adhered to the faith and ethnicity of their parents; their cultural identity was determined largely by their descent. Now, religious and ethnic loyalties are more commonly matters of choice; identity, to a considerable degree, is based upon consent. Jews who accept the notion of descent think of their Jewishness as something irrevocable, as much a part of them as their blood type; Jewishness by consent, by contrast, is something completely revocable, purely a matter of choice.

Can Judaism, not to mention the traditional conception of the peoplehood of the Jews, be maintained in a world where consent has replaced descent? Sarna concludes: "Ours, then, is a moment of great challenge, unprecedented in diaspora history. If ethnic identity was in any way a means of fighting off the erosion of Jewish identity, then intermarriage and the loss of Jewish identity, communal leaders are distraught, or that many of them have been calling for a renewed emphasis on the tried and the true in Jewish life as a means of fighting the discontinuity with continuity." But short of some new kind of extremist movement—such as Hasidism or Zionism—the future is bleak for Jewish continuity and survival. Still the professor is hopeful. Thousands of years of survival suggest that the Jews will somehow make their way to maintain their unique continuity.

From their earliest days on earth, Jews have been considered and have considered themselves a separate people, different from their neighbors. But today in America, all that is changing—much to the consternation of Jewish leaders. [=]
(1) any person who acts as an agent, representative, employee, or servant, or any person who acts in any other capacity at the order, request, or under the direction or control, of a foreign principal or of a person any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign principal.

(2) any person who agrees, consents, assumes or purports to act as, or who is or holds himself out to be, whether or not pursuant to contractual relationship, an agent of a foreign principal as defined in clause (1) of this subsection. [NAV emphasis.] The following are excerpts from a transcript of an AIPAC "leadership development" meeting held at a large state university. The instructions for young recruits from operatives of AIPAC may be shocking but are not surprising and can even be instructive—in part—for our own grassroots network.

On elections: AIPAC is not partisan. We support whoever is pro-Israel, whether Democratic or Republican. If both sides are on our side, then we have people on both sides.Israel's security is the sole issue. Always argue this in the interest of the United States, that Israel is a proven battle ally. On Israeli government: Whoever runs the government in Israel, we support. We don't meddle in Israel's government. Israel's politics are not our business. America's politics are our business. On grassroots political contacts: Seek out pro-Israel people who have personal relationships with a member of Congress, i.e., get personally returned phone calls.

On student government: At one university, our core group decided to slate candidates to run as student representatives. We won hands down and virtually took over student government. They are still getting funding from the university, still control student government and are working against anti-Israel influences on campus.

On networking: Our student leaders should build coalitions on each campus. Get involved in much more than just Israeli issues, groups such as Young Democrats, Young Republicans, women's and environmental organizations. When you go to work on Capitol Hill, you will have valuable contacts made on campus. Learn to socialize in coalitions as people. Friendship can be contagious. Use it as a strategy.

On public meetings: In public meetings, do not say you want to combat Arab propaganda, rather that you are seeking only to separate myths from facts. Protest the use of student affairs money to feature pro-Arab speakers. Get letter-writing campaigns started. If a pro-Arab speaker does appear on campus, try to stop the press from covering it. Use your influence with campus papers.

On dealing with college professors: You can have an impact for or against professors getting tenure. Do a profile on an anti-Israel professor. America’s politics are our business. On networking: Our student leaders should build coalitions on each campus. Get involved in much more than just Israeli issues, groups such as Young Democrats, Young Republicans, women's and environmental organizations. When you go to work on Capitol Hill, you will have valuable contacts made on campus. Learn to socialize in coalitions as people. Friendship can be contagious. Use it as a strategy.

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support this, so I suggested as a compromise that both pieces be set aside. Doing nothing is better than a damaging article. Become a reporter for any kind of news. Do whatever you can to get established. Then you can work your way into pro-Israel news.

On students in politics: Volunteer to work in congressional campaigns. This can lead to jobs in Washington or influential relationships with congressmen and senators if you stay in your home state.

On lobbying the US Congress: On one important issue where an undecided senator was a swing vote, instead of our going directly to him, calls were made to “key contacts” back in his home state who would in turn call him, and who would get a call returned by him personally within 24 hours. That kind of strategy is more effective than a direct approach by AIPAC itself. Don’t come on too strongly. In spite of AIPAC’s reputation for being a strong lobby, the direct person-to-person contact with an elected official should be low key, civil and not threatening to him on account of your position or influence or money. Set your agenda clearly. Provide facts to establish that what you want is in the interest of the member’s home constituency and in the general interest of the US. If a piece of legislation can touch his home district, mention the effect.

On careers: We encourage going into broadcast journalism. It’s a fine career, and you can do a lot of good there.

Does AIPAC qualify as an “agent of a foreign principal”? Should this pro-Israeli “fifth column,” which is actively subverting the American political process, be required to register as a foreign agent? The answer to both questions is a resounding YES. New American View fought with the Justice Department and its misnamed Foreign Agents Registration Branch of the Criminal Division for two years to have AIPAC investigated. At first, the legal eagles residing to all the standard gimmicks in the bureaucrat’s handbook to duck the issue. We, however, continued to make our case. Finally the Justice Department relied on the government’s last and best defense. They lied through their teeth. They said they had thoroughly investigated AIPAC in the 1960s and 1970s, and found no evidence warranting registration as a foreign agent. No such evidence was ever produced by the department. Because our Justice Department is afraid to challenge the power of the Jewish pro-Israeli lobby, must we live with foreign agents in our midst—until these agents accomplish their goal of capturing control of the American government and nation? Wake up, America, before it’s too late. [=]

60973. New American View. “Political Correctness: Feminism Finds The Lobby: Jewish Activism Is a Man’s World”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.8(21), November 1, 1993. A lot of things, including thinking, are rapidly changing in the Jewish pro-Israeli organizational world now that peace is breaking out among Israel and her neighbors.

After years of dedicated service, the women of the lobby are finding out that they have been shortchanged by their male colleagues in the pursuit of Zionism. And now the specter of angry feminism is hovering just over the horizon, according to a lengthy review of the activist groups by Debra Nussbaum Cohen of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. A survey of Jewish activist organizations reveals that their pro-family and feminist philosophies often do not extend very far when it comes to their own employees. In fact, there is a dramatic disparity between the rhetoric of Jewish groups and the reality within their own four walls, says Ms. Cohen. Somewhere along the line in the long war to look out for Israel’s interests, the Jewish American activist community lost sight of its own women. Ms. Cohen points out, for example, that Robert Lifton, president of the American Jewish Congress, once wrote to former President George Bush urging him to sign the family leave act. “More and more Americans are finding themselves forced to choose between caring for their loved ones and keeping a job to meet the family’s financial needs,” Lifton wrote. However, it seems that the AJCongress provides no paid family leave, although it does allow employees to apply accrued vacation and sick time to family leave. An employee also may take up to a year off without pay in the case of a birth or a family member’s illness. The American Jewish Committee, too, was a big supporter of the family leave bill. But it provides no paid time off to employees who have babies. And the AJCommittee also permits only the use of accrued sick leave for family emergencies. Similar unenlightened leave policies are in effect at other Jewish lobbying organizations, including AIPAC and the ADL. “If the Jewish community is as concerned with issues of continuity and identity as it says it is, then we have to look at our own organizations,” says Ann Lewis, chairwoman of the AJCongress’s Commission for Women’s Equality. “We make it difficult for Jewish women professionals to be pregnant and have babies in a community where we’re crying gevalt (“horrors”) over the lack of Jewish babies.” Female professionals working in the Jewish communal world have had little success in breaking the glass ceiling and gaining access to top leadership positions, according to data provided by 42 Jewish organizations, including the AJCongress, the Council of Jewish Federations and other activist groups. In this sense, says Ms. Cohen, the Jewish community is not much different from corporate America, where only 1% of the Fortune 500 corporations have a woman chief executive, and only 5% of the board members are female. While 60% of the employees at Jewish federations are female, none of the groups representing the 18 largest metropolitan areas has a woman at the helm. And there is only one female executive director among the 23 intermediate-size federations. Barry Kosmin of the Council of Jewish Federations has an explanation for this—one which is unlikely to please the budding feminists in the Jewish activist community. Kosmin says that the job of a federation director requires financial management skills which most women simply do not possess. Talk about chauvinist pigs! There are also pronounced disparities in pay for female and male professionals in the Jewish organizational world. 20% of the men and 66% of the women in activist work earn between $20000-40000. As the level of pay rises, the percentage of women in the earning category sinks. 14% of the men—but only 9% of the women—earn $65000 or more. The chief problems faced by women in the Jewish activist community is the old-boy network and the fact that candidates for the top positions are selected on the male model of success, says Ellen Deutsch Quint, a close observer of the feminine role in Jewish organizations. The Jewish pro-Israeli organizational community may be liberal, Democratic, and politically correct to outward appearances. But a hard look at these activists groups reveals a male-dominated structure in which women are generally exploited as volunteers and low-paid staffers who never attain top leadership positions.

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60974. New American View. “Pollard Update”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.8(5), March 1, 1993. Rumors continue to circulate inside the federal maximum security prison at Marion, Illinois that the “fix is in” for convicted Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard. Reportedly, Pollard is telling the Clinton administration to set the former US naval intelligence agent free. It’s a fine career, and you can do a lot of good there.
growing Pollard hysteria in the Jewish community, because of the AJC's cautious approach to the Pollard issue. "Reports have come to me that I've been attacked in every synagogue in the country," he said. The Pollard forces, however, suffered a major setback at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRA) annual plenum in Washington last month. The group, which is responsible for setting policy for much of the organized Jewish American community, voted 162 to 147 (with 41 abstentions) to reject a proposed letter to President Clinton calling for a review of Pollard's sentence. It was hoped that the proposed letter would encourage the president to commute the Israeli spy's sentence to the time (a little over seven years) he has already served. Pollard will be up for parole in 1996, after he has served 10 years, or one-fourth of his sentence. One member of the NJCRA said the argument made by Pollard's supporters that his spying activities were justified "sometimes border on disinformation." Another commented that the Pollard case "is not the first issue we want to bring to" the Clinton administration. There are other more important matters, such as Head Start, Earned Income Credit and the expansion of women's and children's programs, she said. Luchins said, "If you want people to agree with you, don't bash them." He added, "I wish there was this much feeling in the community about Jewish education, intermarriage and continuity, issues which are more pressing for Jewish survival." Currently, the Anti-Defamation League (or the Defamation League, as some people call it) has until now remained neutral on the Pollard affair, saying it saw no sign of antisemitism in the case. The group is now reviewing its stance. Meanwhile, Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli who told the world a few years ago what everyone already knew—that the Jewish state has an arsenal of nuclear weapons—is rotting away in true solitary confinement in Israel. Oddly, however, there is no groundswell of Jewish support for justice in Vanunu's case. One can only wonder why. [=]

60975. New American View. "Price of Peace", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(14), October 1, 1994. For some time now, New American View has been predicting this time of trouble in the Jewish pro-Israeli lobby. Last year, in our study Cracks in the Walling Wall: A Wobbly Lobby Seeks to Reunite American Jewry, we wrote: "The once monolithic Jewish pro-Israeli lobby is in trouble. It is being split apart by internal dissent and dispute over the primary purpose of the organized Jewish community in America now that peace is coming to the Middle East. This at the same time that world Jewry is dividing itself—politically, socially and religiously—into three distinct groups: the diaspora (largely American Jewry), Israel and ultra-Orthodoxy (both in Israel and the diaspora). "The events of the past few years have taken a heavy toll on the lobby. The Palestinian intifada, the ending of the Cold War, changes in US Middle East policy (as dramatized by the Persian Gulf War), the coming of a new government in the Jewish state and the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process have undermined the lobby's single-issue Zionist strategy . . . "At the same time, Jewish Americans are becoming increasingly aware of their own very serious problems: growing secularism, assimilation and intermarriage . . . The other major identifying-unifying issues—the holocaust and the threat of antisemitism—also are on shaky ground . . . "These and numerous lesser problems have plagued the lobby during the past couple of years, blunting its political clout. The stumbles of AIPAC, and the subsequent power struggle within the lobbying organization, as well as the ADL's spy scandal in San Francisco, have been major blows to the pro-Israeli activists. "And there are still more cracks appearing almost daily. The Jewish lobby ain't what it used to be." For Israel, peace with its Arab neighbors is dawning at long last. But for Jews in the US, a new turmoil is just beginning. [=]

60976. New American View. "Problems of Assimilation", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East, Vol. 6(4), February 15, 1991. Currently, the main energies and efforts of the organized Jewish community in America are focused on ways of providing for Israel's survival and welfare. First, there is the task of aiding the Zionist state in dealing with the problems posed by the war in the Persian Gulf, and secondly, there is the job of helping Israel absorb the hundreds of thousands of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union. But there is an even greater problem confronting that of the survival of Israel, the survival of the traditional Jewish family in America, which is being dangerously eroded by assimilation. "The idealized Jewish family—father and mother, both born Jews and married for the first time, plus kids—is an endangered species in the US, and its number is likely to further diminish in the future," says the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. A recent survey by the 1990 National Jewish Population Study shows that only 14% of Jewish households fit this traditional picture. Adding in all-Jewish couples, even those without children under age 18, the figure rises to only 29%—still less than a third of all Jewish households. The trend indicates a steep increase in the rate of intermarriage. Before 1965, 95% of American Jews married other Jews. That figure has now dropped to less than half, 47.5%. And the decline has been accelerating. The rate of Jews marrying Jews dropped from 95% before 1965 to 74% between 1965 and 1974, to less than 50% since 1985. More alarmingly for the concerned Jewish pro-Israeli community, a study conducted by Dr. Egon Mayer, a sociology professor at City University of New York, interviewed leaders of Jewish organizations and members of B'nai B'rith Women. Among these "pillars of the Jewish community," reported Mayer, "at least one child or grandchild of at least one child of at least one child of at least one child of at least one child of at least one Jewish parent married a non-Jew. After questioning them about the advice they would give to a son or daughter contemplating marriage to a non-Jew, and whether they would accept the offspring of such a marriage as Jewish, most replied they would both give their consent to the marriage and accept the child. "We Jews are foremost a family group rather than a religious group," summarized Mayer. Other statistics recently compiled in this growing field of study indicate a drift away from traditional Judaism and Jewish ways of life even among those Jews born to two Jewish parents. According to the 1990 Population Study, there are more poor, liberal, apostate and young Jews in the US than there are rich, conservative, converted and elderly ones. Drs. Barry Kosmin and Sidney Goldstein, research associates with the Council of Jewish Federations, which commissioned the population study, estimate that the "core" Jewish population in the US comes to 5.51 million, counting both those who identify themselves as Jews by religion and secular Jews. When asked to define their Jewishness, 43% said nationality or race; 48% cited religion; 58% said ethnicity and 70% said culture. (The respondents were allowed to cite more than one category.) The more than two-thirds of Jewish households that deviate from the old idyllic picture are "non-normative" in different ways, said Kosmin. But that's only the beginning. "One reason we don't have normative families is that we don't have any norms that are generally accepted," said Kosmin. "We live in an individualized, secular, consumer-oriented society. The consensus has broken down. Everyone does his or her own thing." Even for the same individual, there may be a flux in Jewish identity. "This guy says he's a Hindu but he has a Presbyterian girlfriend, and next week he may be Jewish again," said Kosmin. As for intermarriages, there are strong differences based on both geography and gender. In states with few Jews, such as Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, the intermarriage rate is double that of New York and New Jersey, with large Jewish concentrations, said Kosmin. Contrary to common assumptions, among Jewish apostates—those who convert to another religion—60% are women. "What we see is that we're exchanging females with the wider population," said Kosmin. The decline of Jewish traditions and culture as central to Jewish American life has paralleled the growth in importance of Israel to the community. Israel has become the unifying theme of Jewish life in the states. It is the common bond that all Jews share, regardless of whether they are Reform or Orthodox, observant or secular. And it has proven to be a powerful tool for Jewish leaders seeking participants and activists in the pro-Israeli cause. The importance of Israel in Jewish life has taken an ironic turn in recent years. Although the Jewish community has rallied in the name of Israel's survival, the existence of Israel is equally important to the continued survival of the American Jewish community as a viable, recognizable ethnic, religious or cultural grouping. Should
Israel ever lose its centrality in Jewish American life, there would be nothing with which to replace it, pro-Israeli activists fear. [↩]

60977. New American View. “Religion: The Jesus Problem: Christian Fundamentalists Test Jewish Patience”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(12). June 15, 1993. A recent flap between Jewish religious leaders and the Reverend Robertson, Israel's North American, combines the allure of tourism, points up the increasingly uneasy alliance between the Christian evangelical right and the Jewish American pro-Israel lobby. Farber recently tried to brush off criticism from Reform and Orthodox leaders who claimed that he had ridiculed them when they brought up their concerns about his working with Christian groups, such as Jews for Jesus, who attempt to convert Jews in the US and Israel. In an article in Forward, a nationally distributed Jewish newspaper published in New York, Farber further enraged religious leaders by suggesting that Jews for Jesus—a messianic Jewish organization described as one of the largest Christian missionary groups targeted on American Jewry—is no threat to “Jewish continuity.” He further raised hackles by saying that he must focus efforts on bringing evangelical groups to tour Israel because “the problem is that Jews are going to vanish here [in the US] in 20 years because of intermarriage.” Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, demanded an apology from Farber. “In effect, he is saying ‘forget about American Jews, they are doomed anyhow, what’s important is Israel,’” he said. Rabbi Pinchas Stolper, executive director of the Orthodox Union, asked, “Is that what we created Israel for? To get tourists?” This eruption is just the latest incident in an ongoing battle between Israeli officials, who cultivate relations with Christian evangelical groups in America in return for political and financial support, and Jewish American groups which are actively seeking to curtail Christian missionary activities among Jews in Israel and the US. But Farber’s statement can be taken two ways, and apparently the rabbis missed the larger point. They interpreted Farber's remarks as meaning that Israel should milk the Christians for all it can, since the market for Jewish American tourism in Israel is threatened with extinction. Farber's point was actually more subtle. In effect, he was saying that it’s a waste of time to worry about the possibility of losing a few Jewish souls to Christianity when by far the greatest threat to Jewish continuity is intermarriage and growing secularization. Jewish conversion to other faiths is simply not statistically substantial. But abandonment of Judaism is. Further complicating the issue is the tendency of the Jewish community to lump messianic Jewish groups and Christian evangelicals together, which is a mistake. Jews for Jesus and other messianic groups firmly believe that Jesus was the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, and that his incarnation on earth was strictly the fulfillment of God's covenant with the Jews. They do not think of themselves as Christians but rather as “fulfilled Jews,” and do not believe that Christ had a universal message. Rather, his message was directed specifically at Jews. While Christian groups seek to convert all people, only the messianic Jews concentrate on Jews. The groups do find common ground in convergent interests such as Israel as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and the approaching “end time.” This, in turn, ties the messianic Jews to Virginia-based televangelist Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition. Because of Robertson's connection to the messianic groups, he has drawn the fire of some Jewish religious leaders for conspiring to convert Jews. But all this is merely a convenient cover for the deeper matter of concern for pro-Israeli Jews: Robertson's rising political star.

His Christian Coalition's grassroots political activities, trying to place fundamentalist Christians in local elective offices, has pitted it directly against the Jewish pro-Israeli community, whose liberal social agenda is at odds with the Christians' world view. The uproar in New York City last year between conservative Christians of all denominations and "progressive" Jews was a glaring example of this. The fight over school board chairman Jose Fernandez, who insisted on a curriculum for grades K through 12 that emphasized homosexuality as an acceptable alternative lifestyle as well as other "innovations" was a major victory for Christians, and a shocking defeat for the ultra-liberal Jewish community. In the wake of the controversy, Robertson’s people won a number of local elections, throwing a scare into the Jewish community and threatening greater conflict in the future. But the alliance between Christian evangelicals and Israel remains firm. The Jewish state simply cannot afford to offend or turn away this all-important source of revenue. The socio-political battles between Robertson and the Jewish lobby, however, will continue to be fought here at home—both at the grassroots and national levels. Farber himself pièced a gap in his anti-Christian approach when he suggested that Israel and the US are “dreadfully similar” and that any efforts to curtail Christian missionary activities among Jews in Israel and the US are nothing with which to replace it, pro-Israeli activists fear. [↩]

60978. New American View. “Self-Hatred”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.7(18). September 15, 1992. Apparently Jewish humor isn't humor at all. Rather, it is a self-inflicted self-hatred which most American Jews have unwittingly bought into, feeding latent antisemitism and confirming the antisemitic view of Jews as ‘outsiders.' So says Janice Booker, author of the new book The Jewish American Princess and Other Myths: The Many Faces of Self-Hatred, recently favorably reviewed in the Washington Jewish Week. Ms. Booker, a journalist and radio broadcaster, feels that the apex of such self-deprecating ethnic defamation is embodied in popular Jewish comedians. Although Jews ought to feel safe and secure in the melting pot of America, it simply isn’t so, says the author. Indeed, it is the freedom of America that has Jews on edge. Because of their paranoia, says Booker, Jews were more at home in the pogrom-ridden Pale of 19th-century Russia than they are in late 20th-century America. In short, they worry that they have it "too good." Booker claims that all Jews really want is to become WASPs, and their humor is merely an outlet "for their spiritual angst" with that unobtainable goal. The fact that there are so many Jewish comedians confirms her thesis, Booker says, correlating the high proportion of Jewish comedians and their widespread popularity with the rampant antisemitism and Jewish self-hating that exists in America. The most caustic slight to the Jewish people, maintains Booker, is the perpetuation of the female Jewish stereotype through JAP (Jewish American Princess) jokes. The guilt-wielding, over-indulgent, “castrating mother who is combined with the spoiled, materialistic, whining Jewish daughter, are actually "cleverly concealed antisemitic canards." Any Jew who perpetuates this stereotype by telling JAP jokes "buys into these cardboard caricatures of Jewish femininity, and unwittingly does the antisemites’ work for them.” Curiously, rather than fighting to eliminate stereotypes from society, Booker instead seeks to project the traits onto other groups. Particularly disturbing is her self-deprecating ethnic jokes. The guilt-wielding, over-indulgent, "castrating mother who is combined with the spoiled, materialistic, whining Jewish daughter, are actually "cleverly concealed antisemitic canards.” Any Jewwho perpetuates this stereotype by telling JAP jokes “buys into these cardboard caricatures of Jewish femininity, and unwittingly does the antisemites’ work for them.” Curiously, rather than fighting to eliminate stereotypes from society, Booker instead seeks to project the traits onto other groups. Particularly disturbing is her self-deprecating ethnic jokes. 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The guilt-wielding, over-indulgent, "castrating mother who is combined with the spoiled, materialistic, whining Jewish daughter, are actually "cleverly concealed antisemitic canards.” Any Jew who perpetuates this stereotype by telling JAP jokes "buys into these cardboard caricatures of Jewish femininity, and unwittingly does the antisemites’ work for them.” Curiously, rather than fighting to eliminate stereotypes from society, Booker instead seeks to project the traits onto other groups. Particularly disturbing is her self-deprecating ethnic
heritage as fast as their Gucci slip-ons can take them," Booker believes that because Jews have embraced these negative stereotypes and internalized them, they have given root to Jewish self-hatred, a syndrome she calls the "Evil I." She recommends "refuting the stereotypes and fighting the underlying antisemitism" to break the self-fulfilling cycle. Because Booker elected not to include references nor any supporting data in her emotional, strident diatribe, one must assume that the book is grounded in her own inescapable conclusion is that either Booker has no sense of humor, or more likely, she is the WASP-emulating, paranoid, self-loathing "Evil I." [z]

60979. New American View. "Sociology: Why Jews Join Cults: For What Are They Searching?", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(15), August 1, 1993. Some Jewish magazines are increasingly more concerned with community problems in America than with the shopworn "identifying and unifying" causes of Israel, Zionism and antisemitism. One such monthly growing in readership is Moment, "The Magazine of Jewish Culture and Opinion," edited by Hershel Shanks of Biblical Archeological Review. The cover story of this month's edition is "Jews in Cults: Why We're Vulnerable and How They Snare Our Children." The article's author, Arnold Markowitz, is a clinical social worker and director of the Cult Hotline and Clinic operated by the Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services in New York. He does not provide the answers worried Jewish parents may be seeking, but he does underscore the serious scope of the problem. "If you think cults are only a memory from the sixties—ask around," writes Markowitz. "Start a conversation with a few Jewish friends or with family. You don't have to be Jewish to be snared by a cult, but young Jews are especially vulnerable and few of us are paying attention." It is an illuminating article accompanied by five others written by past victims of the American cult mania. Their purpose is to answer the question: What are young people finding in cults that Jewish life is not providing? Their task, however, is dismaying. According to Markowitz, the common belief that only weird, disturbed, dysfunctional kids or other malcontents join cults is not supported by the evidence. While a quarter of the Jews who join cults are depressed, Markowitz's experience in the field indicates that three-quarters are relatively balanced, successful people. Other experts have determined that cult members generally come from economically more successful, intact and educated families. He writes: "When comparing Jews who had belonged to a cult with a control group of Jews not involved in cults, there is no difference in academic performance, number of friendships, after-school activity or employment. From early childhood until mid-adolescence, Jewish cult members develop as well lived in New Jersey . . . I'm more Israeli than American." She complains that because Jews have embraced these negative stereotypes and cadres of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the heritage as fast as their Gucci slip-ons can take them. Booker believes enamored of zealous pro-Israelism or fanatical anti-antisemitism. The cadres of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and numerous other Jewish activist organizations are chock-full of young Jews seeking community and emotional fulfillment. These secular children of upper-middle-income, educated Jewish families also are searching for the perfect answer to the ambiguities of adult life. Few of these young Jews have the taste for the nuances of Judaism or the courage to make aliyah to Israel. They settle for the second best alternative of working for Israel or against antisemitism. Without the socially conditioned cultism of such Jewish activism, even more young Jews would find their way into the nation's offbeat cult system —where they would be less of a danger to America, if not to themselves.

"Although Jews constitute less than 3% of the US population, 10-20% of cult members are Jewish. Jews comprise at least 40% of members of Eastern meditation or mass therapy cult-like groups in major urban centers." [z]

60980. New American View. "Spies: Anne Pollard Tells All, Almost: making a Silk Purse From a Sow's Ear", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(6), March 15, 1993. Speaking of how she and her husband were refused safe haven at the Israeli Embassy in Washington as FBI agents closed in on them on the night of 11/21/1985, Anne Pollard, wife of confessed and convicted Israel spy Jonathan Pollard, says: "I was in shock. To this day, I'm befuddled by the Israeli security head's behavior. He was obviously acting on orders." She and her husband were arrested, but their Israeli intelligence handlers escaped back to the Jewish state. After Anne was paroled in 1991, she immediately made aliya. She says of the couple's handlers: "They have never contacted me [here in Israel] or thanked me for warning them of the impending danger. I always believed that it was a basic Israeli principle—unlike other countries—to do anything possible to save one of your own." Says Anne, now divorced by her still imprisoned husband: "No government official has ever embraced me, except Ari Sharon [and later] absorption minister Peretz and [Jerusalem] Mayor Kollek. No one has ever overthanked me for what we did for Israel." These and other intriguing revelations are contained in an interview published by the Jerusalem Post, but you won't find it in the Washington Jewish Weekly's reprint of the story. The Jewish American version of Anne's interview is sweet as sugar—and a lot less informative. In the Post's interview, the former Mrs. Pollard is quoted as saying: "There is some misconception that I am a convert. I was born Jewish. I was also involved in Zionist organizations when I lived in New Jersey . . . I'm more Israeli than American." She complains that all their friends abandoned the two spies after their arrest. "Many people we had been friends with were government employees. FBI agents, naval intelligence personnel, senators, congressmen, White House staff." Anne says it was while she was working for the National Rifle Association that "Jay began passing documents [to the Israelis.] All I knew was that he knew people in Israel . . . He had been at the Weizmann Institute when he was a teenager, on some scientific program . . . I knew he also wanted to help Israel in any way he could, and I suggested many ways . . . He was so well read on Israel. I felt he could do wonderful things, like becoming an AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs Committee] lobbyist . . . He never realized what his helping Israel was going to turn into, that it would turn into him passing documents. That came about later." (In his 1989 book on Pollard, Territory of Lies, Wolf Blitzer wrote that the Zionist zealot and naval intelligence analyst walked into AIPAC's offices in Washington and offered his services as a spy. According to Blitzer, who formerly worked for AIPAC and was later the Jerusalem Post's bureau chief in the nation's capital, the AIPAC people consider Pollard a nut and had nothing further to do with him. Blitzer is now Cable News Network's special correspondent at the Pentagon.)

Anne continues to express bitterness over the way she was divorced by her imprisoned husband. She places much of the blame on Pollard's family and lawyers, who wanted all the limelight and money contributed to the couple's defense fund. "A couple of days after the Gulf
War broke out. I read in the newspaper that Rabbi Avi Weiss had served me with my get [a halachic bill of divorce]." she says. "This was just the time when the Iraqi Scuds were dropping on Tel Aviv." The timing was particularly ironic for her because, she says, she and her husband had been jailed partly because of the American intelligence regarding Iraqi military capabilities Jonathan had passed to the Israelis. Anne remains angry with the Israeli government for refusing to accept her and her husband under the Law of Return, and wants to settle this old account, says the Post. On her arrival in the Jewish state, she tried again. "I applied umpteen times to become an Israeli citizen," she says. "I was still being denied citizenship [when I came here] . . . I am the first Jew in this country who had to wait over a year to receive citizenship." Today, Anne is working for the WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) and is an active member of the Likud party. In addition, she says, she has many speaking engagements. As a media expert, she says that she is especially valuable to Israel with American audiences. "I was very warmly received, even by people I didn't know, when I recently visited America. But I consider myself an Israeli, first and foremost." Although the Washington Jewish Week deleted all of the above revelations from its version of Anne Pollard's interview, provided her address in Israel for anyone who might wish to contact her concerning her case. If you are interested, write to: Anne Pollard, PO Box 23804, Tel Aviv 61231, Israel. =]

60981. New American View. "Still More Problems", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol. 3(11). July 15, 1994. For decades, Israeli Jews of European and Middle Eastern descent were bound together for self-defense against Arab enemies. But as peace with the Arabs appears to draw closer, the cultural divide between the two groups is being bared. Anger over lack of social and economic achievement is boiling among the Sephardim, the Middle Eastern Jews. Ofer Bronstein, editor of the militant Sephardic weekly, the Hammer, said intra-Jewish prejudice has been ignored for years. "The moment we put aside the problem with the Arabs this will become our No. 1 concern," he said. He pointed to the outbreak of violence in May, when police arrested dozens of armed militants of Yemeni descent in a shootout that killed one of the Yemeni Jews. For six weeks, the followers of Rabbi Uzi Meshulam holed up in a house surrounded by gasoline-filled barrels demanding freedom for their seniors. The government inquiry into the fate of Yemeni immigrant children who arrived in the 1950s. There have been recurrent claims by Sephardim that children were taken from poor parents and given to childless couples of European origin. Past official inquiries said hundreds of children were separated unintentionally from their parents but concluded most were not reunited only because the youngsters died. Although intermarriage between Sephardim and the European-descended Ashkenazim—estimated at one in four unions—has made precise ethnic counts impossible, the country's 4.4 million Jews are about evenly divided. The imbalance is in social status. Sephardim are a small minority in prestigious positions in academia, among television announcers and in top business levels. They are a majority of taxi drivers, street vendors, infantry soldiers—and drug addicts. "Something went terribly wrong," said Eytan Machter, principal of Ron High School, where students are evenly divided between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. He fears a permanent Sephardim lower class could emerge. "I can sense their feelings of bitterness, of a suppressed conflict with the system. It translates into academic laziness and other reflections of the loss of hope," Machter said. There have been improvements. Recent studies indicate the income gap among second generation Israelis has narrowed to about 10%, and the Sephardic role in parliament has risen from a token presence to about one-third of the Knesset's 120 members. Sociologist Yaacov Nahon of the Jerusalem Research Institute said Ashkenazim are still four times more likely to get a university degree—the same as 20 years ago. Most Jews trace their roots to Israeli Jews expelled from the Holy Land by the Romans some 2000 years ago. Ashkenazim lived for centuries in northern and eastern Europe and America. But the darker-skinned Sephardim remained in the Middle East or descend from the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 to North Africa.

"What the Zionists have done by creating their state here is a blasphemy and a sin, and is against Judaism. What we would like is all of Israel going back to non-Jewish hands." [a]

60982. New American View. "Strange Bedfellows", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East, June 15, 1990. The ultra-Orthodox religious parties of Israel have far beyond their true popular power in the Jewish state. The haredi, or ultra-Orthodox Jews, represent only a small minority of the Israeli population, but the two main religious parties, Agudat Israel and Shas, now command the balance of power in the Zionist nation's outmoded parliamentary system. Despite their newfound influence, however, the religious leaders of these parties view their governmental colleagues with disdain, even heaping scorn upon them. In a recent speech before the heads of 32 yeshiva (religious) schools, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, leader of the Sephardi (Oriental) dominated Shas party, described Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir as an eater of "vile fish" (presumably shellfish), and said that Shamir's wife "would never go to a Jewish (kosher) restaurant" (apparently because of her penchant for shrimp). Yosef described State Comptroller Miriam Ben-Porat as "the enemy of religion." And he referred to Knesset member Ariel Sharon as "a lover of pigs." (The good rabbi was reportedly angered because the Shamir government has failed to deliver on a promise to provide more funds for the yeshivas.) A few weeks earlier, Rabbi Eliezer Schach, Yosef's Ashkenazi (European) mentor, engaged in similar invective before an audience of thousands of enthusiastic haredi adherents in a Tel Aviv sports stadium. But the target of Schach's venom was the Labor Party and its kibbutzim, whom he called "the pig and rabbit eaters." Commenting on these harangues, the Jerusalem Post wrote: "Embarrassed supporters of both rabbis have tried to explain away these intemperate attacks. The truth is, however, that these performances were not personal aberrations by aged or frustrated rabbis, but an authentic expression of the deep disdain in which the ultra-Orthodox establishment holds the rest of secular and less-Orthodox Israel. "Those who have their doubts should recall Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz's explanation of the deaths of 22 Petah Tikva schoolchildren in a bus-train accident several years ago as being due to the toleration of unkosher meuxox (prayer boxes) on the doorposts of rabbinical academies. Or the statement by a fellow Shas Knesset member that the deaths of Israeli soldiers in a terrorist attack in Lebanon was the result of the licentiousness of women soldiers in the Israeli Defense Forces." The Post goes on to note that hundreds of millions of dollars from the Israeli treasury (and the American taxpayer) have been given to the haredi parties and their institutions—often in an illegal fashion—in recent years. The diversion of such gigantic sums of money has been responsible for a good part of the corruption of Israeli politics, a corruption which has become so visible in the present political crisis." [a]

60983. New American View. "Supreme Court: Jewish Justice: Diversity of Quota?", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol. 8(12). June 15, 1993. Last week, the New York Times shot an arrow in the air, and it fell right where the editors aimed—through the political hearts of our co-drivers, street vendors, infantry soldiers—and drug addicts. "Something went terribly wrong," said Eytan Machter, principal of Ron High School, where students are evenly divided between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. He fears a permanent Sephardim lower class could emerge. "I can sense their feelings of bitterness, of a suppressed conflict with the system. It translates into academic laziness and other reflections of the loss of hope," Machter said. There have been improvements. Recent studies indicate the income gap among second generation Israelis has narrowed to about 10%, and the Sephardic role in parliament has risen from a token presence to about one-third of the Knesset's 120 members. Sociologist Yaacov Nahon of the Jerusalem Research Institute said Ashkenazim are still four times more likely to get a university degree—the same as 20 years ago. Most Jews trace their roots to Israeli Jews expelled from the Holy Land by the Romans some 2000 years ago. Ashkenazim lived for centuries in northern and eastern Europe and America. But the darker-skinned Sephardim remained in the Middle East or descend from the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 to North Africa.
consciousness that he says he wants to see on the court. And, if the nominee is an activist Jewish woman, he'll be killing three birds with one stone." Some Jewish leaders, however, thought it unseemly to openly urge the administration to choose a Jew. It smacked of quotas, they said. But they were drowned out by the likes of Seymour Reich, former head of B'nai B'rith International and the Council of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and currently president of the American Zionist Movement. A couple of years ago, Reich at the charge to have State Department legal adviser Abraham Sofaer named to the seat eventually filled by Justice Anthony Kennedy. "Members of the [Jewish] community should reach to the White House to seek a prominent jurist, a Jew, who is qualified to sit on the court," he said. "It's time for that seat to be reclaimed." Clinton evidently agreed, for the president recently had let it be known to White House officials that he had all along wanted to appoint a Jew to the court. "Attempts to paint a picture of a Republican-packed Supreme Court suddenly humanized by the presence of a Jewish justice have spread beyond the mainstream Jewish leadership to the legal community at large," claimed the Jerusalem Report. But the track record of past Jewish justices is at best a mixed one. Benjamin Cardozo, the first Jewish justice, was a descendant of an old Sephardic family that came to America before the Revolution. He became involved in Jewish activities only when asked. Experts say there is no evidence of the influence of his Jewishness in his legal work. Abe Fortas, the last Jew to sit on the high court, had only a tenuous connection to Judaism. Fortas, who was appointed by Lyndon Johnson, resigned under a cloud of controversy. Arthur Goldberg was an observant Jew and a former labor official. Louis Brandeis was a committed member of the Jewish community and an ardent Zionist. It was he who advised the Jewish American supporters of Zionism to "Organize, organize, organize." Still, some legal scholars believe that if a common theme exists among the Jewish justices, it is a social consciousness, a sense of the underdog in society. And many Jewish lawyers think that any of the Jews mentioned as possible appointees by Clinton would be likely "to revive a sorely needed voice for social action." Clinton's choice is Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg, 60, of the US Court of Appeals of Washington, D.C. She was appointed to the bench by President Carter in 1980. As a lawyer, she developed a reputation as a crusader for women's rights. She participated in the American Civil Liberties Union's Women's Rights Project, and argued several cases challenging sexual-bias cases before the Supreme Court. Judge Ginsburg is considered a supporter of abortion rights, and is highly respected by Mrs. Clinton. She drew criticism from the Jewish community last year when she rejected Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard's appeal to reopen his case. Judge Ginsburg was born in Brooklyn. She is a graduate of Cornell University and Columbia Law School. She is married and has two children. If confirmed, she will be only the second woman in history to be on the court, and the first Jewish justice since Abe Fortas, who resigned in 1969.

In pushing for one of their own to be nominated to the high court to replace retiring Justice Byron White, the Jewish lobby cleverly played on President and Mrs. Clinton's deep desire for sexual diversity. Thus, the Jewish senate went to Judge Ruth Ginsburg. [—]

60984. New American View. "The Jewish-Christian War: Liberal Democrats vs. Conservative Republicans", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.9(10), July 1, 1994. When Abe Foxman dreamed up his scheme to attack the "religious right," in particular TV evangelist Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition, he probably thought the assault would make for good Anti-Defamation League (ADL) fundraising. But like his earlier ill-conceived ambush of the African American activist movement, the idea backfired, splattering egg all over the collective face of the Jewish lobby. When is this guy going to learn? You'd think he'd have learned his lesson after last year's debacle, when the ADL was caught stealing police files from a synagogue in San Francisco and spying on anybody and everybody who didn't agree with the policies of his organization of Zionist zealots. But no, even while he was up to his fanny in alligators, Abe the Avenger was already scouting out new windmills to attack. Why Foxman would choose to target Robertson and his like-thinkers is a mystery even to many in the Jewish lobby. To accuse Robertson and the religious right of antisemitism is daffy, to say the least. Robertson and his kind love the Jews, and they are stalwart supporters of Zionist Israel. That they are in favor of school prayer and against abortion should be of minimal concern to the ADL in its international search for antisemites and/or anti-Zionists. (In addition to being the ADL's national director, Foxman also is its international director.)

But maybe there's more to Foxman's folly than meets the eye. A clue that this may be so is the way in which Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, quickly grabbed the opportunity provided by the ADL's attack to launch his own assault on the "radical right" (i.e., religious right) within the Republican Party. The foes of the religious right are correct in their fear that there is such a movement afoot in America. Their problem is that they don't seem to understand what the movement is all about. Explaining why the religious right is making gains at the local level of politics and at the local level of our culture, conservative columnist Sam Francis writes: "What needs to be understood about the religious right is that what ultimately drives its adherents is not religion in the ordinary sense. What drives them is the perception—accurate in my view—that the culture their religion reflects and defends is withering and that that withering portends a disaster for themselves, their class, their country and their civilization. Religion happens to be a convenient vehicle for their otherwise unarticulated and perfectly well-founded fears." Francis adds, "It's not religion that drives; it's the legitimate frustrations of a social class that has been bludgeoned and betrayed by its established leaders for more than 50 years." To Fazio's scare accusations that the Christian religious right is taking over the Republican Party, conservative columnist Mona Charen (no antisemite she) responds: "Let's see, I suppose [Fazio] means the Democrats are opposed to registering new voters, showing up for state party conventions and distributing voter guides. That's what the Christian Coalition, for example, has done." And that's precisely what the Jewish lobby does in its so-called "grassroots" program which is so diligently promoted by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the American Jewish Committee and Congress, the National Jewish Democratic Council and other Jewish activist organizations. Charen points out: "There is an element of Christian bashing in the attack. Many liberal Democrats think of Christianity—at least traditional Christianity—as an unfortunate character flaw. But the attack on the so-called 'radical right' is really more cynical than that . . . No, the Democrats aren't bashing Christians out of mere bigotry. They are bashing them out of fear. They know that Democrats have lost nine of the last nine elections since Bill Clinton took office." That the Democrat Party, long controlled by its ultra liberal wing and the Jewish lobby, is worried about its future because of its past is more than self-evident. As columnist Mort Kondracke wrote recently: "Liberals obviously didn't intend for the abandonment of traditional values to lead to an AIDS epidemic, rampant teenage pregnancy, the destruction of two-parent families, an explosion of child abuse and child poverty, increasing coarseness in popular culture and horrific street violence. But it has." The ADL's attack on the religious right has not only set Republicans against Democrats and conservatives against liberals, it has caused a split in the Jewish lobby. Prominent Jewish pro-Israeli neoconservatives such as William Kristol and Elliot Abrams have sternly rebunted the ADL report. Kristol, who heads the Project for the Republican Future, said, "It is so shortsighted and self-destructive for a Jewish organization like the ADL to unjustly and gratuitously alienate Christian conservatives." Abrams, a former assistant secretary of state, said, "I think that the problem today lies essentially within the Jewish community, because there is a deep-seated fear of Christian evangelicals, and that is a form of bigotry." Abrams was incensed at the ADL report, which he described as "despicable" and an unwarranted attack. Kristol's criticism of the ADL report is particularly insightful—and stinging. He notes that Foxman & Co. claim that their report proves the political activity of conservative Christians constitutes a threat to American democracy, religious freedom, and the Constitution. The
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Israel-Palestine  
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Evidence for these charges are three-fold. First, spokesmen for religious conservatives have over the years occasionally made foolish statements. That's true enough, says Kristol, "though it is hardly an original sin in American political discourse." Second, it turns out that religious conservatives, "like everyone else, behave politically"—using direct mail, phone banks, opposition research and even evasive campaign rhetoric. "Shocking!" says Kristol. (And who is more adept at such political tricks than the ADL and the rest of the Jewish lobby?) The third piece of evidence provided by the ADL's report, Kristol says, "isn't really evidence at all, but it's the most significant aspect of their work, because it is so perfectly reflective of the primary animating force" behind the ADL's anti-religious right sentiment. According to the premier defense organization of the Jewish community, Christian conservatives are "extremist," "bogus," "conspiratorial," "fevered;" "phony;" "filthilum," "bizarre," and, yes, "fervent." (All terms that New American View and others have used to describe the Jewish lobby.) Kristol rightly observes that "In this context, 'fervent' is too evangelical Protestants what 'aggressive' is to Jews, a politely disguised expression of discomfort and disgust with the manners and mores of an entire social class." He concludes, "It is bigotry . . . The Republican Party should say that the current smear campaign against its conservative religious allies is wrong, and it should hold those who are pursuing that campaign to account." In a similar rebuttal, columnist Tony Snow writes that the ADL "truly stand the torture of having to impose their theologies upon an innocent public, but it provides no evidence. It focuses instead on political issues—welfare reform, affirmative action, race relations, federal spending, term limits, abortion and gay rights." This stuff "is as ludicrous as the antisemitic propaganda in the The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," says Snow.

Nevertheless, a few Jews have leaped to the defense of the ADL, as have some of the more hapless Jewish activist organizations. In a recent editorial, the Washington Jewish Week lashed out against the critics of the ADL's attack on the conservative Christians. The critics, especially conservative Pat Buchanan, were accused of trying to "whistle Jewish political activism out-of-bounds." Apparently taking his cue from the Washington Jewish Week, American Jewish Congress acting director Phil Baumb argued that his organization "vigorously" endorsed the right of the Christian conservatives to fight for their beliefs in the political arena. And Baumb said, "It is our equal right to oppose these positions and work against them." But this "in no way implies—except to those of ill will—opposition to Christianity or to Christian beliefs or values." The New York Jewish Forward quotes David Cayley, a senior research analyst for the ADL and one of the authors of the controversial report attacking the religious right, as saying, "Most Republican leaders are starting to circle their wagons. They can't possibly win without this huge bloc [the Christian conservatives] in the short term . . . Pat Robertson has clearly made a number of remarks in the last five years that are extremely insensitive or antagonistic toward Jews, and I don't see why people in the Republican Party need to be apologetic for that." (A little confusing, but you get the point.) Only three months ago, however, after having Abe Foxman's attack on the Nation of Islam and its leader Louis Farrakhan as equivalent to the invention of sliced bread. Then the newspaper praised Foxman for his unique ability to set the Jewish "communal agenda." It wrote: "The Farrakhan affair may also be seen, to the chagrin of the ADL's competitors in the crowd of groups fighting antisemitism, as proof that the ADL may well be the most important Jewish American organization."

Foxman and the ADL have several reasons for picking a fight with the religious right at this time, despite the long history of close alliance between the Jewish lobby and the Christian evangelical movement. For one, the professional Jewish activists have never had much respect, nor fondness, for the Bible-thumping crowd. For one thing, there is a deep ideological chasm that separates the generally liberal Democratic Jews of the major metropolitan areas from the generally conservative Republican Christians from rural and small-town middle America. The two groups were bonded together by only one issue—Israel. Guided by a dispensationalist interpretation of the Bible, TV evangelists like Jerry Falwell and Robertson gave their financial support to the Zionist movement because they believed it to be a fulfillment of biblical prophecy. The creation of a modern Israel would ultimately lead to Armageddon, the final and conclusive battle between the forces of good and evil, after which would come the millennium—the thousand years during which Christ would reign on earth. Although the Jewish organizational activists do not share this evangelical view, they did find it to their advantage to skillfully exploit the movement in the promotion of Zionism and the state of Israel. But the lobby never held these Christian fanatics in high esteem. In fact, they distrusted them and even despised them. Disagreements over American social or cultural issues were usually papered over by the lobby in the greater interest of maintaining support for the Jewish state. It was sometimes difficult for Jewish activists to hide their disdain—and more importantly, their fear—of the evangelicals. In 1986, for example, in a speech before a Jewish audience in Cincinnati, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) expressed the lobby's concern over the growing political power of the Christian right. He did so in terms which are almost identical to those in the ADL's report attacking Robertson and his like-thinkers. "We must see to it that we will not permit the religious right to take over this country . . . Don't let your grandchildren down," he said. Metzenbaum criticized the Jewish community for having only one issue on its agenda—Israel—and urged that it not remain silent as the religious right gains in political power. If you do not act now, he warned, "then someday the religious right will move in. Do not let the forces of evil take over to make this a Christian America." (One can only wonder how the news media would have responded in 1986, or even today, to a Christian senator who said to a gentle audience, "Do not let the forces of evil take over to make this a Jewish America.")

Among the other reasons for the ADL's assault on Christian conservatives, as well as its earlier attack on the African American movement, is, of course, money. The ADL, after the embarrassing exposure last year of its domestic spying operations—in collusion with local police forces—found its donations dipping precipitously. Then came the Israeli-PLO peace pact, which took a lot out of the sails of all the Jewish activist organizations. With the coming of peace, the primary identifying-and-unifying cause of the Jewish lobby—pro-Israelism—was greatly diminished. Moreover, at the same time that younger Jewish Americans were becoming more American through assimilation and intermarriage, and more concerned with domestic affairs, a new Israel began to emerge—a Jewish state which questioned the need for charity from American Jews and even cast aspersions upon their diaspora Jewishness. An Israel at peace with its Arab neighbors removed the politically correct club which the lobby relied on to beat its allies and rivals into submission in the American political arena. This plus the disdain of the new Israel for American Jewry left the lobby struggling to exert its political influence and, therefore, to raise funds. Without money to support and/or pressure the Clintons, to continue to buy and sell the members of Congress, to manipulate the news media and so on, put the lobby in a vulnerable position against those movements with larger voting blocs—namely, the blacks and the religious right. Something had to be done, and Abe Foxman did it. That he had the approval of the rest of the Jewish lobby was evident when almost all the other organizations leaped on the bandwagon. But now, there is a eerie silence within the Jewish community on what may eventually prove to be Foxman's Folly.

The ADL set off a firestorm when it attacked the "religious right" a couple of weeks ago. Since then, however, Abe Foxman and his anti-antisemite conspiracy theorists have had to duck for cover—once again having bitten off more than the Jewish lobby can chew. [=]
when Jews stopped thinking of themselves as the people loved by God, and started seeing themselves as the people hated by Gentiles. Sacks points out with deep concern that Jews are the only group not to have replaced the losses its population suffered in WWII. And while the Holocaust and the state of Israel became the twin symbols of a new Jewish consciousness, their impact on the younger Jewish generations is fast fading. Building Holocaust memorials and sending checks to Israel will only push the young Jews away, he says, seeking to leave behind the Jewish past and not being interested in the future of the rabbi admonishes. The younger Jews find these symbols boring, just as they are bored with the ancient rituals of the synagogue and the Hebrew language. Yet, Jewish education and spending time in Israel are the only solutions the rabbi proposes to the problem of the vanishing Jew. What Rabbi Sacks and other Jewish leaders who promote the renewal of Jewish education are calling for, whether they realize it or not, is a return to the ghetto mentality of Jewish yesteryear. And that is an impossible dream in today's world. [↩]

60986. New American View. “Truth? Or Consequences?”, in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on US Relations With Israel and the Middle East, March 15, 1990. There has been much discussion in the American Jewish press lately about the proper role of the Jewish media in Israel's time of need. Simply put, the question is whether Jewish journalists should practice self-censorship so as not to generate bad publicity for Israel. That there is a strong and vocal element which becomes indifferent at the fact that the question is being discussed at all is refreshing and illustrates that the American Jewish community is not the monolith that pro-Israeli fanatics contend. Nat Hentoff, a veteran journalist and profoundly consistent supporter of the First Amendment, in a recent commentary for Washington Jewish Week, writes: “It is dangerous for Jewish journalists to act as if American Jews have only one opinion about anything—very much including Israel. It is dangerous because once any people are encouraged to become so defensive about anything, they close their minds. And what they want to protect will become all the more vulnerable for lack of fresh air.” Recently, 170 Jewish journalists from 27 countries met at the Third International Conference of Jewish Media, held in Jerusalem. One attendee, Micheline Ratzerdsorfer, of Amit Women magazine, said, “Before putting pen to paper, Jewish newspaper editors and writers must ask themselves whether what they write will harm Israel, and whether they have the ‘moral right’ to write critical editorials.” Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, at the same conference, told attendees that they must “exercise caution” when writing about Israel. Hentoff responds that, despite the pressure being applied to Jewish journalists to tread softly where Israel is concerned, he himself has been approached often in both Israel and the US by Israelis urging him to “try to communicate to the American Jews the depth and range of distress in Israel.” Obviously, the spectrum of permissible opinion and dissent within Israel itself is much wider than that allowed in the US, judging from reports issuing from journalists as well as from comparative readings of Israeli and American Jewish publications. Hentoff states: “During the invasion of Lebanon, I was traveling quite a lot around this country [the US], and in the federal papers I saw, there was not a critical word to be found about the invasion at the very same time that Abba Eban, among other members of the Knesset, was furiously pointing out the harm—to Israel—being done by that reckless adventure. And those criticisms were getting a great deal of space in the Israeli press.” This debate in the American Jewish media reflects the conflict in the community at large over the proper response to controversy over Israeli policies and actions. Although organizations like the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations behave as if they are the elected leaders of the Jewish community, in reality they speak for a diminishing minority. Their uniformly pro-Israeli positions do not represent the wide range of views among individual American Jews, and the membership they can legitimately claim to represent is dwindling and aging. The trouble is that all too often these self-appointed community “spokesmen” are taken at face value by the mainstream media and American political leaders. A recent editorial in the Washington Jewish Week notes the growing dissent within the Jewish community with alarm and bemoans the fact that it couldn’t be occurring at a worse time for Israel. The editorial, entitled “Pluralism’s Cost,” also takes note of the fact that Jewish communal organizations, once the heart of American Jewish life, are dying out, largely due to the increasing irrelevance of Israel to the lives of secular American Jews. “Unfortunately, all of this comes at the wrong moment in history . . . Of course we’re referring to the obligation placed on us to rescue hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who are desperate to leave the USSR, and revolutionaries in Nicaragua and Central America. It would be unforgivable if we fail because we cannot gather together from all the ‘different directions’ the necessary will and energy to succeed. An inspired leadership might bring us together and get us to roll up our sleeves and work, pitching in as individuals for the collective, communal good.” Whether voices at odds with the Israeli party line are expressed through the American Jewish media, or through membership in communal organizations, censorship and an attempted imposition of orthodoxy will simply not work. The changes taking place are positive ones, for the most part, as they express the desire of most American Jews to live—and think, and express themselves—as Americans first. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir urges Jewish journalists to “exercise caution” when reporting on Israel. [↩]

60987. New American View. “US Jewry: Whither the Tribe?: Seeking ‘To Reestablish a Jewish Core’,” in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol. 9(12). August 1, 1994. If an ethnic community has a very low birth rate and a very high rate of intermarriage, what kind of future does it have to look forward to? “Obviously, not much of one,” answers Irving Kristol, charter member of the Jewish pro-Zionist neoconservative society. Writing in the current issue of Commentary, the American Jewish Committee’s “journal of significant thought,” Kristol claims that the low birth and high intermarriage rates are the twin plagues of the upper-middle class, just where “Jews are ever more concentrated.” But he asks, doesn’t “a high rate of intermarriage testify to the ever-fuller acceptance of Jews by the non-Jewish community? Is that not what American Jews have always wanted? Is that not what America has always promised? How fortunate American Jews are to be living in such a wonderful country! . . . But is that what the Jewish community wants?” Kristol observes that facing such questions, the major Jewish activist organizations are “so skittish and self-conscious that they seek always a positive relief and renewal on their part at the appearance of any new signs of old-fashioned antisemitism.” Similarly, the ADL has gone positively ballistic in reaction to a handful of purely theological statements made by some Christian fundamentalist preachers. Abe Foxman and Co. take offense at the fundamentalist belief that only Christians will qualify for heaven after the second coming of Jesus Christ. “It is almost as if Jewish organizations, having fought (quite successfully) against Jewish exclusion from country clubs, now feel it necessary to take on the specter of discrimination in that Great Country Club in the Sky,” says Kristol.

According to Kristol, Jewish activist organizations for the most part reflect the historic commitment of American Jews to the ideal of a universalist, secular liberal. This is becoming increasingly a heavy burden for organized Jewry, and it is one of the root reasons for the break-up of the Jewish-African American alliance. The blacks, he says, “are well aware of what welfare-state liberalism has done to their community.” But the major Jewish organizations “remain heavily populated by liberals, trapped in anachronistic modes of thinking,” Kristol claims. The one constant in the professional mindset of Jewish activists is the “suspicion and fear of Christianity.” And this causes a lot of confusion for Jews. Says Kristol: “A plain and simple truth is that so long as Christians are willing and eager to marry Jews, and Jews to marry Christians, intermarriage will proceed apace.” While some Jews are distressed by this situation, they are also flattered and reassured by it. However, “One gets the impression that what many Jewish leaders want, ideally, is for Jews to remain Jewish, and to decline to marry the Christians who woo them—but not for the Christians to be so Christian as to shy away from intermarriage with Jews. It is an impossible dream.” The demographic trends are indeed worrisome, notes Kristol. By the year 2000, just around the corner, the Mormon population, having
tripped in the past two decades, will be greater than the Jewish population. As for the evangelical Christians, they increase steadily and will soon be the dominant force in American Christianity. Meanwhile, the so-called mainline Christian churches, especially the Protestant ones, are fading—in part because of their social agenda and liberal commitments. Thus, says Kristol, "If ever there was a moment for Jews to turn inward, to think about their condition and their prospects in a more Christian America, that moment is now . . . the challenge is to find a way . . . of 'being Jewish' in [American] life." [–]

60988. New American View. "Webs of Deceit," in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(16), November 15, 1988. Kahane is best known in this country as the founder of the militant and violence-prone Jewish Defense League (JDL). Descended from a line of fanatical Zionist rabbis, Kahane was born into a family of modest means in New York City. His early years are shrouded in mystery. Although active since his earliest days in Jewish causes, he started his career as a newspaper distributor and a sports writer, then a writer for the Jewish Press, a local Jewish newspaper. During this time, he had studied for and became a rabbi. In the 1950s, he began an association with Joseph Churba. The two men ran a series of scams, using the cover of a fictional research council, under which they claimed was employed by the federal government to perform defense studies. The institute did not exist. Kahane, at the time an editor with the Jewish Press, wrote an article under a pseudonym describing Churba as an expert and consultant to the government on foreign affairs, a brilliant man whose career showed promise of rivaling that of Henry Kissinger. Churba introduced Kahane as "Michael King," an expert himself in "intelligence matters." The fiction soon grew into a reality. The two formed Consultants Research Associates in 1961, and received a contract form the FBI to penetrate the John Birch Society. Kahane also worked in the notorious Cointelpro operation, penetrating and monitoring extremist domestic groups. Cointelpro was canceled after its existence, and its illegal nature, were revealed to the public. Kahane/King was also living a double personal life. He was married under his real name, but maintained a bachelor apartment with Churba elsewhere in the city, at which he entertained potential clients and reportedly a string of women, one of whom committed suicide when he broke off his relationship with her. (To this day, Kahane's followers maintain that the woman died of cancer.)

Churba has since gone on to numerous foreign policy think tank posts, effectively becoming in the world's eyes what he only pretended to be in the beginning, while Kahane pursued a very different path. Although he now heads a think tank on foreign policy issues, and is regularlyquoted in the press, his consulting contract with Air Force Intelligence was cancelled after he lost his security clearance as a result of an FBI investigation into his past. The JDL arose out of the turmoil of the New York City teachers strike of 1968, where charges of black anti-Semitism were abundant as black teachers and parents demanded the replacement of white principals and administrators with blacks. The vast majority of the incumbent school administrators were Jewish. The charter of the JDL was filed in New York City in 1968. From the beginning the group was established along paramilitary lines, providing uniformed security to Jewish neighborhoods against the threat of violent anti-Semitism, although in a haphazard, ill-planned and inconsistent manner. Kahane drew most of the membership of his organization from lower-income Jewish youth, mainly from the Bronx and Queens. Although the organization has deteriorated to a very loose conglomerate of various groups and individuals, Kahane today serves the same function as a "son of the man" in Jewish organizations about emphasizing Jewish education is mere whistling past the graveyard. The facts are that as soon as Jewish kids get to high school or college, most "end up retaining only a vestigial connection with their Jewish heritage." The liberalism of the last two centuries liberated the Jews from the ghettos and made them civic equals in Western society. The new challenge for Jews is, therefore, how to keep what they've got without committing demographic suicide, says Kristol. But like his fellow Jewish activists, he has no realistic solution. The best he can do is recommend that "the American Jewish community reestablish a Jewish core, a religious core, as a key to its identity." Kristol observes, however, that in the Jewish community the gimmer of growing religious conservatism seems to go "hand-in-hand" with liberal attitudes about everything else "from racial politics to rock music to abortion, feminism and homosexuality."

"If ever there was a moment for Jews to turn inward, to think about their condition and their prospects in a more Christian America, that moment is now . . . the challenge is to find a way . . . of 'being Jewish' in [American] life." [–]

60989. New American View. "Who Needs a Caucus?", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.4(16), September 1, 1989. While there are caucuses for nearly every minority group represented in Congress (the Black Caucus, the Hispanic Congress and the Caucus for Womens Issues), there is no Jewish caucus. And, while there are caucuses for virtually every special interest under the sun—the Steel Caucus, the Wine Caucus, the Children's Caucus, the Rural Caucus, etc.—again, there is no Jewish caucus. The lack of a Jewish caucus, however, does not mean there is no affinity group in Congress catering to Jewish and Israeli interests. There is, for instance, as New American View has reported in the past, a little known group called the Genesis Club, which meets in Room H-131 on the House side of the Capitol every other Thursday. The sessions, conducted by a rabbi, are attended by more than 20 House members and up to a dozen congressional aides. They provide the members with insights into current events gleaned from ancient Jewish philosophers and religious texts. The membership cuts across partisan and religious lines, and there is only one overriding issue of mutual interest: the welfare of Israel. A similar club, generally referred to as "the Torah Study Group," has been organized in the Senate. It, too, encourages non-Jews to participate in its deliberations. Thus, the reason there is such little emphasis on organizing a formal Jewish caucus in Congress dedicated to furthering Jewish and Israeli issues is that there is no need. Congress already is committed to backing the Zionist state. [–]
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another mysterious twist. This one suggests that Jonathan Pollard, the naval intelligence civilian employee who with the aid of his accomplice wife Anne delivered thousands of secret US documents to the Israelis, may actually have been the junior partner of the husband-and-wife spy team. A few weeks ago, Jonathan initiated divorce proceedings against his wife, stunning the Jewish American community which has increasingly idolized the spy couple as heroes of Zion. In a statement issued by Jonathan at the Federal Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois, where he is serving a 40-years-to-life sentence, the confessed spy said: "This decision should not come as a surprise to Anne. The marriage has been in jeopardy for months, even longer. In fact, I was not the first one to raise the issue." He said he based his decision on "a long, meticulous, and difficult reflection. But unfortunately, our agendas no longer converge." Anne told news reporters that she knew nothing of her husband’s plan to break up their marriage. "This divorce action has absolutely devastated me," she said. "I've given my life for my husband. This is the last thing I would expect." According to the divorce papers, Jonathan cites "irreconcilable differences" between him and his wife as the cause for his action. The couple was married in 8/1985, just three months before they were arrested by the FBI for spying. Anne was released from prison several months after, serving 40 months for her part in the spy operation. Anne's lawyer Mark Baker claims that Anne was "set up" by Jonathan, his lawyers and advisers, who include Harvard law professor and syndicated columnist Alan Dershowitz and radical Rabbi Avi Weiss. There is no doubt that Jonathan has toned down his Zionist and pro-Israeli rhetoric ever since Dershowitz has launched his campaign to free the confessed spy. Anne, on the other hand, has been steadfast in her praise of Israel and condemnation of the US government. While Jonathan's new demeanor can be attributed to his desire not to further anger the government in hope of eventually winning parole, divorcing his accomplice wife to prove his point seems a bit farfetched. Thus, some intelligence experts suspect there may be more to the Pollard break-up than meets the eye. The Mossad [the Israeli intelligence service] is adept at manipulating agent couples," says a former CIA counter-intelligence specialist. "It is not uncommon for them to gain greater psychological control over the woman, or secondary agent, in order to strengthen their operational control of the man, who is the primary agent. This could have been the case with the Pollards, and maybe Jonathan now realizes it."

"I am happy to be here, my natural homeland," Anne Pollard said upon arriving in Israel last week. [=] 60991. New American View. "Whu? What?", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol.3(8), July 15, 1988. A founding member of Jewish Lesbian Daughters of Holocaust Survivors (JLDHS), an international networking and support group, is seeking submissions for an anthology of writings by Jewish lesbian daughters of Holocaust survivors. Tentatively titled The Hour of the Rooster, the Hour of the Owl, the collection will include poetry, photos, art, graphics and short stories focused on life as a Jewish lesbian daughter of Holocaust survivors. Fiction, historical fiction, biography, autobiography and other styles will be considered by the JLDHS. (WWJ.) [=]

60992. New American View. "Winds of Change", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel, Vol. 4(3). February 15, 1989. The US State Department just issued its first comprehensive report on the human rights abuses of Israel's brutal handling of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories. Although relatively matter-of-fact in tone, the report is surprising in the intensity and sheer number of complaints lodged by the department against Israeli tactics, and, consequently, official Washington's apparent willingness to so harshly criticize Israel in a forum guaranteed to be given wide dissemination. The report was contained in the State Department's annual roundup of human rights conditions in 169 countries around the world. Although last year's report also included mention of the uprising, only the vaguest and most general of terms were used. Certainly not enough to occasion any worry on the part of Israeli officials that their brutality could strain relations with the US. The report, contained in the annual survey, is distributed throughout the government, to members of Congress, and to the US diplomatic corps. It is also widely read by the press and electronic news media, not only in this country, but internationally as well. What is even more surprising about the harsh criticism of the Israelis contained in this year's report has been the reaction of the American media to it. While the report was carried by most if not all major newspapers and networks, the coverage was generally muted and, for the most part, the report was a matter of human rights abuses in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is so far out of the mainstream. In the Middle East, the report, network correspondents on all three networks illustrated their voice-over narrations of the report's findings of brutality and excessive force with particularly graphic examples of the same. Although the words of the report itself were certainly not inflammatory, when coupled with these images they presented an unmistakably powerful and heart-rending portrait of human suffering, as well as feelings of outrage. The outrage was spurred by the sight of apparently unprovoked and random beatings and shootings of unarmed Palestinians by Israeli soldiers, as well as such atrocities as strapping a young Arab man to a military jeep to use as a human shield against stone-throwers. Houses were shown being blown up and shops destroyed. Palestinian youths were shown being slapped, kicked and dry-fired at while they cringed in fear, and were then laughed at by soldiers. All these images flashed by as the announcers quoted from the report such passages as: "Soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops, causing many avoidable deaths and injuries;", or, the Israeli army, "untrained and inexperienced in riot control, responded in a manner which led to a substantial increase in human rights violations."

While these statements are not in the least incendiary, they were enough to ignite Israeli tempers and draw bitter responses from Israeli government officials, who angrily defended the conduct of the operation in the West Bank and Gaza. Tellingly, most American Jewish groups put off any immediate response to the State Department report—probably because they sense the prevailing winds are shifting against them. The US has finally recognized that Israel is guilty of human rights abuses against the Palestinians. [=] 60993. New American View. "World Jewry: Israeli-Diaspora Connection: It Ain't What It Used To Be", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol. 4(1), February 1, 1994. There is concern within the World Zionist Organization (WZO) that Israel and the Jewish community in America may be drifting apart. The Zionist movement, therefore, must shed some of its current political structure and gear itself to promote an enduring relationship between Israel and the American diaspora, says Uzi Narkiss, retired Israeli general and longtime official of the WZO. The WZO was founded to implement Theodor Herzl's vision of a Jewish state. But as the 1997 centenary of the organization approaches, Narkiss believes its mission must change. He fears that the combination of declining Jewish identity in America and the coming of peace for Israel may cause the two communities to drift apart. In another decade, says Narkiss, Israel could grow unconcerned about the Jews beyond its own borders. He fears that Israel could "become more interested with its own religious needs than with the Jewish world". Narkiss, who recently completed a two-year tour with the WZO in New York, believes Israel should get much more involved with the Jewish American community by "serving more teachers to the diaspora [and] ensuring that every bar mitzvah child will visit Israel." All this can be part of the WZO's new mission, he says. But how to get the Israelis more interested in and involved with American Jewry is a more difficult task, says Narkiss. He fears that the "Jewish nature of the state will be diluted," and he cites his own grandchildren as contributing to the Israeli-diaspora gap. "It's hard to get them to listen to what I say—if it's not about computer games—when I say there are young Jews in America [who need attention]. They want to go to America, but for Disneyland. They want to go to Paris, for Euro-Disney. But it doesn't interest them that there are young Jews around the world."

The Israeli government, however, evidently is aware of its growing separation from the diaspora, according to Haim Divon, the new head of the World Jewry Division of the Foreign Ministry. Divon says
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that he has had more meetings on the diaspora with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Deputy Minister Yossi Beilin and General Director Uri Savir than there were in the ministry during the last four years. "Each of them realizes it's high time to give proper attention to the diaspora [problem]," says Divon. Jewish American leaders, both inside and outside Israel, praise Divon. They say that his access and high diplomatic status will give new weight and prestige to his mission. Divon's mandate is broader than that of his predecessor and its profile has been raised, observes Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. David Clayman, director in Israel of the American Jewish Congress, says, "I am very impressed. He's a high-powered diplomat who realizes what he doesn't know and he's learning it." According to Divon, the peace process has begun to free Israelis from focusing almost exclusively on security issues and to start a little "soul-searching," including a re-examination of the Jewish state's relationship with the diaspora. "In Israel, the whole concept of diaspora Jewry is a very distorted one," he says. The role of diaspora Jews was reduced to "a political lobby or a schnorrer (Yiddish for freeloader)," says Divon. "It's not our fault. No one taught us. Jewish history lessons ended after the Second World War." On the other hand, many American Jews never visit Israel, and their view of the Jewish state is reduced to "what they see on TV." Those who do come, says Divon, especially under the auspices of some Jewish American group, get an "over-saccharined package" of a mythical country. "It's artificial. Then they go back and dream about making aliyah, and when they come, they get disappointed. They go to City Hall and get the shock of their lives [when they confront Jewish Independents: Senate: 0; House: 1 (same).

Total: Senate: 100; House: 435.

Women: Senate: 6 (+4); House: 44 (+16).

Democrats: Senate: 5 (+4); House: 33 (+14).

Republicans: Senate: 1 (same); House: 11 (+2).

Blacks: Senate: 1 (+1); House: 38 (+13).

Democrats: Senate: 1 (+1); House: 37 (+12).

Republicans: Senate: 1 (+1); House: 16 (+6).

Hispanic Democrats: Senate: 0; House: 3 (+2).

Asians: Senate: 2 (same); House: 5 (+2).

Asian-Americans: Republicans: Senate: 0 (same) 1 (+1).

60996. New American View: Kawar, Nawal A. "Overview: The Shaking Off: The Intifadah and the Israeli Occupation", in New American View-Monitoring the Special Relationship Between the United States and Israel. Vol. 4(23). December 15, 1989. (Editor's Note: The Palestinian uprising is entering its third year, with no end in sight to the bloodshed or the realization of Palestinian dreams of a homeland. The editors of New American View thought it timely to present the views of Nawal A. Kawar, an American Palestinian scholar, on the origins and effects of the uprising on her people. Her report, as follows, is drawn from her experiences during a recent six-week visit to Jerusalem and the West Bank. Some of the data therein is drawn from reports issued by the Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights.) As the intifada, the Palestinian uprising, passes it second anniversary, the death toll...
eliminate Palestinian national identity. Its secondary goal is the creation of a Palestinian homeland, which can be accomplished after an Israeli withdrawal. Under the guise of maintaining its security, Israel has pursued a host of repressive measures and policies that combine intimidation with humiliation. Economic hardship is artificially maintained in the territories by the Israelis, who impose a variety of heavy taxes and regulate trade to their own benefit. The “iron-fist” policies employed by the Israelis to contain the uprising include humiliation and harassment, “administrative detention”—which is simply imprisonment without trial—house demolitions and sealings, curfews, fines, baseless interrogations, travel restrictions, unjust taxes, closures of schools and universities, maltreatment and torture at the hands of the military or the police, closure of Palestinian organizations and social institutions, mass censorship and warrantless searches. The broad-based application of these measures has left hardly a Palestinian household untouched by any of these injustices. During the first six weeks of the uprising, many Israelis reacted uncertainly to the unrest and refused to accept it for what it really was: not another short-term wave of unrest, but a deeper, better organized, unyielding popular rebellion.

Faced with mass defiance, Israeli forces responded with the unrestrained firing of live ammunition into crowds in demonstrations, at funerals and gatherings at hospitals. Paradoxically, Israel’s initial harshness was a key factor in keeping the first protests at an intense level, as Palestinians reacted in fury to blood in the streets with a nearly continuous round of demonstrations, funerals and memorial marches. After utilizing a number of tactics to put down the uprising, Israeli authorities applied a comprehensive strategy aimed at crushing the uprising. The plan had two major elements: a crackdown against the entire Palestinian community and a demoralization campaign. Whereas in the past the authorities were reluctant to admit to these abuses, let alone condone them in public, the negative media exposure given Israel’s brutal reaction to the uprising forced the military authorities to go on record defending these indefensible “containment” policies. Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin proudly proclaimed the use of “might, force and beatings” in 1/1988, and he followed this a few months later by stating that inflicting more casualties was “precisely our aim.”

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir echoed these sentiments in 3/1988, when he cynically said that “the means [of crushing the uprising] are secondary; the main thing is the goal.” The Israelis have now seemingly accepted the fact that they will not be able to crush the uprising through the unrestrained application of force. They are presently operating under the assumption that the situation has devolved into a war of attrition. “We have adjusted,” said Rabin the week before the second anniversary, as “we deal with the attrition better than they can.” The truth of the statement is doubtful, however, since the Palestinians are just as determined to continue the revolt, and accept their suffering, to achieve their long sought-after goals. The Israeli military forces in the occupied territories have employed brutal tactics to crush the intifada, examples of which follow:

Social repression: The lives of Palestinian residents have been linked in countless ways to the district officer of the Israeli Civil Administration. All adult Arab residents of the occupied territories must make a pilgrimage to those offices every time they conduct some aspect of daily life. Every signature they are asked to put to papers—and there are many—costs them time, humiliation and sometimes exorbitant fees.

Demolition of houses: This policy, adopted in 1967, has accelerated greatly during the uprising. The dynamiting and bulldozing of thousands of Palestinian homes is the harshest of the collective punishments used by the Israeli army against the entire family of those suspected of “security crimes.” Demolitions are carried out suddenly to maximize shock value, usually by a force of hundreds of soldiers who are frequently accompanied by Jewish settlers, most often between the hours of midnight and dawn. The village is curfewed and the only warning for targeted families is delivered by soldiers banging on the door and shouting orders to leave the house. Residents are given only minutes to empty the house of its contents before the explosive charges are set or the bulldozer begins its work. The contents of the home, nearby farm structures and animals, orchards, grape arbors, as well as neighboring houses, are often destroyed by the force of the blasts used by the Israeli army in areas of high population concentration. In some cases, doors to houses or rooms are welded shut, rather than destroying the entire structure, but it is not clear what criteria army commanders use in choosing this particular form of punishment. Palestinians live in their extended families in solid stone houses which are built by hand over a period of many years. More than 80% of the household income of the residents of the occupied territories is directed toward building private homes. In addition to rendering families homeless, and thus adding to the refugee problem, the destruction of homes represents a great emotional hardship, the loss of many years’ labor and overwhelming financial devastation.

Expulsion: Since 1/1988, 60 Palestinians have been forcibly expelled from the occupied territories. There were 45 expulsions in the three-year period prior to this. The average age of the Palestinians expelled in 1988 is 31. Almost all are married and have children. They include physicians, lawyers, journalists, university professors, laborers and students. None are accused of violent activities; rather, they are expelled solely because of their leadership qualities. Israeli intelligence authorities reported in 5/1988 that they have prepared a list of 1200 more Palestinians they would like to expel. This is all part of the Israeli plan to deny Palestinian statehood by destroying Palestinian society. Once they have deported, jailed or killed the elite, control of the rebellion falls into the hands of more radical, violent elements of society, against whom harsh tactics are thought to be more defensible in the face of international criticism.

Killings: Most of the fatalities among Palestinians were caused by Israeli army gunfire in separate incidents over a wide area occurring at a fairly constant rate over the course of the uprising. The shooting victims have been both young and old, male and female, demonstrators as well as bystanders and people helping the wounded. The youngest shooting death was that of a three-year-old child; the oldest, that of a 75-year-old West Bank villager. The number of victims below the age of 16 increased dramatically in the second half of 1988 as a consequence of loosened restrictions on shooting by Israeli soldiers. The heavy use of gunfire, especially of high velocity bullets that explode inside the body, sent 8000-10000 people to hospitals in 1988 to be treated for gunshot wounds. The increased reliance on so-called “rubber bullets,” actually steel pellets coated with rubber, has resulted in many deaths and serious injuries as well. The army sometimes targets particular people for murder, and these occur most often during “search” missions in villages. On such occasions, youths on secret arrest lists are vulnerable to army gunfire as “wanted suspects” and can be shot on sight under army regulations, under the pretense of “resisting arrest.”

Beatings: Israel’s policy of punitive beatings of Palestinians, announced by Defense Minister Rabin on 1/19/1988, was meant to reduce international criticism of Israeli’s widespread use of lethal force. This policy of beatings was actually implemented in 9/1987 when a wave of unrest, but a deeper, better organized, unyielding popular rebellion.

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==============================================================================
The Israeli Supreme Court ruled that conversions to Judaism by economy once statehood is achieved. This writer could personally not secular, the religious minority is overwhelmingly Orthodox. In recent

Palestinians are creating their own underground economy—totally Reform in Israel.

The issue was 1973 statement of Reform Judaism's Central

point where many small business owners decided to simply quit, or infringed the authority of the body "to provide guidance to its members".

The resolution called on rabbis to be bound to tremble, or to create tremors. In early Islamic society, it was used to describe uprisings by the masses which challenged the authority of the ruling class. It was chosen over the more commonly used political term thawra—revolution—to define what has been happening in the occupied territories since 12/1987. Clearly, the uprising has become a contest of wills. Which side will outlast the other? It appears that, despite the military might and the resources of the Israelis, time is on the side of the Palestinians. As the occupation continues, and repressive measures grow more harsh, the Palestinians become more unified in their determination to win statehood. But the uprising is exacting a great price in Israel, both economically and politically. As it drags on, the Israelis are growing weaker in their determination and are beset by divisions at home and growing isolation in the world community. Pressure upon the Israelis from the US to reach an accommodation with the Palestinians is also increasing. Although no resolution to the conflict is expected anytime soon, there are only two solutions for Israel. One is to simply eliminate the Palestinians, by extermination or expulsion. The other is to negotiate a settlement. The US would not stand by and allow the first option to be implemented, leaving the second as the sole possible outcome. Clearly, the uprising has become a contest of wills. Which side will outlast the other? It appears that, despite the military might and the resources of the Israelis, time is on the side of the Palestinians. [=]

60997. Niebuhr, Gustav. "Lay Challenge To Rabbis' View on Interfaith Marriage Wanes", in New York Times, December 16, 1996. p. A10. Lay leaders of Reform Judaism have rejected an appeal to the ban on officiation at interfaith marriages. The 1.5-million member Union of American Hebrew Congregations voted overwhelming to upon the ban on assisting miscegenation. The resolution called on rabbis to be bound only by their conscience: Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie stated the resportion to the bylaw tolerance of intermarriage of Jews with other races would have infringed the authority of the body "to provide guidance to its members". The issue was 1 973 statement of Reform Judaism's Central Conference of American Rabbis that banned their participation at mixed marriages. While opponents of the proposed resolution see intermarriage as posing the loss of future offspring to Judaism, the proposers see the proposed resolution as offering a chance for rabbis to convert the couple to Judaism. The real question for each side remains the best strategy for maintaining Jewish unity in the face of a threatening tolerance. [TXT]

60998. Niebuhr, Gustav. "Religion Journal: Israeli Events Reshape a Reform Leader's Speech", in New York Times, June 8, 1996. p. 7. Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie's installation sermon as president of Union of American Hebrew Congregations was modified in the wake of the election of Netanyahu to reaffirm the legitimacy of Reform Judaism vis-a-vis Orthodoxy, which has grown to hold one-fifth of the seats in the Knesset. He succeeds Rabbi Alexander Schindler. In Israel, Avraham Ravitz of the United Torah Judaism Party stated the Orthodox would demand more money for their schools and would try to curb the power of Reform in Israel.

In Israel, while the majority of the 5.4 million population is secular, the religious minority is overwhelmingly Orthodox. In recent moves, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that conversions to Judaism by Reform rabbis were invalid; the recent effort to grant the same stature to
marriage performed by reform and Conservative rabbis to those of Orthodox marriages is now seen as abortive. While some Reform leaders see Orthodox as radical, many Orthodox, such as Rabbi Avi Shafram of the Augudath Israel of America, with ties to the United Torah, see Reform as radical and Orthodox as seeking simply to "maintain a single standard of Jewish law for the Jewish state". Some, such as Yaacov Komreich, spokesman for the 150 synagogues of the National Council of Young Israel argue that Israeli religious issues should be resolved in Israel, arguing: "[Israelis] have the right to decide their own laws as they see fit. The Conservative and Reform movements have been active in Israel for a good 25-30 years. And the real question is, after that time, why haven't they taken hold? My answer, and the answer you'll get from most Orthodox Jews, is that the Conservative and Reform movements are manifestations of a Diaspora environment." Yoffie will travel to Jerusalem soon for the Bar Mitzvah of his son, and hopes to meet with Netanyahu while there. [TXT]

60999. Nimmanee; Resource Center for Community Groups; Women's Unit of the Resource Center for Community Groups. "The Assasinatation of Israel PM", in Nimmanee-St. Lanka Newsletter (Internet), Electronic Issue, n. 11, November, 1995. [You are free to post all or part of this information to other relevant places in Electronic or Printed form. Information is Free!]

Mr. Itshak Rabin, the 73 year old Prime Minister of Israel has been shot dead by a Jew who confessed that he headed the "word of the God". Having been a soldier for 27 years Mr. Rabins greatest victory was the peace pact with his country's are enemy Mr. Yasar Arafath in 1993, which made the Palestine and Jewish extremists hate him. Messers Rabin and Arafath were the joint recipients of the prestigious Nobel Price for Peace. Before his death Mr. Rabin has signed a peace agreement with Jordan too.

In his last address to the nation he said that peace could not be found on the path of war, which is true in the context of our country too. Therefore we must do our best to implement the Govt.'s peace package without any amendments. In the event of its failure, there is the likelihood of a suppressive government coming into power and massive destruction of life and property, due to the war.

We are positive that this peace package would put a stop to the ongoing war and would provide a lasting and fair solution to the ethnic issue. [=]

61000. North, Andrew. "Arab-Israeli Conflict: Settlements By The Back Door", in Middle East, May 1993, pp. 11-12. The Rabin government has intensified repression on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition, there are now charges that Rabin has accelerated Jewish settlement of the West Bank, despite promises to the US to end the Israeli settlements policy. Israel has just received the first $2 billion in US guaranteed loans, and these guarantees were predicated on an end to the illegal settlements. The Finance Ministry will provide $1.4 billion of the loans to provide low cost financing for Israeli industry: much of the money will be used to finance real estate projects: Israel insists that all private real estate projects in the West Bank are exempt from the US prohibition. In addition, $600 million will be used for infrastructure projects. While Peace Now states that none of the new US guaranteed financing is being used for construction in the West Bank, the 11000 housing units under construction in the West Bank were exempted from the promise by Israel not to build more housing, and construction is visibly proceeding at all 144 segregated Jewish settlements in the West Bank. The most "provacative" move is the Rabin government's aggressive expansion of Jewish housing in East Jerusalem and the extension of the boundary of East Jerusalem. The Israeli government states no restrictions can be placed on Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem. The US State Department refuses to comment on construction activity in the West Bank. The intense Israeli repression of Palestinian rights in the Occupied Territories has muted debate on the settlements question: from 8/1992-1/1993 some 76 Palestinians were killed by occupation forces, including 17 children (up from 63 in the previous period), and UNRWA reports 18 occasions in which Israeli soldiers have destroyed Palestinian homes, including one incident on 2/11/1993, when 19 houses were destroyed with artillery fire and explosives after four men were arrested without charge (none have been charged to date).

61001. Nubani, Mohammed. "Razzan Fertility Center Brings Happiness to the Home: Test-tube Babies in Palestine", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 24, 1995, p. 8. Today, Palestinians with fertility problems no longer have to leave the country for assistance. A fertility center was inaugurated a month ago in Nablus on 10/26/1995. No such center had existed before. Set up with the help of Palestinian medical experts in fertility, this will alleviate much of the suffering of childless couples. The center was made possible through the help of Arab doctors such as Ziad Al-Kilani, a genetic expert at London's King's College Hospital. The inauguration of the center was accompanied by a series of scientific lectures given by medical specialists from Britain and Jordan. In his lecture, Ziad Al-Kilani spoke of his experience in the field of test-tube babies and the extent to which scientific progress in fibre optic probes had contributed to procedures. He focused on the advantages of this procedure in saving time and money as well as reducing the risks for women undergoing fertility treatments. He added that it is the time that the patient actually spends in a hospital that costs so much money. Using the new method, the hospital stay does not exceed twenty-hours. Genetic engineer Virginia Bolton lectured on the benefits gained from scientific laboratory research at King's College. The head of the Razzan Center, Salem Abu Khaizaran emphasized the importance of creating such centers to compensate those who were unable to bear children. "The idea behind opening such a center was thought of in January of this year by a few doctors," he said. The idea was taken seriously when Doctor Al Kilani encouraged and supported it. He gave my partner, Ismail Al Masri, the opportunity to practice on equipment in his laboratory in Jordan. I learned a lot in Britain from Virginia Bolton." The center has experimented with more than thirty-four test-tube procedures since it started experimenting in July. Seven operations were successful, one woman became pregnant with twins. Three pregnancies self-terminated. The other women have not yet to become pregnant.

Doctor Abu Khaizaran explained that even though the center is still in its early stages, new methods will be implemented to assist those in the low-income bracket and those who live in the rural areas of the West Bank. The center hopes to deploy units in different areas which will be connected to the main center, Razzan. At those clinics, the doctor will give the patients the necessary treatment to ensure the maturation of the eggs. When the eggs are mature, they are harvested. From here, the woman is transported to the main center. A sperm specimen from the husband is taken and the egg is then fertilized and placed in the main center. Then, after a period of sixteen to eighteen hours, the embryo is tested to ascertain whether or not it is viable. If it is, the woman is then recalled to the center and the embryo placed in her womb. "The advantage of this method is that it saves time and money," Doctor Abu Khaizaran said. "It will also allow the main center to focus on vital cases, treating as many patients as possible in all areas." He added that new, more advanced methods will be used to treat cases with fertilization problems and will contribute to the success of the procedures. At the opening ceremony, Abu Khaizaran also spoke on the behalf of the investors. "This is the first center of its kind to be opened in Palestine, and we had to overcome many obstacles, but we have succeeded through the help of God and the loyal people of this land." He noted that the center was highly advanced even by international standards. He also said that it was established in Nablus because the doctors felt that the city had not received its fair share of governmental or private funding for the health sector. On this occasion, Ziad Al-Kilani, the head of Al-Farah hospital said, "My participation in the opening of the center reminds me of when I began in the field of genetic engineering and fertility in 1984. At that time, it was described as strange and was a highly suspected procedure in many countries. Only a few countries were practicing such methods." "I remember the day vividly when my friends, Doctor Salem Abu Khaizaran and Ismail Al Masri, asked to practice on equipment at my hospital. I welcomed them, and every
Palestinian who wished to do so.” Furthermore, he described the fertilization method as “a way of bringing children and happiness to a home.” [=]

61002. Nunn, Maxine Kaufman. “Arna Mer-Khamis Wins Alternative Noble Prize: Children Under Occupation: Part 1”, in Challenge, November-December 1993, p. . The program in this neighborhood of the Jenin Refugee Camp had outgrown the small rooms in the basement where it had been operating for two years. So when the owners proposed that Arna build on the roof, she decided to go ahead, though she didn’t know where the money would come from. Then she was informed that her project had won the Right Livelihood Award. Fortunately, the prize money is enough to cover the construction costs. The new center, the fourth Care and Learning center in the Jenin area, should be ready by November.

Arna points out where the library for the older children will be. “The part of the library for grade five will be in the roof-top addition, and will be open until 8-9 pm. The younger kids, grades one through four, will continue to use the small center downstairs. This is a multifunction house. We’re always introducing new elements. The study room is a new element, and we intend to have a music corner here, with earphones. And we have a choir of 70 children.”

A therapeutic program is also in the planning stages. Staff and volunteers will be trained to be what Arna calls “care practitioners,” modeled on the barefoot teachers in China. They will learn to deal with the “learning disabilities based on emotional and social disorders,” which are so widespread among these children, and with problems of interpersonal relations.

I ask Arna whether the new political situation has changed the program’s orientation, from an example of non-violent resistance to occupation, to something that is more purely educational. She reminds me that “violence is not a matter of being beaten - violence is something internal. Look, the truth of the matter is that nothing has changed in practice. These are children who are under occupation. That’s the main thing.”

“Nothing has changed. While the schools have been open for some time now, the effects of their long closure remain. For example, a high percentage of Palestinian children are totally illiterate. The stress of life under occupation continues. In fact, today children require more support than ever before. When they were in the street throwing stones children had a place in society, approval from adults, and an outlet for their anger and stress. Today these children find themselves in a different situation altogether. They are getting older and their former social roles no longer exist. Their disrupted schooling has created a gap between what is demanded of them and what they can achieve.

“Now here’s a boy, for example, who got hit by a bullet and lost his eye. No longer a hero, he has to cope with the problems of recurrent eye infections along with difficulties stemming from his disrupted schooling. These children are in conflict now and without support. In school the teachers are angry with them and they are angry with themselves, and at home their parents are angry with them because their grades aren’t good. They are powerless. What can they do? The situation of the child today is worse than before.”

There are hundreds of children having difficulty readjusting to school, including those who are getting out of prison. “It is not just a scholastic problem, it’s emotional.”

There is no system in place for dealing with them. Nothing. There isn’t a state with a system here, just a lousy Military Administration, that’s all. So that’s why we focus on what we call Defense of Children Under Occupation -Care and Learning defense of the child in the context of what is possible to do under the conditions which actually exist.”

Back in Jerusalem I remember other aspects of Care and Learning that Arna, out of modesty or lack of time, has not mentioned, such as the food they have often snuck to families under curfew, their sometimes successful intervention in house demolition proceedings, and collecting and publicizing accounts of incidents involving children during the Intifada. I am reminded of a comment by an Israeli volunteer: “The project is certainly a form of resistance because it really does something to people in the most concrete way possible - it says that there are alternatives in life.” [=]
approved the committee's expansion of activity to include a campaign of do not improve his morale but rather contribute to his pessimism. In the Covenant of Equality, some 30 persons demonstrated opposite the personal experiences of Jewish refugees, it can be said that ending of the occupation requires deeds and not only statements. which results from the difficult conditions of his new life and to follow the government, Women in Black stood outside as a reminder that the person—in the present, and he is inclined to succumb to the repulsion visit to a nursery/kindergarten run by a local Women's Committee. he has arrived in his new country. However strong the original repulsion B'tselem, a human rights organization. The group ended the day with repulsion and attraction do not cease to influence the settler's mind after a martyr recently killed by mista'aravim. The testimony was passed on to origin and of attraction towards the new country. These two factors of group also paid a condolence visit to the widowed mother of another be explained by two factors: A sense of repulsion as regards his place of soldiers of an undercover unit who disguise themselves as Arabs. The new surroundings. The psychology of the refugee, or settler, can easily shown where three young men were recently shot dead by mista'aravim how the refugee finally solved his problems and adapted himself to the Line Jews and Arabs Against the Occupation—took a truck-load arrived in the new country sent home for the information of his friends B'tselem, a human rights organization. The participating Hebrew University students have applied for exit permits for the Nablus students which would enable them to come to the Jerusalem campus to participate in an open meeting. In addition, on August 23, a busload of Israeli women went to Nablus to meet with a group of politically active Nablus women, as the start of a women's dialogue which will have its second meeting on September 21.

August 15, Women and Peace visit Gaza Strip: Four dozen members of Women and Black and Women and Peace met with representatives of all the nationalist women's organizations in Gaza. The Israeli women brought a donation of 9,000 shekels as seed money for a women's and children's library to be established by the Gazan organizations jointly. The Gazan women emphasized their hope for continued joint efforts in the struggle against the occupation and the oppression of women. The Israeli women were then hosted at homes in various refugee camps, where they were warmly received and heard personal accounts of imprisonment, house demolition, and martyrdom. [Compiled by Maxine Kaufman Nunn.]

61005. Nunn, Maxine Kaufman. "What's New From the Israeli Left? July 15 - August 15 (A Partial List of Events); Part 2", in Challenge, September-October, 1992. p. 40. July 11, Red Line to West Bank. Red Line Jews and Arabs Against the Occupation—took a truck-load of clothing to the village of Arabeh. The sixteen members of the group were shown where three young men were recently shot dead by mistara'avim—soldiers of an undercover unit who disguise themselves as Arabs. The group also paid a condolence visit to the widowed mother of another martyr recently killed by mistara'avim. The testimony was passed on to B'tselem, a human rights organization. The group ended the day with a visit to a nursery-kindergarten run by a local Women's Committee. July 13, Women in Black greet new Knesset: As the recently elected 13th Knesset convened for the presentation of the new government, Women in Black stood outside as a reminder that the ending of the occupation requires deeds and not only statements.

July 15, Solidarity with the al-Najah students: At the initiative of the Covenant of Equality, some 30 persons demonstrated opposite the offices of the Labor Party in Tel Aviv, expressing solidarity with the Palestinian students and with their refusal to hand their friends over to the Israeli occupation authorities. Two days later, Covenant of Equality activists held a day-long vigil opposite the Tel Aviv home of Yitzhak Rabin. The vigil dispersed when informed of the lifting of the siege.

July 20, Ramyah Solidarity Committee takes on Hussein’sia: Members of the Committee of Solidarity with the Resistance of Ramyah approved the committee's expansion of activity to include a campaign of solidarity with the residents of another unrecognized village near Carmiel, Hussein’sia. Residents of Hussein’sia, familiar with the Ramyah campaign, had approached the committee for support, after police and border guards with a bulldozer demolished an addition to a house on Monday, July 6.

July 25, Protest meeting in Hussein’sia: Dozens of people from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as well as from Galilee villages made a solidarity visit to Hussein’sia, and viewed the demolished room of Mohammad Sawa'id. Speakers called upon the new government to put an end to demolitions, to recognize the unrecognized villages, provide water, electricity, schools, and other services. Speakers included representatives of the Monitoring Committee of the Arab Population, the Association of the 40, Druze Initiative, Sons of the Country, the Ramyah Solidarity Committee, mayors of nearby villages, and MKs.

July 15-August 15: 750 children have had a break from the tense atmosphere in Jenin and Jenin Refugee Camp at the first summer camp organized by Care and Learning/In Defense of Children Under Occupation, 250 at each of three 10-day camping sessions at a nearby village.[=]

61006. Nunn, Maxine Kaufmann. "Non-Violence: Israel's Turn?, Part 6", in Challenge, July-August, 1992. p. 29. Coalition members gave an introduction to non-violence at a feminist conference in 5/92, and helped in the training and other aspects of the 6/8-6/16 6/10 Walk for a Peaceful Future in the Middle East. The opportunity this afforded of working with experienced trainers from abroad and of combining theory with practice during the Walk itself (including a brief jail-stay for 133 walkers, 13 of whom were Israelis), promises new energy and an expanded base of participants in the Coalition. A workshop on strategy planning and dealing with confrontation will be held in northern Israel this month, and we hope that, as we and this approach become known, the coalition will be invited to provide trainers for specific non-violent actions, and that active non-violence will increasingly take its deserved places among the tools in the ongoing struggle for a more just Israeli society. [=]

61007. OSS; Migration Project; M Project. Excerpts from Letters by German-Jewish Emigrants. Translation Series T-19. District of Columbia: OSS, Migration Project (M Project); Library of Congress, July 25, 1943. The quotations from Jewish refugee letters reflect a variety of attitudes. The conclusions they suggest may not be valid in the case of settlers or refugees of another type. The letters are written by German Jews, mostly big-city dwellers. It may be noted, however, that some of the Jewish refugees tried to settle on the land. The reaction of these voluntary agricultural settlers are much more positive and optimistic than the reactions of their fellow refugees who insisted upon remaining in the cities. All of the letters were written at an early stage of immigration. Some of them are first letters which the refugee just arrived in the new country sent home for the information of his friends who had the intention of following him. There is little material to show how the refugee finally solved his problems and adapted himself to the new surroundings. The psychology of the refugee, or settler, can easily be explained by two factors: A sense of repulsion as regards his place of origin and of attraction towards the new country. These two factors of repulsion and attraction do not cease to influence the settler's mind after he has arrived in his new country. However strong the original repulsion may have been, it is soon forgotten under the—perhaps equally repellent—effects of the new environment. The refugee lives—like any other person—in the present, and he is inclined to succumb to the repulsion which results from the difficult conditions of his new life and to follow the imaginary attraction of other places and other professions. Summarizing the personal experiences of Jewish refugees, it can be said that whatever advantages are offered to a forced immigrant, he cannot help but suffer in his new existence. At first he compares his new existence with his old one. In most cases, he has had to exchange a better income for lower earnings or, at any rate, a more secure existence for economic insecurity. Due to his insufficient knowledge of the language, of conditions, and of people, he feels lost. His contacts with fellow refugees do not improve his morale but rather contribute to his pessimism. In
addition, there are the physical difficulties of acclimatization even if the refugee moves within the temperate zone. The critical phase of his assimilation is reached in the second and third year of his life in the new country. After that, he has gained sufficient knowledge of language and conditions and somehow reestablished his economic situation; he also has become accustomed to his new surroundings, and the memories of olden times, though sweet, are getting dimmer and dimmer. The factor of the new country is very significant. On the other hand, the attraction of Suud Muhannah, who also directs. “It was Suud’s idea that was approved by Palestinian TV Co-ordinator Hisham Makki,” Bilbashi says. The series will be broadcast during Ramadan. Muhanna says he is proud that Palestinians have taken steps to produce their first television series. “ ‘Sawaleef’ is a comedy of 30 episodes, each 20-30 minutes long. It deals with the problems of everyday life, marriage, housing problems, even the recent earthquake, and other social angles,” says Muhanna. Some 50 actors from the Gaza Strip will participate. It will star Jawad Harudeh, and Amina Abu Ghanem with music by Yasser Umar. Bilbashi says that casting was affected by social pressures. “Society frowns on the involvement of women in the arts. Finding actresses to play the parts of the mother and the grandmother was not easy,” he says. Muhanna also noted that the absence of proper studios made staging some of the scenes difficult. Despite obstacles, both discern the beginning of a cultural movement in Gaza, especially in theater. Muhanna is in the process of preparing a second TV series. He is also about to shoot several music videos. Some will include songs with which children are familiar. “I am also working on the final stages of a new feature film entitled, ‘The Victim’,” he says. Muhanna hopes the Ministry of Culture will establish proper studios and a proper theater. We must pay great attention to the Palestinian child, and create conditions in which the creativity of children can be nurtured.” Muhanna observes, “During the years of occupation, children have not been given much of an opportunity to develop their talents. The time to remedy the situation is now.”

61009. Odeh, Zeinab; Awadallah, Najah. “First TV series ever: "Sawaleef---Ready for Ramadan ", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 13. Principal photography has been completed for the first series, ‘Sawaleef’, which was written and directed by Suud Muhannah, who also directs. “It was Suud’s idea that was approved by Palestinian TV Co-ordinator Hisham Makki,” Bilbashi says. The series will be broadcast during Ramadan. Muhanna says he is proud that Palestinians have taken steps to produce their first television series. “ ‘Sawaleef’ is a comedy of 30 episodes, each 20-30 minutes long. It deals with the problems of everyday life, marriage, housing problems, even the recent earthquake, and other social angles,” says Muhanna. Some 50 actors from the Gaza Strip will participate. It will star Jawad Harudeh, and Amina Abu Ghanem with music by Yasser Umar. Bilbashi says that casting was affected by social pressures. “Society frowns on the involvement of women in the arts. Finding actresses to play the parts of the mother and the grandmother was not easy,” he says. Muhanna also noted that the absence of proper studios made staging some of the scenes difficult. Despite obstacles, both discern the beginning of a cultural movement in Gaza, especially in theater. Muhanna is in the process of preparing a second TV series. He is also about to shoot several music videos. Some will include songs with which children are familiar. “I am also working on the final stages of a new feature film entitled, ‘The Victim’,” he says. Muhanna hopes the Ministry of Culture will establish proper studios and a proper theater. We must pay great attention to the Palestinian child, and create conditions in which the creativity of children can be nurtured.” Muhanna observes, “During the years of occupation, children have not been given much of an opportunity to develop their talents. The time to remedy the situation is now.”

61010. Oppenheimer, Martin. "Footnote to the Cold War: The Harvard Russian Research Center", in Monthly Review, April 1997. pp. 7-17. Talcott Parsons was dispatched in 1948 to West Germany to interview Soviet emigres who could provide intelligence on the USSR By Clyde Bell (a Navajo-studies specialist and then president of the American Anthropological Association who was the first director of the Harvard Russian Research Center (HRRC)); Parsons was also sent to interview Germans, possibly some war criminals (one worker for the SS in Berlin, others were members of the Vlasov Group), who could be developed as sources. HRRC, like many other such centers, was an outgrowth of Carnegie Corp. funding: one Carnegie trustee was Frederick Osborne, an advocate of eugenics and backer of the Pioneer Fund which backed the research that underpinned the 1994 boom the Bell Curve’, the ‘spurious study of the alleged intellectual inferiority of African-Americans’ [sic: and alleged intellectual superiority of Jews]. Very soon, HRRC was affiliated with the Office of Naval Research, Air Force Intelligence and the Human Resources Research Institute. HRRC was never anything other than an instrument of the coldwar, providing a conduit for intelligence from Soviet emigres (yet even this focus could not protect John Paton Davies, and aide to George F. Kennan in the intelligence work of HRRC, from being dismissed by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles due to pressure from the China lobby, then the Kuomintang based on Taiwan).

61011. Oromia Liberation Front; OLF. “The Ethiopian Government Steps Up Religious Persecution”, in Oromia Speaks (Mogadishu), Vol. 3 (4). For quite sometime now the military regime in Ethiopia has been carrying out religious persecution, particularly against moslems and non-orthodox christians. Nevertheless, the Orthodox church itself has not been free from the Dergue’s actions as well, as scores of bishops, archbishops, various church leaders, including the former patriarch of the church, particularly those connected with the former regime of Haile Selassiehave been put behind bars. Though it has started releasing
some, like Bishop Paulos and Nibure-Ik Ermaas Kebedde in 9/1981, some are still in prison. However, the regime's widespread and persistent persecution has been carried out against moslem and non-orthodox christians. The reason why the regime is strong on these is that their followers are non-Amhara. Scores of prominent moslem Sheiks are already languishing in prison, and the regime's radio and mass media carry out a smear campaign against Islam. Many have been publicly hanged, like the prominent religious teacher and nationalist Haji Adayo of Hararge. During the last few years persecution against non-orthodox christians has been growing. Already hundreds of church leaders, employees and followers of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus have been imprisoned and are languishing in prisons. Some have simply "disappeared", which means, the regime has either executed them secretly or imprisoned them in its secret prisons. Now the Dergue is stepping up this policy, and during the last few months, has started arresting church leaders, employees, pastors and followers of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church en masse, closing down churches, bible schools, and confiscating church property in the western Oromo region of Wallagga. Several congregations in Begi, Bodji, Nejjo, Mendi, Aria, Gedemi, Lalo Qile, Leqa, Suchi, etc. have been closed down by the government, their property confiscated and several evangelists and pastors have been imprisoned, accused of "teaching the bible". The regime has now started carrying out a systematic plan of "rooting out religious belief". The first targets are always the non-Amhara peoples, who profess denominations or religions different from that of the ruling Amhara. This policy has always been part of Imperial Ethiopian strategy. When Emperor Theodros began his ill-fated design of turning the "Gallas" (Oromos) either to Orthodox Christianity or expel them, tens of thousands of Oromos perished. Again when Emperor Yohannes, led a campaign to occupy the Wollo Oromo, he persecuted tens of thousands of the moslem Oromo, who refused to be forcefully baptized into Orthodox Christianity. It was the same with Meneilik, and later Haile Selassie as well. But, the designs of the present military regime are wild to say the least. According to a secret document of the Dergue published in a London Newspaper, Asharq Al-Awsat, recently, the Dergue's campaign includes: turning churches and mosques into dance halls and theatres, offices and stores, confiscation of church and mosque property, the confiscation and burning of religious literature, the infiltration of congregations by security agents, and creation of conflicts among moslem and christians. The present Dergue, a programme of creating and fanning conflicts between moslems and christians, and infiltrating trained women cadres posing as nuns into religions orders, who will subsequently seduce clergymen, so that they can be exposed to the public and then arrested. Therefore, the latest developments in Wallagga are the beginnings of this well thought out campaign, which will not leave out any religious order - christian, moslem, or jewed.

For example, in 1979 and 1980, there was already widespread campaign of religious persecution against the small number of so-called "Black Jews", the Falashas, in Gondar. Thousands of them were forced to flee from their land and country. It has also been some time since Dergue cadres and officials started vilifying religion in front of meetings. During the recent closing down of churches in Wallagga, one official of the Dergue is reported to have gathered the people and said that, "There is no such thing as what you call God." As this issue was going to press, it was reported from Addis Ababa that, during the second week of 11/1981, the Ethiopian government has ordered the closure of the main office of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus in Addis Abeba. The authorities gave notice to the church officials and employees to vacate the seven storey office building of the church within thirty-six hours. This followed a widespread campaign against the church in the western Oromo region of Wallagga, where the authorities, closed down a number of congregations and churches and detained hundreds of paters and evangelists. It is to be recalled that the Dergue arrested the Secretary General of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, the Reverend Gudina Tumsa on 7/28/1979 for the third time, and nothing has been heard of him since then. For the last few years, the Dergue has been stepping up its campaign against this church and already thousands of the church's employees and followers languish in prison. In 1977 it nationalized the Radio station of the church Radio voice of the Gospel, run by the Lutheran World Federation, without compensation. The powerful transmitter, which used to broadcast various programmes in several local as well as other languages, is now used by the Dergue for its external propaganda. [=]

61012. PHR-Israel; Physicians for Human Rights-Israel. "A Special PHR Israel Activity Report: The Hasmonean Tunnel, Medicine Under Closure: Acute Shortages of Medical Staff in Palestinian Hospitals", Physicians for Human Rights-Israel [PO Box 592 Tel Aviv, 61004], September 26-October 3, 1996. The first appeal stemming from the recent crisis reached PHR's office by the afternoon of 9/26/1996. Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem, the leading Palestinian medical center, had reached a staff level of only 360, or a little more than half, by midday. The majority of employees who succeeded in reaching the hospital were residents of East Jerusalem. According to Dr. Amin Thalgi, Makassed's director, it was likely highly that Palestinians wounded in clashes would be rushed to the hospital, and any such influx would require staffing of 100%. Nevertheless, Israel's Health Coordinator for the West Bank only agreed to allow the entry of 165 health workers from the West Bank into Jerusalem.

PHR immediately appealed the Minister of Defense, Yitzhak Mordechai, and the Activity Coordinator for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Brigadier Oren Shahor, requesting that Makassed Hospital be permitted to operate normally at its full personnel capacity. The same request was expressed again in a letter sent to the Military Attorney by the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI). By the end of the day, PHR was informed that 200 health workers employed at East Jerusalem hospitals, in addition to the 'quota' of 165, were granted entry permits.

Even with this change, similar difficulties persisted in other areas. On Sunday, PHR was notified by Dr. Bassim Bader, director of Mohammed Ali Children's Hospital in Hebron, about medical personnel being unable to arrive at the hospital as a consequence of the curfew imposed on the city for the third consecutive day. According to Dr. Bader, several doctors reached the hospital by ambulance. Additional reports from medical institutions throughout the West Bank confirmed recurrences of severe medical personnel shortages. Rafidah Hospital in Nablus, for example, reported on the same day the absence of 70 staff doctors, and another 70 were on sick leave. According to the administrative director of the hospital, the current medical team had been working double shifts and had reached the brink of exhaustion. Al-Watani Hospital in Nablus had function without an oncologist and without the doctor responsible for 40 dialysis patients. The Bethlehem Rehabilitation Center reported that its head doctor was not permitted to reach the hospital and that a vehicle sent to bring him was forced to turn back. In addition, the Center's director was forced to ask the nursing staff to remain on shift for an additional 24 hours due to nursing personnel shortages.

The IDF's demand that all Palestinian medical workers obtain a personal permit for travel within the West Bank (in violation of the Oslo Accords, which mandates safeguarding the unity of the 'self-rule' areas) has resulted in severe damage to the operation of the Palestinian health system. Above all, this demand generates bureaucratic red tape and has proven to be inoperable in regions without a local DCO office. The result, according to Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, chairperson of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, is a complete standstill to clinical activities in Tulkarem, Qalqilya, Nablus and Jiftlik, and of mobile hematology and internal medicine teams. A similar preemption of rural clinics in the villages of Araba, Ak布拉, Beit Dajan, Beit Fureik, Kussra, Karit and Jamain was reported by Mr. Aylan Darame Abu-Jamil, Nablus district administrative director of the Palestinian Health Ministry.

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Women's Quarterly, n. 29, April 1989, pp. 4-5. [Translated from Emma, West German feminist monthly, No. 1, 1/1989.]

Men with severely parted hair in ill-fitting business suits carry black suitcases through the streets. They go in pairs or groups of three, speaking with each other about politics, or this or that absent colleague. Shortly they split up, or perhaps disappear together behind glass doors. A grey sky presses down upon this uninspiring scene. The air is cold and damp. The Rhine lies nearby like a wet dishrag, grey and sluggish. It is winter in Bonn.

Yet the picture is deceptive. In the House of Parliament, where Bonn's provincialism is at its most incorrigible, the atmosphere at this moment is highly charged: Debate is underway over the federal budget. At the podium is Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin. She is speaking about lesbians and gay men—an exotic theme for the Exalted House. This delegate of the Green Party is proposing two motions on behalf of her party, and requesting two budget allocations: a lesbian referendums as part of the affirmative action program for women's politics, and a gay referendum under the auspices of the Ministry of Family, Youth, and Health. Projected funding: 340,000 marks. Additionally she requests an allowance of two million marks for lesbian and gay organizations.

Because of its homophobia, the federal government has yet to do anything at all for its lesbian and gay citizens, states the delegate calmly, in support of the motion. Her speech provokes laughter and fits of drunken comment. The members of the highest assembly react like adolescents at confirmation class.

Most conspicuous, however, are the facial gymnastics of the parliamentary Vice President Annemarie Renger (Social Democratic Party), who is enthroned directly behind Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin. As soon as the words "lesbian" and "gay" are out, her eyebrows arch up into the roots of her hair, her mouth contourts, her blond locks shake, and her eyes roll to convey exaggerated dissatisfaction from the speaker.

The Parliament has officially refused to print material in which the words "lesbian" and "gay" appear, for these words represent concepts—according to Annemarie Renger—"which the Highest Assembly" considers "unacceptable." And as she says this her voice escalates into its soprano range, which she usually is at pains to avoid. The highest assembly would prefer, if indeed the subject must be brought up at all, to employ the term "homosexual." Renger to Oesterle-Schwerin: "Are you in agreement?" Oesterle-Schwerin: "No." For approximately one year, members of Parliament have had to hear the words "lesbian" and "gay" far more often than they had ever dreamed. Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin has been a delegate since the last election as a member of the Green Party from Ulm, and describes herself as an independent leftist, a women's rights activist, and an open lesbian.

Of course Oesterle-Schwerin is not the first and only among either the Greens or the Social Democrats, Christian Democrats or the Free Democrats. But she is the first woman in the German parliament who dares to step forward openly as a lesbian. "I would also take part in public demonstrations," she adds firmly, "where both prominent and not-so-prominent women are willing to be known, by name and by picture, as lesbians."

Is she then completely fearless? Has she no fear of the reactions of relatives and neighbors, or perhaps that heterosexuals will immediately assume the feminist activism of a homosexual woman to be manhandling?

"Of course I am afraid. The politics of labels always scares me. Above all when our local press engages in it. At home in Ulm everyone knows each other, there's no anonymity. But the majority of people take no direct action. Not in Ulm, nor here, in Bonn, nor in the Party. Most people are silent about it."

Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin, 47 years old interior designer and mother of two nearly adult children, does not look like a fighter. Her narrow face is framed by straight, silver-grey, mid-length hair. Grey-blue eyes peer from behind her nickel-rimmed glasses. She looks more serious than she would actually like to.

In sessions of Parliament or of her own party she is known to enter into debates with calm and deliberation. Her voice is always faintly

cancer, dialysis and cardiac patients, including six children, on their way to Israel for medical treatment. These ambulances were forced to turn back. PHR immediately appealed the Activity Coordinator's deputy, Lt. Colonel Tiki Rotem, who claimed that the decision was made by the Gaza District Coordination Office (DCO). The DCO's spokesperson, Mr. Avi Gambash, confirmed that indeed the patients were denied entry and that "patients arriving at the checkpoint without pre-coordination and without permission from the PA, as required, cannot pass." Nevertheless, according to Faissel Abu Sha'allah, coordinator of international cooperation at the Palestinian Health Ministry, the ambulances in question were sent back in spite of early coordination. Only following PHR pressure could two cardiac and three dialysis patients be transferred to Israel the following morning.

Difficulties in the transfer of emergency cases were reported from the West Bank as well: the director of Mohammed Ali Children's Hospital claimed that due to the total lack of permits for ambulances from Hebron, a premature baby requiring treatment in a children's ICU could not be transferred to Makassed. Following PHR intervention passage was secured.

Najat Mustafa Mohammed Mussa, an expecting mother from Bourain village near Nablus was stopped on 9/29/1996, on the road to Rafidia Hospital. She was forced to deliver at the military roadblock in Hawara. In response, PHR wrote to Brigadier Gabi Ophir, demanding that soldiers in checkpoints be ordered to allow the passage of emergency cases even without "early coordination."

In a joint press release issued on Wednesday, 10/2/1996, several Palestinian human rights organizations listed seven women who were prohibited from proceeding freely to hospitals in order to give birth. To help prevent similar dangerous and unjustifiable delays at checkpoints, PHR established, together with Rabbis for Human Rights, a 24 hour hotline aimed at ensuring rapid intervention to secure passage for patients seeking medical attention.

During the 3/1996-4/1996 closure, a Defense Ministry representative claimed that humanitarian cases, including oncology, dialysis and cardiac patients, would be allowed to enter Israel for medical treatment. Yet the grim reality then, as well as now, stands in stark contradiction with the declarations of Israeli officials. Only on 9/30/1996, was a committee assembled in order to outline the criteria for defining humanitarian cases. The very fact that these criteria need to be established each time a closure is imposed, questions their credibility and relevancy.

Following PHR's intervention activities during the first week of the recent closure, Israel's Central Coordinating Office for the Territories launched an unprecedented attack, stating that "PHR is letting various Palestinians use the PA and its doctors, not necessarily in accordance with the real situation," and claiming that "no doctor in Tel Aviv can define the condition of a person in Gaza, whom the doctor has not even examined." PHR rejects these claims outright: All PHR intervention is based on reliable, validated information and explicit who dares to step forward openly as a lesbian. "I would also take part in

61014. Parks, Michael. "Something Is Not Quite Kosher At Pepsi Cola; immediately assume the feminist activism of a homosexual woman to

61015. Peoples Translation Service [trans.], "Chaos in the Assembly: West Germany", in Connexions. Lesbian Activism. An International
husky, and sounds uncannily rational. She never loses her cool, in fact becomes more composed in proportion to the chaos that can erupt around her. In the most trying of circumstances she is the most implacable.

The latest and the best-known of the exploits of this delegate for the Green Party took place on the 50th anniversary of Crystal Night, after a speech by then-President of the Parliament Philip Jenninger. Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin, who was born in Jerusalem, gave a “personal rejoinder” to the speech, which the session was obliged to honor, although no formal agenda had been planned.

Her parents had emigrated in 1935 from Nazi Germany to Israel (then Palestine under the British Mandate). Her father was a Jew, who died in 1948 fighting against the Arabs. His daughter was six years old at the time. “I am of the opinion that a parliament which has refused to compensate the Sinti and Roma [two Gypsy minorities] victims, as well as the forcibly sterilized, and also lesbians and gay men, lacks the legitimacy to hold such a memorial service,” she said. Again Vice President Annemarie Renger had trouble on her hands.

Confusion, commotion, and calls from the Christian Democrat section that she leave the podium. Yet Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin continued: Jenninger’s speech “demonstrated unequivocally that anti-Semitism is still extant in the hearts of many members of this House.”

Tumult. Annemarie Renger pounded the gavel to silence the entire assembly and said to the speaker: “I request that you leave the podium immediately.” “No, not until I finish speaking,” answered the delegate.

Chaos in the assembly hall. Green Party members Otto Schily and Hubert Kleinert came to the podium to persuade Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin to return to her seat. “I will remain here and conclude what I have to say,” she answered her fellow party members. Again, Annemarie Renger called out, “Madame Delegate, you are requested to leave the podium immediately.”

A member of the Social Democrats hurried at this point to the presidential dais. Before Jutta could stastically reiterate, “I will remain here until I finish speaking,” she heard the Social Democrat over the still-live microphone whisper, “If you have Oesterle-Schwerin taken away, that will be the end of you too.” So the session was adjourned.

Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin is used to the role of opposition to the Social Democrats. Before Jutta could stoically reiterate, “I will remain here until I finish speaking,” she heard the Social Democrat over the still-live microphone whisper, “If you have Oesterle-Schwerin taken away, that will be the end of you too.” So the session was adjourned.

Her father was Jewish, her mother was not, and Jutta did not wish to convert. “Judaism is matrilineal,” “So,” explains the Israeli-German, “I was not considered to be Jewish in Israel. On account of this, I did not have the same rights as other people. The most important limitation was that I could not marry there without undergoing a humiliating religious ceremony. Civil marriages are not performed in Israel.” With the argument “Unequal rights, unequal duties,” she refused to do the mandatory military service in the Israeli Army in 1959. “The argument worked, even though there really was no way out of military service.”

However, she did not leave Israel for political reasons. “I left for private reasons, and ended up more or less by chance in Germany. My mother lives in Israel. I have German and Israeli citizenship, my children as well are both German and Israeli citizens.” Like many Israelis she advocates an independent Palestinian state, but recognizes how sensitive criticism of Israel by a German can be, given the acts of the preceding generation.

Does she consider herself Jewish? “When people speak of me as Jewish, I would be the last to dispute it. When they ask me if I am Jewish, I say that my father was. German-Israeli is what I prefer, mainly because it is correct.”

When Jutta Schwerin came to the Federal Republic in 1962, she joined the SDS (Socialist Student Union) and the Osternarschbewegung [part of the peace movement]. The issues then were peaceful utilization of atomic energy, apartheid in South Africa, and the Vietnam War. In 1967 she married a man named Oesterle from the Socialist Union, and they had a son in 1970 and a daughter in 1973. In 1979 they were divorced.

In 1974 she joined the Social Democratic Party. But because of its half-hearted opposition to Paragraph 218 [strict abortion law], and finally also because of the NATO arms build-up (under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt), she quit six years later. “It was enough.”

She became a member of the Green Party on 1/1/1983, though she was uncomfortable with the choice. Again she found herself sitting on the fence, aligned neither with the “Realists” in the party nor with the “Fundamentalists.”

She has been a life member of the Ostermarschbewegung [part of the peace movement]. The issues then were peaceful utilization of atomic energy, apartheid in South Africa, and the socially acceptable, such as community work. They are nationalistic but do not join political parties or groups; they are strong cultural loyalists, careful not to disturb existing structures of class and gender.
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relations. In Gaza, the woman everyone refers to is Sitt Yusra Berberi. (In Lebanon and Israel, women leaders are called ukht, meaning sister, but in the occupied territories a touch of feudalism is retained through the widely-used sitt, which translates to lady.) Sitt Yusra emphasizes the national importance of the type of social work carried out by the Women's Union. "We help prisoners and needy families, we educate children and bring them up with a nationalistic consciousness; we help working women, and the wives and daughters of martyrs and prisoners."

Closer to Jordan and the financial support from other Arab countries, West Bank activism is more visible. Most of the occupied territories' 150 charitable associations are located here. Moreover, every township and large village has its own association with active women leaders. Um Khalil heads In'ash al-'Usra (Family Resurgence Society) in Ramallah. In'ash started out in 1965 with little money. There was just enough to rent two rooms, hire a sewing teacher, and recruit ten women students. Now there is a three-story building with 32 rooms, 67 employees and a daycare center for the children of working women, 13 literacy centers in nearby villages, help for 130 needy families, and a sponsorship program for war victims, orphans, and the children of prisoners. The In'ash also manages a food-processing factory and markets the products of approximately 2000 women who work at home. In addition, the society has organized free medical and dental care for the community. Recently the In'ash has moved into the cultural field. It runs a folklore museum and the magazine, Culture and Society, which is read by Palestinians worldwide for its contribution to the post-1967 renaissance of Palestinian culture.

Um Khalil thinks that women's earning power is improving their position in the family. "In the past, men wouldn't let women go to meetings; now they ask them to go. Village people did not let their daughters have educations. Now many are in universities." She finds women easier to work with--hard-working, more loyal and less egotistical. For Um Khalil, social concern and nationalism are inseparable: "This is the way to liberate our land."

Younger women, however, find the shakhsiya generation anachronistic. In Jerusalem a young professional woman said that "the problem with that generation is that they need to be constantly worshipped. But we have to work from a sense of obligation, not for praise. Besides, their methods are outdated."

Randa, a science teacher, lives with her family in Jerusalem, and commutes some 20 kilometers to work every day. In 1979 she directed an exhibition for the first Palestinian Social Conference, which brought together all the charitable associations. The occupying forces had tolerated their activities as local groups, but their meeting together gave them a dangerously nationalistic character. There were arrests, and Randa was one of those taken in for interrogation. "They try to give you the idea that they know everything about you. They kept accusing me of belonging to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. I stuck to my position that I have no links with any organization, that I have a political stand, but my activities are social. They told me: 'Don't talk against Camp David.' I said, 'Of course I'm against it, because it's against the interests of the Palestinian people.'"

The Women's Action Committee is a group recently launched in the Ramallah area. It is an all-woman group, combining in its manifesto the goals of women's, class and national liberation. One woman explains: "We formed the committee because the older societies do not encourage working women. They only give money and services, don't have developed projects and don't try to change consciousness. We go to women and try to involve them in social and political activities. At first the older societies regarded us as newcomers. This had been a big problem, but now some of them help us." The committee focuses on literacy classes and social centers in camps and villages. To find out more about the problems of working women and housewives, they conducted a field study in the Ramallah area, where there is a concentration of industrial projects employing women.

There are other committees such as Women in Science and Women Intellectuals in Israel. There are also different omen's sections within various Arab political movements. Aside from these recognized organizations women from all social classes and backgrounds participate in the struggle for a homeland as a matter of daily life. An important form of "ordinary" women's resistance--often taken for granted--is the capacity to stay put. If the Palestinian emigration rate out of the occupied area is much lower than Israelis would wish, this is because women are refusing to move to another country. One old woman, whose entire village has been displaced, steadfastly remains in her home despite the encourage of a vast Israeli housing project.

But beyond this, there is the problem that woman's traditional role is held as a symbol of social order. Women involved in the Palestinian struggle must cope with men's fear of losing control over them. And as slowly as the women move, it is still too fast for some men who are wiseful for the past, which they confuse with being Palestinian.


61017. Peoples Translation Service [trans.], "Forum 85, Nairobi, Kenya: The Women's Decade: Filmforum: Skirting the Issue: Government Confiscation of the Motion Picture 'Leila and the Wolves'" in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, numbers 17-18, October 1, 1985. pp. 20-21. Leila and the Wolves by Lebanese director Heiny Srour had passed the censors and was scheduled to be screened the second to the last day of the Forum. A good-sized crowd had turned out to see this provocative film on the history of Lebanese and Palestinian women only to discover that it had been confiscated by the Censorship Board.

This unfortunate incident symbolized the merging of two battles that had permeated the conference for ten days: the exercising of censorship by the Kenyan government and the conflict in the Middle East. The comprehensive film schedule, which revealed extensive preparation, had been made worthless by the Kenyan Censorship Board. Daily there was talk of some film being censored or detained. Concurrently, heated exchanges were taking place over the situation in the Middle East. Not only could no middle ground be reached, but most mention of Palestine or Israeli deteriorated into argument, accusation or denial. The Kenyan government appeared to panic over the ongoing battle between Palestinians and Zionists.

It was in this atmosphere that Leila and the Wolves was withdrawn. Regarding the issue of censorship, it became the straw that broke the camel's back. During the entire conference participants and organizers had been frustrated by never knowing from day to day which film would be screened. Furthermore, the NGO Organizing Committee would not take a stand against censorship. Instead, the attitude that "these are the rules and we must not object because we are guests" was put forth by the Committee as well as the Forum newspaper. The act of censorship was not questioned and, indeed, even discussing the issue became taboo.

The following is a transcript of a spontaneous demonstration which took place after everyone heard that the film had been confiscated. While at the movie theater, a petition was immediately drafted. The audience then debated what plan of action should be taken. Some wanted to march to the Censorship Board, others wanted to return to the Forum to collect more people. The fact that demonstrations are illegal put a damper on the first suggestion. So everyone returned to the Forum, where the shouting attracted Dame Nita Barrow, the NGO convener. The article begins with the director addressing the crowd outside in the main court.

Heiny Srour: Leila and the Wolves, which is part of the Filmforum, was supposed to be screened today at 2:30. Two days ago

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we had the agreement of the Kenyan Censorship Board, so we thought everything was alright. Then 24 hours later they withdrew the permission to screen it. And they withdrew it by force from the Kenyan National Theatre. They have no right whatsoever to do that. If they respect themselves a little bit they should not go back on something they agreed to.

The film is about the historical role of women in Palestine and Lebanon. And I would like to say that a similar film on the history of Israeli women called Anou Banou was screened without any problem. Now please listen to Dame Nita Barrow who has been doing everything she can since this morning to release the film. And she's on our side.

Dame Nita Barrow: May I ask that women of this Forum please return with me to the Peace Tent where I can speak with you over a microphone there. The Peace Tent has been put here as a place to resolve differences. There have been many problems in relation to the films. We are more aware of them than any of you could be.

[After assembling in the Peace Tent] Please take every man I see out of here. I say out of here and I mean out of here. Please get the man out of the back of this tent. You women are marching about the wrong things. You should be marching for the privilege to be able to resolve your differences yourselves. Get the men out of the tent. If there are any men in any sight of the tent, this meeting cannot go on. If those men do not move, find security immediately and say that the problem I have is not with the women of the Forum, it is with the men who refuse to do what we ask.

Members of the Crowd: You're diluting the issue. Let's get to the background of this.

Dame Nita Barrow: I'm fully prepared to have the background, but first I would just like to ask what purpose you expect to achieve when you go out of the grounds of this University. Because in this country, which I've made clear and I repeated this morning several times, you have no right to march unless you obtain official permission. As long as you are on the grounds of the University, you are under a certain amount of protection.

If you have a question to discuss, as I have been discussing all day about this particular film, then we find alternatives. If there are no alternatives, we find what steps we can take. I hear hotheads saying it is the government, it is the films, we want the films. Do you really believe that by marching out of here downtown you're going to get the films?

Members of the Crowd: Do you really think we'll get it by talking here?

Dame Nita Barrow: You may not get it by talking here, but you have far more chance of getting it talking as we are doing. You are not going to get it shown, I can assure you. You might not even get it back; and I know and respect this producer. In fact I was delighted when she came. She stated to me early this morning that her film had first passed and then they had come and taken it away and removed the passing.

I hope she told you that it was because some women had violated something that we worked very hard to obtain, that the films would be passed by documentation to expedite them. Thedocumentation was taken at face-value. And as I have found out, some of her own countrywomen showed a film which violated that. Now I hope she told you that. As a consequence, she has suffered with a film that is very good. But let me say now, that it is not going to increase any chances if you proceed to march. It puts you in personal jeopardy. I only wish that People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 520, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.[^]

My issue is not just over my film being censored and being withheld illegally. I am sick, me and all the women filmmakers, and I would like them all to speak. All the women filmmakers who came from all over the world to show their videos and films are sick and tired of the disruption of the Filmforum because the Kenyan government has been treating us like little children who are not adult enough to make up our own minds. It is said that on an occasion like this, when women are coming from all over the world, and it's a very exceptional occasion, we are going to be censored and treated like little children. On which occasion on earth are women not going to be censored? This is the whole issue quite frankly. Censorship touches all women, so I would now like to debate this important issue here.

Dame Nita Barrow: I'm sorry, the Peace Tent is closed to that debate because for us the issue of censorship has been an ongoing battle. And what is more, the people who brought things here knew there was censorship. We have tried to short-circuit it.


61018. Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. “Outrageous Women: Rebel With a Cause”, in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, Number 9. Summer, 1983. p. 28. Felica Langer is among the growing number of Israelis who have become aware that a Jewish state that is founded on the repression of Palestinians is neither viable nor secure. She has translated her feelings into action and as the result of setting up her legal practice on the West Bank has incurred threats of violence and social stigmatization.

[Excerpted From The Jerusalem Post, Israeli-English-language...](http://www.thesun.com)
Felicia Langer is one of Israel's most successful lawyers. Nevertheless, in a country where the lives of those in the limelight are virtually public knowledge, little is known about Langer. That is because she is an active member of the Israeli Communist Party who regularly denounces government policy on the West Bank, represents Palestinians in the military courts, and favours the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

In 1955 she decided to go to law school. After graduation she couldn't get a job, tainted by her membership in the Communist Party. In the end, she opened her own practice in Tel Aviv and for the next two years defended underdogs--Sephardic workers arrested for demonstrating, juvenile delinquents, and occasionally women whose husbands were trying to get the best of them in divorce proceedings.

Her life changed significantly in 1967. "The war was a tremendous military achievement. No one can deny that. But the behaviour of the Israelis immediately after the war shocked me--the euphoria and the triumph. I saw wild joy after the conquest of Sharm el-Leila."

"Before the war, there were many Jews in Tarnow and a very high level of education," recalls Langer. "When my mother and I returned home in 1945, we found a cemetery. My mother remarried and immigrated to Israel in 1948. I remained in Poland, caught up in the excitement, challenge and romance of building a new society."

Langer remembers with great fondness the Jewish milieu into which she was born. "Before the war, there were many Jews in Tarnow and a very high level of education," recalls Langer. "When my mother and I returned home in 1945, we found a cemetery. My mother remarried and immigrated to Israel in 1948. I remained in Poland, caught up in the excitement, challenge and romance of building a new society."

"At the age of 17, she met her future husband Mietchu, a Jewish carpenter from Cracow. He was already a member of the Communist Party because "During the war...the Red Army helped us despite their own problems." In 1950, a year after they had married, the couple immigrated to Israel. They came, says Langer, because of the realization that family is important; the war had left Mietchu an orphan and they wanted to be near Langer's mother. The couple sank deep roots into Israeli society and mastered Hebrew.

Langer, who had never considered living in a capitalist country, did not like what she found there. "It bothered me that while Europe was still in ruins, there were expensive clothes to buy. If I'd been a Zionist, I would have reacted differently to Israel, but I wasn't a Zionist."

"I began to search for something that would give me a niche in society. I found it in the Communist Party. Unlike my husband, I'd never joined the party in Poland because I saw that most of my friends were joining only so that they could get ahead professionally or gain admittance to the university. Here, it was different." Joining was not, Langer explains, a plus. "Certainly it wasn't going to help us get ahead at all. Socially, even then, it was quite unacceptable."

The early years were not easy, remembers Langer. She worked for a textile factory--hard physical labour but also a better "course" in Marxism than she'd had in high school. Then she was employed at the circulation department of Ha'aretz [an Israeli daily]. When she had time, she helped the Party, gathering signatures for the Stockholm Declaration against the atomic bomb, and protesting the military government set up in Israel's Palestinian villages.

"Even then the Israeli Communist Party (ICP) had both Arab and Jewish members," she says. "If I hadn't I wouldn't have joined. I'd been brought up on the concept of internationalism. Racism had no place in my thoughts. Still fresh from the triumph over fascism, a Holocaust survivor, I couldn't understand the prejudice against Arabs. Although I was fully aware that this is not Poland, that the conditions, culture and circumstances were all different, I was in love with the dream we'd been part of for five years. I wanted for Israel the kind of society we were struggling to achieve in Poland."

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"In 1955 she decided to go to law school. After graduation she couldn't get a job, tainted by her membership in the Communist Party. In the end, she opened her own practice in Tel Aviv and for the next two years defended underdogs--Sephardic workers arrested for demonstrating, juvenile delinquents, and occasionally women whose husbands were trying to get the best of them in divorce proceedings."

"Her life changed significantly in 1967. "The war was a tremendous military achievement. No one can deny that. But the behaviour of the Israelis immediately after the war shocked me--the euphoria and the triumph. I saw wild joy after the conquest of Sharm el-Leila." In my first book, With my Own Eyes, written in 1974, I described the phenomenon as a 'collective alcoholism.'"

Langer adds that the war "left me with the very strange and deep feeling that a catastrophe had occurred which could only have terrible effects on our society. And I understood that for me this was another moment of truth...no different than the one I had faced upon arrival. I opened an office in West Jerusalem. I knew that West Bank Palestinians would need legal counsel--all of their lawyers had decided to boycott the Israeli military courts."

"I saw my mission as temporary," says Langer, who never anticipated that as a result of her work, her name would become a dirty word in Israel, or that she would become a popular speaker in US and European circles, as well as a specialist on international law.

"She represents Palestinians who are fighting with the military government over owning land, possessing "illegal" literature, making propaganda, raising Palestinian flags, or belonging to outlawed Palestinian organizations."

"Because she works exclusively on the West Bank, Langer's statements about conditions in the occupied territories carry great weight. In her capacity as a member of the ICP's steering committee, Langer has met with Palestine Liberation Organization officials, among them Yasser Arafat."

"But what really makes Langer run is her compassion for those who suffer. "No, "No," she insists, "could direct me to live as I do--traveling with a body guard, having to have an unlisted phone number, taking so much time away from my family. The party, in fact, never directed me or anyone to work on the West Bank. Don't forget that at least 100 Israeli lawyers belong to the party, but I'm the only one doing this type of job. I feel that I'm doing more for my homeland, Israel, than for the Palestinians."

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61019. Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. "The Politics of Health: Restricted Choice: Israel", in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, n. 25, December 1, 1987. p. 13. [Submitted by Awatef Barghut, health clinic nurse, Nazareth, Israel.] It is impossible to separate any subject in Israel today from the political and social reality in which the economic crisis; continuing occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights; the war in Lebanon; and the continuing oppression of Palestinian people are major factors. With respect to abortion, women's reproductive rights are limited. In order to have an abortion in Israel, a woman must appear before a committee consisting of a doctor, psychologist and social worker, and receive their permission. The only grounds for approval are if there is severe danger to mother or child, if the pregnancy is a result of rape or incest, if there are special religious reasons, or if the mother is mentally incompetent. The "social clause" of the law permitting abortions for socio-economic reasons, by which most abortions were performed in the past, was cancelled in 1978. I can't say that there is a policy of pressuring Arab women to abort, but people say that despite the law, all Arab women can get an abortion when they request one, as opposed to Jewish women, who are pressured to have the child. Jewish women are told they can put the child up for adoption if they don't want to raise it. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]


Leila Khaled is a member of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an executive member of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) from 1974-1980, and now, living in Syria, she heads the PFLP's women's organisation, established in 1986. Her political activities are varied, but she is most famous in the West for her role as a hijacker in 1969 and 1970. In an interview with Leila in Benghazi, Libya, on 6/13/1989 (while I..."
was attending an International Conference in Support of the Palestinian Uprising in the Occupied Territories, she spoke about the hijackings and how they were an important part of her political work and that of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

A: I hijacked two planes, the first in 1969 for which I was imprisoned in Syria for 45 days. The second, in 1970, was an El Al plane from Amsterdam. My comrade, Patrick, a Sandinista from Nicaragua, was killed. They didn't shoot me. The plane landed in Britain and I spent 28 days in British custody. My release came after the PFLP hijacked a BOAC plane to demand the release of all our comrades imprisoned following the hijacking of four planes.

Q: Why did you take part in the hijackings?
A: In 1967 our masses and our revolution became besieged inside the Occupied Territories. We had to do something to speak for the revolution. Our orders were clear: we were not to kill or injure anyone on the planes. We followed those orders. I had two hand grenades, which I opened, and of course you cannot close them again. I held them tight so they would not explode, even when we were captured.

After 1970 we (the PFLP) decided to stop this kind of activity because it no longer had a political use. In the beginning our cause was not known--the world saw us as refugees, only in need of clothes and food. We were obliged to do something to form the question "Who are they?" and to answer this question during the course of our revolution. It was not possible to have the question and answer at the same time.

Q: How did you become so politically active?
A: I was twenty-four at the time of the hijackings, but my political career began when I was fifteen years old because of the effect my mother had on me. All the time when I was a child my mother would say we had everything in Palestine and nothing outside, not even our dignity. I learned that if only I return to Palestine will I be able to obtain it. Even our oranges were in Palestine!

My eldest brother also affected us through his political activity. I am the sixth child out of twelve. We are all organised.

I myself now have two sons, aged five and two-and-a-half. I was afraid to become a mother because my life is so dangerous. They are already beginning to understand our situation, but they are still young. The other day my eldest son came from school saying that another child had told him, "Your mother has stolen planes." He demanded to know where the plane was so he could go and play with it! He knows that King Hussein, Reagan, and Israel are against the Palestinians, but he can also tell that governments are different from the people. I have not told them about the hijackings yet. I will tell them later when they are able to understand.

Q: How has your political work continued?
A: After the hijackings I have been assigned to internal organisation and mass work for the PFLP. From 1974-1980 I was on the Executive Committee of the GUPW until the PFLP formed its own organisation in 1986. It is not parallel to the GUPW; our members are either comrades or supporters of the political line of the PFLP. Our main role is to teach women how to organise and work either in the women's union or in general. Because we are outside our land we face many economic and social problems, and they affect women the most. Therefore it is important to organise women because we do not believe in work that is not organised.

Q: How effective is the women's organisation?
A: From 1982-87 the splits in the PLO affected our struggle and the masses, especially women. Women play an active role in all the uprisings of our people, but when there are political and military defeats the women go back to their homes. We are pioneers, wanting to mobilise women again, to return their confidence in the revolution and the hopes which began with the revolution. Many women lost their hopes with the splits in the PLO and the besieging of the camps in Lebanon. In Lebanon our women are sharing and defending the camps which are besieged, defending our national identity and not just providing material support.

In Syria and other parts of the Arab World we are far from the hot spots, but we have had good results. After the restoration of the PLO more women were participating, but since the beginning of the present uprising in the Occupied Territories a big change has happened among our masses in general. Among women it is very clear, they are passionately with the Uprising. The important thing now is how to mobilise that passion.

Q: What effect is the Uprising having on women living outside Palestine?
A: People in the Occupied Territories are very well organised; everyone has a role. Do you know that from the beginning of the Uprising until June 4, 728 women have had miscarriages because of tear gas or beatings? This and other news really affected our women, really mobilised them. They want to do something. What we as an organisation have to do is give them an answer in an organised way. Many women are sharing in strikes outside the Red Cross and United Nations offices, and they are celebrating important days such as International Women's Day. On June 1, International Child Day, we organised a camp for children. The children went to UNICEF with a declaration and flowers to take to the children in Palestine via UNICEF officials. The children were only able to participate with the support of their mothers. The number of children killed in the Uprising is 52, ranging from children a few days old to fifteen years old. Two days ago (June 11) in the Gaza Strip people discovered a three-year-old child thrown in a well.

Q: What support can women here give?
A: Spread the word about what is going on, but not just what we say, try to go in groups and visit the area. We are in need of doctors and medicine for the thousands who have been injured. Milk is also needed and support for universities, kindergarten, nurseries.

Further Reading: “Water, Bread, and Mortar Shells,” Connexions n. 26, 1988. [Reprinted with permission of Peoples Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]-


It is evening and two young women walk in animated conversation, their Kalashnikovs slung comfortably over their shoulders. Every night they pass a group of men who mumble, "May God protect your honor"--questioning their reputations. After hearing the greeting once too often, one stuck her gun in one man's stomach. "I am defending my honor, she said. "What are you doing about yours? When the Zionists come again, I shall be defending you because you don't even know how to handle a gun."

These women represent one side of the lives of Palestinian women, but their experience is not the experience of most.

This day is like yesterday, and the day before, and tomorrow. A pregnant woman carries a pail of water up the muddy path to her house to be heated on the stove for the large daily laundry. Two young children follow her; three more will return soon from school. Daily she cooks meals, bakes bread, goes food shopping and irons and mends clothing. Her tiny home is in one of the many overcrowded refugee camps that dot the landscape of Jordan, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza. She is more fortunate than some; she has a two room prefab home. Some homes are tents. Still, she must wash out the mud floors daily. Her eldest daughter is trying to teach her to read, but she has little time. She would like to go to literacy classes, but her husband will not allow it.

According to Mai Sayegh, president of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW): "Over the age of 40, men outline women, unlike what is found in most other societies. This is simply because the women are worn out, overworked and exhausted physically and
Emotionally,"

Somewhere in between these two preceding accounts is the vast majority of Palestinian women, in refugee camps, in Israel-occupied territories, in Israel, and in other Arab countries. The overall reality of Palestinian women and men is unique to other Arabs because of their landlessness. Depending on where she is living, the Palestinian woman's life is radically different.

Fences, laws and border patrols separate the Palestinian people from their land. The vast majority are refugees with no political status, second class citizens in neighboring Arab countries; the rest are second class Israeli citizens, or live in territories recently occupied by Israel. All suffer from legal discrimination, economic exploitation and social harassment.

Before 1948, Palestinian women participated actively in the Resistance Movement against Great Britain and the Zionists. Rural women worked in the fields and wore no veils, and they travelled often to sell their agricultural products. But in the refugee camps, with nothing to hang onto but their traditions, life closed in on the women. Um Samir, who has been an activist since the 1920s, describes the change. "The Palestinian used to be much more advanced in his own country, and women were independent and freer than women in Syria or Egypt or Iraq. But after 1948 this changed. In the camps the Palestinian became ultra-strict, even fanatic, about the honor of his women. Perhaps this gave his life meaning, and honor was the only possession remaining to him."

Paradoxically, education and the need to use all family members as breadwinners have given women more independence and strength. The new Resistance, which began in 1968, has since opened up the camps, creating a link among Palestinians, especially among the women.

Even the notion of honor is changing. There is a popular Palestinian expression: "The honor of our land before the honor of our women." As Israeli attempts to crush the Resistance intensify, more women are joining the Resistance, risking death or imprisonment. This story is told by Leila Khaled, a Palestinian revolutionary: "There is one girl and her two cousins who had been in prison for ten years. When they had to appear in court, they said they didn't care about their physical torture. 'This is not our honor, our bodies are not our honor. Our honor is our own land.' Each...opened her dress in front of everybody and they said 'Look,' and all these humanitarians looked at their naked breasts and bodies which were covered with marks from cigarette butts and electroshocks. The ideology of the revolution has influenced our people and they were very proud of their women."

Armed struggle has liberated these women to a large extent. Women are expected to participate in the struggle in a variety of ways. Still, there is a distrust that what happened to Algerian women after their revolution will happen to Palestinian women. Since Palestinian women function within a society that defines their reputations by their activities and are tarnished if their reputation is questionable, this places them in a difficult position. An Algerian woman who has been active in the Palestinian resistance since 1967, describes her experience.

"I left my parents eight years ago for the Palestinian resistance. At first it was very hard. A girl who lives alone, who works and struggles on top of that is surrounded by comments: Where is her family, where does she come from, what is she doing, etc...If one wants to struggle with the Palestinians, one has to be patient...For [the men] the only worthwhile issue is the Palestinian struggle against Israel, and they are unwilling to put any effort into the liberation of Palestinian women...All the militants agree that women should be liberated, but if one asks a militant why his wife is at home? His wife is his wife, after all...Women have begun to struggle against this mentality, but how long will it take to change it? Without this struggle, Palestinian women could end up in the same condition as Algerian women: today Algerian women are still in their homes, just like my mother, like my grandmother."

Abir is a Palestinian woman raised in Jordan in a traditional family where she was expected to marry, stay home and raise children. Her father arranged her engagement, but she had it annulled in court on the grounds that she was being forced. She began her political activities in 1955, joined Fatah in 1968, received military training and in 1973 she became a member of the GUPW. She describes her involvement in the struggle proudly, but there is an underlying tone of bitterness in her words.

"All of us women are brought up in a certain way, and this affects every one of us. I have progressive ideas but I can't implement them fully because of my upbringing. I can't be too open with men because they may misinterpret what I say, even though I've received military training and fought in battles. Men are my comrades, but deep down they don't believe I'm really their equal. Socially we haven't caught up with our political development...I'm 36 and I haven't yet met a man who has really shaken off the old conventions about women. I feel that an Arab woman has to marry if she wants to live in society. We can't live freely on our own...And the leaders are hypocritical about it all. At public meetings they talk about liberating women, but they really believe, and some of them say it openly, that a woman does her revolutionary duty by ironing her husband's shirts, cooking his dinner, and providing a cozy and restful ambience for the warrior."

In the refugee camps, the presence of Palestinian culture is fierce and persistent. Stories and songs fill the air as grandparents describe their plot of land in Acre, spring on Mount Carmel, or a certain picture on the living room wall. At schools, at first subsidized only by the United Nations Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) and joined by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) after 1964, teach Palestinian history, affirm Palestinian culture, and instill pride as Palestinians.

Education, in the absence of land, has become of supreme importance—it enables one to escape the camps, to understand better one's personal and national condition, and it relieves the tedium of camp life. One woman described it as studying "like one possessed." A woman in Gaza reflected upon her youth compared to that of her daughter's. "We didn't know how to read, but we had land to cultivate. Our daughters have no land, but they all go to school."

In the Arab world, the overall level of literacy is low, and only half the school-age girls go to primary school. Among Palestinian refugee girls, the level is highest, almost equal to that of the industrialized nations. As of 7/1980, 77% of Palestinian refugee girls between six and 14 were attending school. Between the ages of 14 and 19, only 22% of the girls continued their education in government or private schools. Nevertheless, this percentage is still higher than that for women in all other Arab countries.

Consequently, this has led to a change for women as they enter the work force. Only a small, educated elite attains such positions as doctors, journalists, lawyers, artists and a cabinet minister (in Jordan). Women of the lower classes, though, have aspirations of more education and independence.
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"The women's problem is the most difficult one facing us...We once tried to do something about birth control. We got films from the UN family planning office and a woman doctor to give explanations. Some of the women agreed that they were worn out--"God damn all these children!"--but most were frightened that the pill would harm them or that their husbands would change toward them."

Um Leila is a feminist who has chosen to have only two children, both girls. She has defied tradition further by calling herself Um Leila (literally mother of Leila) after her eldest daughter, a practice only done with a son. She recognizes the emotion behind the woman's comments of "the revolution needs children" and "the Israelis bomb our children." Still she hears these same women complain at times that they are merely "people factories made to have boys." She reveals that some women are using birth control and others have had abortions. They rarely tell their husbands about either. In her work among women, she tries to stress the other side of the high death rate--infant and child mortality due to illness and poverty.

"It is not only the war that costs lives, many infants die of illness. We try to get women whose husbands earn a poor living to realize that it is too expensive for them to have more children. It does not succeed very well, but women who would have 12 children before may choose only to have six now. Things are progressing slowly, but we cannot get everything at once." Various programs have been implemented in the camps to help the women to learn to read, acquire skills, receive health care. The GUPW is present in every camp as is the UNRWA. The UNRWA was set up in 1949 by the UN to take over 60 refugee camps from voluntary agencies. The UNRWA has been criticized for institutionalizing the refugee life and furthering the misguided notion that the Palestinians are only a refugee problem, not a nationless people. It has been accused of divorcing politics from the situation of the refugees. Furthermore, the UNRWA has its limitations in scope since only Palestinians who qualify for the UNRWA's standards of refugee status are eligible for aid.

Women are still very oppressed, confined within the narrow boundaries of a semi-feudal patriarchal society. Thus they are still channeled into traditional subordinate roles where family honor depends upon female sexual purity. Nevertheless, the women are changing. Yet, change at first is often intangible, something not quite definable felt deep inside.

An older woman sums it all up. "We don't want to copy Western women! We want to hold on to our traditions and our religion. Fahimeh and Um Leila are two examples. Fahimeh became involved in the Resistance in 1973 in Beirut as a student and extended her involvement to women's issues in 1974."

The question of birth control is a particularly difficult one for a population whose continued existence is in danger. Fahimeh and Um Leila are two examples. Fahimeh became involved in the Resistance in 1973 in Beirut as a student and extended her involvement to women's...
to please men and began to think of building social structures, of fighting the occupier, of the future." [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O.Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.] [=]

61022. Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. Interview: "Forum 85, Nairobi, Kenya: The Women's Decade: Peace? Whose Peace?: Interview with Israeli Debby Lerman: Commentary on the Middle East Debate", in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, numbers 17-18, October 1, 1985, pp. 34-36. As in past conferences, the situation in the Middle East took center stage, at times appearing in the most unlikely places. In general, most discussions were heated and gave one the impression that nothing was moving forward. However, there were a few attempts at fostering a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, that in comparison to the general tenor, appeared successful.

Most notable of these dialogues were two workshops occurring on the same day early in the conference. The first, organized by several women, took place in the Peace Tent. The other was organized by the US group New Jewish Agenda, which promotes dialogue between Palestinians and Jews. In both sessions, the discussion was opened up to the audience after the scheduled speakers had the floor. To best maintain an atmosphere conducive to dialogue, participants were asked not to vocalize their approval or discontent and to speak for a limited amount of time. Although a strict adherence to the highly structured format did provide an arena for a calmer exchange of words, many expressed frustration since the format's rigidity prevented some people from having a chance to speak.

While the morning Peace Tent dialogue managed to escape emotional collapse, by the time the afternoon workshop took place, one could feel a current of frustration charging the air. 500 people pressed into a room built for only half that number. Tensions began to mount as people realized there would never be enough time to accommodate all those who had something to say.

Although these two sessions offered a promising beginning for a Middle East dialogue, as the days of the Forum rolled by, the level of discussion deteriorated. One got the sense that things were going nowhere as people resorted to rhetorical statements. It was for this reason that Debby Lerman called an impromptu workshop on the last day of the Forum. Entitled "Israeli and Palestinian Feminist Dialogue on the Middle East," it never accomplished its goal since the invited speakers failed to show up. Instead Debby Lerman took this opportunity to express her views on why Israelis and Palestinians at the Forum were unable to reach a common ground to work toward peace.

Debby Lerman is a member of the Progressive List for Peace, a political party which currently has two seats in the Knesset [Parliament], one held by a Palestinian, the other by an Israeli. Originally part of a collectively-run women's center in Tel Aviv, she left because she felt the center did not adequately integrate feminist concerns with Israel's national problems.

What follows are excerpts from Debby Lerman's workshop combined with an interview conducted afterwards. The interviews are very much wanted to get commentary from both a Palestinian and an Israeli on how the conflict in the Middle East was handled at the Forum. However, due to unfortunate confusion, we were unable to get an interview with a Palestinian woman.

Q: You mentioned in the workshop that there are difficulties in communication between Palestinians and Israelis.

A: Yes, despite the obvious differences, there are a lot of practical problems for Israeli or Palestinian women who want to work with each other. Israeli women mainly live in cities, while most Palestinian women live in villages. The largest percentage of urban Palestinian women live in Haifa, while our group is mainly located in Tel Aviv. So, whenever we do work, we are dealing with the encounter of two different cultures--rural and urban. Then there is the geographical distance. Every time we want to meet each other, we have to drive 100 miles or so, which makes it very difficult, especially because most of us have commitments of work and children. But still somehow we manage.

Another problem is language. We Israeli women can only discuss things with women who speak Hebrew because we don't know Arabic. And even though some of us are going through crash courses in Arabic, it doesn't get you very far when you want to have a complicated political discussion.

But Palestinian women are interested in the issues we raise. For example, in the trade union movement, which has been an area where much organizing has been going on, the Progressive List for Peace went to talk with Palestinian women about concerns that affect women. We got a very strong reaction from the men, especially from the Israeli men who said, "What the hell are you doing? They're not interested in talking to you about these questions." And this has happened throughout the history of leftist women trying to work with Palestinian women. We are told that this is a secondary issue and it should be left alone. But when you really start working together, the most incredible sessions happen.

What I like the most is when you start comparing experiences and you find out that many things are the same. My husband does this, my husband does that and this is what I'm missing and this is what I don't have. Partly based on these personal discussions and partly based on the political issues, we found a common platform addressing the national struggle, how both Israeli and Palestinian women are affected by militarism and racism, and that the trade union was not providing things that we needed as women.

Q: What sort of groups or individuals are in communication with Palestinians in Israel?

A: Besides ourselves, there is Women Against the Occupation who have contacts with Palestinians as well as Palestinians in the organization. There is Neve Shalom which is an incredible group of Israelis and Palestinians trying to live together with mutual respect for culture and trying to build some kind of conjunction of cultures that will show everyone else that it is possible. For example, their children are taught in Arabic and Hebrew.

You also have people in academic or semi-academic institutions trying to establish a bridge by using educational programs that teach people how to live together. Some people are doing this with high school students. They bring a whole class of Palestinian and Israeli students together for a weekend and try to show them the roots of prejudice and how everyone suffers from it. They work at showing the students that they're not so different from one another and at establishing friendships that will last.

Q: So there is some communication between Israelis and Palestinians. What happened here at the Forum? Why did one get the sense that nothing is happening?

A: I think it's two-sided. First of all I think Israelis came to the Forum on the defensive. They were sure they would be attacked, so with that expectation they did not come ready to listen and they did not come ready for a dialogue. They came with very clear positions and they wanted to put them across. However, the Israelis would say that the Palestinians are not willing to listen either--which is true.

The Palestinians came here prepared to try to convince as many people as possible of the terrible injustices that have been done to them and continue to be done. With that in mind, any dialogue becomes impossible.

If I'm trying to put your position across and you're trying to put your position across, all that we get is a declaration of what my position is and a declaration of what your position is and you're neither. Everybody wanted to put their point clear, but nobody was really willing to say, "Okay, apart from my position, these are the areas where I'm willing to sit down with you and talk." Nobody wanted to; everybody wanted to put their point across. I think that this is very unfair to both sides especially because this would have been a very good opportunity for the Israelis to express to the Palestinians that some of
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them are willing to sit down and listen.

Let me say that there were some Israeli and Palestinian women here who sincerely tried to understand one another. There were formal and informal dialogues where people did talk although they didn't get far.

I thought, and maybe I was wrong, that Nairobi would be a very good arena for dialogue. But when I look at it in retrospect, I think that this being an international conference has made discussion less likely. Everybody came here not for dialogue, but to try to convince others of their opinion. This was not the case for only the Palestinians and Israelis, but also for a lot of other groups and delegations. Maybe if workshops had been planned in a different way it would have helped. Unfortunately, we will have to go home and resume our work with little accomplished.

Q: So why did you put together this last-minute workshop and what were you trying to achieve?

A: I came here to participate in a dialogue on women in emergency situations in the Middle East. Then, due to all kinds of political considerations, the people that put together the workshop decided not to have an Israeli on the panel, so I didn't have a chance to speak. After that, I just went from one workshop to another getting more and more frustrated. This was not something only I experienced; a lot of other Israelis felt the same way. In fact there is a small group of Israelis who are trying to have a dialogue, but that wasn't apparent. And there is also a small group of Palestinians who are trying to talk as well, but they were put into positions where there was no dialogue going on. So I thought if it wasn't being done in the official pre-planned workshops, then I would try to do it some other way. And it's a pity that my Israeli friend just walked in and walked out, but didn't really participate as I expected her to. And the Palestinian friend I thought would come didn't show.

Actually, I have given a very lopsided view of the situation in the Middle East. One of the problems of the organization I am in is that we are ostracized in Israel because of our position regarding the PLO and the Palestinian right to a state. So I haven't really given you the Israeli position, which is completely different from mine, and I haven't given you the Palestinian position.

Most of the Palestinians here are not from Israel and are also not willing to have a dialogue. I think what turned them off was that I called this workshop Israeli and Palestinian Feminist Dialogue on the Middle East. The struggle for feminism is something the PLO doesn't consider being of the highest priority, which, as a feminist, I think is wrong on their part, but, okay, they have the right to have that position.

Q: I can see that Palestinian and Israeli women might have a lot in common, but is there any means to a dialogue unless Israeli women who engage in dialogue with the Palestinian women accept Palestine as a state? Mustn't you come forth and declare, we think that we have the West Bank back; we must withdraw. Mustn't you say that before you can even start a dialogue?

A: That's what the Palestinians put forth all the time: "You must accept our premises on what the dialogue should be." On the other side, Israeli women say, "I'm willing to talk with you if you say that terrorism must stop." Now from those two positions nothing will stand up. The minute that preconditions are set--I'm only willing to talk with you if you agree with me--nothing will go on because no one will be willing to talk.

Q: So you believe you can talk without getting into those issues?

A: I'm this kind of stupid idiot that believes you can start a dialogue even if you don't agree. I think that even if you only agree in a very limited way, you can continue onward. For example, I see that you don't have any positions of power inside the Palestinian movement; I don't have any positions of power inside the Israeli peace movement. So we can stand on common ground because we are both put aside by both our movements.

Q: The Palestinian women here are not complaining about that.

A: No, they are not, but in Israel they are. The difference is that the Palestinian women in Israel and the West Bank have to deal with questions of survival which I think are women's questions. The organizations only want to address political questions without considering women's problems. Israeli women have the same problem. Because there is a very strong military structure, women are told that they have to be brave, they have to be heros, they have to fight for their country, they have to take care of the men when they come back home. We are supposed to sit back and take care of the kiddies and will make sure everything be fine for the warrior when he comes back from war. So women's issues are pushed aside because we are told that we aren't the ones fighting so we have no right to talk. Palestinian women have the same type of problem more or less.

Q: What is the role of the religious parties regarding the conflict in Israel?

A: The majority of Israelis pray for a secular state where the religious parties would not have such strength. Now without entering into too many details, there are two reasons why the religious parties are so strong. One is because of the parliamentary system that we have, they are always somehow able to have power, which is completely disproportionate to the actual number of MPs [members of parliament] that they have. The other reason is that world Jewish religious communities give a lot of economic support to Israel, and as you all know money usually comes with ties. But the power of the religious parties is a very day-to-day thing, and is not directly related to the political conflict. I don't think there is any way you can say that the minute the religious parties get out of the picture, the whole Israeli state will go toward a peaceful solution because that's not the case.

Q: What about the issue of racism?

A: A small number of Israelis are struggling for the same land, one of the tools used to fight the other side is racism. From the very beginning, Israelis used race as a means to convince the entire Israeli population of our common identity. The first settlers, who came mostly from Europe, believed themselves superior to the people who lived in the region and they tried to ignore their existence. This attitude continued and served as a tool to convince the Oriental Jews [Jews who mostly come from Arab countries] that they were different; we are all Jews and although you might culturally identify with the people living here, you are not the same. You are superior to them because you are a Jew.

This attitude that we are better makes us feel like we have something to teach the Palestinians. This colonization ideology makes us think that we have come to help the people here who are just eager to listen to what we have to say. During the last six or seven years, a lot of parties which are very blatantly racist have been increasing, and the number of people that listen to them and support their policies is also growing.

Racism is used against the Palestinian population and also against the Oriental Jewish population. But since 1977, with the change of the governing party, there has been a rebirth in the Oriental Jews' pride in their culture and their ethnic identity. Nowadays, every Ashkenazi Jew [most Jews of European extraction] is very careful not to say anything against the Oriental Jews. Racism can still be seen in the economic arena and most government posts are still held by Ashkenazis.

There is a very small, but strong current today trying to fight racism. There are a lot of programs now being integrated into the school curriculum to teach against racism as well to teach Arab culture and language. There are also demonstrations any time some racist event happens.

Racism is a very big issue in the peace movement. Everybody feels that the strong current of racism is overwhelming the whole political and social network of Israel, and if we don't fight it, we are going to find ourselves in a war. And it will be a bigger war than the war we are having with the Palestinians. It's going to be an internal war with everybody against everybody.

Things don't look very good in Israel now. Next week, the Knesset will vote on a law which will forbid any Israelis not working in an official government capacity to make contact with Palestinian representatives within Israel or abroad. They are defining a Palestinian representative as anyone who is either in an official organization or belongs to a group inside the Palestinian movement, which is, of course, open to interpretation.

The law will almost surely pass because it is being presented by the ruling coalition government. The sentence would be three years
for anybody found guilty. This law would stop any kind of civil rights movement or organizations like Peace Now from having dialogues with Palestinians. This means you stop the peace movement from going ahead. Now I know it won't be the peace movement who is going to sign the peace treaty, but these dialogues are the only kind of bridge we have to try to get some kind of thing going. After this everyone would be so careful about talking that it would in fact stop. The only way this law won't pass is if the government realizes that there is large opposition to it by the people.

Contacts: Women Against the Occupation, Box 2760, Tel Aviv, Israel. New Jewish Agenda, 149 Church St., Suite 2N, New York, 10007, USA. Progressive List for Peace, Knesset, Jerusalem 9100, Israel. Further Readings: "Women Against the Occupation," Connexions n. 11, Winter 1984. "Rebel with a Cause," Connexions n. 9, Fall 1983. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]

61023. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 01: Introduction", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and De population Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975]. [Reprinted by Free Palestine Press P.O. Box 21096,Kalorama Station, Washington DC 20009.] Even before the establishment of the israeli state on 5/14/1948, the Zionist terrorist organisations Hagana, Irgun and Stern waged a campaign designed to force the Arab population of Palestine to leave the country. The climax of this campaign was the attack on Deir Yassin village near Jerusalem, on 4/9/1948, by a joint force of all three organisations. "After the Hagana men had withdrawn, members of the Irgun and Stern Group perpetrated the most revolting atrocities: 254 Arab men, women and children were butchered in cold blood and their mutilated bodies were thrown into a well; captured Arab women and girls were brought in lorries to Jerusalem and paraded through the streets, where they were jeered and spat at." (Jewish Newsletter. 10/3/1960). This massacre was a decisive psychological factor in forcing the Palestinian population to leave their homes in large numbers. Even those few who had arms to resist felt obliged to send their wives and children to safety since the Zionists had shown that they did not respect the lives of women and children. By 5/14/1948. some 300000 people had been forced out of their homes by these methods. and this figure rose to above 700000 by the end of the 1948 war. The Israelis have continued this policy ever since. After the 6/1967 war large numbers of people were expelled from their homes in the newly-occupied territories. By early 9/1967, 110000 out of an original population of 140000 had been expelled from the Golan Heights, while some 400000 had been driven from their homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip by 11/1969. In addition to these acts of mass deportation, the Israelis have also resorted frequently to individual deportations, particularly of intellectuals or others who are seen as actual or potential leaders of opposition to the occupation. [=]

61024. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 05: Manner of Deportation", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and Depopulation Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975]. When an individual deportation order has been issued, Israeli military vehicles surround the whole of the residential area where the deportee lives. Soldiers then break into his house, blindfold and handcuff the deportee (in many cases they also chain his legs), and throw him into a military vehicle. On the way, the soldiers usually beat and kick him. Deportees are often taken to the desolate Araba Valley and simply abandoned there to walk a distance of about 20 kilometres to the Jordanian border, frequently under extreme weather conditions. They also run the risk of being shot by Jordanian border guards, who may think they are enemies. In some cases, deportees are dropped off near the Lebanese border where landmines have been laid. Israel concentrates on expelling leaders who have the ability to mobilise the Palestinian masses against the occupation. Most of them are leaders of bodies like trade unions, political groups, women's and students' organisations, or from professions like mayors, physicians, lawyers or men of religion. Deportation is often preceded by administrative detention under Article III of the British Mandate Defence Laws, which enables a Military Commander to detain any person for up to one year. Like South Africa's "90 Days Law", the Israeli system makes it possible to detain the person concerned for an indefinite number of periods in succession; as soon as one year of detention has expired, he may be immediately re-arrested and the process renewed for another year. This detention is without trial and gives the military authorities absolute control over Palestinian citizens' liberty. [=]

61025. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 06: Individual Cases of Deportation: Lutfiya Al-Hawary", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and Depopulation Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975?]. Born 1945 in Al Bira. Received Diploma of Education from Ajloun Teachers' Training College, studied two years at Beirut Arab University and worked as a teacher in the early days of the occupation. A distinguished poetess as well as a teacher, Miss Hawary was a firm opponent of the occupation. The Israelis arrested her no less than six times. She was not charged with any specific offences on the first five occasions. On the sixth occasion, on 8/7/1969, Israeli agents placed explosive materials in her home in order to "frame" her. She was taken to Beth Shemesh police station which serves as an interrogation centre, and forced to "confess" that she had attempted to poison the whisky of an Israeli agent provocateur in Ramallah. She was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Her house, in which a large family had been living, was blown up even before her conviction. Her family was turned out into the street. Lutfiya Al Hawary was held and subjected to various forms of torture in the following detention centres and prisons: (1) Muskubiyia detention centre, Jerusalem. (2) Ramallah detention centre (run by Israeli intelligence). (3) Al Amara detention centre, Nablus. (4) Abu Kabir detention centre, Tel Aviv. (5) Beth Shemesh detention centre (Al Harbi). (6) Sarafand detention centre, (7) Al Jalama detention centre, Haifa. (8) Nablus central prison. (9) Ramleh central prison. The methods of torture to which she was subjected were as follows: (1) Torture with modern equipment (injections, electric shocks). (2) Confinement in lurid coloured, narrow and cold cells. (3) Beating with wires and sticks after being stripped naked. (4) The use of prostitutes to inflict humiliation and physical torture. (5) Stabbing out cigarettes on various parts of the body, or Kabbing her with needles or pins. As a result of torture, Miss Hawary suffered from anaemia, five slipped discs in her vertebral column, chronic pains in the stomach and intestines (she was operated on in the prison hospital for removal of a tumour weighing about 2 kilograms), inflammation of the respiratory tracts owing to forcible feeding with rubber hoses when she was on hunger strike, and inflammation of the gums from her teeth being broken during interrogation. She often failed to have reflexes in her limbs, which indicates that the lower half of her body could become permanently paralysed. She was denied proper medical attention for these ailments. Her lover, Felicia Langer, was denied the right to visit her in prison on 8/15/1972. Lutfiya Al Hawary was finally released and deported from Palestine on 2/5/1975. Her case had first been reported in 1971 by Dr. Israel Shahak, then Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. She herself confirmed the details in an interview with the Daily Star of 3/12/1975. [=]

61026. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 07: Ahmad Dakhil Al-Jeme", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and Depopulation Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975?]. Born 1945 in Jamzu village, Lydda area, was resident in Ramallah. He completed his secondary education at Ramallah Secondary School in 1965 and enrolled in the Lebanese University. He was arrested in Jordan in 1966. After the 1976 war, he went to the West Bank to work against the Israeli occupation. He was arrested and detained for more than a year in several military operations, including an
attack on Lydda Airport two days earlier. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. After the completion of his sentence, he was kept in prison for a further two months under administrative detention. In protest, he staged a hunger strike, with the result that the occupation authorities deported him, together with his wife who had also been imprisoned. He was expelled across the River Jordan on 2/5/1975. During his prison term he was held in a number of prisons and detention centers, including Ramleh, Sarafand, Jerusalem, Nablus, Mar Yusef and Beer Sheba. Methods of torture to which he was subjected included the following: (1) Kicking. (2) Beating with fists. (3) Pouring cold water on his body in winter. (4) Beating his genitals with rubber truncheons. (5) Beating his back with rubber whips. (6) Leaving him for long periods in a narrow cell without any covering. At a news conference on 3/11/1975, Ahmad Al Jemel estimated that there were 5000 political detainees in Israeli prisons, many of which are severely overcrowded. He stated that professional psychiatrists are used by the Israeli authorities to apply psychological torture against the prisoners. Accused persons are threatened with economic ruin, starvation of their children, rape of women relatives in front of them and torture to death. Often their interrogators set ferocious dogs on them, deprive them of water for long periods to extract "confessions" from them, drag them naked over sharp stones and use injections and chemical substances on them, as well as other sadistic acts. Jemel said torture continues even after sentencing and throughout the prisoner's term in an effort to break his morale and terrorise him into renouncing the cause. He added that medical attention for prisoners is grossly inadequate, and named five prisoners whose lives were in grave danger because of this. [↩]

61027. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 12: Othman Rashid Al-Sayyid Abu Assi", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and Depopulation Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975?]. Born 1959, was arrested on 11/22/1972 on a charge of being a Popular Front member. He was subjected to severe physical tortures and on one occasion ordered to rape a woman detainee. When he refused to do so, he was severely beaten. He had to have eight stitches in his head after being clubbed by an interrogator. Abu Assi gave the following account of his experiences: "My family heard about my health condition from a comrade in prison. They insisted that the Red Cross visit me. After great difficulties the Red Cross managed to get permission to see me. The Director of the prison sent for me and said that he would let the Red Cross see me provided I would not say one word about my torture and not move from the chair. I promised him. When the Red Cross Representatives entered with a military officer, I immediately uncovered my head to let them see the stitches and threw myself on the ground to make them realise that I was unable to stand or walk. The Red Cross Representatives ordered that I should be sent to hospital and held them responsible for my life. I was sent to Ramleh Military Hospital and stayed there for four months till I recovered. After 8 months of administrative detention, I was released. 28 days later, in 7/1973 I was arrested for the second time, went through the same methods of torture". On 4/18/1975, he was deported to the Lebanese border with four other Palestinians. The Israelis told them to cross into Lebanon or be shot. [↩]

61028. Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees. "Part 14: Deportations and Uprisings", in Enforced Exile: A Study of Israeli Deportation and Depopulation Techniques. Reprint. District of Columbia: Free Palestine Press, N.D. [1975?]. The deportation of these two doctors was a measure by the Israeli authorities within the framework of a policy of attempting to suppress the mass uprising in the first months of 1976, which spread throughout Palestine, even to areas occupied since 1948 where Zionist control is tightest. The Israeli authorities have carried out similar deportations in the past during periods of Palestinian popular uprising. After the 10/1973 war, there was such an uprising. Dr. Haj Ahmad was arrested then. Deportees at that time included Abdul Muhsin Abu Maizar (now a member and the official spokesman of the PLO Executive Committee) and Dr. Walid Kamhawi (now a PLO Executive Committee member and Head of the Palestinian National Fund). The UN debate on Palestine in 11/1974, when PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yassir Arafat addressed the General Assembly, sparked off another mass uprising in the occupied territories. The occupation authorities deported more Palestinian intellectuals and activists, including Ali Al Khatib, Mahmoud Kadri and Azzam Abdulhak. Mass resistance by the civilian population under the occupation is part of the overall Palestinian national liberation struggle, as also is the military struggle of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian National Front, which organises civilian resistance in the occupied territories, is part of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which is acknowledged as the Palestinian people's sole legal representative not only by the masses of Palestine but also by the overwhelming majority of UN member states (General Assembly Resolution adopted on 11/10/1975). The uprising of 1976 marked a new height of resistance, with unarmed civilians defying a massive and well-trained occupation army, equipped by the United States with some of the world's most modern and sophisticated weapons. This uprising deserves to rank with the heroic revolts of peoples in occupied Europe against the Nazi invaders. . For the first time, the Palestinians blocked the streets with all kinds of barricades, burned old tyres in various neighbourhoods, stoned the security forces that tried to squash the uprising. In Nablus, the women developed their own methods: they threw flowerpots (full), boiling water and hot asphalt on the police. The young people, the 'third generation' (aged 15/19) also played a major role. (Monday Morning, 4/5-11/1976). The Israeli occupation forces retaliated by attacking schools and shooting particularly at children in mass demonstrations, as well as deportations, curfews, arrests and massive fines. [↩]
exposes the practice of Zionism from scientific and class standpoints is immediately proclaimed an anti-Semite by the leaders of Zionism. This is done to prevent exposure of the true nature of Zionism, its actual role and place in the class struggle, with the purpose of camouflaging its aims and tasks. Zionist leaders themselves seek to stir up anti-Semitism everywhere, considering it, as Theodor Herzl claimed, “a boon” that promotes Jewish unity under the banner of Zionism. One of them, Bezalel Birulya, declared: “I am not ashamed to confess that had I power to match my will, I would select a score of efficient young men, intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews, and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and, acting upon the brutal Zionism, plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as ‘Bloody Jew,’ ‘Jews, go to Palestine,’ and similar ‘intimacies.’ I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be 10,000 times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears.”

Ben-Gurion did more than advocate the stirring up of anti-Semitism. He exerted no little effort to put Zionism “theory” into practice. The following facts are just one illustration of the lengths to which the Zionists will go in order to spark off outbreaks of anti-Semitism in other countries. In one of its issues, the Israeli magazine Haolam Haze carried photographs of two Israeli agents who had been sentenced to death in Iraq for attempting to blow up a synagogue in Baghdad in 1951. The provocation was needed to whip up a campaign about an allegedly intensifying wave of anti-Semitism in Iraq so as to frighten the Jews living there. Its purpose was, firstly, to get them to move to Israel, which was in need of immigrants to swell its aggressive army, and, secondly, to set world opinion against the Arabs, who, it was made to appear, deprived religious Jews of the possibility of performing their rites. This is how the Israeli ruling circles sought to justify their expansionist policy with respect to the Arab nations.

In 1950, the second year the state of Israel had been in existence, Ben-Gurion proclaimed that they must struggle with enthusiasm to build up, both through conquest and through diplomacy, an Israeli empire that would embrace all the lands lying between the Nile and the Euphrates. Launching the struggle to attain the stated goal, the Zionists set about colonizing Palestine, which brought them into sharp conflict with the Arab population of the area. Monetary donations from rich European Zionists were used to purchase Arab feudal domains. Arab peasants were deprived of land. That is how a new society, hostile to the Arabs, grew up in Palestine, wrote the Rome magazine Rinascita. After the state of Israel was founded in 1948, many Zionists expressed doubt about the expediency of further maintaining the Zionist organizations. But their leaders sought to preserve them at any cost, on the grounds that the state of Israel, though formally constituted, had not yet become sufficiently consolidated and was in need of backing. Besides, they explained, another of the objectives of Zionism had not yet been achieved, namely, the concentration of all Jews in one state—the state of Israel.

Nahum Goldmann, for one, pointed out that the Zionist movement should actively pursue three principal policies: “firstly, it should seek to cultivate in the minds of Jews not living in Israel a feeling of uncertainty for the future; secondly, it should establish the closest collaboration with the state of Israel and utilize it to achieve the main objective of Zionism, namely, the concentration of all Jews in Israel; and, thirdly, the Zionist movement should be reorganized and the World Zionist Organization made flexible and prepared for extensive cooperation with all Jewish organizations, groups and communities, so as to be able to involve them in Zionist activity.”

The principal organization and ideological center of Zionism is the World Zionist Organization, with offices in over 60 countries. Its supreme body is the World Jewish Congress and its executive body, the Jewish Agency, with offices in New York and Jerusalem. Neither the World Zionist Organization nor the Agency keep registered membership files. However, most of the big Jewish bourgeoisie and middle-class Jews, and also some of the working people in the capitalist countries who have been hoodwinked by Zionism, are affiliated to them through a ramified system of political organizations and cultural and religious societies.

The world Zionist Organization has become a unique connecting link between the American and British imperialists and the Federal German revanchists, on the one hand, and the Israeli state and the Israeli intelligence services, on the other. The Zionist organizations have tremendous funds at their disposal. They are made up mainly of “donations” from multimillionaires in the USA, Great Britain, France and other countries, who are unsparing, as we know, when it comes to remunerating those who serve their interests faithfully. These funds make it possible for the Zionist organizations not only to recruit and bribe new adherents in various sections of capitalist society but also to engage in political and intelligence activities. Besides the aforementioned international Zionist organizations, the list also includes B’nai B’rith. The Women’s International Zionists Organization [i.e., Hadassah], and The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee among others. There are 281 national Jewish organizations, 251 local Jewish federations, and also a variety of community councils, funds, and so forth functioning in the United States of America alone. The activity of most of them is guided by Zionists. Practically all the bourgeois parties in Israel have established their own branches in the USA, through which they coordinate their activity with American Zionist organizations. The Zionist organizations have a sizable setup for their ideological propaganda. They publish more than 800 newspapers and magazines in various countries of the world, 250 of them in the United States of America and some 160 in European countries. In its activity the World Zionist Organization uses the widely spread intelligence services in the world. At present, it is operating mainly against the USSR and other socialist countries. Printed matter imbued with the venom of Zionism is smuggled into the USSR by the so-called “League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews,” recently established by the American millionaire Morris Grafman and the Swiss industrialist Jose Mirelman, now residing in Israel. The “League” operates mainly in Great Britain and France. According to Western press reports, the Israeli intelligence service had a hand in organizing it.

61031. Prahye, B. Deceived By Zionism: Part 5: Years Struck Out of a Lifetime. Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1971. In 5/1969, Ivan Vladimirovich Birulya, a legal adviser of the Odessa State Farm Wine Trust, received a letter from an old friend, Abram Lazarevich Cherches, who painfully described his tragic circumstances. Cherches had lived a long life. He was brought up in a children’s home. Later he became a technologist in winemaking. He fought against the Hitler fascist invaders, meritng government decorations. In 1945, after demobilization from the army, he returned to his peace time profession. In 1968, the 60-year-old specialist at a winery retired on a 120-rouble-a-month pension, following gala send-off festivities. Cherches rejoiced to see his children grow up. His oldest son, Ilya, became an Honored Master of Sports of the USSR in wrestling; another son, Leonid, graduated from secondary school. His daughter, Svetlana, also received a secondary education. Everything was going well when suddenly their happy family life was upset. The disturbing factor was a letter from Israel, followed by more and more of them. The sender was Sura Dalevena, Cherches’s mother-in-law. The old woman persistently pressed her daughter to move to Israel, and, naturally, was unsparing of funds at their disposal. They are made up mainly of “donations” from multimillionaires in the USA, Great Britain, France and other countries, who are unsparing, as we know, when it comes to remunerating those who serve their interests faithfully. These funds make it possible for the Zionist organizations not only to recruit and bribe new adherents in various sections of capitalist society but also to engage in political and intelligence activities. Besides the aforementioned international Zionist organizations, the list also includes B’nai B’rith. The Women’s International Zionists Organization [i.e., Hadassah], and The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee among others. There are 281 national Jewish organizations, 251 local Jewish federations, and also a variety of community councils, funds, and so forth functioning in the United States of America alone. The activity of most of them is guided by Zionists. Practically all the bourgeois parties in Israel have established their own branches in the USA, through which they coordinate their activity with American Zionist organizations. The Zionist organizations have a sizable setup for their ideological propaganda. They publish more than 800 newspapers and magazines in various countries of the world, 250 of them in the United States of America and some 160 in European countries. In its activity the World Zionist Organization uses the widely spread intelligence services in the world. At present, it is operating mainly against the USSR and other socialist countries. Printed matter imbued with the venom of Zionism is smuggled into the USSR by the so-called “League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews,” recently established by the American millionaire Morris Grafman and the Swiss industrialist Jose Mirelman, now residing in Israel. The “League” operates mainly in Great Britain and France. According to Western press reports, the Israeli intelligence service had a hand in organizing it.
saying that he had made a great mistake in leaving the USSR, that he
couldn't live in a capitalist country, where everything was strange to a
person brought up in the Soviet Union. I asked us to warn all
acquaintances not to make the mistake he did and to appreciate the
rights that a person enjoys in the land of Soviets. Abram Lazarevich said
he had appealed to the Soviet authorities to help him return to his
Homeland." More and more, the letters received by Birulya and
Cherches's relatives reflected his growing despair. And each one began
with his cursing the day when he yielded to his wife's persuasion and
agreed to leave the Soviet Union.

On 3/20/1970, the newspapers carried a TASS report from
New York that the permanent mission of the USSR to the United Nations
had received a letter addressed to the Soviet President from A. L.
Cherches, residing in Israel, with the request to help him return to the
Soviet Union. "All my life I lived in the Soviet Union," he wrote. "The
Soviet state provided me with everything I needed... On 3/29/1969, I
made a fatal mistake and left the country, going to Israel. To my relatives...
From the very first days after my arrival, I saw that everything my wife had told me, basing herself on letters from relatives,
was a lie. It is hard for a person who has lived his whole life in the Soviet
state to become accustomed to life in a capitalist state, where everything
depends on money alone. Only now have I fully realized that I made a
mistake in leaving the country where I was born and lived all my life. Nostalgia for my Homeland and my sons is depressing me still more.
Knowing the humaneness of the Soviet state, I beg you not to refuse my
request to help me return to my Homeland and to restore my Soviet
citizenship." Cherches returned to the Soviet Union. Upon arriving, he
recounted his misfortunes from the moment he left Soviet land. "First we
grew to Vienna," he said. "At the airport, a representative of Sohnut (the
Jewish agency handling immigration to Israel and the affairs of the
emigrants) met us; he checked our documents, registered us, and put us
on a bus that took several families headed for the promised land" to a
transit camp. We lived in barracks while waiting to be flown to Tel-Aviv.

In the camp, there was a synagogue which new arrivals were urged to
attend. There they would hear a rabbi deliver a sermon to the effect that it
was supposedly the sacred duty of every Jew to carry out God's will
and go to the land of his forefathers—to blessed Israel, where all Jews
are brothers... Finally the day came when an Israeli civil aviation plane
landed us at Lod airport near Tel-Aviv. The immigrants were invited to
tables laden with wine, sweets and matzos, for we had arrived just in
time for Passover. Then Sohnut officials began to register the
documents. Each family was given 50 Israeli pounds, two bottles of wine
and two packages of matzos. We went to Sura Dalevna's home. She
and her husband, we found, occupied a modestly furnished one-room
apartment with a kitchen. In the morning, I set off for the Sohnut Agency
on Kaplan Street to solicit an apartment. The official received me very
courteously.

"Better borrow some money," he suggested, 'and buy your own.
"'What are the terms?" I wanted to know."' "The sum must be
repaid in five years."' "And what's the interest rate?"' "A trifle, only
12%."' "12%?!" I echoed, thinking to myself: "They want to drive me into
dissatisfied, but did not venture to refuse for fear of losing their jobs. Only
then, I among them, categorically refused to mark the day of
mistake in leaving the country where I was born and lived all my life. In the Soviet
could hardly stand on my feet from fatigue, I was paid only 500 pounds a
month. Roughly, what remained: less than 200 pounds! That was barely
enough to make ends meet, not to die of hunger, to preserve enough
strength and energy to get through another shift the next day. And besides, I had to
be grateful to him for giving me a job."

"I was amazed at the number of Israeli citizens who had wrong
impressions about life in the Soviet Union. The bourgeois mass media
might not make a living, but they sit in their offices, writing books, and
so forth. When I told them that we had had an excellent three-room
apartment, for which, incidentally, we had paid much less rent than in
Israel; an automobile; summer home; 'Electron' television set, and many
other things, they listened skeptically and shrugged in perplexity. Some
of them, after such chats, sought to avoid me, regarding me as a
'Moscow agitator.' One day the foreman stopped me and said: 'Why do
you always walk around so glum and crestfallen, Abram?' You have an
apartment and a job; hunger does not stalk your door; and you have
nothing to fear in the way of oppression: you are a Jew.' What could I say
against that? Yes, I had been given an apartment, but I paid 150 pounds a
month for it, besides 20 for electricity, 10 for gas, and 19 for water. Then,
when the Soviet pounds were deducted every month for the right to use the polyclinic.
From 70 to 85 pounds a month went for bus fare. How much did all that
add up to? More than 300 pounds! And for ten hours of work, after which I
could hardly stand on my feet from fatigue, I was paid only 500 pounds a
month. Roughly, what remained: less than 200 pounds! That was barely
enough to make ends meet, not to die of hunger, to preserve enough
strength and energy to get through another shift the next day. And besides, I had to
be grateful to him for giving me a job."

"All aspects of the country's life are permeated by the spirit of
militarism. We came up against this the very moment we arrived. We
were met at the airport by a Sohnut official. "What's the pay?" I asked the
boss."' 'First get down to work, and then we'll come to terms,' he replied vaguely." Since ... And then my troubles began. It is impossible to
children should not live without their father. Get them to come..."

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states were drafted into the army two years after arriving, now the period had been reduced to six months."

"Sohnut stoops to cunning and deception to entice Jews to the 'promised land.' Its employees single out individuals who have relatives in the USSR and other countries. These individuals are invited to deposit seven pounds—a mere trifle!—for which parcels of clothing would be mailed to relatives from them. The persons receiving these parcels think: 'How do they manage to be in Israel if they send us such beautiful things.' The parcel is followed by an invitation to come to Israel. Before you know it, someone has taken the bait. But upon arriving in Israel, he sees that his relatives are barely making ends meet themselves, and he begins to grow indignant. Then they tell him: 'Realize, that all Jews are brothers and should live in the state of Israel.' However, I didn’t meet a single rich 'brother' there who had come from the United States of America, Great Britain or France. The ones who go there are needy persons whom the Zionist rulers of the country use as cheap labour power and soldiers. Anyone who has been hooked by the Zionists does not find it so simple to escape. Every immigrant is given a special booklet with his personal number indicated in it. Mine, for instance, was booklet number 31557: and my personal number, 1240061. This number, like the brand of a prisoner on a Hitler concentration camp, accompanies the immigrant always and everywhere. All the money Sohnut spends to meet an immigrant and that the immigrant borrows is entered in his booklet. And until he refunds that money, he is not permitted to leave the country. That's why Sohnut officials try to get all those arriving in the 'promised land' encumbered with debts. And where indeed is a worker to get the money from if he should want to rectify his mistake and return to his native land? That is why many who have been caught in the Zionist trap and cannot find a way out resign themselves to their fate and eek out a sorry existence to the end of their days."

"I know quite a few former citizens of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries who have tried unsuccessfully to escape from the Zionist snare but cannot shake off the debtor's chains. There is Herman Tula, for instance, with whom I worked in the olive processing factory. In Chernovtsy, he was a butcher, and his wife worked in 'Zagotzerno' (the state grain purchasing agency), where she earned 150 roubles a month. The family had a fine house and garden and were living a carefree life, when, like a bolt out of the blue, they received a letter from relatives in Israel. 'Come to us, our dear ones. You can make a lot of money here. You'll be able to buy a sausage factory.' Tula sold everything he had and departed. But he was very quick to realize that he would never see his factory. The boss whom we worked for promised Tula 40 pounds a day, but paid him only 20. When Tula protested, he jeeringly replied: 'If you don't like it, go and find another job. Better be grateful for what I'm paying you.'"

"There was a man whose name I can't remember who was ready to leave Israel and go anywhere, but it seems he is not destined to do so, for he owes Sohnut 6500 pounds. At the olive processing factory, I earned 20 pounds a day, but Arab employees—and there were 15 of them—received less for the same work. The highest wages of all were paid to the 'sabra,' as the natives are called in Israel, who enjoy important privileges. The work was backbreaking. We loaded hundred-kilogram barrels of olives and hauled cement and bricks for a new building going up. When the lunch hour arrived, the Arabs retired somewhere off to one side. The team leader (a rabid Zionist) strictly forbade the Jewish workers to fraternize with the Arabs, under pain of dismissal. Seeing me one day conversing with an Arab named Solomon, the team leader burst out swearing and ran off to complain to the boss. By way of punishment, they sent us down into the basement to draw olives from the vats and barrel them. This work is very harmful: the evaporating vinegar affects the heart and the dampness makes one weak."

"I must say outright that what is happening today in Israel very much resembles the situation in fascist Germany. There is a whole system of racial discrimination in the country. The population is divided into 'Ashkenazim,' or white Jews; and 'Sephardim,' or 'black Jews,' which are further subdivided, in turn, into natives, or 'sabra,' and 'non-sabra.' Arabs are on the lowest rung of this racist ladder. The work a person is assigned, the pay he gets for it, and so forth, depends on the group of the population to which he belongs. The Arabs in Israel are in the worst position. They are actually outlawed, placed outside the bounds of society. Round-ups, searches and arrests are made systematically in their settlements; men and women are subjected to terrible tortures; they are left homeless. The Israeli authorities are forcefully driving the Arab population from many of the occupied lands. The Arab population of the country in 1937 was 400,000; by 1947 it had been reduced to only 60000. Jews from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are regarded in Israel as 'second class' persons and are humiliated, insulted and oppressed in every way. As a rule, we are given the hardest work and are paid less than the 'sabra.' Brought face-to-face with the capitalist way of life, most of the miserable, unfortunate, deceived persons seek, by any ways or means, to escape from the Zionist trap, to return to their native lands."

"Our family went to Israel together with Boris Roitman's family from Ovidiopol District. Now he curses the day when he left his motherland. Rachel Koifman, of Odessa, and her daughter Fannia are also seeking permission to return to the Soviet Union. Penchik, who was transferred to Chernovtsy, appealed to the United Nations Organization to help him get out of the Zionist 'paradise.' That was enough for him to be bailed in the Zionist press, branded a traitor, and fired. Raya Khvanskaya of Minsk; Mikhail, an electrician from Riga; Yasha of Chernovtsy—all those from the USSR whom I met in the 'promised land,' only carry on in the hope that they will succeed some way in going back again to their Motherland. I soon realized what a serious mistake I had made when I succumbed to the entreaties of my wife and left for Israel. When my letter to the Soviet Government, with the request to restore my Soviet citizenship and permit me to return to the USSR, was distributed in the United Nations, the Zionist press began to bait me. Ma'ariv, Al Hamishmar, and other papers sought to compromise me in the eyes of public opinion, accusing me of casting aspersion on Israel. The Al Hamishmar, for instance, came out with the 'accusation' that 'Cherches lacks the feeling of Jewish brotherhood.' The Zionists first threatened to resort to physical violence against me, then they tried bribery. The owner of the olive processing factory once summoned me and said: 'Abram, a member of the Knesset came to see me and asked me to tell you that they are offering you 50000 pounds if you don't return to the USSR. With it you can open your own winery or refreshment counter.' Several days later the boss was already telling me something else on behalf of the Knesset representative: that they would allow me to leave if I promised not to say anything in the Soviet Union about life in Israel Then a representative of the rabbinate took me in hand. For five days on end he talked to me, promising me a house or a luxury apartment in Tel-Aviv and much more for giving up the idea of returning to the Soviet Union. Then he tried to frighten me by painting a picture of prison and exile that allegedly awaited me in the USSR. Well, here I am in my native land. I am overjoyed at becoming a Soviet citizen once again. I wish to express my fervent gratitude to the Soviet Government for its humanity and generosity."

"We have dwelt in such detail on the fate of Abram Lazarevich Cherches because his case is typical of all those who fall into the clutches of the Zionists. Unfortunately, a number of other Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality also passed through all the circles of hell before they managed to escape from Israel. Their life in the "promised land" is a bitter and instructive story of shattered illusions, agonizing humiliations; and constant torment because of the mistake they made; it was a life filled with endless despair, from which only belief in the generosity of their real Motherland saved them.

Fsheh Bender was an active member of the Jewish religious community in Odessa. He attended the synagogue regularly and blindly believed everything preached by the rabbis. There were some who impressed on their co-believers that it was the duty of all Jews to bring "God's will" and go to "blessed Israel," where a "life of paradise" allegedly awaited them. And Bender repeated the prayer after the cantor: "God grant we meet in Israel next year..." And then the day came when Bender, having quit his job and sold all his belongings, left his apartment, and, together with his wife Hannah and daughter Maria, set off for Israel.
How was the Bender family received by the “land of their forefathers”? In a letter to relatives in Odessa he wrote: “My Dear ones, I haven’t written to you for such a long time because my head is just bursting to the point where I’m in no condition to write. But I can’t remain completely silent about my experiences in Israel, so I’ve decided to drop you a few lines about our life here. I’m now a mendicant in Israel, not in the sense that I go about begging for alms with outstretched hand. I ride around with a sack over my shoulder begging for work and have to be satisfied with some. Then I take it home, and there, together with my wife and daughter, I get busy on it. To settle down in town, you need a lot of money, an amount I cannot even dream of. There is something I want to stress for everyone to bear in mind: the exploitation of man by man that we read about in the USSR and knew from theory, I have felt here on my own back. And not only I. There are thousands upon thousands of others here like me... My dear ones! I could tell you a great deal more, but I’ll just say this: I want to return to my socialist Motherland, where I lived half my life. I want to become a human being again and breathe clean air. I’m writing you this, dear ones, from the bottom of my heart. It is impossible to describe our life in so many words. We have just one dream—to get away from here as quickly as possible. I have a wife and daughter have not been living these past sixteen months but just existing and are only waiting for the joyous moment when permission to leave the country arrives. I’m prepared to do anything now, if only I can get permission to leave for my beloved socialist Motherland. If we come out alive, we’ll appreciate our beloved Homeland still more.”

61032. Prashe, B. Deceived By Zionism: Part 6: Years Struck Out of a Lifetime. Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1971. The Benders finally managed, with great difficulty, to leave the Israeli “paradise” and return to their Motherland. Upon arriving in Odessa, Bender went to the editorial offices of a regional newspaper with the request that they publish a letter describing the sufferings of his family in a foreign land. This is what he wrote: “There are no words to convey our joy over returning to our Motherland. We earnestly ask you to publish this letter so that anyone who does not appreciate the happiness of Soviet life, anyone who is contemplating making the blunder I did, may learn the truth about all the ‘delights’ of life in Israel from an eyewitness who spent two-and-a-half years in the ‘promised land.’ To begin with, when we arrived in Israel there wasn’t even a trace of the promised apartments. We were sent off to the village of Kfar Hasidim. But this wasn’t the most bitter disappointment. The worst was yet to come. In order to live, one must work. And I immediately applied to the village elder, Zvoloni, to help me find a job. ‘Drop in tomorrow,’ he told me. When I came the next day, Zvoloni spread his hands and repeated: ‘Drop in tomorrow.’ Zvoloni is a big landowner employing many farm-hands. He was known to everyone as a ruthless exploiter, who treated immigrants from the socialist countries maliciously, so I naturally did not get any help from him. I was advised to go to work in a kibbutz [A collective agricultural settlement.] in the environs of the small town of Petah-Tikva, near Tel-Aviv. ‘How old are you?’ they asked me in the kibbutz. ‘Fifty,’ I said. ‘We accept applicants only up to the age of forty, came the reply. Then I decided to try my luck in another kibbutz—the Jagur—near Haifa. But I got the same answer there too. Every day spent in Israel opened our eyes to many things. We learned that there were enterprises in the country, like ‘Vulcan Foundries Ltd., for instance, near Haifa, that did not hire anyone over 30. My acquaintance was 34 years old, and they didn’t even want to interview him for a job. The capitalists hire only the young, healthy and strong, those from whom they can wring more profit, since there are tens of thousands of unemployed in the country. In Haifa, there are several shoe-manufacturing establishments on Herzl Street. I applied there more than once, for instance at the factory belonging to the Shahtner-Abraham Co. ‘Drop in tomorrow,’ I was told. ‘There is nothing today.’ I also applied at the establishment run by the Fishler brothers at 2 Herzl Street. ‘Drop in tomorrow,’ I was told there, too. I got the same answer at the ‘Hampager Ltd.’ rubber footwear factory in the environs of Haifa. Even if a person manages to get a job, he still does not know what awaits him the following day; they can throw him into the street at any moment and hire someone else whom dire need has forced to work for less pay. Like thousands of others, I had to wander from village to village with a sack over my shoulder in search of odd jobs. Every third inhabitant of Israel is doomed to a semi-starvation existence. The hard living conditions have resulted in a mounting suicide rate. There was the case of Dr. Weiser, reported by the press, who poisoned himself in a Jerusalem cafe, leaving behind a note which read: ‘I did not see any other way out, since I had lost all hope of getting a job and feeding my family.’ After education is more than a poor person can afford in Israel. There is a tuition fee for all schooling beyond the eighth grade, and it’s quite high at that. To attend a secondary school, for instance, it costs 70 Israeli pounds a month. Tuition fees are especially high when it comes to higher education. But why talk about a university education. Even first aid is beyond the reach of the rank-and-file inhabitant of Israel. There are polyclinics in the country which cater only to those who contribute a definite sum every month to the hospital fund. Should you default on the next payment, you will be refused medical aid even if you have contributed regularly over a number of years and all the money you have paid in until then will be lost. We lived next to several families of ‘black Jews’ and saw how they suffered from hunger. At the same time,lonai, a landowner who had a big estate in the countryside, didn’t even have the oranges picked from his trees when there was a big harvest, preferring to let the fruit rot rather than sell it at a low price.

“It seemed monstrous to us that the ruling circles of Israel, who preached the ‘purity of the Jewish race,’ were essentially seeking to revive, in new form, the infamous race theories of Hitlerism that brought so much suffering to the Jews themselves. We were profoundly indignant that Israeli schoolchildren are not told about the monstrous atrocities of the Hitlerites, about the dreadful crimes German fascism committed against mankind, including the Jews. Israeli ruling circles want to hide these facts from the youth, so as not to arouse their wrath against the growing friendship between Tel-Aviv and militarist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany. The reactionary Israeli press spouts out screams and reams of slander, defaming the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. What stories they don’t cook up! At school the children are brainwashed into believing that Jews in the USSR are allegedly not permitted to live in cities, that pogroms are organized in the Soviet Union, and so forth. When Matilda Gordova, the principal of an eight-year school, said as much at a lesson, my daughter stopped in her tracks when she learned that Gordova had denounced her, and began to shout that she wouldn’t permit anyone to engage in ‘Communist propaganda.’ There was also a teacher named Nusman, just like Gordova, who likewise sought to slander the Soviet way of life at every step. This vile slander is spread to evoke hostile feelings in the population toward the Soviet Union. But vain are the efforts of the slanderers The truth knows no bounds and distances! Less and less do we read about in the USSR and knew from theory, I have felt here on my aid is beyond the reach of the rank-and-file inhabitant of Israel. There are 70 Israeli pounds a month. Tuition fees are especially high when it comes to higher education. But why talk about a university education. Even first aid is beyond the reach of the rank-and-file inhabitant of Israel. There are polyclinics in the country which cater only to those who contribute a definite sum every month to the hospital fund. Should you default on the next payment, you will be refused medical aid even if you have contributed regularly over a number of years and all the money you have paid in until then will be lost. We lived next to several families of ‘black Jews’ and saw how they suffered from hunger. At the same time, lonai, a landowner who had a big estate in the countryside, didn’t even have the oranges picked from his trees when there was a big harvest, preferring to let the fruit rot rather than sell it at a low price.

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In the spring of 1967, a young man by the name of Georgi Zigtser addressed a request to the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria to help him return to his Motherland. He said that he had fled from Israel, where his parents had brought him, because he could no longer live in an atmosphere of war hysteria. Georgi was to have been drafted shortly into the Israeli army, but he did not wish to shed his blood for those in whose interests preparations were being made for a new war in the Middle East. And then Georgi Zigtser found himself back in his native land.

"When our family--my mother, step-father, two brothers and sister--were getting ready to set out for Israel," the young man recalls, "many people told us, and indeed we read in the newspapers too, that life there wasn't too good for the common man. But Mother was more confused than upset by letters from her brothers in Israel, especially the older one, Babindur Arose, who went there back in the 1930's. He vigorously persuaded Mother that relatives were bound to live together, to help one another in every way. He promised good jobs, practically wonders. And Mother yielded in the end to his persuasion. But no sooner had we crossed the threshold of her brother's apartment, than he forgot all his promises. We felt that we were supernumeraries in his family, just extra mouths to feed, and ten days later we left his home and joined the many-thousand-strong throng of immigrants. During the three months that I spent in Israel, my step-father set out every day in search of some odd job to earn a living. No one there needed my trade, a heating installation mechanic. I harvested corn, unloaded crates, juggled rocks on building jobs. The owners pay very little, but the workers rarely venture to protest for fear of losing even such low-paying work. I had occasion to hear more than once of cases of Israeli citizens, mainly young people, going off to other countries, in particular Canada, to earn a living. I was amazed by the tremendous numbers of beggars in Israel. They are not only on the squallid streets of small towns but also in the center of Tel-Aviv and Haifa. They are old men, in the main, for whom no one shows any concern. In Israel, there are many immigrants from different states. The Jews who come from one particular country live by themselves, retaining their customs and traditions, and, as a rule, quarrel with those coming from other countries. The so-called 'black Jews,' who come from Africa, are in the worst position. I had occasion to work with one of them, by the name of John. He was paid less than the rest and was constantly insulted, humiliated and oppressed. Indeed, in Israel I was brought face to face with much that is unusual to a Soviet citizen. For instance, an ambulance will not take a patient to the hospital until the fee for the run has been paid. I personally witnessed an incident of this nature. An elderly lady from Chernovtsy lived in Apartment 22 of our house. One day she had an acute liver attack. We called an ambulance, but the driver refused to take the sick woman to the hospital because she didn't have enough money for the journey. And the ambulance didn't budge until the neighbors had collected the required amount and turned it over to the driver. Incidentally, ambulances there don't carry a doctor. The patient must wait until he gets to the hospital." With tremendous difficulty Georgi Zigtser managed to flee from Israel. But unemployment grief and deprivation continues to be the lot of his mother, step-father, brothers, and sister.

Ilya and Yevgeniya Ryabo also have relatives in Israel. "Dear ones, come to us," their relatives urged. "Life is incomparably better here." The Ryabo family hesitated long but in the end set out: after all, their near ones wouldn't deceive them! But ten years later, in the spring of 1967, they were descending the gang-plank of the diesel vessel Armetzie, bound for the port of Odessa. We've struck those years out of our lives," Ilya Ryabo declared, having a heavy sigh. The couple were doubly punished though, for they stole ten years of a lifetime not only from themselves but also from their son Yevgeni and daughter Svetlana. "Literally after a few days of life in Israel we were convinced that we had fallen into a trap from which it was not so simple to extricate ourselves," the head of the family relates. "We were taken to a settlement near the Syrian border. I'm a skilled cutter, but who needed my qualifications out there? I was offered a job in the Elfar Nedlya kibbutz. We were half-starving all the time. We maintained our strength by eating fruit, in the main, which we picked in the kibbutz. We had brought two tons of baggage from the Soviet Union. To buy in Jaffa a small half-dark room with a common kitchen, we had to sell our elegant furniture, radio set and many necessaries. Crates replaced the furniture, serving us as beds, divans and chairs. I couldn't find a permanent job. Where only didn't I go, and what thresholds didn't I haunt! 'There's nothing for you yet,' a representative of the Histadrut (the Israeli General Federation of Labor) muttered. 'We can't give you a permanent job in the kibbutz—you're already 45, and we need young and strong people,' said a local official. I don't know how it is they lost their eyes."

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Yevgeny's mother tells of the various ruses the Israeli officials resorted to in order to persuade their family not to return to the Soviet Union, "When we had put to sea on the Greek steamerhship Massania," she said, "we received a radiogram. It was from a stranger who introduced himself as a relative by the name of Zalman Stein. He implored us not to go to the USSR. An hour later another radiogram arrived from the same Zalman in which he no longer entreated us but ordered us 'not to go to Russia.' He promised to pay all our expenses, including the cost of shipping our baggage; to give us a large sum of money; to make arrangements for us to settle in Canada, and so on. No sooner had we disembarked in the Greek seaport of Piraeus and checked into a hotel, than the telephone rang in our room. A stranger asked my husband to visit an office at 34 Nikas Street and added: 'Your relatives want to help you. They'll give you a big sum of money if you don't go to Russia.' In the
evening there was another telephone call, this time from Israel. A stranger at the other end of the wire said he was my relative. Incidentally, he didn't even know my name. And this 'relative' too, appealing to feminine 'prudence,' tried everything to dissuade us from going to the Soviet Union. In the morning, a gentleman came to see my husband. He introduced himself as Ben Tsvi, a member of the staff of the Israeli Consulate, and said: 'We've received a $2500 cheque made out to you. You can take it down and use it for the money if you want to. But you must be careful. The socialist state.' Then we were offered a cheque for 10,000 Israeli pounds. They promised us a store and a luxurious apartment if we returned to Israel. These recruiting agents of human souls will never understand that a person who has tasted just a few of the 'delights' of life in the Israeli 'paradise' will never be lured there again with any bank cheques, and any promises," she said. The Ryaboi family today resides in the Byelorussian city of Bobruisk.

In Odessa, Kiev, Kishinev, Chernovtsy, Vilnius and other Soviet cities, the mail frequently brings letters bearing an Israeli postmark from people who, at one time or another, had set out in search of happiness in the "promised land." One cannot read them without emotion. They are accusing documents that forcefully expose the actions of the Israeli authorities. Like the accounts of the people who have escaped from Israel, the letters of the deceived reveal the mendacity of the Zionist leaders who, without any shame, freely promise that in Israel all but mountains of gold await every Jew. These letters are proof enough of the trials and tribulations in store for those whom the Zionist recruiting agents lure in various ways to the "promised land" and then seek to use as cannon fodder for the sake of realizing their aggressive plans in the Middle East. "I have received dozens of letters from relatives who have gone to Israel," said S. Vinyarskaya, a housewife. One, from her son, illustrates the sorry lot of those who have been deceived by the Zionist propaganda.

"Our dears, We have received your letter, which told us that you are all alive and well. I wrote you three letters and Rashelechka tore them all up. She didn't want you to learn the truth. But I've decided, nevertheless, to tell you about the tragic situation in which we find ourselves. All the illusions I entertained were shattered on the day we arrived. We've sold everything we had, down to our shirts. Our emotional experiences have affected our health. I have a constant pain in the heart. Rashelechka has begun to go grey. I've been promoted to a higher sort of work, but so far nothing has materialized. The President himself has informed me that he hasn't the power to help. Let his reply be known to the thousands upon thousands of Jews in Russia. Dear Mother! I wanted you to visit us. But it would be better if we visited you, because you can't believe a thing here. This whole country is built exclusively on deception. In the time we've been here, I've forgotten what butter tastes like. I can't afford a bottle of beer even once a month. I am out of work and I'm down and out. As for the children, they're such a sore subject that I simply can't discuss it. I'm in no position to feed them..."

Before leaving for Israel, Joseph Freier was a work superintendent in Chernovtsy, and his wife Betta, an engineer. Lyudmila, their daughter, a junior medical school graduate, was working as a kindergarten nurse and teacher. What awaited them in their new homeland can be inferred from letter that the Freiers sent to the Spivak family in Chernovtsy. "My dear Lyovushka, Nyusya and children, Now we are living in Pardes-Kats, near Tel-Aviv. I'm working for a friend of mine, whom I used to work with in 1964 in Lvov. It's much harder than in Chernovtsy, and the hot climate makes the work all the more laborious. Today the mercury stands at 29 degrees C., and it is already the end of November... Now I'll tell you about the main thing, about what is tormenting us. There is frightful, real antagonism here between the 'black' and the 'white Jews.' Such racial hatred is to be observed only in Israel. You just can't imagine what this 'paradise' is like. After life in Chernovtsy, it is very hard to become accustomed to institutions here like the finance departments which rake in 67% of your earnings, or the polyclinics, where you must pay for medical service. Medicines also have to be paid for. We pay for cleaning the streets, for the trees, as a matter of fact for everything. And at the same time, we are wallowing in filth. Appalling, how dreadfully appalling. We have a 'fine' apart meet, and the rent for it is still 'better'; electricity is expensive; gas comes in tanks and is also dear. In a word, it is some exchange that we made. We are totally deprived of cultural life. The price of a ticket to the cinema is enough to cover a person's living expenses for a day. During a film showing, there are outcries, noise, spitting and smoking. The pigsty on the farm managed by Kavun (the chairman of a leading cooperative farm in the Ukraine—Author) is far cleaner and tidier. ... In a word, we're very, very hard to get used to this. The fare from Vienna to Israel and the duty on our hard-earned belongings came to a big sum—some 2500 Israeli pounds. Departure from Israel involves setting accounts to the last farthing. People like us are engaged on various hard jobs with minimum pay—eight to nine pounds a day. The country has as many as 30000 unemployed. Frequently, there are demonstrations under the slogan: 'We want bread and work!' I could go on and on, but I can't possibly tell you everything. At the Soviet Embassy, people are queued up in long lines; they fall upon their knees and beg to be allowed to return. That's what things are like in this 'paradise.' Don't budge, Lyovushka, don't break up your home. I didn't listen to my Mother; she wrote me the whole truth, how things actually are here, but I, like an utter fool, didn't believe her. In ten months I've lost no less than 10 kilograms. 90% of the house painters suffer from radiculitis. I too have managed to contract it. I decided to tell you all this so you'd know how to act. I pity everyone who is rushing here to his doom the way I rushed. Lyovushka, drop me a line about what's happening in Chernovtsy. How is our 'Bukovina' [The soccer team of the local sports club.] doing this season? What place did it take? How are our house painters getting along? Who have you palled up with? How are you feeling, Lyovushka? And how is Nyusya and her mother? Fimochka is probably a doctor by now and working. Please write. I want to hear about everything. We send all of you love and kisses and from the bottom of our hearts wish you happiness for the New Year. -- Betya, Joseph and Dotsya Block 20-50, Apt. 4, Pardes-Kats Danhur l, Israel."

Boris Sneiderman, who left for Israel from Lvov, wrote the following letter to Pavel Feldman's family in Chernovtsy: "If only we could earn enough just to buy a piece of bread for the children... There probably are no greater exploiters and bloodsuckers anywhere else in the world than here. In the nine months I've been here I've worked just 14 days. And I'm not the only such unlucky wretch. Thousands like me can't find work. Nearly all who came here from Lvov, Chernovtsy and Kishinev are queued up at the entrance of the Soviet Embassy to request permission to return to the Soviet Union. Just imagine—in the nine months we've been here we have suffered more than throughout our whole life. What could be worse than not having the opportunity to earn enough to keep body and soul together for even one day? You don't understand this. We also thought it was paradise here, but actually it's hell. Just imagine: we have to sell our belongings in order to exist. And what if we hadn't them? What would we have done then? We want to get out of here as quickly as possible so as not to be beggars. In Russia, I would be a purveyor, a driver, or perhaps even the manager of a store. If we were to bring you here, you'd kill us for doing it. I'm 43, but they tell me I'm too old, that they don't hire persons of that age, you see. Pavlik is 55, though, so what would he do here! -- Boris and Belta, 17/P Sderot Dehania, Kiriat-Haim, Israel"

Semyon Leontyevich Palatnik, on the staff of the Odessa Politechnical Institute, receives letters from his mother and sister who left for Israel two years ago at the invitation of relatives there. "Dear Senechka," his sister writes. "Here it is four months now that we have been in the 'land of wonders'; but I still have not managed to collect my thoughts and write you a letter, since there is nothing good to tell you about, and I didn't want to write about the bad. I thought things would finally straighten out, but alas! ... At first everything was wonderful, just like a fairy-tale. In Haifa we were given a festive reception and entertained, but then... There are many things here that irritate us, that we are not accustomed to, that we'll never be able to resign ourselves to. We, who were born, bred and lived so long in the Soviet Union, cannot become accustomed to the way of life here in a capitalist country. This is something that cannot be grasped at a distance. Only face-to-face confrontation with the situation leads to understanding. ... My son Lyonya
is ailing. If his health does not improve, I probably won't be able to bear it, my nerves are strained to the snapping point. Perhaps it's nostalgia that has affected him in this way: he's terribly homesick and pining away for the friends he grew up and studied with. I'll never forgive myself for what I did to break up my life like that, and what for? How could you didn't yield to my persuasion! I've held on to this letter for more than a month, not wanting to cause you any distress, but alas, there is no alternative... If you can, mail Mother a parcel. That's her request. We'll try to get permission to return home and beg you to help us in any way you can. – A. D. Spector 12 Itshoh Sade, Entrance 5, Apt 5, Jazur Israel

One of the letters from Semyon Leontievich Palatnik's sister ends with the words: "If I succeed in returning to my Motherland, I shall cry from the loftiest rostrum: How fortunate one is to be a citizen of the Soviet Union!" S. I. Monastyrsky, a pensioner living at No. 4 Red Lane in Odessa, applied to the regional committee of the Red Cross Society to help his near ones who were in great trouble. He wrote that two years previously his son-in-law, Nathan, had gone to relatives in Israel to return home behind his wife (Monastyrsky's daughter) and two children: his wife had refused to leave the Soviet Union. But not wishing her children to grow up without a father, she finally consented to join her husband. Now, however, she cursed the day when she decided to take that step and was imploring her father to try and get permission for her to return to her native land. "Something in my heart has snapped," she wrote. "I'll probably reason with myself again. I dream of returning home once more to my native land. I'd give everything to return to the recent past, which is now irretrievably lost. I'm suffering terribly; I'm very homesick... There is nothing more dreadful than living in a strange country. What do I have in common with it? For me, it is an alien land; the people, language and nature are all unpleasant. To understand my feelings, it is necessary to live here. I'm constantly longing for home. Even strangers tell me that I made a mistake in coming here. When I awake in the morning and remember that I'm in Israel, that everything is lost, I want to weep: what have I done! There are people who have lived here 20 years, and they rue the day they came. Good gracious, I'd be lucky if I could go anywhere, only not live here. I'd be thrice lucky if I could go back home. We listen to Moscow every day. Of course, the children should have a father, but it would be better for them to be without one than to live here...

Those who naively believed the fables cooked up by Zionist propaganda and for one reason or another forsook their native land have found themselves in great trouble. And it is no wonder that they suffer from one of the most agonizing of diseases—nostalgia, and that they have but one dream—to return to the Soviet Union, to the land where they were born and bred, where a person can breathe freely, can work and bring up his children without worrying about the morrow. [= 61033. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 015: Issue K: ground washing, bathing, using latrine facilities, etc.]

Recommendation: The sense of the Commission is that women should be excluded from direct land combat units and positions. Further, the Commission recommends that the existing service policies concerning direct land combat exclusions be codified. Service Secretaries shall recommend to the Congress which units and positions should fall under the land combat exclusion.

The issue of whether to retain, modify, rescind, or codify the policies restricting the assignment of women in ground combat specialties was statutorily required to be considered by the Commission. In addressing the issue, the Commission found the effectiveness of ground units to be the most significant criterion.

American military women are prohibited by Service policies that preclude them from serving in direct ground combat positions. Current policy excluding women from ground combat is based, in part, on Congress's intent to preclude women from serving in direct combat aircraft or on combatant ships. The specialties that fall under the exclusion may be grouped into four major areas: infantry, armor, artillery, and combat engineers, all of which require a soldier to be prepared to fight in direct, close-quarters combat.

Through testimony and trips, the Commission heard and observed that the daily life of the ground soldier in combat circumstances is one of constant physical exertion, often in extreme climatic conditions with the barest of amenities and the inherent risks of injury, capture and death. The Commission learned that despite technological advances, ground combat has not become less hazardous and physically demanding.

The evidence before the Commission clearly shows distinct physiological differences between men and women. Most women are shorter in stature, have less muscle mass and weigh less than men. These physiological differences place women at a distinct disadvantage when performing tasks requiring a high level of muscular strength and aerobic capacity, such as hand-to-hand fighting, digging, carrying heavy loads, lifting and other tasks central to ground combat.

The Commission also heard from women of tremendous physical ability who expressed a desire to serve in the ground combat arms. There is little doubt that some women could meet the physical standards for ground combat, but the evidence shows that few women possess the necessary physical qualifications. Further, a 1992 survey of 500 Army service women showed that only 12% of enlisted women and 10% of the female noncommissioned officers surveyed said they would consider serving in the combat arms.

The Commission considered the effects that women could have on the cohesion of ground combat units. Cohesion is defined as the relationship that develops in a unit or group where: (1) members share common values and experiences; (2) individuals in the group conform to group norms and behavior in order to ensure group survival and goals; (3) members lose their personal identity in favor of a group identity; (4) members focus on group activities and goals; (5) members become totally dependent on each other for the completion of their mission or survival; and (6) members must meet all standards of performance and behavior in order not to threaten group survival. The evidence clearly shows that unit cohesion can be negatively affected by the introduction of any element that detracts from the need for such key ingredients as mutual confidence, commonality of experience, and equitable treatment. There are no authoritative military studies of mixed-gender ground combat cohesion, since available cohesion research has been conducted among male-only ground combat units.

One research study reviewed by the Commission indicates that the following are areas where cohesion problems might develop:

(1) Ability of women to carry the physical burdens required of each combat unit member. This entails an ability to meet physical standards of endurance and stamina;
(2) Forced intimacy and lack of privacy on the battlefield (e.g. washing, bathing, using latrine facilities, etc.);
(3) Traditional Western values where men feel a responsibility to protect women;
(4) Dysfunctional relationships (e.g. sexual misconduct);
(5) Pregnancy.

Of these, the prospect of sexual relationships in land units in direct combat with the enemy was considered to be dysfunctional and wouldumber small unit ground combat leaders, noncommissioned officers, lieutenants and captains, in carrying out their military missions. Ground combat incurs a high risk of capture by the enemy. The Commission's review of our nation's recent wars with respect to POWs suggests that potential enemies may not accord respect for the Geneva Convention and customary rules related to protection of prisoners. During our nation's major wars in this century, except Vietnam, the number of POWs has been greatest from the ground forces, the next largest number from downed aircraft and the least number from Navy ships. The Commission heard testimony from DoD representatives and POWs who indicated that mistreatment of women taken as POWs could have a negative impact on male captives.

The Commission's enabling statute required examination of public attitudes toward the assignment of women in the military. Several...
surveys were conducted to determine what the American public and military attitudes were toward women in ground combat. The results of these surveys indicate that members of the military are strongly against women serving in all branches of ground combat, while the public has mixed views on service in different ground combat specialties. The Roper survey of the American public showed that 57% of the American public polled said that women should not be assigned to the infantry, and 52% were against women in Marine infantry. However, 58% of the public surveyed were in favor of assigning women to both artillery and armor positions.

The Roper military poll reported that 74% of the military members surveyed did not think women should serve in the infantry, 72% rejected the idea of women in Marine infantry, 59% opposed women in tank crews, and 54% did not want women to serve in the artillery. When the same question was asked of military personnel who had actually served in the ground combat arms, the numbers increased to 83% against women in the infantry, 83% against women serving in Marine infantry, 71% against women in armor, and 64% against women in artillery.

Several countries have placed women in ground combat units with little success. Historically, those nations that have permitted women in close combat situations (the Soviet Union, Germany and Israel) have done so only because of grave threats to their national survival. After the crisis passed, each nation adopted policies which excluded the employment of women in combat. In more current times, the Commission learned that countries that have tested integrating women in ground combat units have found those tests unsuccessful.

The Commission also considered the effect on registration and conscription if women were allowed in ground combat units. In 1981, the Supreme Court upheld the male-only registration provision of the Military Selective Service Act, 50 USC. App. 453, against a due process equal protection challenge from men who claimed that it was discriminatory because it required men, but not women, to register for the draft. The Court’s opinion rested on the following argument: the purpose behind the registration requirement is to create a pool of individuals to be called up in the event of a draft; a draft is used to obtain combat troops; women are prevented, through law and policy, from serving in combat positions in any of the four Services; therefore, and men and women are dissimilarly situated in regard to the registration requirement and it is permissible to treat them differently.

The Commission reviewed the assignment of draftees in our most recent conflicts, and according to statistics provided by DoD, 98% of draftees went to the Army during Vietnam, 95% during Korea and 83% during World War II. Because a draft is used to obtain combat troops and historically most draftees go into the Army, it can be deduced that the draft is used primarily to obtain a pool of ground combat troops. The Commission considered the possibility that lifting the ground combat exclusion pertaining to women may undermine the justification used by the Supreme Court to uphold the constitutionality of the all-male draft, because women would be eligible to serve in the positions which are filled through conscription.

The case against women in ground combat is compelling and conclusive. The physiological differences between men and women are most stark when compared to ground combat tasks. This is underscored by the evidence that there are few women, especially enlisted women, interested in serving in ground combat specialties. The overriding importance of small unit cohesion to ground military success, and the unknown but probable negative effect that the presence of women would have in those units were of critical concern to most Commissioners. Several polls revealed in most convincing terms that the public and military, especially the military people most familiar with its rigors, were fundamentally opposed to women in ground combat. The weight of international experience with women in ground combat units provides no conclusive evidence supporting the assignment of women in ground combat units. Finally, the legal implications of lifting the ground combat exclusion policy for the possible registration and conscription of women for ground combat were considered. The current ground combat exclusion policies, which are derived from Congressional intent to restrict the assignment of women in other Services, would be vulnerable if the remaining statute was repealed. The Commission therefore recommends that the ground exclusion policies be enacted into law for consistency and as sound public policy.
scientific literature that defines a physiological basis to categorically restrict women from selection opportunity for combat aviation. In a number of informal studies measuring the capability of men and women aviators to withstand the rigors of flight, no information was found suggesting that women were at any kind of disadvantage vis-a-vis men. However, there are also concerns among several Commissioners that the effects of repetitive high G-stresses on aviators, both male and female, have not been adequately investigated under all relevant conditions.

The potential for pregnancy among female aviators was considered. The Commission found that there are suitable provisions by each of the Services to restrict pregnant pilots from flying. The Commission also found that active duty female pilots have negligible pregnancy rates and thus the Commission discerned that pregnancy is not a major problem with regard to the piloting issue.

The one vote margin by which this issue was resolved illustrates the deeply divided views that exist on the assignment of women to combat aircraft. Uncertainties about the ramifications of physiologically-driven performance-differences, unit cohesion effects and the proportionately high probability of exposure to POW status were the major factors driving the exclusion recommendation. [=]

61035. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 125: Appendix C: Results of Panel Factfinding Research Commission Approved Findings: International. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. The Commission considered the historical context and current policies of foreign militaries in their assignment and utilization of women. Seven countries, Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), Great Britain, Germany and Israel, were chosen because they either currently utilize or have utilized women in combat or near combat military specialties. As part of this effort, Commissioners made fact-finding trips to Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark, Great Britain and Israel. In addition, Commissioners met with a group of Russian general officers at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

The international military experience should be considered in the context of each country’s cultural and historical background; geographic location and relative size; equal opportunity goals (if any); and importance of military readiness to its national survival.

Although some women presently serve in combat positions in the Netherlands, Denmark, Canada and Great Britain, none have actually served in a direct combat unit under wartime conditions except in the Soviet Army during World War II (WWII).

Comparative analysis has shown that countries which have integrated women into combat positions have made this decision primarily because of equal opportunity (Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark) or demographic considerations (Great Britain). These four countries have pursued a gender-neutral policy in assigning women to military specialties. (See matrix: “Women in Foreign Militaries” at the end of this section.) Although the goal of these countries is a 20% “critical mass” for women in the naval, air and ground forces, all are willing to operate at a minimum level of 5%.

The Soviet Union, Germany and Israel have each, to a different degree, utilized women in close combat situations, but did so only when a serious threat to their national survival existed. After the crisis passed, each of the nations adopted policies which excluded women from combat. [=]

61036. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 138: Appendix C: Results of Panel Factfinding Research Commission Approved Findings: International: Countries That Utilize Women in Combat Positions: Combat Aircraft: Israel: District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. The Israelis do not allow women to fly combat or support aircraft, although women are allowed to train the men in aircraft simulators. Israeli Air Force (IAF) briefers stated that Israel does not have any women pilots in their Armed Forces. The rationale for this policy is the high cost of training and the potential conflict between a woman’s desire to raise a family and the career commitment (length of service) required of pilots by the IAF. [=]
61039. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 224: Panel One Findings Approved By The Commission. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. (1.72) Historically, these nations that have experienced or placed women in close combat situations (Soviet Union, Germany and Israel) have done so due to grave threats to their national survival. After the crisis passed, each nation adopted policies which excluded the employment of women in combat. Source: (a) Presidential Commission International Trip Report, 9/14-27/1992. [=]

61040. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 229: Panel One Findings Approved By The Commission. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. (1.77) Canada, Israel, Denmark, the Netherlands and Great Britain all reported to the Commission, that to various degrees, problems with sexual harassment or fraternization exist, but said they were manageable. Source: (a) Presidential Commission International Trip Report, 9/14-27/1992. [=]


61049. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 239: Panel One Findings Approved By The Commission. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. (1.88) On the face of it, the choice of tasks in the underground was open equally to both sexes, but in fact the women were sent to a limited number of duties either by their own choice, or as decided by their command according to practical considerations and social convention. These included physical limitations and concern over their being taken prisoners by the Arab enemy in Palestine and abroad. Source: (a) Panel 1 Report; 10/23/1992, p. 9. (b) "Women in the Israel Defense Forces," GE 3-257-92, August 1992, p. 3. [=]

61050. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women.
Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 240: Panel One Findings Approved By The Commission. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. (1.89) A precipitating incident regarding the Israeli policy to exclude women from combat: In 12/1947, a woman was killed in action. She had joined a patrol of men in the Negev Desert, where they were ambushed. The squad was killed and the murderers mutilated the soldiers’ bodies. Concerns of women being captured, the policy of allowing women to serve in combat units was changed and their operational activity was restricted. The revised policy stipulated that women would serve in the Armed Forces, but not as combatants.


61051. Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women. Women in Combat: Report to the President: Part 241: Panel One Findings Approved By The Commission. District of Columbia: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993. (1.90) The original intent, after the 1948 war, was to exclude women entirely from combat units. This situation was reversed in 1953, when a small number of women were allowed to serve in traditional roles to preserve the social and human atmosphere of the line battalions and fill manpower loopholes. However, upon the start of war, these women were immediately evacuated. Source: (a) Panel 1 Report; 10/23/1992, p. 10. (b) “Women in the Israel Defense Forces,” GE 3:257-92, August 1992. [=]


61053. Prize, Elizabeth. “The Anat Center: Canaanite Goddesses and Palestinian Embroidery”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 8, 1995, p. 8. Since the War of 1948 and the first exodus of Palestinian refugees, Palestinian folk art and culture have been neglected and, in many ways, forgotten in the struggle of people to survive under the Israeli Occupation. The traditional village life that inspired and nurtured folk customs was disrupted by demographic displacement and economic instability. In the campus, towns and villages, women put away their thobus (traditional Palestinian embroidered dresses) and took on modern and more practical dress. The art of embroidering these thobus, which had been passed down from mother to daughter for millennia, came to be seen as backward and parochial. The decline of embroidery, however, deprived Palestinian women of a time-honored and traditional occupation that demonstrated personal skill and social status. In the aftermath of the Intifada and the Gulf War, employment outside the home which, for many women, had replaced these more traditional domestic occupations, became increasingly harder to find. As general unemployment reaches 70% in some regions, unemployment among women has become almost total. Established in 1993, Anat Center for Palestinian Folk and Crafts, aims to address this combined decline of traditional skills and the worsening economic situation of Palestinian women by providing opportunities for women to display and market their handicrafts and by preserving the traditional knowledge of the older generations. The founder and director, Mary Musalam Qumsieh, said that the purpose of Anat is “to awaken an interest in Palestinian women in the history of their embroidery and to allow them to feel pride in their ability work, especially in areas of high unemployment.” In addition to focusing on the economic benefits of embroidering, Anat promotes awareness of how the simple art in embroidery represents thousands of years of Palestinian history. Interwoven into the designs of modern embroidery are traditions, myths, folk customs and religious rituals that have their roots in ancient Canaanite culture. Embroidery was traditionally found in the Galilee, the Judean Hills and the coastal plain. Qumsieh said that the lack of embroidery in certain fertile areas, especially north of Jaffa and south of Nablus, can perhaps be explained by the Arabic proverb, “Embroidery signifies a lack of work.” In relatively infertile yet prosperous villages, women would spend any idle moment embroidering with their daughters and neighbors.

While their were stylistic differences between villages, and more noticeably, between regions, the differences were largely limited to a varied arrangement of the same patterns in the embroidery. Although women were proud of their village or the region’s unique tradition of embroidery, certain regional traditions became especially famous and sought after. During the British Mandate period, bridegrooms from all over Palestine were expected to buy the famous “Malak” (Queenly) wedding dress from the Bethlehem area as part of the dowry. In her work as Anat’s director and as a lecturer at Bethlehem University, Qumsieh researches and documents Palestinian traditions, their history, and their meanings. The name of the center was inspired by her interest in how Palestinian embroidery represents the interweaving of Palestinian history, mythology and folk art. The name, Anat, is taken from ancient Semitic mythology. Anat was the major goddess of the Canaanites, the ancestors of modern day Palestinians, who lived this area before 4000 BC. Also known in Ugaritic and Biblical texts as Anath or Asherah, she was closely associated with Ashethor and Ishtar, other Semitic deities, and later with the Roman goddess Venus. In Canaanite mythology, she was the goddess of love, fertility and war and the consort of Ba’al, the patriarchal head of the Canaanite pantheon. The roots of her name in Arabic, Hebrew and Akkadian hint at her vigorous, lusty, and occasionally violent nature but also indicate her importance in the pantheon. Recent archaeological discoveries and historical texts reconfirm the direct connection between the Cannanites who worshipped Anat and modern-day Palestinian culture. Drawings on the walls of Canaanite caves and temples in the Galilee, the Dead Sea and Jericho depict Canaanites figures wearing heavily embroidered tunics that resemble, in style and pattern, the Palestinian thobus. The tunics were often embroidered along the yoke, sides and hems which corresponds with the modern arrangement of embroidery on thobus. In addition to pictorial evidence, Canaanite looms have been found, dating back to 4000 BC, that are similar to the looms still used by Bedouin women.

In the Old Testament, Anath, or Asherah, is closely associated with the weaving of clothes. Qumsieh pointed to 2 Kings 23:7, which describes how Josiah “broke down the houses of the male cult prostitutes which were in the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Asherah [the fertility poles].” In Jericho and Be’ersheba, thumb-sized representations of Anat were found wearing cloaks which resemble the modern abaya. These figurines provide further evidence for the connection between not only the Canaanite people and modern-day Palestinians but also Canaanite culture and Palestinian embroidery. In addition to representing the historical tradition of Palestinian embroidery, the name Anat also signifies the tradition of cultural, religious and natural symbolism that is central to the art of embroidery. The motifs used by Palestinian women in their embroidery symbolize myths, beliefs, or aspects of the environment in which women live. The cross-stitch, which is the most common stitch in Palestinian embroidery, is known as “the crossing of good and evil.” Qumsieh said that the name Anat has a twofold meaning: the first being the name of the goddess and the second being a symbol of protection. Embroidery in certain fertile areas, especially north of Jaffa and south of Nablus, can perhaps be explained by the Arabic proverb, “Embroidery signifies a lack of work.” In relatively infertile yet prosperous villages, women would spend any idle moment embroidering with their daughters and neighbors.

By sewing pieces of papers obtained from witches, or triangles or diamonds into their embroidery, women were able to invest their clothes with the power to protect themselves from the evil eye. In Palestinian folklore, the
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chest is considered to be the main life center of the body. The chest panel is therefore the most important part of a thoub's embroidery and is often decorated with amulets, charms and specific embroidery patterns, such as the hijaab.

"The eight-pointed star of Bethlehem," which can also be interpreted as the ancient sun symbol, is another sacred motif, used by both Muslim and Christian women, that transforms the embroidered material into garments charged with religious belief and folk superstition. Other religious and folk motifs commonly found in Palestinian embroidery are "the tree of life," also represented as a flower pot, or "the cypress tree," both of which are associated with ancient fertility rites and with the trees brought from Lebanon by Solomon for the First Temple, "the dove," which is associated with the Christian Holy Spirit, and "the cock," which is associated with the sun, glory and male virility and which Muslims believes drives away evil and darkness and calls believers to pray. Even the choice of color can be explained by folk belief. Red has traditionally been the predominant color in Palestinian embroidery. Variation is provided by the combination of the red thread with other colors or shades of red. Qumsieh explained that red symbolizes the blood that women lose in their cycles of fertility and that the sewing of red into their embroidery enables the women to compensate for their monthly loss. In southern Palestine, unmarried girls are not allowed to use red as a dominant color in their embroidery. The use of red then, is restricted to only those females who, in the eyes of the culture, have achieved physical and sexual maturity through marriage. In addition to motifs taken from cultural and religious beliefs, the other common category is of motifs taken from the natural environment. The regional variation in the use of nature motifs is a result of the close relationship the Palestinian people have had with their land. Motifs such as "the branch of vines," "the cypress tree" and flowers in the embroidery of the Hebron area reflect the abundance of flora found in that fertile region. In contrast, the motifs of animals and palm trees in the embroidery of Gaza reflect the relative infertility and aridity of the land.

Anat Center's wide collection of old and new embroidery, which is supplemented by Qumsieh's private collection of 150 to 200-year-old pieces, all contain examples of these intricate motifs and styles. In order to preserve the art while making its products attractive to modern consumers, Qumsieh has implemented a project of recycling and redesigning. The old and new pieces are used to make, among other things, jackets and dresses of modern design, bags, pillow covers, wall hangings, eyeglass cases and Christmas decorations. This reshaping of Palestinian embroidery and research that Qumsieh conducts into the history and meaning of Palestinian folk art are the strengths of Anat, for it not only provides employment and a gallery for the embroidered art of modern Palestinian women but displays the artistic and cultural evidence of the antiquity of Palestinian culture. Anat Center is located in a beautifully preserved 1920s Palestinian house, near the Beit Sahour Municipality, just south of Jerusalem. The center displays both its permanent collection of Palestinian artifacts and markets the embroidery produced by over 1200 Palestinian women, working in various groups and cooperatives. The center also organizes workshops and educational courses. For more information, call 972 2 6472024 or write to P.O. Box 1003, Bethlehem, West Bank. [=]


61055. Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT. Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 01: Foreward. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. [Translator's note: The use of the masculine pronoun throughout the text is an accurate reflection of the language of the preceding month was rife with violence. Five Israelis were stabbed to death by knife-wielding Palestinians and twenty Palestinians were killed by the Israeli security forces. A pervasive atmosphere of fear and loss of control led to the Israeli government's imposing closure on the population of the occupied territories from the 4th of April until the publication of this report. During this period the Deputy Chief of Staff was quoted as saying that the legal restrictions imposed on investigations were encumbering the efficient struggle against terrorist attacks. These words reflected the security authorities' perspective, emphasizing their need to have a wide range of options at their disposal in their endeavours to prevent attacks on Israelis. This being a period of sweeping emotions and fear, a time when the urge to disregard ethical constraints in order to ensure security interests is growing, we feel incumbent upon us to examine ethical questions concerning the treatment of detainees and people undergoing interrogation. Upholding ethical and professional norms can at times be seriously challenged. Those physicians and psychologists who are employed by or involved in the activities of the security forces are particularly challenged in their upholding of ethical values. These professionals are committed to two systems with conflicting interests. On the one hand, they are part of an investigative system charged with the prevention of terrorist attacks on the population and involved in the policing and imprisonment of suspects. The requirements of this function focus their professional activity on supplying services to the system and its security objectives; commitment to the officers and their colleagues creates a network of tensions which may lead to a slackening or even a total abandonment of norms and ethical stipulations.

On the other hand, due to their commitment to the demands of professional ethics, one can expect doctors and psychologists to feel responsible for the welfare of detainees and convicts under their medical care, and to represent them fittingly, and to treat them in accordance with their physical and psychological needs. The moral commitment on the part of medical workers is defined both in the Hippocratic Oath and the Tokyo Declaration ratified by the World Health Organization. The Tokyo Declaration includes the obligation of a physician to use his profession for humanitarian purposes only and prohibits direct or indirect participation in torture or humiliating, cruel and inhuman procedures. In accordance with this, Dr. Ram Yishai, Chairperson of the Ethics Committee of the Israel Medical Association, says: "We have studied medicine in order to help people in adversity. Any other use, especially if it runs counter to the patient's free will, is a violation of the Tokyo Declaration." (4th September, 1992): Unlike physicians, whose moral code is official and accepted amongst professional organizations, the ethical code of Israeli psychologists contains no clear pronouncement concerning basic ethical commitments. It does not mention, for instance, a statement that appears in the American Association of Psychologists' ethical code, namely that "psychologists respect and cherish human and civil rights." In the past few years there have been abundant testimonies to violations of professional ethics on the part of people employed by the security services. In reality, there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the goings-on in interrogation and detention centres; disclosure usually takes one of the following three forms: (1) Formal declarations made before lawyers or the court by detainees, attesting to their experiences. (2) Medical documentation concerning hospitalization and medical examinations and treatment in the detention centres. (3) Pathologists' reports on deaths in the detention centres.

The information about torture on which the symposium reported here is based was gathered by the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, and B'Tselem, assisted by Palestinian human rights experts.
organisations. The central problem facing a doctor or psychologist treating a detainee is to define the limits of professional accountability. Is the doctor responsible for the health of the detainee in the detention centre or only at the time of attending to them in the clinic? Does the doctor have to warn against and prevent any harm to the detainees’ health during their detention or does he merely have to treat their ailments when so instructed? Is the doctor to be subordinate to the commanding officer, and if so, what are his ethical obligations in such a situation? Does conflict arise, which obligations are binding—the doctor’s loyalty to the investigative system or his accountability for the patient’s health? The cases documented here, and dozens of other undocumented cases, testify to the fact that we are not dealing with remote theoretical problems. The fact is that all too often, treatment is defective, documentation insufficient, and damage to a detainee’s health concealed, while the system denies responsibility for the state of health of those in its custody. In an analysis of the cases documented in this report, four categories of problems regarding the functioning of professionals emerge. There is a certain overlap between categories and in each case, the particular problem can be ascribed to more than one category.

Category A: Professionals’ involvement in the interrogation process: There are a number of testimonies of doctors’ involvement in the process of interrogation and torture. In the case of Amin Muhammed Amin, it was recommended by a doctor that the detainee’s hands be tied in the front rather than in the back, that he be transferred to a warmer cell, and, after a few days—that the sack be removed from over his head. In the case of Hakima Abu Hakima, a doctor gave the detainee a drink of water to raise her blood pressure, whereupon she was returned for questioning. The medical involvement enables the interrogation to be continued, and in the abovementioned cases this turned out to be detrimental to the detainees’ health. The cases discussed represent a wide spectrum of involvement of physicians in the interrogation process, thus creating the conditions which make this process possible. A letter disclosed in court, written by the GSS, mentions a set of psychological tests performed on Ibrahim Quawark. This raised the possibility that psychological tests may serve the interests of the interrogators rather than the psychological needs of the detainees.

Category B: Subordination of medical to security considerations: One recurring phenomenon is that of “twisting” the medical opinion to fit the needs of the interrogators or their instructions. A relevant case in point is the following: the detention centre doctor ordered that Fatma Muhammed Salame be transferred to a hospital. The interrogators failed to carry out this order and asked for a second opinion from a different doctor who administered treatment inside the detention centre. In this context, one should note that although the doctor is the professional authority within the security establishment, the final decision rests with the commanding officer, thus creating a structural subordination of physicians. This state of affairs occasionally leads to a disregard of the medical needs of the detainee and puts pressure on the doctor to support the interrogators’ objectives. A more severe situation obtains in the disregard of recommendations and opinions written by Palestinian doctors. It is not known—at least not in our circles—whether this situation exists as a result of lack of trust on the professional level, i.e., the belief that these doctors will be biased in favour of their compatriots, or as a matter of policy. Whatever the case, the disregard with which the opinions of Palestinian doctors are met is not a function of their being external to the defence establishment, since other opinions by independent doctors from Israeli hospitals are acceptable to most of the prison authorities. The case of Amin Mustapha Dar-Hamadheh is a good example of the attitude of Israeli doctors towards the medical records of Palestinian doctors. In this case, the Israeli doctors in the Kfar Shaul psychiatric hospital totally disregarded the psychiatric history of the patient as documented by a Palestinian doctor. Even though Dar-Hamadheh had been undergoing treatment for schizophrenia for two years prior to his arrest, and the relevant documents had been submitted to the authorities, the written opinion issued by the Kfar Shaul hospital does not refer to the Palestinian doctor’s letter, stating only that “the above maintains that he has never been hospitalized or undergone psychiatric treatment.” One should note that the detainee’s bizarre behaviour in court had led to the demand for a second examination at the hospital.

Category C: Inappropriate medical treatment during detention and interrogation: From the beginning of the detention period, the security forces are responsible for the detainee’s health. Yet there are many cases in which the detainees’ medical problems do not receive the attention they warrant. The medical disregard is not uniform. The tendency to ascribe clinical phenomena to causes unrelated to the detention (even in the case of events unrelated to the detention) becomes more obvious when one compares reports written by Dr. Yehuda Hiss, chief pathologist at Abu Kabir, and those submitted by Dr. Jurgen Dalgaard, the independent Danish pathologist, for example in the case of Samir Omar Hamis Omar. Samir Omar, 17 years old, was arrested and held in detention for eight days in the GSS wing of the Gaza prison.Upon his release he complained of pains in his stomach, his back, his testicles and the palms of his hands, and had difficulty walking. He reported having been tortured during his detention. On 5/31/1992, ten days after his release, he lost consciousness and died in the Shefa hospital, fifteen minutes after being admitted. Dr. Hiss described the cause of death as: “sudden physiological death syndrome.” According to Dr. Dalgaard: “In one way or another, death was the result of the detention period and the torture ascribed to it.” In many cases, the clinical reports submitted by doctors do not contain any description of the causes leading to the symptoms in question. This precludes any clarification of the course of events during GSS interrogations and any possibility of preventing them in the future. A case in point is that of Munir Al-Ghoul. Munir was taken for treatment six days after his arrest, at the order of a judge. Munir claimed to have beendrink of water to raise her blood pressure, whereupon she was returned for questioning. The medical involvement enables the interrogation to be continued, and in the abovementioned cases this turned out to be detrimental to the detainees’ health. The cases discussed represent a wide spectrum of involvement of physicians in the interrogation process, thus creating the conditions which make this process possible. A letter disclosed in court, written by the GSS, mentions a set of psychological tests performed on Ibrahim Quawark. This raised the possibility that psychological tests may serve the interests of the interrogators rather than the psychological needs of the detainees.

Category D: Self-censureship in describing cases: In medical case descriptions, the anamnesys describes the etiology of the disease using the relevant details in the context in question which led to the clinical symptoms. In prisoners’ medical files, there is a collusion on the part of physicians to whitewash any record of harm that may have been caused by the interrogators or by the harsh prison conditions. This whitewashing takes the form either of ascribing the clinical phenomena to events unrelated to the detention (even in the case of relevant tortureinducedtraumas), or of failing to mention the causes of the clinical phenomena. The tendency to ascribe clinical phenomena to causes unrelated to the detention becomes more obvious when one compares reports written by Dr. Yehuda Hiss, chief pathologist at Abu Kabir, and those submitted by Dr. Jurgen Dalgaard, the independent Danish pathologist, for example in the case of Samir Omar Hamis Omar. Samir Omar, 17 years old, was arrested and held in detention for eight days in the GSS wing of the Gaza prison. Upon his release he complained of pains in his stomach, his back, his testicles and the palms of his hands, and had difficulty walking. He reported having been tortured during his detention. On 5/31/1992, ten days after his release, he lost consciousness and died in the Shefa hospital, fifteen minutes after being admitted. Dr. Hiss described the cause of death as: “sudden physiological death syndrome.” According to Dr. Dalgaard: “In one way or another, death was the result of the detention period and the torture ascribed to it.” In many cases, the clinical reports submitted by doctors do not contain any description of the causes leading to the symptoms in question. This precludes any clarification of the course of events during GSS interrogations and any possibility of preventing them in the future. A case in point is that of Munir Al-Ghoul. Munir was taken for treatment six days after his arrest, at the order of a judge. Munir claimed to have been hit with a piece of piping by an interrogator. The doctor made do with the remark that “the detainee claims to have been handcuffed on 2/31/1990” and that there was a haematoma on 70% of the prisoner’s behind on both sides. One should mention at this point that after the interrogation, Munir confessed to the charges against him, yet was released when the real perpetrators of the acts were apprehended. [=]
Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. In light of the growing amount of information regarding problematic involvement of doctors in the treatment of detainees, along with rumours about the participation of psychologists in interrogations, we decided to organize a symposium on the subject in order to discuss the professional and ethical problems of doctors within the security system, as well as to offer suggestions as to how to cope with such problems. It was assumed that any proposals for change could take into account the complex situation in which doctors within the security system have to function. We are of the opinion that an active interest on the part of professionals outside the system could have some bearing both on the norms of behaviour established by the Doctors' and Psychologists' Associations, and on the way in which professionals are trained. Consequently, we invited representatives from the police force, as well as members of the Doctors' and Psychologists' Associations and senior professionals active in research, teaching and clinical work, to participate in the symposium. Dr. Reuven Goldschmidt, head officer of medical services in the Israel Police, at first confirmed his participation but was later obliged to cancel it as he failed to obtain permission to attend from his superiors. The Doctors', Psychiatrists' and Psychologists' Associations also failed to send representatives to the discussion. Although Dr. M. Zangen, Chairperson of the Israel Medical Association, declined to participate in the discussion, she did let us know that she feels the topic is a very important one, and conveyed her intention to reiterate the terms of the Tokyo Declaration among physicians.

The panel members received case descriptions reflecting the categories described above, and were asked to base their arguments on these cases. Brief summaries of the cases appear in this brochure following the forward, and constitute a vital part of the discussion. The discussion centred around problems of principle surrounding the topic, as opposed to concrete cases. The panel members presented different stands vis-à-vis the material in question. At one end of the continuum is the argument that cooperation with torture does not accord with professional ethics, while at the other end we find the claim that, given the cruel reality of the conflict, it is not unethical to torture people in order to save lives (the "prefactum" justification of torture). As against the view of professionals as being committed to humanistic values, the view is offered that professionals are prone to all human frailties and it is only to be expected that they will act in a conformist manner once their self-interest is at stake. As against the view that the cases documented here are unusual, it is argued that they represent a far-reaching norm; a norm of self-efficaciousness on the part of doctors before their commanding officers or the security system in general. In contrast to this picture of doctors' helplessness in face of the system, the situations in Chile and in Ireland have been cited as examples of the way in which doctors can expose the torture process and the names of doctors participating in it, thus hindering the continuation of such procedures.

During the discussion, the following suggestions were made for helping doctors and psychologists to deal with the ethical problems raised by interrogation and torture: (a) It was recommended that the professional associations issue clear ethical directives vetoing direct or indirect participation in torture. These ethical directives should include principles applicable to a wide range of problematic situations in the field. The directives and principles should be enforced by ethics committees, and students and trainees should be tested and trained in their application. (b) Professionals should be able to make anonymous reports of any incidents of torture or deviations from ethical norms. It was proposed that it should be made obligatory to report cases of torture in the same way as it is obligatory to report abuse of minors. (c) The Israel Psychological Association should adopt an ethical code demanding that professional measures be taken only for the good of the mental condition of people and patients. Such a general ethical code, which has been adapted, for example, by the American Psychological Association (APA), would fill the gap existing in the Israeli ethical code. (d) Support networks should be created to help the security service staff to deal psychologically and morally with the tasks imposed on them. (e) What goes on inside interrogation cells should be exposed by creating peep-holes or filming interrogation sessions on video. The assumption is that the secrecy surrounding the interrogation procedure opens the way for violence and improper behaviour. (f) The effort should be continued to foster acute awareness, amongst professionals and laymen, of interrogations and torture, by holding seminars and distributing relevant material. [Dr. Itamar Luria; Atar Ornan; Tal Zilberstein] =

61057. Public Committee Against Torture In Israel: Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT. Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 03: Sample Cases Prepared for the Participants in the Symposium. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. (1) Category: The subordination of medical considerations to security considerations: Fatma Muhammed Salah was arrested at her home in Nablus on 7/2/1990. She was taken to the Nablus detention point and from there to the Kishon detention centre and charged with membership in a hostile organization. At the beginning of her interrogation, she did not confess to the charge against her. According to her statement, a number of male interrogators took part in the subsequent interrogation, including "Ram" and "Victor". The interrogation included obscenities, threats of rape, and spitting; "Ram" began to undress in front of her and the interrogators even began to undress her; they forced her legs apart and made her be photographed in an embrace with "Rami". At a certain point she lost consciousness and the prison doctor wanted to transfer her to a hospital. Her interrogators objected and a doctor was summoned specially from outside; he gave her an injection and the interrogation continued. Fatma Salah eventually confessed that she had been approached with the offer of joining an organization and that her job in the organization had consisted of transmitting mail.

(2) Category: Inappropriate medical treatment during detention and interrogation: Aiman Sa'id Nasser, 22 years old, from Dir El-Balah, was wanted by the security forces as the head of a section of an organization. He was arrested on 3/20/1993 in a closed underground bunker, together with three others. A smoke grenade was thrown into the bunker. According to testimonies obtained from his friends, Nasser inhaled a great deal of smoke and was very ill while at the Ashkelon care unit at the Barzilai Hospital in Ashkelon, suffering from respiratory failure, accuse pneumonia and septic shock. After many efforts and prolonged, intensive medical treatment, he died on 4/2/1993. On 3/23/1993, Aiman Nasser was taken to the Dir El-Balah refugee camp in order to reconstruct and indicate the exact location of events. He was observed by a local eye-witness. He looked pale and in serious medical condition, and was dragged along by the soldiers and had to rest for a long time as he was unable to continue. That same evening he was rushed to the respiratory intensive care unit at the Barzilai Hospital in Ashkelon, suffering from respiratory failure, accuse pneumonia and septic shock. After many efforts and prolonged, intensive medical treatment, he died on 4/2/1993. On 3/7/1993 an autopsy was held with the participation of the independent pathologist Dr. Jurgen Daigaard, who was brought from Denmark by the family. Dr. Daigaard explicitly stated in the intermediate pathologist's report that had the detainee received the appropriate medical treatment in the prison clinic, his life would almost certainly have been saved; had his complaints, his respiratory difficulties, and his vomiting of black substance been taken seriously, his critical condition would have been diagnosed soon and he would have been taken to the hospital immediately. The pathologist determined that Nasser died not as a result of the beating to which he was subjected during his interrogation, but due to medical neglect before his being taken to the hospital (between the dates 3/20-23/1993). The official cause of death was stated as broncho pneumonia following general respiratory failure—in a man who, three days before, had been in perfect health. At the same time, the pathologist determined that the smoke inhalation, the beating in the chest and shoulders, the binding of the legs and arms and the placing of a stenching sack over the detainee's head, taken all together, had had a negative effect on his condition.

On 4/3/1993 the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, the Palestinian Human Rights Information Centre (PHRIC) and the
Gaza Centre for Rights and Law issued a joint press release concerning the death of Nasser, and on 4/8/1993 they issued a further statement referring to the intermediate pathological report of Dr. Dalgaard. The Public Committee requested that the Attorney General and the IDF Southern Command Attorney ensure that the case be investigated and ascertain the condition of the other detainees. On 5/10/1993, an urgent request for a coroner's hearing was issued, after no date for the hearing had been set in over a month since the death and the pathological investigation. In response, the hearing was set for 6/23/1993.

(3) Category: The subordination of medical considerations to security considerations: Amin Mustapha Dar-Hamadeh, born 1968 in the Kadura refugee camp near Ramallah, was arrested on 10/21/1992 and taken to the Russian Compound. He was charged with throwing stones and an empty glass bottle at an IDF vehicle. According to medical reports in the family's possession at the time, Amin Dar-Hamadeh, who had been diagnosed as schizophrenic and declared "not responsible for his actions", had been undergoing psychiatric treatment for some two years and was taking regular medication for his condition. He also suffered from paralysis in his leg due to multiple sclerosis diagnosed some 11 years previously, and from severe visual impairment. His lawyers, Morad Abu-Obeida and Dr. Awni Habash, Hannah Friedman from the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, and others who saw him during his detention, testify to the fact that he is severely handicapped; he can barely walk without the aid of crutches, his body is contorted, and he wears extremely strong glasses. Following a court order, Amin Dar-Hamadeh was transferred to Kfar Shaul for psychiatric tests. The deputy district psychiatrist, Dr. M. Kalian, concluded in his examination on 11/10/1992 that "there is no evidence of an active psychiatric disorder and from a legal point of view, the patient is capable of standing trial...likewise, he was responsible for his actions at the time at which the offenses with which he is charged were committed." The psychiatrist did not even mention the previous medical records, which were submitted by Dr. Mahmoud Sehwail of Ramallah, Dar-Hamadeh's psychiatrist, and only noted that the detainee "claims that he has never been hospitalized or undergone psychiatric treatment." Dr. Sehwail was allowed to visit Dar-Hamadeh at the detention centre on 12/6/1992 and, after examining him, recommended that he be transferred to a psychiatric hospital. In a subsequent appearance in court, the district psychiatrist, Dr. Bar'el, testified concerning the accused's condition, defining it as "normal". During the same session, Dar-Hamadeh's behaviour was so inappropriate—he lost control and went wild in the court room—that it was decided not to bring him to the following session. At this session, it was agreed that the district psychiatrists would ensure that he was hospitalized at Kfar Shaul for an observation period. The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel requested that the Attorney General, Dar-Hamadeh from the detention centre immediately and have him transferred to a psychiatric hospital. The relevant information was also sent to M.K. Naomi Hazan who has been involved in the case since then. Adv. Gilad Noital, a senior aide to the Attorney general, sent a reply to the Committee on 1/24/1993, concluding his letter with the following statement: "The Attorney General is not of the opinion that his intervention in the case of the accused of whom you write is called for at this stage." Following a period of observation at Kfar Shaul, the district psychiatrist issued a different report on Dar-Hamadeh, according to which he was found to have "a complex and severe personality disorder with organic aspects," and required medication. He recommended that Dar-Hamadeh be transferred to the Bethlehem psychiatric hospital, which he was.

(4) Category: Self-censure in pathological reports: Samir Omar Hamis Omar, 17 years old, from the Sha'ali refugee camp, was arrested on 5/13/1992 and taken to the GSS wing in Gaza Prison. He was accused of arson of a bus, participation in the interrogation of collaborators, and membership in an illegal organization, but was released on 5/21/1992 without being charged. On his return home, he could not walk properly, his face was an unnatural yellowish shade, and he complained of pains in the stomach, back, testicles and the soles of his feet. He complained of fatigue and general ill-health, and was described by his father as "depressed ". He told his parents that during his interrogation he had been deprived of food, had been put in a "fridge" and placed alternately under hot and cold showers, had been tied to a chair with his head in a sack for four days, and was beaten in the head, the back, the thighs and the testicles. Ten days later, on the morning of 5/31/1992, the household members heard Samir groaning in his bed. He lost consciousness, was taken to the Shifa hospital, and died about fifteen minutes after being admitted. At the request of the family, an autopsy was performed by the Danish forensic pathologist Jurgen Dalgaard, who examined the body that was performed by Dr. Yehuda Hiss, the Head Pathologist at the Abu Kabir Forensic Medicine Centre. Dr. Dalgaard found marks on the body of the deceased that accorded with the interrogation methods described and seemed to be about 10 days old: signs of injury in the ribs, on the left side of the body; external marks on the right cheek, forehead, upper lip, knees and elbows; colour changes in the nose and the right-hand side of the body which could have been traces of haemorrhaging; weight loss; other signs of stress in the lungs, glands, kidneys and heart muscles, and general signs of secondary shock. There was no evidence of any illness whatsoever. Dr. Dalgaard concluded from the above that "In one way or another, death was the result of the period of detention and the torture ascribed to it."

(5) Category: Self-censure in case descriptions/inappropriate medical treatment: Munir Al-Ghoul was arrested on 12/28/1989 and taken to the Jerusalem detention centre together with Ali Al-Ghoul, his cousin. They were arrested following the arrest of a family member, Ismail Al-Ghoul, and were charged with the assault and murder of collaborators. Ismail had incriminated his brother Ali and his cousin Munir following an interrogation which involved torture. Munir's detention was extended by 15 days without the presence of a lawyer, and when a lawyer hired by the family requested to visit him the next day (12/29/1990) he was told that Munir was not in the centre and it was not possible to visit him. On 1/1/1990 Adv. Sha'aban from Sha'aban and Amin's office visited Munir, and was told by the detainee that while in the interrogation rooms of the Minorities Department he had been beaten in the behind with a piece of piping by an interrogator wearing sweat pants and a military-style jacket, whom he could not identify and did not recognize during the following interrogation. Adv. Sha'aban and another lawyer who was in the detention centre subsequently testified that they had indeed seen signs of severe bruising over the entire area of Al-Ghoul's body. In spite of the fact that his lawyer went to the police on 1/12/1990, Al-Ghoul received no medical treatment until being brought before a judge on 1/4/1990. The judge ordered that the detainee be sent for examination by a police doctor. After the examination, Doctor A. Weisman wrote in his log that the detainee "complains of being hand-cuffed on Sunday 12/31/1989 ", with no further comment. He merely noted the fact that there were signs of injury to 70% of the area of the detainee's behind, on both sides, and prescribed local treatment in the form of compresses and analgesics. It should be noted that following their interrogation, both Munir and Ismail Al-Ghoul confessed to the charges against them, but were released without trial, after the real perpetrators of the acts were apprehended and the Al-Ghoul's confessions revealed as false. The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel wrote to the Attorney General, the Minister of Police, The Minister of Justice and the public complaints department at the national police headquarters, with the request that the case be investigated and those involved be brought to trial. They even held a press conference on 4.4.1990 in Beit Agron in Jerusalem, at which they publicized the details of the case. In the mean time, the policemen involved in the incident have been brought to trial and their case is still in progress.
considerations/self-censurehip in case descriptions: Amin Muhammed Amin, born in 1962, was arrested on 2/9/1992 in Ramallah and taken to the Hebron prison. On 2/20/1992 his attorney, Adv. Jawaad Bulous, submitted a request to the Hebron military court that his client be released from detention due to his medical condition. The following information is based on the account presented to the court on 2/20/1992. According to his attorney, Amin was interrogated in prison with his hands bound and a sack over his head, was put in a "cupboard" and tied to a pipe, and was exposed to severe weather conditions, including cold and snow, for prolonged periods of time. Amongst the interrogators were "Gabbi Abu-Razell", "Nadav", "Meir", and "Thomson". During the interrogation, he was examined occasionally by a doctor or a medic, and when he was found to be suffering from high blood pressure, the doctor demanded that the manner in which his hands were bound be changed—the binding being transferred from behind his back to the front—and that he be transferred to a "warmer" isolation cell. Only after several days did a doctor recommend that the sack be removed. Later, when the appointment for the test was fulfilled, it was found that the patient had been released before his arrest. The prison doctor refused to submit the report to the court, claiming that it was confidential. The police attorney stated that "He could not guarantee that the suspect had received, would receive, or was receiving medical treatment." In a medical report prepared by the Prison Services at the order of the court, Dr. Eziezer Tupoalo stated that the detainee was suffering from a chronic disorder of the liver and "was apparently beginning to develop a high blood pressure condition". During the trial, Amin again collapsed in court. The judge, Major Moshe Knovler, criticised the manner in which the suspect had been arrested, as the offences with which he was accused were not noted on the detention order, which simply stated "hostile terrorist activities". Neither were the reasons for his arrest specified. Concerning his medical condition, the judge stated that "Even if only part of this is true, the situation is extremely grave." In light of the offences with which he was accused, the judge decided to leave the detainee in the custody of the Prison Services, in spite of his serious medical condition, the Prison Services undertaking to transfer him within 96 hours to the Ramle prison hospital. After a petition was submitted to the High Court of Justice by Adv. Bulous, the detainee was released to his home by the police and the petition was cancelled. The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel requested the intervention of the Chairperson of the Israel Medical Association. Dr. Miriam Zangen. In her reply, Dr. Zangen stated that the material had been referred to Dr. Eliezer Tupoalo, the Hebron prison doctor, requesting his response.

(7) Category: Participation of psychologists in interrogation procedures: Fatma Abu-Bakra, 36 years old, a widow and mother of two, was arrested on 12/23/1986 and charged with the possession and distribution of arms. She was interrogated in the Ashkelon prison by the interrogators "Steve", "Abu Elia", "Abu Dahud", "Abu Yunis", and "Abu Said". According to her statement, her interrogation started in his skull during the previous operation, by the interrogator "Abu-Razallah", as a result of which the plate broke and was dislodged. Fawaghra spent the three days during which he was unconscious in the prison clinic. After regaining consciousness, he began to suffer from epileptic fits, as was diagnosed in the Prison Services hospital in the Ramle prison, and his condition seriously deteriorated. He was given antiepileptic drugs and tranquillizers. On 3/17/1991 Al-Fawaghra was referred to an ophthalmic clinic for a specialist's examination following a deterioration in his left-eye vision, and nasalhdaches. The examination was performed on 3/18/1991, about three months after the appointment had been requested, and six months after his arrest. The ophthalmologist, Dr. Uzi Meltzer, found a number of injuries to the eyes and requested that a CT scan be arranged "as soon as possible". The appointment for the test was only made on 7/4/1991—

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two weeks later—and the actual CT scan was only conducted on 12/9/1991—about half a year after Al-Fawaghra's arrest—at Hadassah Ein Karem hospital. During the scan, the suspicion was voiced that there was a foreign body present in the detainee's head, as he himself had claimed. Following a series of tests at Hadassah, he was told that it had been decided to operate and that he would be informed by the prison authorities of the date set for surgery. Sami heard nothing more on the matter. He was read the medical reports showing no improvement in his condition, and in fact did not receive any medical treatment during this period. From this point on, there are very few testimonies regarding the medical treatment which he received. On 5/2/1991, a doctor on duty at the Ramle prison hospital informed him that he would admit him for surgery only and that the frequent journeys from the Hebron prison to Ramle were endangering his health. The doctor wrote a letter to this effect to the Hebron prison authorities. Since then, Sami has been held in prison without undergoing surgery, in spite of all medical recommendations. In August 1992, nearly two years after his arrest, Sami Al-Fawaghra's friends issued an appeal from the Hebron prison, describing his condition: "Semi cannot swallow, and subsists on liquids only, which his fellow detainees drip into his throat. His severe headaches are becoming worse, and his recurring epileptic fits sometimes last for forty minutes. Recently, blood and pus have been oozing from the wound in his head. His cell-mates have to take care of him and administer treatment to him twenty-four hours a day." The lawyers dealing with Sami Al-Fawaghra's case, Eli Gozlan and Mary Rock, as well as the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel wrote to the Attorney General, the Prison Services and the Beit-El Legal Advisor in order to ensure immediate and proper medical treatment, outside the Prison Services framework, for Sami Al-Fawaghra.

(10) Categories: Inappropriate medical treatment/self-censureship in case descriptions: Lamia Ismail Araiat Jaber, born 1966, was arrested on 2/26/1991 and taken to the Jenin police station. Two days later; on 2/28/1991, he signed a detailed confession concerning the acts with which he was accused, namely, participating in stone-throwing, erecting road-blocks, participating in demonstrations and participating in the interrogation of collaborators; an additional charge said that "he saw people attacking Sallach Abu-Wafeh...with an axe, and did not do anything, but ran away, and after about an hour and a half...he passed by the place and saw that Sallach Abu-Wafeh had been murdered." According to the detainee, the confession was obtained from him by means of torture which included severe beating with a club all over his body, the insertion of a stick into his anus, causing hemorrhaging, after which the stick was inserted in his mouth, torture with electricity, and the infliction of burns by pressing his body against an electric oven. Jaber was not brought before a judge for eighteen days and did not receive any medical treatment during this period. From this point on, there are very few testimonies regarding the medical treatment which he received. On 5/2/1991, a doctor on reserve duty, Dr. Ehud Grinder, signed a 102 form on which he stated: "His condition is satisfactory. There are signs of external injury to the left shoulder and thigh...for detention." It has been established that in 7/1991 he was examined by a Red Cross doctor. Shortly after this, on 8/2/1991 and on 8/5/1991, he was examined by a military doctor, Dr. Shimson Rahav. On 8/2/1991, Dr. Rahav wrote on the 102 form: "Fit for detention, will report for further examination." On 8/5/1991 he noted on a 3505 form: "Stomach aches for some two years...story not clear. Signs of burns on the right shoulder—claims that because of this he cannot move his arm...signs of burns on left thigh...according to him, caused by cigarettes." He diagnosed a suspected stomach ulcer and prescribed medication for stomach pains and rheumatic pains. The detainee's mother testified in court that her son was in perfect health before his arrest, but the military doctors did not specify in the documents the reason why, in their opinion, the ulcer and joint problems had appeared during the detention period. On 8/28/1991 a doctor wrote on an admission form to the Jeneid prison: "Says that he has had pains in the left leg for about seven months...a scratch on the skin of the chest, on the right, and restricted movement of left shoulder"; he diagnosed a stomach ulcer and a skin allergy, and added; "fitness for work—very light." With the intervention of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, by means of Adv. Dr-Ner and Adv. Taleb Bazur, Lamia Jaber was released on bail on 2/19/1992 due to his medical condition, and continued to suffer from the physical and mental consequences of the period of detention and interrogation. He suffered from impaired movement in his left arm and leg, necessitating the use of a wheel-chair. Doctors who examined him—the neurologist Prof. Aamos Korchin and the orthopedist, Dr. Aamos Grinder, the psychologist Dr. Ruchama Marton, ascribe his condition to post-traumatic shock syndrome, a hysterical reaction which accords with the description of the torture to which he was submitted. He was treated by the psychologist Dr. Manwan Dawiri, who managed to bring about some improvement in his condition, although he stated that "he still suffers from fear of torture and of the police and requires further treatment." (report from 12/3/1992). Dr. Ehud Grinder and Dr. Shimshon Rahav were summoned on 8/6/1992 to testify in the "trial within a trial" held at the Jenin military court regarding the validity of Lamia Jaber's confessions. They did not appear at the hearing and the court issued a subpoena to Dr. Rahav, setting the bail fee for Jaber's release from detention at 1500 shekels ($500). Dr. Grinder was summonsed a second time. The two appeared in court on 1/17/1993. From the testimony of Dr. Shimshon Rahav: "I asked him what the burns were from and he said the ones on the thigh were from cigarettes, but he didn't tell me anything more. As to the shoulder—I apparently did not ask him what the burns were from, because it doesn't say so on the examination reports. I can't remember whether the burns looked fresh at the time.

From the testimony of Dr. Ehud Grinder: "I don't remember him being brought to me following his complaints about torture. On the contrary. If I know that that is the reason someone is brought to me, I examine him more thoroughly."... "During my entire career as a doctor in the territories I don't remember a detainee being brought to me who complained of being tortured. Nor do I remember a detainee telling me that because of this he cannot move his arms...signs of burns on left thigh...according to him, caused by cigarettes."

For the purposes of examinations and also in order to receive treatment for a fracture in his right hand that apparently occurred during an epileptic fit, Al-Fawaghra was hospitalized a number of times in the Prison Services hospital in the Ramle prison; two of the documents issued by this hospital were Dr. Peled and Dr. Kibetz Ilan. Al-Fawaghra underwent an EEG test on 2/20/1992 which was summarized as showing a "normal graph" by Drs. Taftier and Eliezer Tupailo. Sami continued to receive anti-epileptic treatment but the medical reports show no improvement in his condition, and in fact indicate a deterioration. The Prison Services did not order a transfer to any civilian hospital, and on 6/22/1992, the doctor on duty at the Ramle prison hospital informed him that he would admit him for surgery only and that the frequent journeys from the Hebron prison to Ramle were endangering his health. The doctor wrote a letter to this effect to the Hebron prison authorities. Since then, Sami has been held in prison without undergoing surgery, in spite of all medical recommendations.

In August 1992, nearly two years after his arrest, Sami Al-Fawaghra's friends issued an appeal from the Hebron prison, describing his condition: "Semi cannot swallow, and subsists on liquids only, which his fellow detainees drip into his throat. His severe headaches are becoming worse, and his recurring epileptic fits sometimes last for forty minutes. Recently, blood and pus have been oozing from the wound in his head. His cell-mates have to take care of him and administer treatment to him twenty-four hours a day."

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Dr. Meir Liron—Physician in the internal medicine department of the Ichilov hospital, Tel-Aviv, and active member of the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights.

Prof. Carmi Margalit—Pediatrician at the Soroka hospital in Be'erSheva; has taught medical ethics at the Medical School and organized a symposium, last year, on the subject of medical ethics and professional dilemmas which arose following the reserve duty of one of the doctors in his department.

Dr. Yehoyakim Stein—Psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, Jerusalem; cofounder of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel and member of “IMUT.”

61059. Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT. Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 05: Discussion. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. Hannah Friedman: Good evening, I am Hannah Friedman from the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, and I am glad to be able to welcome you here tonight. This discussion is being held by the Public Committee Against Torture, Imut—Mental Health Workers for Peace, and the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights.

I would like to ask Prof. Ruth Gavison, Chairperson of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, to introduce the participants in tonight’s symposium, and to say a few opening words.

Prof. Ruth Gavison: Good evening. I would like to thank the three organizations that initiated this evening which exposes an extremely problematic issue — and an almost inevitable consequence of an endeavour which relies heavily on interrogations. This is a very important problem which is becoming worse because of the growing scope of the interrogations which are carried out systematically during the search for suspects, and it brings to the fore the obligations of a subgroup which plays a part in this process: the members of the medical profession who are responsible for the physical and mental health of the people being interrogated. This group is especially interesting for two reasons:

(a) It is a group with professional autonomy and with the simple and unambiguous commitment—laid down in their oaths, in their internal ethos, and in international conventions—to ensure their patients welfare, to help them and to give them maximal care.

(b) They accompany the people being interrogated in situations which almost inevitably involve the denial of freedom, physical harm, and the inaccessibility of full medical treatment. They come to the people being interrogated as part of the system: either as soldiers on reserve duty who accompany them in the actual prison wings, or as doctors, in military units or hospitals, who admit them from the security authorities, usually under guard, and are asked to treat them in order that they may be returned to the interrogation centre or the prison. This is where we find the conflict between the doctor’s duty towards his or her patient and his or her duty towards a system to which he or she belongs. This conflict presents serious problems for doctors in general and the doctors in the system in particular. One must keep in mind a very important point concerning the status of doctors within this system. The doctor is an exception as far as the lack of information available to the general public is concerned. The doctors see, or at least are supposed to see, the people being interrogated (usually in the prison wings, although not continuously), who complain of medical ailments, and they can, more or less in real time, make sure that they are treated but also protest about the acts which caused the type of problems which they encounter. The question with which we are faced is this: What is the duty of members of the medical profession, dealing with both physical and mental health, when fulfilling such roles, in reserve duty or in hospitals? What is their job as regards both the patient and the system? What can they and must they do from the point of view of both these sides? In reality, most of the professionals facing such situations do not usually react in the manner which one would have thought their professional norms would demand. We see no evidence of protest regarding this situation, and we hear a lot of complaints about lack of proper medical treatment and, in the more prominent cases, of deaths in interrogation centres or shortly after interrogation. I shall list four types of problems.

(a) The doctors said to have taken an active part in the interrogation. For example by giving their opinion as to what degree of physical pressure the detainee’s question could undergo without dying or without it becoming impossible to continue the interrogation, or causing him harm of a serious nature requiring medical treatment or a halt to the interrogation. The question is whether, from a professional point of view, the members of a medical team are entitled to take part in an interrogation as doctors.

(b) Members of the medical team who encounter detainees who complain of injury as a result of interrogation. What is their obligation towards such patients? Do they ensure that their medical recommendations are in fact carried out, if the recommendations in question include not using particular methods of interrogation, ending the interrogation, or such like? If the problem is not related to the interrogation. What is the doctor’s duty as far as ensuring that the person in question receives proper medical treatment, by means of transfer to hospital or any other means?

(c) The problem of documentation. Documenting medical treatment is a routine matter. In the system which we are discussing, both during routine care of patients and during pathological examinations, we find situations in which the documentation is extremely deficient. There is very little mention of the circumstances under which the condition being treated was caused, and there is usually a considerable difference between the reports of pathologists acting on behalf of the family, and the reports of official pathologists, from the point of view of the type of treatment administered, the type of examination, attention to certain signs and the attempt to ascribe these signs to the circumstances which caused them. The question, once again, is what is the doctors’ duty in this case?

(d) The last and one of the most difficult questions is what is the doctors’ duty, as professionals, towards the external system? What should they do concerning the release of information about cases which they encounter during their service? In this context, I would like to give you one example. In Ireland, where there are also constant complaints of people being interrogated, this group is especially interesting for two reasons: you one example. In Ireland, where there are also constant complaints of torture during interrogation, inappropriate treatment during interrogations, etc., there was very heavy pressure on the part of the police doctors who claimed that the situation as regards police interrogations was unacceptable. This pressure led first of all to the creation of peep-holes in all interrogation rooms. In effect, we know that one of the most serious problems as far as interrogations are concerned is that for long periods of time, nobody except the interrogator has access to the suspect. Secondly, as a result of protest by the doctors (including even the resignation of one of them), a public committee was set up to examine the reports of doctors, and it concluded that there were indeed severe irregularities during interrogations. It is interesting to ask ourselves why such a thing has not happened here. What is happening to doctors in Israel from a psychological and ethical point of view, and can we demand that they act differently?

We have here a distinguished panel of professionals who shall discuss, together with us, the various aspects of these problems. In this case, as in other similar cases in the past, part of the problem with this issue is apparent in the fact that two of the people who promised to take part in the discussion could not do so. The first is a representative of the Schlezingener Institute for Medical Ethics, who could not participate for personal reasons. But the more significant absence as far as we are concerned is that of Dr. Reuven Goldschmidt, the Chief Medical Officer of the Israel Police, who promised to come, considered his attendance important, but was not granted permission to attend by the system. One of the most serious problems with this whole issue is the system’s failure to acknowledge even the need to take part in a public debate on what goes on within its institutions, a fact which leaves us with almost no choice but to address an audience who are most likely already convinced of our cause; that is, who think that there is a problem here.
We have no representative with whom to debate the point of whether there is a good argument which the system can put forward on its behalf. I would like to thank all those who agreed to join us tonight. The discussion will take the form of a dialogue between you and the participants. The questions are what causes the huge gap between doctors’ obligations and actual practice, what can one do in order to narrow this gap and significantly promote our struggle against torture, including the declared ban on participation, and the use of force, and against tragedies such as these that are exposed, collected and documented by each of these organizations.

61060. Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT. Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 06: Discussion: First Round By The Panel. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. Dr. Rami Aharonson: My first reaction to the invitation to take part in this evening’s discussion was to say no, because I know nothing about the subject. I have never been seconded in the IDF or in the territories. I have never, or hardly ever, encountered security suspects. I know nothing about this subject and have nothing to say on the matter. My second reaction was that if I don’t know anything about it, maybe it’s time I did. I received the material that was distributed to the panel members and I had a few days to go over it, and the initial, basic dilemma that it raises as far as I am concerned is the question of the willingness to see, to know, and to hear about what is apparently happening within us. I still say “apparently” because it is very hard to accept, and this is also one of the most basic things: denial. The need to deny it, to distance ourselves from it, to tell ourselves that it is not happening. After reading the material, and after the initial shock, I reached the third reaction, which is that there is no ethical problem here. We all say that nothing justifies torture.

From a theoretical point of view, I really do not see any ethical problem. The problem is what happens with ethics “in the field”, not from a distance, in theoretical discussions in some lecture hall. I see a problem in the very involvement of doctors or psychologists as professionals in the interrogation system: the question is how exactly is their role defined, in what capacity are they employed, what are their obligations, and how do they see their jobs? What authority do they have and what are the limits of what is imposed on them. For it is clear to the employer that a doctor’s job is to treat, to diagnose, to cure, and to act in the interests of the welfare and health of the individual. If so, then one must assume that the system, whether a civilian prison or a non-civilian interrogation centre, employs doctors in order to care for people in its custody within these institutions. The system is responsible for taking care of those in its custody, in the same manner as the individuals themselves would were they free. At the same time, there exists what is known as a “hidden agenda”—those aspects of the system which exist but are not openly discussed. As soon as a professional is within the system, the border-lines become blurred, and I shall give an example of this: a man in need of treatment is brought to you, and lest say you give him the appropriate treatment, but you know that if your treatment is successful, he will be put back into the situation which, at least in part, was the cause of the pathological condition which you are treating. It is not you who permit him to be returned to that situation. You do not say that he can go back there. But you know that that is what will happen.

You cannot refrain from treating him, because that is your duty. Where is the border-line here? What can you do? In fact, the situation is no different from that existing in civilian life, in prisons or even in the army: the military situation does not exactly promote the health of soldiers, yet all the same, doctors send them back to situations which are sometimes even highly risky. This is where we see the conflict between the doctor as a member of a system and the professional whose full obligation is towards his or her client only, and the distinctions are not clear. As regards the point raised by Prof. Gavison, in principle the answers are simple. Participation in interrogations is forbidden by all conventions signed by doctors. The whole of medical ethics forbids it, whatever the circumstances. It is forbidden for a doctor to estimate the stamina of a person and up to what point he or she is capable of being interrogated, and furthermore I do not see how this can be done without the doctor knowing exactly what will happen during the interrogation. But even if he or she does know this, he or she is not permitted to do anything that may lead to the other person’s suffering. Ensuring proper medical treatment and taking responsibility for this—this, clearly, is the doctor’s duty. Obviously, doctors have to make a decision as to whether to treat prisoners or not, but is there an organization in Israel, and if there is not, then maybe there should be, to which a doctor can refer information and complaints concerning torture or the withholding of proper treatment to which he or she was a witness within the system, without entering into dilemmas of breach of confidentiality—and I am not talking only about interrogations. Even in hospitals, there are sometimes conflicts between the demands of the system and the needs of the patient, although there they are far less severe.

Prof. Ruth Gavison: I would just like to mention that there is an explicit statement issued by the World Health Organization in 1975, entitled the “Tokyo Declaration”, which refers to the involvement of members of the medical profession in interrogations. The declaration does not mention the general ban on participation in interrogations, but states quite unambiguously what it is that is forbidden, namely, participating, directly or indirectly, in torture. One of the interesting questions raised by the Landau Commission report was the question of whether an interrogation necessarily constitutes torture, and whether any means of interrogation is torture. In other words, the unambiguous prohibition of the “Tokyo Declaration” is a prohibition on participation in torture. The prohibition on participation in interrogations and the definition of which of the methods employed in interrogations constitutes torture and is therefore illegitimate, is one of the ethical problems which we will have to address tonight.

Dr. Reuven Gal: I have taken part in military operations in wars as a soldier, an officer, and also as a psychologist. And when I look at the situation from this angle, the piece of paper which the Tokyo Declaration is written on is one thing, and reality is quite another, and the dilemmas are much greater. I shall begin with a simple example which deals with the obligation of a military psychologist, not towards detainees or suspects undergoing interrogation, but, first and foremost, towards our own people, as was the case in the Yom Kippur War. The army psychologists, some of whom are good friends and colleagues of mine, were asked to treat soldiers who had gone through several days and nights of tough combat. Some of them were on the verge of shell-shock. The psychologists were asked to “fix them up”, to boost them, and to send them back to the front, and they felt that in doing so they were doing a very ethical, humane and correct act. During the Lebanon War, these same psychologists, some nine years older, did more or less the same thing. They took soldiers who had been fighting in the battles around Beirut and who were often on the verge of collapse, boosted them, “fixed them up”, and sent them back to the front. And it may interest you to know that even now, during the Intifada, there are army psychologists and doctors who work with soldiers serving in the territories and involved in very debilitating work which is highly problematic from a moral, ethical, and humanitarian point of view. They boost them, they fix them up, they build up their strength and give them encouragement—for what? So that they can go back and keep on doing the same thing.

And these army psychologists and doctors also do this with military policemen in Ansar m detention camp whose job it is to guard the detainees, and with interrogators who have to interrogate the detainees, and who also get worn out. I am not trying for a moment to make you feel sorry for the interrogators or to shift the focus from the suspects being interrogated to the people doing the interrogating; I am only saying that when you’re wearing uniform and your job is that of a military doctor or a medical psychologist or a military psychiatrist, you are not dealing simply with medicine, psychological personality, but with military medicine, military psychology, and military psychiatry, and as such you are sometimes called upon to do things which you are not sure are in complete accordance with the rules of medical ethics. The difference between the work of the psychologists during the Yom Kippur-
War, who sent soldiers back to fight on the Suez front or in the Golan Heights, and psychologists who now send soldiers back to carry on abusing people in Gaza or Nablus, is not a professional difference. I tell you this quite clearly. In both cases, they are acting as army psychologists. If they have a dilemma in this matter, they have a dilemma as human beings, not as army psychologists whose job it is to help soldiers. I am using this example because it is sometimes easier for us to look at things when they effect our own people, our own good boys, and to see the dilemmas there.

We tend to think that evil has its roots in evil people. That if people do unethical, immoral, inhumane things, it is because these people are not ethical, not humane, not moral. I do not think so. In my opinion, the problem is how humane, moral and ethical people do these inhumane, immoral and unethical things. I shall present you with two famous experiments which illustrate this paradox: how ethical people do unethical things. How normal people do almost abnormal things. The first case is Milgram's famous experiment which was conducted at the end of the Sixties. Milgram took a group of subjects and sat them on two sides of a glass partition. On the one side were subjects whose job it was to learn, and electrodes were attached to each of their hands. On the other side were subjects whose job it was to teach, with the aid of a dial showing four levels of electric shock: "Low", "Medium", "High" and "Very Dangerous". If a subject was not learning fast enough, they had to raise the level of electric shock administered to him. The results of this experiment, my pay attention, were that 70% of the "teachers" who took part in the experiment turned the dial to the "Very Dangerous" zone. The second experiment is that of a social psychologist from Stanford University, by the name of Phil Zimbardo, who was interested in studying role behaviour. He assembled a group of students and divided them into two groups: "prisoners" and "wardens", and he turned the Stanford laboratories into a "prison". He dressed the prisoners in pajama-like clothes, and gave the wardens dark glasses and hats, and said: the "prisoners" will now play the role of prisoners and the "wardens" will play the role of wardens. The experiment was supposed to last for a week, during which they wanted to observe how the dynamics between the two groups developed. The experiment began, and within a few hours, Zimbardo was obliged to call an end to it because within a very short time, both sides became incredibly brutal and almost beat each other to death. Some of them reached a state of mental collapse and Zimbardo had to end the experiment. As I see it, this is the principle dilemma, and it is neither a legal nor an ethical dilemma: it is a personal, psychological dilemma.

Prof. Ruth Gavison: Is it really true that there is no disagreement regarding the norms? Even in the experiments described here, maybe by means of distancing or denial, these people do not have the sense that they are doing something wrong. And the question is: Can one sharpen the doctors' sense that there are illegitimate aspects to their routine work? It seems to me that the examples presented here are very scary because they say, in fact, that there is not much hope of changing things. But in the case which we are discussing, there is an important difference. The people participating in the two experiments described before had no professional obligations. They were not trained to participate as in the mean time the people who had committed the acts to which he had confessed were caught, so he was released. As far as I am concerned, the doctor is the control point. He is the one from whom I would hope to hear more than we hear from the interrogators, and therefore the doctor, for me, is doing his job not only by fulfilling his own duty, but by helping me to control this problematic system.

Dr. Meir Liron: I would like to somewhat tone down what Professor Gavison just said. I have often been called upon to examine prison inmates following complaints on the part of their families regarding lack of proper treatment or medical neglect. These complaints are only found to be justified in a small number of cases. I do not think that the reports before us describe most-cases. At least not as far as doctors are concerned. Why is this so? Because one of the ambitions of a prisoner, especially a prisoner being held in difficult conditions, is to get transferred to the clinic, because it is always better there. So from the outset, the doctor is faced with the problem that the prisoner has a considerable interest in being sick. The first task of the doctor is to treat the prisoner as a patient, and during that moment I do not think that he has to take into account whether an improvement in his medical condition will lead to harsher or more severe conditions of imprisonment. His duty is to care for his patient at that moment, to report and also to document and from this point of view I do not think there is any real ethical problem. The problem is that not all doctors always act according to these norms. One of the reasons for this may be the human factor. I presume that the general standard of permanent doctors in prisons is not the same standard with which we are familiar from hospitals, and if anyone claims otherwise, I would ask him: would you want to be a doctor in a prison? My guess is that not many would answer in the affirmative. It may be that part of our problem is that the job of prison doctor is a last resort for people who can't get work elsewhere. They may be worried about losing their job, and the problem of conflicting loyalties may then arise. They try to be loyal to the system instead of to their patients. Nevertheless, the behaviour of a large number of prison doctors whom I have encountered was impeccable. The treatment which the prisoners received was quite alright. Apart from the exceptional cases which we see here.

The main problem noted by Professor Gavison is the accessibility of testimonies. When we read these testimonies, we apparently have to qualify the prisoners’ statements. As I mentioned before, it is logical to assume that it was in the prisoner’s interest to exaggerate what was done to him, to make the description of the situation more unpleasant. He becomes a martyr (holy martyr) and also smears the Israelis—in other words we have here a problem which is very difficult to ignore, but all the same, some things speak for themselves. For example, we read here that during one year, five people entered prison in perfect health and came out dead, or one died fifteen days later—these are facts which one cannot ignore. It is unthinkable that just by chance, during one year, five young people died in detention after interrogation for various strange reasons, as reflected in the pathological reports. The burden of proof is indeed on the respondent. The respondent has to prove that this was not the case. Much to my regret, many of the answers are far from satisfactory and here, in my opinion, there is a problem with the small number of doctors who do not meet the criteria which one would expect.

Prof. Ruth Gavison: It is very difficult to know what percentage of doctors do not meet the required criteria, and I agree with you that this figure of five people who died during interrogation is frightening and extremely serious. There is a by no means negligible number of people who were harmed in a fairly substantial way. The pile of evidence which we have here is characteristic only of a small number of the cases which actually take place. We do not know the extent of the phenomenon and I suspect that we can only see the tip of the iceberg, and we can only speculate as to what happens in most cases. You may have excellent reasons for believing that in most cases, the behaviour of prison doctors is impeccable, but I am concerned and worried that in a fairly considerable number of cases this is not so. When we see the quotes from interrogations, it is obvious that the things described here are routine. These are patterns of interrogation, and we should not let ourselves become too relaxed about this issue. One case, and not even a paticularly dramatic one, seems worthy of discussion: a detainee in the Russian Compound complained to the judge that he had been severely beaten on the behind during interrogation. Two days later, he saw a doctor who confirmed his complaint—there were clear signs of beating on 70% of the detainee’s behind—and prescribed pain-killers and compresses. That’s all. But we did not hear of anything happening within the system, we did not hear of anybody being asked why this guy had marks like that on his behind. When the interrogation was over, the detainee confessed to the offences which he was accused of, but was not brought to trial as in the mean time the people who had committed the acts to which he had confessed were caught, so he was released. As far as I am concerned, the doctor is the control point. He is the one from whom I would hope to hear more than we hear from the interrogators, and therefore the doctor, for me, is doing his job not only by fulfilling his own duty, but by helping me to control this problematic system.
positions in two armies over a period of twenty years, I am not an army doctor, or at least not at the moment. The reason I am here is that my son completed nearly four years’ military service at Khan Yunis as an administrative officer, and for three and a half years I heard accounts from the field from a young man who saw, all at once, and at the same time, terrible behaviour on the part of Arabs and unethical behaviour on our part, and was constantly trying to find his own balance and sense of proportion between these two sides—indeed, an impossible thing. As someone who sees the way the GSS operate in the field, I can tell you (many of you may already be familiar with the situation) that this institution is a very disturbing one. It may do essential work, I am sometimes convinced of this, and sometimes I am convinced that it is the worst job in the world. And it all exists at the same time in the field. That is why I want to represent people from the ranks, and maybe Dr. Goldstein, without even consulting with him first, and to describe the dilemma or the psychological aspect of the dilemma of a doctor when a prisoner is brought to him for treatment in hospital. This same prisoner may-have been, a short while before, a really dangerous man, and you know this, and you can see the blood on his clothes when he is brought to you, and now you are the doctor, with all the ethical rules that this entails (someone mentioned the Tokyo Declaration and how it looks on paper). There is no question about the fact that, as a doctor, you have to treat this person.

I was once serving as a medic in a New York prison and I treated a murderer. In that case the fact that she was a murderer did not concern me at all, it just added some spice to the incident. I was concerned with her liver condition and I treated the illness just as I would have done had she been lying in a hospital ward; but this is not the case in Judea and Samaria, and this is not the case in Gaza. Here you have someone whom you know for sure was, even only a little while ago, a dangerous person, and now you have to treat him just like any one of your patients. I have no information as to the standard of the police doctors, and I have certain reservations about what was said before because ethical standards are not exactly the same as medical standards. But I have been told that there is a police doctor who refused to “obstruct” an interrogation and I would like to say that in my opinion, “not obstructing” is much closer to reality than any other description. The police doctor who does “obstruct” and do something active may be afraid that his immediate boss, the person in charge of him, has already been given promotion if he carries on behaving in such a way. It is really terrible. You don’t like hearing it. I don’t like hearing it. But that is the reality. In other words, it is very difficult to change the fact that there are different hierarchies operating within the army and within the police and these things affect the way doctors function.

I would like to go back to the point at which the institutional doctor sometimes hesitates. Should he take an active step when his passive behaviour is already beyond the limits of medical ethics? For the individual (at least in my personal experience), not doing “nothing” is a very difficult decision when “nothing” is a fairly easy thing to do and is what the system expects. The last point which illustrates the influence of the environment on behaviour is what I learned from Dr. Zmora about a year and a half ago when he was describing the process of professional erosion, and maybe he would like to add a few words on this subject. An ax-student of mine did a month’s reserve duty in one of the prisons in Judeah and Samaria, and this is not the case in Gaza. Here you can go home. But can this commander also tell me what medication to prescribe? When? To whom? Who to evacuate first and who last? Is such a thing at all possible? Not a single person on the course asked that question—which is, of course, the key question in the whole system.

Speaking from experience, I can say that during the course in army medicine for medical officers, it was explained to us in very clear terms that as soon as we got to a combat regiment as medical officers, the regiment commander would, in effect, be our commander. Not a single one of us asked why. Obviously, he decides on tactics, he decides on strategy, he decides when you can change your underwear and when you can go home. But can this commander also tell me what medication to prescribe? When? To whom? Who to evacuate first and who last? Is such a thing at all possible? Not a single person on the course asked that question—which is, of course, the key question in the whole system.

There is no question about the fact that, as a doctor, you have to treat this person.

Dr. Yehoyakim Stein: I would like to start with an example from a far-away land in order to illustrate that things can be different. I have here a document from the Academia Medico de Chile. It’s from the time of Pinochet: 1985. As soon as the Academia Medico de Chile reorganized they decided that, contrary to the opinion of many doctors all over the world, medical neutrality demands taking active steps. They began to publicize, both in Chile and abroad, their strong opposition to the torture that was being carried out under Pinochet, and they managed to apprehend doctors on the basis of testimonies by ex-convicts (those that were not dazzled during interrogation). On the basis of these testimonies, they expelled these doctors from the Medical Association. And later, at the end of Pinochet’s rule, they even put them on trial. These Chileans think that even under a dictatorship, they can still do something. We, here, in what is supposedly a democracy, are doing far less. We have a problem in medical sociology that appears to have no answer: What happened to the Israeli doctor? Doctors are usually people just like everybody else. Both active and opportunistic. We have just heard of a few experiments in social psychology that prove this hyper-adaptivity, which applies, of course, to doctors too. And what they learn at medical school doesn’t necessarily make them any different from other people. But maybe there is one thing that is special about Israeli doctors, and that is the army.

Amidst the reasons he gave for releasing the doctor, he stated: “We wrote to Yitzchak Rabin, who was Minister of Defence at the time. 61061.  Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health
Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT. Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 07: Discussion: Questions and Answers From the Audience. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT). 1993. Mr. Lavi: I would like to continue the comment to Reuven Gal. My comment was, and Zimnaor said, that some people act in the field. And the difference is that in the first case, you are sending someone back to a system in which he can decide freely whether or not to obey an order. I really think that this is an option. In a democratic country, joining and serving in the army is a citizen's right and he is also entitled to refuse it, even during war. And such things have been known to happen. But we are still in a democratic system. Serving in the army is, first and foremost, the will of the individual, and you are sending him back to a position in which he can decide himself what to do. The difference is that the detainee cannot decide what to do, or, more importantly, what is done to him.

Prof. Yonah Rosenfeld: I greatly appreciate the fact that this discussion has been made possible and I think we should be trying to think what we can do in order to be efficient, and not only just there. There is no question that we have a problem here, and the number of severe cases is certainly not decreasing. Certainly not at present. There is clearly no solution. And it is also clear that, alongside the legal debate, one has to talk of ethics. And one has to hope that the Israel Medical Association will take an enlightened position. I accept all of this, but one also has to consider something else. One has to be supportive of all those people acting in the field. And the question is how can you be supportive of them, not in a sentimental fashion, but by working alongside them. I shall just mention a brief example: I once had the opportunity of working with some young people who work in the detention centre in the Russian Compound. We met a few times and the main thing I want to say is this: We don't really know how to stand by them, but I know that it was important to support them and that we hadn't come as wise men but as people who wanted to stand by them and to learn, together with them, what dilemmas they face, with a humble and sympathetic approach to their difficulties. And the fact is, the system let us inside and I hope it will let us inside again. If we had gone in a very extreme, brutal manner, they would have thrown us out at once. Some friends sitting here think: that we committed a great sin by going there. I do not think so. I am not proud of it, but I call upon the people sitting here to think about the duty of doctors, social workers and psychologists to stand alongside the people facing these difficult dilemmas, even if they don't have answers to everything.

Atin, Naftali Or-Ner: The fact that no representative of the establishment is here tonight is not surprising and is no isolated incident, and I would suggest that we adopt the Talmudic rule that "silence is like confession". Secondly, I would like to comment to Professor Carmi that when dealing with moral issues, there is no such thing as not taking a stand. In other words, if a doctor sees an injustice being done and does nothing to prevent it, he is in effect deciding that he supports what is being done. There is nothing moral about the decision to sit and do nothing. In the end, you have decided that you support what is going on around you. And now, as to the question of the doctors' job within this whole system, obviously a doctor on the one hand has to help people, and on the other hand by doing so he may be causing the people in question harm in the long run. I would suggest that we draw a distinction according to which if a doctor knows that due to his presence at a certain place, the interrogators allow themselves to act in a certain way, under the assumption that if they overstep the line, he will save the day—at that moment, in my opinion, the doctor should get up and go, because he is an almost active participant in the interrogation. The problem raised by Gal is, in my view, an extremely tough one. How do normal people do morally offensive acts? A few explanations have been offered here, one of which is opportunism, but there is another aspect which was not mentioned and that is that everyone has base instincts, and when you have a socially sanctioned opportunity to do so, you give way to these instincts. On the other hand, the way people adapt to the system was mentioned here—and this is not only functional adaptation, in other words when a person knows that the better he adapts, the faster he will advance and the more success he will have in his career, but in my view it is also structural adaptation, in other words, people are used to growing up as social creatures. They act, to a large extent, in order to please and not to stand out or go against the grain.

When we put all these things together under a sort of practical justification, the two factors combine, and we find normal people doing these negative things. How can you fight such a thing? Of course the best course is to find a political solution under which such situations will not exist, but that is not the subject of tonight's discussion. The question from a structural point of view is how do you fight it. Firstly, we have to demand of society as a whole and the system in particular that they create external control mechanisms, in the form of reporting and really dealing with deviations from the norms. The second solution has to be an educational solution. It is hard to demand this of the system, but we can demand it of every individual and of organizations like those who are here tonight. And the educational message should be: even if you are in fact a social creature and you operate within society, and even if you hold a position within a certain system, and a large part of your time has to be spent in promoting the interests of that system, remember that you are still a human being, and as a professional you have moral duties, and in the case of a real conflict, you must give precedence to your moral duties. On a practical level, what can we do? I would ask everybody, when they have the time, to make some practical propositions as to what should be done in order to improve the situation. This is the only thing that comes to my mind at the moment is the "dividing line" which I just mentioned, in other words, demanding that doctors who are aware that their presence is enabling torture to be used in interrogation, make sure that they are not there. Another suggestion is that interrogations be filmed. It is not impossible, and it would be a lot cheaper than holding a "trial within a trial" in order to determine whether or not an action involved torture.

Dr. Elid Zmora: In Be'er-Sheva we try to educate other doctors, but I do not know whether we have succeeded. Actually, what we teach at medical school is a profession and skills. A student arrives and in the case of a real conflict, you must give precedence to your moral duties. On a practical level, what can we do? I would ask everybody, when they have the time, to make some practical propositions as to what should be done in order to improve the situation. This is the only thing that comes to my mind at the moment is the "dividing line" which I just mentioned, in other words, demanding that doctors who are aware that their presence is enabling torture to be used in interrogation, make sure that they are not there. Another suggestion is that interrogations be filmed. It is not impossible, and it would be a lot cheaper than holding a "trial within a trial" in order to determine whether or not an action involved torture.

Mr. Ron Levi: I would like to comment on the fact that the people in the police force, the GSS, the IDF, and so on, the people who wear the uniforms, are not here tonight. And that is because their commanders would not allow them to be here, not because they did not want to be here. I am here because I have resigned, but I am still the psychological advisor for Ketziot detention camp, and that is my job when on reserve duty. I have gone through several sleepless nights, but I do the job because I am still a reservist. My diagnosis says that when we want to improve the situation, we have to remember that we are
dealing with individuals — doctors, psychologists, social workers — and not with a system. None of us knows the meaning of ethical rules or moral rules or humane rules as implemented by a group. We are usually talking of one person. When we talk of conscience, we mean the conscience of the individual; my conscience—not that of the people around me. First of all, when you become a military doctor or a military psychologist, either in the GSS or in an institution, the first thing you try to do is to be the best doctor within the framework in which you are. You want to do well in your job, and you won’t be able to do that if you get up and leave or if you point out others who aren’t doing their jobs properly. If we want people to suppress this natural desire for status, success and so on, we have to come up with something to offer them in its place. Secondly, we are all subordinate to our superiors, and suggestability in authoritarian systems like the army or the GSS is extremely significant. The professionals in the field are usually people in their 20’s and 30’s, so if you are a lieutenant or a captain and your commanding officer is a lieutenant-colonel or a colonel, you have to think about how to teach them to cope with problems of authority in a framework which is based on accepting authority. Thirdly, colleagues. You are an individual medical officer or mental health officer in uniform, but you identify with the group around you. You eat in the same canteen, you sleep in the same quarters. It is difficult to come and say I am acting out of medical or psychological or intellectual authority and to ignore the power of the group of associates you belong to. Fourthly, we are talking about a security system. When I think about it intellectually, I put the following on the scales: security—that is, survival—against ethics and morality. I do not have the ideal solution to this problem, but I know that I can’t just consider moral or ethical considerations—they are meaningless. These are the two basic values which we were brought up on, but the person who chooses to be in systems like these has chosen security. Reuven spoke of this, and others also talked about what happens when you are an army psychologist or doctor. There are very serious dilemmas of professional ethics, but survival comes first. And last but not least, we are all affected by current events, and we know what strength you need in order to rise above the spirit of the times. The spirit of the times is what we see in the media. We are paying a price for our existence, and we are all affected by these things. You see that fifteen Jews were killed last month. How and where can you find the spiritual strength to say: that Arab who has just been interrogated just to get the truth is not a suspect? I do not know, because I am not an interrogator; I am a doctor or a psychologist in the interrogations unit. So what do I do at that moment? What they did in Chile is one possibility: if you have a large organization that says: “That’s where we draw the line,” then that’s O.K. And what Professor Rosenfeld just said about people coming from outside and giving support — this is all bits and pieces. But what can you propose for the entire system? But last of all, organizations like those taking part in this symposium have to teach people, by means of such meetings or through publications, the clear difference between what is know as prefactum and post-factum torture. In pre-factum interrogations — in other words, when you are under pressure to find out information in order to prevent an act from being committed, the distinctions are very blurred because of the pressure to discover the concealed bombs or weapons as soon as possible; in such cases, we do not call it torture, but means of interrogation; then there is post-factum torture, in other words what I call torture as punishment for certain behaviour, uprising, for instance. Confusing these two areas detracts some of the moral force of an audience like this in criticising the person with his back to the wall, of whom we demand that he simultaneously ensure our security and uphold moral and ethical principles.

Dr. Izak Moshe: First of all, I am totally opposed to the attempt to establish all kinds of ethical principles. For instance, I am totally against the idea of not being in a certain place where I know I can be of help, under the illusion that if I’m not there, this awful thing will supposedly not take place. There were wars before Florence Nightingale came along, and there was a utopian attempt on the part of doctors all over the world to unite and refuse to take part in wars—any more, under the illusion that then there wouldn’t be any more wars, but that’s simply not true. There will be wars. Secondly, much to my regret, the only thing that stops a doctor from not being in a certain place is money. Not only here, but all over the world. And practically speaking, now: all medical education involves a important process which can be utilized, namely the process of identifying with role models. I have no doubt that we all think that doctors should not take part, either directly or indirectly, in torture. And I can tell you, just from personal experience, that when I was a student and even indirectly, I just refused to do that. I also managed to influence my friends, and such things did not take place. And nothing terrible happened to me, as you see; I got to where I am today. In other words, a person can say: “I don’t want to do that, I don’t think it’s moral,” and he can decide not to take part in it. At the same time, something else happened: I could also influence people younger than me. It is important to use the idea of role-models. It is very important that the Israel Medical Association and leading figures in Israeli medicine take a stand, and I would strongly urge that this stand not be a political one, but rather that everybody, without exception, should be opposed to torture and should not support it. Tonight’s discussion, for example, is an excellent thing. This is the first time I have taken part in anything like this and I hope it will continue. All the professional organizations of the Israel Medical Association could issue an order or a communique stating that they oppose the participation of doctors in GSS interrogations. The Ethics Committee of the Israel Medical Association could also issue such a statement, and I think that this is the best way to influence young people. There are some young people whom I could influence and for whom I may be able to forge some kind of moral path. But I want to make it clear that there is a difference between what I have just said and telling a person where or where not to serve in the army. ==

61062. Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace; IMUT: Dilemmas of Professional Ethics As a Result of the Involvement of Doctors and Psychologists in Interrogations and Torture: Part 08: Discussion: Concluding Round By the Panel. Symposium, Jerusalem, 4/19/1993. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture In Israel; Mental Health Workers For The Advancement of Peace (IMUT), 1993. Dr. Yehoyakim Stein: I would like to start with what Dr. Izak said about what would happen if doctors didn’t participate, and didn’t do reserve duty at Ansar, for example. Because we are not, after all, living in a dictatorship in which anything is possible, we can assume that the whole thing would collapse. Why? For quite practical reasons. If doctors didn’t take part in interrogations, this would seriously hinder all those things that he GSS does which are against the law and actually even against the Landau Commission recommendations. If it is quite clear that they will not be able to find a doctor anywhere to treat a detainee, the GSS will be very scared of further "work accidents". Obviously, they don’t want to kill their prisoners; they want them to talk. But they work under certain restrictions, and the doctors actually help them in their work. If the doctors don’t cooperate, the whole thing will collapse. Secondly, as far as ethics and security are concerned, and the question of what comes first and all that: Let’s look at what our moral expectations of other nations are. You don’t have to go very far to see that we demand of others what we do not demand of ourselves. We were all horrified at the time by the Turkish film "Midnight Express", about the young American who is caught smuggling drugs and tortured in prison. We were all shocked, and we asked ourselves when was the least time we had visited an Israeli prison and seen what goes on there. So far as ethics and security are concerned, you have to remember that we pretty much accept Amnesty reports when they talk about what happens in other places, but we don’t usually accept them when they talk about what’s happening here.

It was said before that doctors do not have to be angels. Nevertheless, doctors belong to a social category of which we have certain expectations. Like judges, for example. There are judges who play dumb, and judges who take initiative and who can make considerable legal contributions by taking initiative and acting responsibly. The same applies to doctors. The difference between a
person as a human being and a person as an army psychologist, an army psychiatrist or an army doctor was also mentioned here. I cannot accept flus. A person is the same person wherever he is and whatever job he is doing, even if the sociologists say that the role determines the person, and we have to judge people holistically. I would now like to quote from the Landau Commission Report, which states: "The interrogations, so far as it has been explained to us, ensure that medical examinations are performed, and withholding medical treatment is one of the means of pressure applied during interrogations." The Landau Commission does not say this after having conducted a thorough examination of the situation, but simply assumes that this is the case and totally ignores the reality in the field. The doctors should be the ones who ensure that medical treatment or its denial do not constitute a part of interrogations.

Prof. Carmi Margalit: I would like to conclude with a few words on medical education. The immediate solution, or most of the immediate solutions to the problems raised here have already been mentioned, but for me the long-term solution is still the educational one. Medical education is education for practice in a profession involving both thought and action. The best preparation that I know of for thinking is to teach people how to define problems correctly and how to ask questions. Not necessarily to give answers. That is why I am very much in favour of events like tonight’s discussion, and I am fully in favour of giving people the opportunity to speak the truth publicly; to say things and to try to phrase the questions in the best possible way. In my experience, if you define the problem and ask the right questions, the solutions are self-evident. I did not mean to say that it is a good thing to keep quiet. I posed a question and I did not suggest an answer. The answer should be obvious. The best preparation for educating for practice is to really participate and try to support people and experience what they are going through.

Dr. Meir Liron: I am a bit concerned about the type of doctors reflected in the reports distributed to the people here tonight. I have seen the handwriting and the spelling mistakes in a few of these reports, and I have a fairly good idea, at least in some cases, of where these doctors have just come from. These are doctors who recoil from any confrontation with the establishment; for whom any kind of protest, even against a doctor who is slightly more senior than them, is practically unthinkable. So it seems to me quite unrealistic to expect that, once a doctor, finding himself in a very oppressive system such as the prison system, would report things like this. Nevertheless, I like to look on the bright side. The doctor who reported the bruises on the detainee’s behind at least wrote that much. And so I am very much in favour of the doctor being there, so that there will at least be some report that can inform us about things afterwards. If he is a human being, one can expect him to behave like a human being within that system, and that in my view is more important than the fact that his presence as it were justifies deviations from the norms and the use of force during interrogations. All the same, I am in favour of him refusing to participate in interrogations. It is plain naivete on Dr. Stein’s part to think that in a system like ours, with the national struggle being waged here, anything like what happened in Chile could take place. So what must we do? Act. Change public opinion. It is a fact, for example, that in this association of which I am a member, there are about a hundred doctors who are members, out of some ten thousand doctors in the country. In other words, this is not such a popular business. What else can we do? A professional organization should be established comprising those people sitting here, and doctors in the system should be able to report irregular incidents to them for investigation.

Dr. Reuven Gal: I also think this evening’s discussion is very important. And I do not disagree with what Professor Rosenfeld said earlier about the need to feel sympathy for the people doing these things, but beyond this, I have to say that we have made things very easy for ourselves tonight. I think that the manner in which things have been mentioned here has been at best naive, and at worst superficial. We have made things easy for ourselves. I recently interviewed a group of rangers who had taken part in the Vietnam war, and they told me of the interrogation methods used against the Vietkong. There the system was to take a few prisoners of war up in a helicopter and to tell them: “If you don’t tell us right now where that mortar is that’s killing our guys every night, we’ll throw one of you out of the helicopter.”—and they did throw them out. The doctor sitting in the helicopter looked the other way because they were taking a mortar which was killing some of those rangers every night, and he thought that the only thing he could do in such a situation was to turn away. Try to imagine the following dilemma: you are taking part in the interrogation of a terrorist who has been apprehended after placing an explosive charge in a building, set to go off in ten minutes. And you have to decide whether or not to give him Pentothol. Whether or not to interrogate him. And if you like, I’ll make it even more complicated: Your wife and children are in that building. Now I would like to see the doctor who would intervene on moral grounds and tell them to stop the interrogation. Let’s deal with real problems and not with side issues.

Calls from the floor: Cases like that are rare!

Dr. Reuven Gal: We have to examine the rare cases, not the simple, problematic cases. I am not trying to be provocative, but I would like to conclude by saying that in my view, it is arrogant to regard doctors, psychologists or psychiatrists as having some moral advantage over other people. It’s not only doctors who have ethics; fighters and soldiers also have ethics and they also have moral dilemmas which are no less difficult, and in my opinion often more serious, than those of doctors and psychiatrists. So I welcome the initiative to hold discussions like this evening’s, but I think that the real problems are not our problems, but the problems of our sons who have to serve in the territories and deal with these terrific problems without any professional backing.

Dr. Rami Aharonson: One cannot demand of doctors and psychologists that they be better than other people. But this is definitely the place to demand and to expect that they act professionally within their field. An integral part of any profession, even by definition, is the ethical code of that particular profession. And medical ethics is internationally defined; there are no arguments about it, and it is part of the profession exactly as knowledge of internal medicine is part of the profession. And I do not think that cases such as those described by Dr. Gal are the most difficult cases because they are really rare. Most cases are not like that. You are usually dealing with people who are undergoing prolonged interrogation a long time after the acts with which they are charged have actually been committed, and it is not at all a matter of urgency. Nevertheless, reality is fraught with problems. And I think that the main thing that has come to light here is the contradiction between a professional person and a person who is part of a system. This seems even more difficult when one considers that the system, the GSS or the IDF, is part of Israeli society and we are part of it. No one forced us to be like that, but that’s the way it is. The dilemma is that this causes emotions and conflicts within me as an individual. Some of them I am aware of, and some I may not be so aware of, and it is difficult to be as objective as the profession demands. All these are very complex issues and I have no solution to them. Nevertheless, some important points have been raised here.

One—creating figures or well-known personalities who can serve as role-models with the aim of providing a support group for people in the field. Creating public norms and emphasizing them, on the part of people who are accepted in their profession, so that ethics is not just something you once learned at medical school, but an ideal for 1,000 doctors in the country. In other words, this is not such a popular part of people who are accepted in their profession, so that ethics is not something that a hundred doctors who are members, out of some ten thousand doctors in the country. In other words, this is not such a popular part of people who are accepted in their profession, so that ethics is not something that a hundred doctors who are members, out of some ten thousand doctors in the country. In other words, this is not such a popular part of people who are accepted in their profession, so that ethics is not something that
Researchers have a large space on which to operate. This means that view, whether applying pressure to a person and... from obtaining confessions by force is that disturbing allegations were being heard about the torture and ill-intact. Human rights organizations, the media, and academic was an offence. After the publication of the report, it is not so clear, in my Israel itself, traditions of a democratic society remain more or less there was no doubt that applying pressure to people under interrogation... and sentencing him. This may be a very moral approach and one less... there are cases in which—at least in the opinion of the investigating authorities—the only way to get hold of the guilty parties or to prove their guilt in court is by their own confession of guilt. In other words, when there is no external or circumstantial evidence. On the other hand, it is very hard to imagine a situation in which a person (in such a case where there is no external evidence or strong circumstantial evidence) would incriminate himself. I would even say that to do so would be contrary to human nature. And here we have the dilemma: Shall we, in all cases in which there is no external evidence, forgo bringing the person to court? Or can we still find a way to confest his crime without offending basic moral values? This is... or his property in order to extract a confession from him, his her confession is held to be valid in principle against him and to lead to... to influence public opinion in order to change the existing situation. The existence of torture and physical and psychological pressure undermines the foundations of the democracy, violates international laws and the laws of the State of Israel, and constitutes a moral crime. The Public Committee collects reliable information regarding individual cases of physical or psychological violence on the part of the authorities. The Public Committee is forming a lobby of lawyers and members of parliament for the amendment of certain sections of the Criminal Law. One of the Public Committee’s central activities is examining the findings of the 1987 Landau Commission Report and preparing critical background material on this report. The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel was founded in 1989 by a group of lawyers, psychiatrists, academics, journalists, doctors and human rights activists. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture in Israel [POB 8588, Jerusalem, 91083, Israel], July 12, 1990. [The Symposium was organized by The Association of Civil Rights in] Jerusalem: Branch in collaboration with The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI) in The Israel Bar Association House, 1 Chopen St., Jerusalem on 7/12/90. (1) The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel is the leading exponent of this method, treating of Palestinians interrogated by the General Security Service (the Shabak). We felt that a special organization was needed to investigate and deal with individual cases and to create public awareness of the problem. By the nature of the political conflict today—particularly the mass detentions (some 70000 since the start of the intifada)—most allegations come from Palestinians under interrogation. We are committed, however, to working against any use of torture—whether against Jews or Palestinians, whether in political or criminal investigations. At first, we encountered surprise and denial. “Torture” is a taboo subject. This is not something that can happen here. Our first year’s work, alas, has confirmed our initial suspicion that ill-treatment during GSS interrogations is widespread and routine. Other groups have also become more concerned with the problem. Palestinian human rights organizations. As I have said, is pressure during interrogation. In my opinion, this is a fundamental and fascinating subject, as it presents us with a dilemma. We all know that there are cases in which—at least in the opinion of the investigating authorities—the only way to get hold of the guilty parties or to prove their guilt in court is by their own confession of guilt. In other words, when there is no external or circumstantial evidence. On the other hand, it is very hard to imagine a situation in which a person (in such a case where there is no external evidence or strong circumstantial evidence) would incriminate himself. I would even say that to do so would be contrary to human nature. And here we have the dilemma: Shall we, in all cases in which there is no external evidence, forgo bringing the person to court? Or can we still find a way to confest his crime without offending basic moral values? 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by means of pressure shall not be valid in court and the policeman who obtained it shall be prosecuted. By this means, policemen's motivation for applying force is reduced or eliminated. For a certain period during the 60's this approach was also adopted by our High Court. I would like at this point to mention a very famous and, in retrospect, very pertinent case. I refer to the case of an income tax investigator by the name of Dr. Yisrael Artzi, who in 1965 was interrogated by Zigel (once known as "the terrorist who wanted to cause a revolution" but embraced by the High Court, and that he is adopting the new approach and regards it as a part of the legal situation on which the report is based. I would like to note a few points regarding this issue. So as not to get involved in legal questions, I would make a clear distinction between police interrogation methods for purposes of fighting regular crime, and interrogation methods in the war against terrorism. In other words, I would not put these two areas under one heading, and this is where I see the Landau Commission's greatest weakness: the Commission established, on the basis of the current legal situation, criteria which are applicable to anyone with the authority to conduct interrogations. I see no legal reason to distinguish between what a GSS interrogator is allowed to do and what a police interrogator is allowed to do, unless it is clear of what the need to protect a "necessity", and I shall devote a few words to this matter.

The problem facing police interrogators is usually fundamentally different from the problem facing the GSS interrogators. The police force's purpose is to uncover criminals and prosecute them. The danger likely to be caused to the public as a result of criminal activity is not the same as the risk created by the criminal activity of a terrorist organization. The means available to the police for the purpose of assembling and preparing a case are essentially different from the means available to the GSS. The length of time available to the police in which to conduct an investigation is far greater than that available to the GSS, and is sometimes unlimited. The possibility of obtaining additional evidence—whether circumstantial or genuine, by gathering visible evidence or testimonies from people who were present at the scene of the crime and are prepared and able to cooperate, is far greater. The objective of trying and sentencing a criminal is one of the most important aims of the war against crime, including both punishing the criminal and rehabilitating him in order that he may fit into society—which is irrelevant as far as the other category goes. In dealing with interrogations of criminals, the evidence obtained has to be genuine, while for the purpose of the war against terrorism (and I don't mean the GSS interrogators but the society protecting itself against such offences) there is a problem, namely, that in virtually every case there are no witnesses who are prepared to come and testify. The only material available is that offered by the suspect himself. The willingness on the part of terrorists to cooperate (that's what we call it) with their interrogators is practically non-existent. Interrogators who obtain confessions from suspects sometimes claim that the willingness to confess was a reflection of a guilty conscience. At a certain stage, the person wants to relieve himself of the distress caused to him by feelings of guilt. It is certainly true, not in the case of serious crimes, but in the case of people who have committed offences, even serious offences, but who are not criminals, that the offender experiences a conflict between his moral values and the act that he has committed. These are the most convenient suspects for interrogators to deal with, as they are in a state of inner conflict, in very great distress, and by means of the correct psychological techniques and a certain amount of patience, they can be made to confess. Such a confession, according to the Evidence Law, will undoubtedly be free and willing, and will stand the test of our moral standards.

In the case of terrorist activities, such a thing is impossible. There is no sense of guilt. On the contrary, there is no wish to cooperate, and all those methods of interrogation will lead nowhere. An additional factor which must be taken into account when distinguishing these two types, is that in the case of terrorist activity, there is an element of fear. Not fear of the interrogator, but fear of what will happen to the person if he cooperates with his interrogators. The public do not know this, but it is enough to make a short visit to the pathological institute and take a quick look at the bodies of the "executed" people who are considered "collaborators" (today it is enough for them to just be suspected of

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collaboration). We can see the way people were dealt with by their friends when there was any suspicion of cooperation with the authorities. This fear in effect prevents any possibility of cooperation with interrogators by regular procedures. If one considers this situation, one can understand what the interrogator is up against when he has to conduct an interrogation to obtain information. Applying identical or similar rules to both these types of interrogation is unjust and basically mistaken. When dealing with this subject, one must distinguish between two levels: one is the political level. We each have our own opinions which are reflected in the way we deal with the question. Naturally, we are told: first dry the swamp, and then the problem will be solved. This may be so, but as long as there is something wrong, as long as there is a swamp, and we are dealing here with a society that has to personally defend itself, the question is what is this society permitted to do, and where do you draw the line?

Here we come to the second level, namely the moral level. In other words, what are you prepared to do for your own defence without sacrificing your moral values? And then you compromise, reduce the efficiency of your actions and take risks so that you will be able to live with yourself and the society will be able to live with itself. In fact, this is the problem which faced the Landau Commission. Therefore I can criticize this report from various aspects, but basically, it did a very brave thing. In attempting to provide an answer for situations which it is very difficult to find an answer for, the Commission was fairly successful. On the invitation to this symposium (which to the organizers’ credit, it must be said, was changed at my request), it says, “Moderate physical pressure—and interrogation methods in Israel”: well, the Landau Commission allowed moderate physical pressure and prohibited torture for any purposes and under almost any circumstances. If the report had included a recommendation to prohibited torture, this would have constituted a virtual confirmation of the situation—it would be as if the Commission acknowledged the existence of torture during interrogations and intended to outlaw this practice. But when the Landau Commission permits moderate physical pressure, in doing so it is stating that torture is forbidden. And we are not the only ones with this problem. The British, whom we do not define as the worst of nations, face a similar problem, and four commissions, mentioned in the Landau report, have dealt with this question, as has the Human Rights Commission of the European Commonwealth and the Court of the European Commonwealth. And statements were made which constituted rules as to what is permissible and what is not. When the Landau Commission said what it said, it was referring to GSS interrogations, and if we take the common example of what is known as “the ticking clock”, and assume that in thirty seconds, a bomb will go off under the chair of that lady over there who just smiled, then I would ask myself: if she wants to live, and the man who set the bomb or knows of its location is undergoing interrogation—what is permissible psychological pressure and what is moderate physical pressure? And I want you to know that at this very moment there are ten bombs ticking. So the relevant authorities say. If this is true, what is permissible and what is not?

The Landau Commission tried to give an answer to this question and the answer appears in Appendix B, that same classified appendix unavailable to the public. It determined the means and the methods which are permissible, but it also determined the methods which are not permissible, and what it determined is that what is regarded as torture during interrogation in most countries of the world, including Britain, is considered prohibited. The problem with the Landau Commission report is that it does not distinguish between the question of the validity of a confession and the question of interrogation methods, and I am of the opinion that these two questions should be distinguished. The legal procedure in the case of GSS investigations is secondary, in some cases one might even say almost irrelevant. The GSS conducts its interrogations for operative, preventive purposes. Penalizing the offender (by means of his confession, which could be a basis for conviction) is secondary in my opinion, whereas in the case of police investigations, penalization is one of the principle objectives. Therefore, one must distinguish between the operative and operational activity intended to ev,
of. It is not true, therefore, that the only way to obtain information is by means of a confession. There are many different ways to get information and, by the way, there are also witnesses. There are a lot of people who tell things about other people. This is an existing phenomenon. It is true that the relative safety of these people has recently been undermined, but the phenomenon of witnesses testifying against others who belong to terrorist organizations still exists. Likewise, it is not true that the security service is not interested in making people stand trial. It is true that its main objective is to foil and prevent terrorist activities, but it has—and how—an interest in making people stand trial. Obviously, in the same way as there is a preventive element in police investigations, it is not true that the police act with the sole intent of bringing criminals to trial. In the case of a serious, persistent criminal the prosecution has a preventive effect of utmost importance. Thus one can always, in every comparison, see the contrasting aspects and, as I have just showed, the similar aspects. There are some very serious cases of delinquency which put police interrogators in a really difficult dilemma, in situations in which the means available to them are no better and maybe even worse than those available to the GSS. Interrogators, if one disregards physical pressure for a moment, will have to make a distinction proposed by Adv. Atzmon is correct in certain contexts but wrong in others. The conclusion of all this is that, if my analysis up until now is correct, it means that whoever accepts the use of physical pressure when dealing with terrorist activities, will also have to accept it in certain contexts in the case of regular crime, namely serious and organized crime.

Another factor to be kept in mind is who the terrorists or suspected terrorists which the Commission refers to are. The Commission defines terrorist activity in a very general manner, including in this definition not only the people who set the bombs but also everything which it refers to as "subversive political activity", in other words, this includes people whose activity consists in somebody having asked them: "Would you be prepared to join such and such an organization?" and their having replied: "Yes". And this also includes joining an organization with several branches which are involved in various kinds of civilian activities. I doubt whether there are many people in the occupied territories who, if asked "Would you join such and such an organization"—would say "No". This whole population of people who say "Yes" is included in the category of candidates for political crime. And anybody who expresses support for such an organization also becomes a suspect candidate, as of course do all those who have contacts with terrorist organizations. And to all these people, Adv. Atzmon tells us, following the Landau Report, it might be absolutely necessary to apply physical pressure. And at this juncture, I would like to turn to the legal question:

As regards the legal analysis on which the Landau Commission's conclusions are based, I shall start from the bottom line, as I see it: in my opinion, the Israeli legal system has no legal basis which enables it to apply physical pressure to people undergoing interrogation. The legal basis on which the Commission relies, the "necessity" paragraph, is a fictitious and incorrect basis. Israeli law states that the application of such pressure by a public employee is a criminal offence, and the "necessity" paragraph does not apply to the case at issue for three reasons: firstly, the "necessity" paragraph is not intended to grant authority to governmental bodies. An important rule in the rule of law is that if one wants to grant a governmental body the power to commit an act which violates an individual right, the legislator must issue an explicit and clearly defined instruction to this effect. The "necessity" paragraph, which is a general and vague instruction, cannot constitute such a basis. The second reason is that the "necessity" paragraph is qualified by there being no other way to deal with the situation, and, in my view, it is very difficult to indicate cases in which there really is no other way to act. Do the GSS interrogators really resort to the use of pressure only after having offered the suspect a million dollars? Or suggesting that he leave the country under a false identity? Have they really exhausted all other means? There are almost always other means. The third reason is that if we seriously consider what is at stake here, we are forced to conclude that the use of pressure is not proportionate to the evil which we want to prevent. Thus, from the point of view of the existing law, not only are the conclusions of the Committee not in keeping with the law, they are actually against the law.

What Adv. Atzmon is in fact saying is: Let's ask ourselves what is the right thing to do. Let's assume that the law as it stands today does not cover physical pressure. According to this version, one has to say to the legislator: given this necessary situation of investigations into terrorist activities, a law must be passed permitting interrogators to use moderate physical pressure. But in my opinion, a state which employs such a law cannot be considered a state of law in the full sense of the phrase, for there are things which a state of law, or an enlightened state, cannot permit itself to do, and applying pressure to people in order to make them talk when they do not want to talk, in other words applying physical pressure, is just one such thing. The moderate physical pressure which the Commission report permits or which we (in our imaginary exercise) are considering whether to legally endorse, is physical pressure intended to break a person, to break his will, to treat him as a pool of information, the object of the pressure being to extract this information from him against his real will; it is using a person as an instrument. This is the last thing one can do in a state in which there is some sort of minimal respect for a human being as such. In my opinion, we have here an absolute prohibition in procedural international law, an absolute prohibition concerning emergency situations or any circumstances, and if not from the law of nations, at least from natural law, and if not from natural law, then from a society's wish to be an enlightened society, a society of people who are able to look at themselves in the mirror. Therefore, I hold that the word "moderate" in the context of "moderate physical pressure" is misleading. It may be moderate when compared to other, more terrible things which the Commission does not permit. But because of the affront to human dignity, because of the mental suffering it causes, any physical pressure whose objective is to force a person to speak is, in my opinion, torture, or at the very least inhumane and humiliating treatment which is out of bounds.

There is another thing that cannot be overlooked. The Commission might have had the best intentions in the world, and might have genuinely meant the pressure in question to be moderate physical pressure and nothing beyond this, but in my opinion it is going against a person's nature to tell him: moderate physical pressure—yes; beyond that—no. In my opinion, the Commission is at fault in that it traps the interrogators. If one wants to prevent torture, there is only one way to do so, and that is to make the body of the suspect strictly taboo. There is no other way. There is no point in coming to the interrogators and telling them: one or two slaps in the face, O.K., but not a third. Whoever gives three or four slaps and does not achieve his purpose, will give the third slap. Such is human nature, and I am surprised at the Commission for not understanding this. Escalation is an integral part of physical pressure, and the more dedicated the interrogator, especially if he has already started using physical pressure, the more he will consider himself obliged to achieve results, even if only to justify the slap he has already given, for if not—what was the slap for? Thus, one slap will lead to another slap, in the wake of which the pressure will increase, and whoever endorses moderate physical pressure is in effect endorsing torture.

The question, of course, is whether Israeli society is prepared to endorse torture, and this is a question which everybody has to deal with, both from the point of view of people sitting on chairs liable to blow up, and from the point of view of those who tomorrow might find themselves suspected of some kind of act, or membership, or support, and are liable to be subject to the proponents of such treatment. It must be remembered that such treatment is employed in the case of people who are after all only suspects. And from the Commission report itself, one reasms that only 50% of the people interrogated by the security service were tried. I don't have knowledge how many out of the 50% against whom legal measures were taken on the basis of such interrogations really committed offences, but there are 50% against whom no legal measures were taken, in other words this treatment is adhered to not only towards people who actually committed crimes, but towards suspects, and a
suspect can also be a person whom somebody says is a member of a terrorist organization. Therefore, if we weigh the evil which we wish to prevent against the evil caused, the evil caused has more weight.

The main problem here is that of the distinction. The Commission, and Adv. Atzmon after it, construct a distinction between “us” and “them”. There is an enemy—“them”, and that “them” is a “them” which is hermetically sealed from us—and there is “us”. They lay the bombs and we sit on the chairs which might blow up, and therefore we are entitled and obliged to employ means to prevent the bombs from blowing up. I argue that this impermeable distinction is misleading, as witnessed by the name Nafsu which was mentioned here. He, as it happens, is not one of “them”. He is one of us. There is no them and us. That line does not exist, and anybody who wants to examine his opinion on the report has to put himself not only in the place of the potential victim of a terrorist attack, but also in the place of the person being interrogated, and in that of the person doing the interrogation. This is an important test, because the personal freedom of people is doing so on our behalf. It is as if we ourselves were interrogating. One must ask oneself whether one is prepared to use these means.

Moshe Negbi—Chairman: I have two comments on what Prof. Kremnitzer said about the dynamics of one slap leading to three slaps. I would like to remind you that the Landau Commission report itself says this in another way. It says that in fact, once you have broken a taboo, the law says that once you have broken the taboo, you cannot stop it. At the beginning, there was an agreement within the GSS and in the GSS upper ranks, to use illegitimate means of interrogation and to give false testimonies only in cases of suspects whom the interrogators were convinced did in fact commit the offence, on the basis of evidence which could not be presented in court or altered, etc. And, as the report says, this barrier was broken down, and things reached the stage where even when there was some dispute amongst the interrogators as to a person’s guilt (and here the Commission again presents the Nafsu example), they could no longer halt the dynamics, and andused the ame methods. I think that the best and most pertinent example of this is the case of beatings in the territories. Whoever gave clubs to soldiers and expected them to beat people only under circumstances X, Y, discovered that things developed very quickly, and as soon as soldiers got used to the idea that civilians could be beaten and their bones broken, it reached the stage of beating grips and beating corners and beating lookouts such as we hear of from the court cases. In my opinion, this is a very relevant example of the dynamics which Prof. Kremnitzer just talked about. Earlier Prof. Kremnitzer mentioned that one cannot apply two different laws, one to the police and one to the GSS. And here, the Moadi brothers, whom Adv. Feldman defended, are in my opinion an example of criminals who, like terrorists, had no sense of guilt. According to their moral code, they did what they had to do and, according to the internal logic of the Landau Commission as you explained it, I think that in their case too it would have been justified to apply moderate physical pressure, but you may discuss this later. Adv. Feldman, I would like to ask you whether all this has not already happened? These norms which the Landau Commission endorsed for the GSS—didn’t that constitute a basically retroactive endorsement? According to the Landau Commission itself, these norms were in practice beforehand as well, albeit illegally, and now they have, to a certain extent, been given the Commission’s stamp of approval. Are they not already seeping into the police force? Earlier, I mentioned the Danny Katz murder case. I understand that you, as an attorney on that case, will not be able to go into this specific subject, but as someone who followed the hearing of that appeal, I remember that serious claims were made during the appeal as to pressure which is not so far removed from the kind of pressure which we hear about in the context of the GSS. [=]

61066. Public Committee Against Torture in Israel. Moderate Physical Pressure: Interrogation Methods in Israel: Part 4: Introduction. Symposium Following the Landau Commission Report, 7/12/1990. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture in Israel [POB 8588, Jerusalem, 91083, Israel], July 12, 1990. Adv. Feldman: In order to really understand how the GSS norms, according to the Landau Commission report, came to be part of the system, one has to bring the Landau report back to reality. And one of the amazing things which strikes the reader of the report is the distance between it and reality; the partly optimistic, unambiguous concepts, the clear distinctions between black and white, the creation of extreme situations which are part of the report of doubts, as opposed to the background of the complex, multi-faceted reality in which the report operates. One asks oneself, how did it happen that three people, who are normally occupied with reality and its various material, from different aspects—one of them Judge Malz, who was the State Comptroller, a man well-versed in assessing reality, gathering facts, attaining complex impressions; the second, Judge Landau, whose integrity, analytical ability and capacity for reaching conclusions from actual, complex situations is undisputed (and anybody who has appeared before Judge Landau is acquainted with his sharp mind, his ability to draw the sting, the bare facts, out of complex cases), and the third, Major-General Hoff, whose personal biography I am not familiar with, but who is an attorney, a man—again, as a general, a military man, has certainly had experience in dealing with reality—how did it happen that these three people wrote and published a totally optimistic report? Prof. Kremnitzer has already mentioned some of the extreme contradictions between the report and the facts of reality. For example, the two-fold claim of the report that terrorist organizations constitute a real mortal danger, a risk to the existence of the State of Israel. Which is incorrect. If there is a real mortal danger, this is the result of conflict of individuals, not of organizations. The report states, with a certain childishness, “As will be explained below, the GSS is very scrupulous about not accepting from persons under interrogation false confessions concerning untrue facts. The aim is to obtain a true confession, using psychological pressure if need be, and sometimes even physical pressure. How can one know this? How can one know whether the confessions are true confessions or false confessions? For in the end, when the case reaches the court, it is on the basis of confessions that convictions are made. Furthermore, the report says, again with a certain naivetee, that it hopes that the organization will “turn over a new leaf, clean of blemishes, and maintain its vital activity in the war against Arab terrorism, within the framework of the existing law as we interpreted it above.” And the writers of the report are quite confident that this is indeed what will happen. And as for the internal contradictions: the report says (as mentioned by Prof. Kremnitzer) that 50% of the people interrogated by the GSS were eventually brought to trial. This statistic is presented by the report without any comment. 50% means that one in two underwent a process of moderate physical pressure, for before the report there was no moderate physical pressure, and yet the report shows no difference was found. In the end, they withheld the physical pressure and did not confess. Furthermore, the report says that the GSS does not begin an interrogation unless it has a genuine and reasonable basis to assume that the person in question is suspected of or involved in terrorist or subversive activity. And we know, of course, that in the end, one out of every two was found not guilty. Not guilty in the eyes of the GSS He was never brought to court. In other words, the suspicion was not always reasonable or well-based. And what does reasonable suspicion mean anyway? What is the meaning of reasonable suspicion from the point of view of a GSS agent?

Thus once again one is faced with the question: How did the report of a commission of enquiry come to be so alienated and removed from reality? And here we come to the special and extremely irregular nature of any system of application of pressure which we shall call by its correct name: torture. This is a complex system and one which it is difficult to treat and to discuss. It is so irregular in our culture. As Prof. Kremnitzer said, our culture is based on the taboo of the human body and on the idea of distance. And one could define the modern liberal culture as the distance between the body and the beating hand of the regime. From the moment this distance is violated, from the moment when this so delicate separation between body and beating hand is no longer valid, extremely deep internal changes occur in the entire fabric of the culture, and not only in the legal system, which is only one variable cultural system, but in different systems which become swallowed up by this thing. An American philosopher by the name of Elias Stein has written a book entitled “The Body in Pain” [Oxford University Press, 1985], in
which she describes how the culture of torture creates an alternative culture to our own. A culture which gradually develops and creates its own institutions and organizations. And what is worse is that this culture gradually swallows up existing organizations. It creates, in anyone who is in some way involved in the torture system, vested interests: (1) To maintain the system; (2) To keep it secret; (3) To talk ambiguously.

Radical changes take place in the cultural fabric, and the Landau report is a good example of this. This is, it is a parallel with the GSS system. It is a parallel with what the Commission is creating exactly the same vested interest for everybody involved in this system—that of keeping it secret. Hiding it. Camouflaging it from others. Why should the GSS interrogation methods before the Landau Commission be kept secret? For the assumption is that these methods will not continue to be employed. In other words, the act or sophisticated trick that lead to them is of no value from a security point of view because they will no longer be employed. The report cooperates with the GSS in agreeing that these things should be kept secret. And what about the confidential section of the report, the recommendations to apply moderate physical pressure? Once again, this is supposed to be an interest in confidentiality so that the people being interrogated will perhaps not know what is in store for them during their interrogation. But what is the significance of this interest as against the law, which states, in a very central and basic legislation in our legal system, the rights of a person under interrogation? The question of the means that can be employed is not open to public, academic or professional criticism. It is a closely guarded secret. And one wonders why. The report which I am holding is which was published in “Haaretz” and which displays, below the headline, photographs of the members of the Commission, and I am looking at them now: people whose faces seem marked with the stamp of intellectualism. Judge Malz, bespectacled; Judge Landau, a fine-featured man, and Major-General Hofi—what do such people know about beating, I ask myself. How did these three people create the codex of moderate physical pressure? (I once wondered, in what language is that appendix actually written, anyway? And why do I ask? Because Hebrew has a very poor vocabulary when it comes to words for beating. There are not many expressions, not many nuances when it comes to beating. And I reached the conclusion that that part must be written in Yiddish. Because there is no language like Yiddish for such a hierarchy of beatings. There is patz and there is zetz, and all sorts. You can achieve very precise nuances.)

To get back to the question of “the report’s contagious nature”. In other words, the need to cooperate, to help, to compose a secret guide to illegitimate methods of interrogation. In the report, then, we see: (a) The removal from reality. (b) The cooperation in keeping the illegitimate methods secret. (c) The writing of the illegitimate guide.

I brought this report as an example in order to indicate what really goes on in the field. A system of torture and physical pressure does not operate in a vacuum. It operates through institutions. These are people and organizations and places and there are methods for applying moderate physical pressure. Moderate physical pressure is applied in prisons. Thus, a special wing is needed in a prison where the GSS conducts interrogations. For you can’t have everybody seeing how the secret section of the Landau report is implemented, how moderate physical pressure is applied. For from the moment the report stated that it was classified, and that the methods of interrogation were classified, a permit was immediately granted for creating secret inner pockets. Here, we already have a wing in the prison. In this wing, there have to be wardens. For the GSS, of course, are not wardens, and now you see that we have included the warden “profession” in this system, for they, just like the Commission, have obligations, and they cooperate with what goes on there. The Commission does not say what the illegitimate methods which the GSS used before the investigation were, and no do the wardens. This ame kind of cooperation takes place amongst the wardens as well.

You also need policemen, because they aid—quite rightly—that the GSS does not take confessions for court, for they try to reduce the friction and the contact with the courts as much as possible, so that when the time comes to appear in court it is a problem for the GSS agent who will testify. And so they summon a policeman. And it might be that when this policeman comes into the cell where the interrogatee person is waiting to give him his confession, there is somebody else in the next-door cell, undergoing a process of moderate physical pressure. The policeman sees this, but, of course, he is obliged to keep quiet. He is obliged, of course, to be a part of the system and to cooperate with it. And so we have included another person in the system of silence and concealment. Sometimes another profession is added. Sometimes the moderate physical pressure does not work and the suspect dies. Then you have to call a doctor. And this doctor is also obliged by the Landau report to keep quiet about the interrogation methods, and he won’t say anything either. Maybe he will fix the medical report—and this is not unheard of. Maybe he will change it, saying, “No, not beating; rather, maybe this man banged his head against the wall in an attempt to escape, and so forth.” And afterwards, since the person is dead, he is brought to a pathologist who examines the body and here is another person who has to keep the classified part of the Landau Commission secret. And he won’t say anything either.

Then one day, the case comes to court. Maybe the family pressed charges. And the court—and again, this is not unheard of—also guards the secret. In High Court of Justice verdicts, where details of the pathological reports on people who died during interrogation were requested, the High Court often determined that these reports were confidential and would not be given to the family of the deceased. Or maybe only certain sections of the reports. And I ask myself: what damage to the state security could the body of a person who has undergone GSS interrogation constitute? But here we have the ame process, which Prof. Kremnitzer spoke of, that on the one hand does not stop at moderate physical pressure, from the point of view of its operational element, and on the other hand, the built-in process expands and contracts, drawing things into it. And it exists in the report of the commission of enquiry which solves the problem in four sentences: It says: “Some of the GSS agents who appeared before us aid that the judges cooperated with them and they knew that when a GSS interrogator appeared in court and talked about an interrogation being conducted in good spirits, this was not true. Anyone who has appeared or been present in such cases is familiar with this. He knows the GSS interrogator so well. To the question how the interrogation was conducted, the word “well” will appear. Then—and I am already waiting for it—comes the coffee. It comes very quickly. Then the GSS agent says: “We drank coffee together.” And then comes the andwich. He always says: “And then he was hungry, so I went downstairs and bought him an andwich.” And I already know how universal these things are. (Anyone who has read Andre Brink’s book “A Dry White Season”, which describes interrogations in South Africa, will know what I mean; suddenly, like a sort of revelation, I found the andwich there too. In the book, there is a scene in which a South African security agent is being cross-examined in court and he says: “We were sitting there, and he was hungry; I went downstairs, and with my own money, I bought him a sandwich, and we ate the sandwich together.”

On this matter, the Landau Commission report says: It is inconceivable that judges cooperated with this phenomenon. Really! It is true that none of us picture a GSS agent going into the Judge’s room and whispering in his ear: “Listen, I’m about to testify in this case, and we both know that I’m going to tell some trumped-up stories about andwiches and good spirits. We both know what really goes on in there.” The cooperation is the ame kind of cooperation which exists in the Commission’s report as well, that is, the creation of some common interest, some common understanding, as to what should be done, what
should be revealed and what should not be revealed. Then there are two possibilities as far as the courts are concerned. If the Landau Commission determines that the GSS agents lied in almost all of the cases in which they appeared in court, and that this practice had been going on for a long time, then either everything that we know and think we know about courts being able to assess evidence, uncover the truth and distinguish between truth and falsehood, is total rubbish, and the courts do not know how to tell truth from lies, or there is no such thing as cooperation. In both cases, the implications and the conclusions of the report concerning the court system are both shocking and disturbing. For if the GSS have managed to deceive the courts for so long, maybe other people are managing it too? What about policemen? And what about plain and simple perjury? And in this way, our entire picture of reality—a reality in which if something comes to court, it is solved—in effect collapses.

In conclusion: these norms undoubtedly spread. They have to spread. And they recruit and incorporate more and more people, more and more places, more and more professions, and these are mobile. In other words, the warden who works in a cell in the GSS wing today will work in the police wing next month. When he finds someone beating a suspect in the police wing, he is already accustomed to keeping quiet. He is already accustomed to the idea that there are some things which one must not mention. Where is he accustomed from? From the Landau Commission report too. He is accustomed by the idea that illegitimate interrogation methods are to be kept secret, and that this should not be discussed with anybody else, and the policeman who comes to take a confession and sees the GSS agent in action, will be taking a confession himself the next day. Will he really be able to maintain that partition and say "Them is them, and us is us? The attitude which policemen develop towards criminals, the inner belief which drives them in their war against crime, is not essentially or qualitatively different from that battallion spirit of the GSS men. Anyone who knows a S.I.T. (special investigations team), or policemen who deal with investigations into serious, despicable crimes like murder, knows that they develop exactly that same determination and that idealization of their actions that the Landau Commission report finds among the GSS men, and that same inner belief that in certain cases, you have to cut corners in order to get the best results.

Mosh Negbi—Chairman: Dr. Yehoakim Stein, I would like to hear your comments from your professional point of view, on two things which were aid here from two opposite angles: Uzi Atzmon's remarks that the Commission indeed permits moderate physical pressure, but prohibits torture. Can there actually be such a distinction as far as the interrogator and the suspect are concerned? Is there any possible red line between moderate physical pressure and torture? Or is there a practical difference from the point of view of the interrogator and the person and the moral damage to the society, the interrogator and his psychological makeup, and as Adv. Feldman basically described it, the culture of the whole society?—Can there be a distinction between using severe or moderate physical pressure and using pressure of any kind, psychological or otherwise, which in fact, by rule of inference, the Landau report allows. In fact, the only thing which it forbids, as Adv. Atzmon said, at least rhetorically speaking, is torture. But moderate physical pressure and psychological pressure are, as it were, within the bounds of the permissible. [\(=\]

61067. Public Committee Against Torture in Israel. Moderate Physical Pressure: Interrogation Methods in Israel: Part 5: Introduction. Symposium Following the Landau Commission Report. 7/12/1990. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture in Israel [POB 8588, Jerusalem, 91083, Israel]. July 12, 1990. Dr. Stein: I find myself today like a "crow amongst peacocks", as I am the only one here who is not a lawyer or a legal commentator, and even though I am being asked specific questions on psychological matters and am representing the medical profession, I also consider myself a member of the "Public Committee Against Torture in Israel", and as such, I would like to say a few things on the public level. The Landau Commission Report, in my opinion, is an extremely interesting document. A fascinating document. I don't think the majority of the public are familiar with it. They are familiar with a few excerpts from it. I think it should be a compulsory text for high schools and it can teach us something very interesting about the way in which a liberal state perceives itself. For, as we know, the Landau report says over and over that we are an enlightened state, a state which maintains the basis of democracy, freedom and equality. When I read this document, I can almost hear the beating wings of the divine spirit, and I ask myself how such a humanism can be reconciled with all the logical, moral, legal and public contradictions of this report which, as we have already heard, was written by three extremely venerable people.

I shall begin with one of the things that is always asked in the context of torture in interrogations, and that is the story of the ticking clock. Well, this is a classic question, and I shall say something about the Algerian War, because this exact problem arose there. Terrorism in Algeria was far worse than it is here. There too, there were Generals in the French army who aid: "We won't be hypocritical; we'll led the truth (especially after they had been pressured to tell the truth): we torture people, and we do so for very good reasons. And then there was a huge outcry in France. The French Left was immeasurably more massive and effective and true to itself than the Israeli Left today. And at one of the public meetings that took place, Albert Camus aid: "Torture in the context of political struggles flings more and more people into the arms of the other side. The torture may have aved individuals at the price of revealing vile bombs, but at the same time, it gave rise to five other terrorists who acted in a different way and in a different place, and caused the deaths of many more innocent people.

In my opinion, a democratic state which tortures people cannot be considered democratic, because what is important in a democracy is first and foremost not the formal side (which here too, has recently been so stressed—whether or not to have a constitution and how to elect the prime minister), but what is done in the democracy, and as soon as people are tortured, it is no longer a democracy. Full-stop. And to those who are not impressed with this moral argument, Camus says: "I want you to know that for every one such terrorist who is tortured, five more will rise to take his place." And that is exactly what we should be thinking of here today; for example, of the child who appeared on TV yesterday after the army had blown up his parents' house, and aid, "as of now, I am really a terrorist." The terrible humiliation is not forgotten, and for all intents and purposes, it does not matter if the people in question are innocent or not. The long-term effect is extremely severe. We want to be able to stop terrorism, but the terrorism which we employ by means of torture leads in exactly the opposite direction and you don't have to be a great psychologist in order to understand this. It may be true that the victims of torture are, in many cases, done for, at least for a certain period. The fact is that most of the people who have been tortured, whether by the GSS or by the Israeli police, or the Military Police, do not talk about it. A person who has undergone such humiliation is usually unable to hold his head up high, but there are always others who remember, and who act accordingly. This is a factor which the Landau Commission did not consider when it wrote its report.

The Landau Commission, in my opinion, made a cardinal mistake in trying to distinguish between physical pressure and psychological pressure. Let's start from the fact that the Commission aid that in most cases, one should stifferce with psychological pressure which does not cause an affront to the person's dignity, and they suggest using psychological tricks. But if the interrogation does not produce results, moderate physical pressure can be used, and in this case too, they make a point of noting that the objective here is not to humiliate the person. However, how does the person's dignity fit in with this all? What are we supposed to understand from it? That after every slap you ask his forgiveness? The distinction between psychological pressure and physical pressure is certainly not valid from a legal point of view for the matter of evidence laws. The question is whether or not the confession is made willingly and freely, and as far as this goes, it is totally irrelevant whether the pressure was psychological or physical. And I don't think that the members of the Commission failed to understand this. They are not so stupid. But they tried, in my opinion, to con the public, in other words to create the impression that if you use psychological pressure—
that is, if you don’t beat people, if you don’t use physical means — then the damage is not so bad. It has been known all over the world for a long time that this is not true. Most of the regimes which employ dubious methods of interrogation hardly ever use physical force. They know very well that you can apply psychological pressure which, sooner or later, (and sometimes within a very short period), will achieve the desired result, so that you can present the client to his lawyer clean and physically sound. It is enough, for example, to apply the combined method of sleep deprivation and sense deprivation to a person. Most people can be broken down just from this combination and nothing else. If you do not let a person sleep, see daylight, see and talk to people, if you almost totally isolate him and simultaneously interrogate him, many people will break down under this situation. From a professional point of view, I can say that in many cases, within ten days to two weeks, we see psychiatric symptoms — and sometimes serious ones.

I will tell you about a white South African woman whom I talked to. She was very politically active and the police arrested her under the emergency regulations, and put her in isolation in far more comfortable conditions than those existing in Israel, but with partial sleep deprivation. The interrogations were very polite; she was not beaten. They told her: “Madame, we have all the time in the world under the emergency laws. You are an intelligent person. Think about what you are trying to do. We suggest that you sign a confession.” The woman was very politically experienced, and had a very strong personality. After a week she was rushed to hospital with high blood pressure. While she was in the shower, she looked in the mirror and thought there was another woman there, for she no longer recognized herself. Not because the physical changes were so drastic, but because something in her inner mechanism of self-perception was no longer working. After a week! She went back to her cell, and began to feel that she was occasionally subject to hallucinations, so she decided within a short time to give some kind of confession, realizing that if she waited any longer, she would no longer have any control over the situation. I tell this story as an example precisely because it did not involve any use of physical violence, and the psychological pressure was also moderate. The woman was treated like a white woman, a celebrity (all the world newspapers wrote of her at the time), and a strong woman.

Imagine if over and above the combination of sensual deprivation and sleep deprivation, one starts to subject a person to all the possible forms of psychological pressure. The GSS know the victim’s weak points, and it is sometimes enough just to threaten to torture him or his relatives. Sometimes the threat of torture is worse than the torture itself. Thus, by applying combined techniques, the GSS can, within an extremely short period of time, reach a situation in which a person will confess to anything at all. The GSS claim (according to the Landau Commission) that after all, all we want is a confession of sorts of medication for the detainee, when the Prison Commander has just completed his service at Ansar 2 and that what he had seen there reminded him of the camps in Europe. He is totally devastated, but won’t reveal his name.

I would like to say a few words about the medical aspect of the report. The Commission members understood that medical treatment is not included in the web of pressure. The Commission states this not because it has investigated the matter, for had it investigated it, it would have said clearly: we have examined this point, and we have reached the conclusion that medical treatment is not included in the web of pressure. Well, this too is a sort of hypocritical assumption. I think the Commission knew perfectly well that the GSS have full control over everything to do with the medical treatment which the detainee receives or does not receive; in other words, the GSS decide whether and under what conditions they will allow a doctor to come in, and there can be several reasons not to let him in. For example, in the middle of an interrogation, it could be a disturbance. You can pressure a detainee to talk a bit more before his ulcer bursts. The GSS do not allow doctors or medics to come and see detainees freely and under any conditions — a thing which should be taken for granted.

The Commission did not investigate the conditions prevailing in the field, and it does not know that in many cases, the medical treatment is a fiction. The famous case of the burst ulcer is an excellent example, because you don’t need to be a doctor or a medic in order to know that you are faced with a person in agony and probably in a very serious condition. Such a person ought to have been rushed to hospital within two minutes. In civilian life, it never happens that a person suffering from peritonitis is not immediately rushed to hospital. Any man in the street would understand this. All the sophistry that went on in court afterwards was completely pointless.

Apart from the question of conditional medical treatment, there is a far graver matter which of course the Landau Commission did not deal with. In fact, doctors are not allowed in such places. They should not set foot there. A doctor, whether actively or passively assisting in such a procedure, is a criminal according to the Tokyo Convention and according to the Hippocratic Oath. Doctors who work in such institutions know, of course, what goes on there. They know that they are not there in order to administer aspirin. There are doctors who simply wait until the detainees who have been beaten from head to toe, and can hardly breathe, are brought to them so that they can fix them up a bit and get them into a more reasonable state, so that after a few hours, the procedure can be resumed. We know of only one doctor who, in an anonymous appeal to “Yediot Achronot” two years ago, said that he had just completed his service at Ansar 2 and that what he had seen there reminded him of the camps in Europe. He is totally devastated, but won’t reveal his name.

All the other doctors keep quiet, and they know all sorts of things. Whether, as I said, they fix what the GSS has broken, so that the beating can begin again, or issue, at the Prison Commander’s orders, all sorts of medication for the detainee, when the Prison Commander has no authority to issue such instructions, all such people have incriminated themselves. I have to say that to this day, the Israeli Medical Union has not spoken up on this matter, in spite of our appeals to them, and in spite of the fact that they are aware of the situation. I think that both amongst the doctors and the public, there is no awareness of the grave responsibility of doctors concerning this issue, and I am of the opinion that if doctors were to refrain from entering detention camps and refrain from giving treatment in all those places, those methods would just collapse, for the simple reason that the GSS cannot allow itself to do all those things without medical treatment, because they do not want the detainees to die. In other words, this system can be got rid of. In far worse states than ours, things like this have already been done. It is a fact, for example, that the “Collegio Medico” of Chile managed, some years ago, to apprehend doctors who had tortured people, to prosecute them, and to ban them from the profession. [–]

have disputed the thesis which he presented at the beginning. After Adv. Atzmon's response, I will let people from the audience comment or ask questions, and following the comments and questions, the other participants may also respond and add to what they said during the actual debate. But first, Adv. Atzmon.

Adv. Atzmon: I took a risk upon myself, and none of those present deluded himself that I would earn any sort of support from this public. I wanted to convince anybody that it is ultimately not just the question of the two sides—there is no question that I merely want to express my opinion and my different approach, and you know, of course, that there are different approaches. I have nothing to say about what Prof. Stein just said. I do not accept his assumptions from a factual point of view. This is not the subject of the discussion, and I shall not argue with him. Of course, if doctors cooperate with such torture, they should be banned from the medical union and even from the public health service. Undoubtedly, there is no point in arguing about this. They fix people up so that they can continue torturing them? The Landau Commission did not endorse this practice, and we are talking about the Landau Commission. So in this context, to say that doctors are cooperating and so on, is not the subject of the discussion, and it is irrelevant. Adv. Feldman said that the Commission's report is cut off from reality. I think that you are cut off from reality, because you are sitting here conducting this debate, and it is a lot nicer to say the things you are saying. Who doesn't want to be a moral person? Does anybody really imagine that I like coming and defending the fact that moderate psychological or physical pressure is being used? Who even wants to use pressure? Why use pressure? If the wolf lived with the sheep, there would be no need for pressure, but to condemn the people with the spectacles out of some position of moral superiority and to mock their appearance with a kind of sarcastic wit—that is disgusting.

Those people, whose moral values are not inferior to yours, Adv. Feldman, faced a difficult task—to provide an answer to a tough question: what can the victim do, and up to what point is he allowed to defend himself and how? You want to be criminologists. I want to be a victimologist and represent the victim. And the potential victim is you, Adv. Feldman, and me, and our children. One can say that there is a political conflict which has to be solved. If we drain the swamp, we won't have to deal with frogs. But as long as this swamp exists, what answer do you give? My quarrel is more with Prof. Kremnitzer. He said one thing about the legal basis of defending a "necessity": "the use of such means has no legal basis". Well this is debatable, and legally debatable. Prof. Kremnitzer is of one opinion. Judge Landau and Judge Malz think differently. This does not mean that they are right and Prof. Kremnitzer is wrong, but it certainly does not mean the opposite. In other words, when you say that Sec. 22 of the Penal Code defends the right to defend a necessity when using means which could otherwise constitute an offence of the type listed by the Commission—i.e., extracting a confession or information by means of an offence, blackmail or threats, accepting something deceitfully, by tricks or assault. This is the list of offences which would be committed if not for the defence of a "necessity" according to Sec. 22. The Commission quotes this section, and that is legitimate, Prof. Kremnitzer, even on your terms. The proposal for the general section of the new Penal Code was prepared by Prof. Feller and Dr. Kremnitzer following the work of a commission headed by the President of the Union, Judge Agranot, for whom, as someone whom I have worked under, I have a deep respect, and it interprets "the circumstances" in par. 45 as meaning that the state's security interest is also included in protected interests. In other words, defending a "necessity" should protect a person acting in order to defend the state's security interests.

The Commission says: "We do not believe that this addition is required in regard to the security interest to protect the general public, for the public is composed of individuals needing protection of their lives and their bodily integrity. In addition, the State, as the framework for social existence, needs protection against the machinations of terrorist organizations aimed at undermining its foundations and destroying it. There are those who think differently. This is a political argument which we shall not go into. I read that Shlafy told the Head of Intelligence, during a "meeting that did not take place", that the Intifada would not end until the political aims were achieved. And the political aims will be achieved in what they consider legitimate means, but which are unfortunately directed against us. The Landau Commission says that there is no need for the amendment proposed by Prof. Feller and Dr. Kremnitzer, as Sec. 22 states it anyway. I do not accept the Landau Commission's analysis completely, but to say categorically that the report is legally groundless is, with all due respect, a little bit arrogant. I don't know to convince anybody that it is true.

As for the danger involved in accepting false testimonies: I do not speak for the GSS; I was invited here, but I do not represent anyone, (maybe I was invited to serve as a punch-bag, but I am not prepared to play that role). The GSS's objective is to obtain true confessions and by doing so to prevent terrorist attacks. A false testimony obtained by the GSS as a result of moderate physical pressure or strong psychological pressure (and, Dr. Stein, I am certainly no expert on psychology), defies the point of the interrogation, for then the correct information will not be obtained. Punishing a person, even though it may be one of the GSS's aims, is secondary. The main objective is to apprehend the people and obtain the information, in order to prevent the attacks.

Prof. Kremnitzer said: There are other ways. There is intelligence, there are agents. But Prof. Kremnitzer knows just as well as I do that when you try to rely on other material, you are endangering the lives of those agents, and what right do you have to do this? And I wouldn't like to be in the shoes of the GSS agent who will have to decide (I wouldn't like to be in his shoes at all; I chose a different and easier profession. A nicer one too): do you expose the agent to mortal danger? To the threat of death under immoderate physical pressure? I don't want to describe what will happen to that person when his identity is revealed. Anyone familiar with the situation knows. It's true, we have here a problem of secrecy which is intended to save human lives. As with every difficult problem, the question is where is the golden path and in what manner can you accommodate both the security needs and the moral values. And the Israeli society, rightly, considers itself a moral society (even though it has a Committee Against Torture which presumes that torture is actually a norm), and every Israeli citizen, in my opinion, can say: I am on the Committee Against Torture.

Once more, the question is how do you find the correct balance between your values and the terrible situation in which you are livinng and in which you have to defend yourself against terrorism. There is no such balance, but we have no choice. You have to decide, sir, whether to put yourself in a situation in which you will not be able to come and sit here at 8:00 p.m. on July 12th—you won't be able to—or whether to compromise up to a certain point.

At this juncture, I would like to read a few things to you, for
those who have not read the report. You could say that it’s hypocritical and deceptive, but the members of the Landau Commission state want they to happen. They also thought of the danger of deterioration, and they said as follows: “You have to be very careful not to stretching the limits of the prohibitions of the Penal Code lead to slackness, with every interrogator taking the law into his own hands by indiscriminately, and unrestrictedly using force against the suspect.” Intelligent people were faced with this danger, and what did they say? They aid, “in such a way, the state’s image as a law-abiding state which protects civil rights can be irreversibly corroded and it will become like those regimes which grant their security services unlimited power.” I am sure that everyone would agree with this, and now listen to what the Commission aid before you hurl such quantities of dirt at it. First, one must not go too far in applying pressure to the person being interrogated. The term “pressure” may raise a smile, but when the interrogator has to get the information he has to apply pressure because the person being interrogated does not voluntarily divulge it. The pressure must not reach the level of torture or abuse of the person being interrogated, or a severe affront to his dignity, thereby denying his very humanity. Secondly, the extent to which means less severe than these are used must be weighed against the extent of the anticipated danger. One can always take the extreme example, but usually the anticipated amount of danger in the case of crime in Israel does not consist in the serious nature of the offence. The damage to the reputation and the knowledge of the interrogators is involved. Thirdly, the means of psychological and physical pressure which an interrogator may legitimately employ must be defined and restricted in advance by means of issuing binding instructions. Fourthly, there must be strict supervision to ensure that the instructions issued to the GSS interrogators are implemented. Fifthly, every deviation from the legitimate practice must be dealt with severely and without hesitation by the interrogator’s superiors, by means of disciplinary actions, and in serious cases by means of prosecuting the offender in court.

This is what the Commission says, and this is the path it wishes to follow. Maybe it did not achieve its purpose. In my opening words, I aid that the matter of the validity of the confession, in my opinion, is secondary, but to the best of my knowledge, from the time of the publication of the Commission’s report to this day, not a single case has been disqualified in court. So where are you? For the Landau Commission established the criteria. If these criteria do not stand up to the legal test, then you should have taken this to court, and if you were right, the court would have disqualified them. I would now like to read to you from a leaflet which I expect many of you find acceptable: the 1989 annual report of “Btzelem” (the Israeli information centre for protection of civil rights in the occupied territories). I am reading from p.62: “GSS Interrogation Facilities. Testimonies by people who have been interrogated in the interrogation wings.” (I am not responsible for the accuracy of the facts, and I don’t know if it is true or not, but I want to emphasize their claim): “The serious complaints about the way in which GSS employees treat people being interrogated raises a serious suspicion that the GSS continue to employ methods which are not compatible with the recommendations of the Landau Commission.” “Btzelem” does not dispute the legality of the recommendations of the Landau Commission, rather it complains that they are not being followed. They claim that the GSS is not implementing these instructions. One could say, well, it’s the lesser of two evils. The State of Israel, as a state with moral values, is deliberating on this issue, and the Landau Commission does not constitute the last word on the subject. [=]

61089. Public Committee Against Torture in Israel. Moderate Physical Pressure: Interrogation Methods in Israel: Part 7: The Audience Replies. Symposium Following the Landau Commission Report. 7/12/1990. Jerusalem: Public Committee Against Torture in Israel [POB 8588, Jerusalem, 91083, Israel], July 12, 1990. Prof. Arieli: I am very grateful to Uzi for reasons known to him. He also defended Benny Amos, and I understand him. I think that the problem facing the Landau Commission, and which nobody has mentioned, was that for 16 years the GSS has been systematically lying to all the courts because they can’t tell them the truth. And because the courts cooperated. The Commission wanted to put an end to this state of affairs for once and for all, so that at least the testimonies on behalf of the State would not necessarily be false. This was the problem, and from here Uzi reached the strange conclusion that in a state of emergency, as exists in the territories, it is better to legalize things which one can’t dowithout than to make them illegal, thereby perpetuating the lie. There is a problem with two matters, and this is where I think Dr. Atzmon contradicted himself. He said that those people, the suspects, when they are tried or interrogated, are people fully conscious of what they are doing, and therefore you cannot extract a confession from them by conventional means, and because they did what they did out of an inner conviction and out of the fact of laying down their lives, moderate pressure will have no effect. So there are two possibilities: either in this case the “moderate pressure” is such that in spite of their ideological commitment they do have to speak, or it does not mean anything. I know Judge Landau and I respect him both as regards his past, which has been exemplary, and as regards the dilemma which he has had to face. In my speech on Dec. 10th 1987, on International Human Rights Day—the day after the Intifada broke out, and I know this at the time), I aid, in the presence of Judge Landau, that Israel was one of the victims of the terrible situation into which it had been dragged at its own responsibility, namely the control of the territories. Landau himself is in a dilemma which he does not know how to escape. But what did he do? In order to escape this dilemma, Judge Landau stretched the threat to the existence of the State in a totally ridiculous way. He aid: even a child who throws a stone constitutes an enemy who is endangering the State. And in this respect, he simply missed the very point of the definition—he accepted all the claims commonly made by the GSS, without any attempt to assess them critically. My final comment is that the assumption that moderate pressure can actually solve a problem is totally invalid. Judge Landau aid: the GSS will never use illegitimate methods because they are only interested in information, and they can judge what methods will lead to correct information and what methods will lead to false information. Firstly, this is not true. The GSS are not only interested in information. They are interested in catching anything which the State defines as dangerous to its interests, which are control of the territories, and any such thing will be defined as a danger which has to be got rid of. And this does not mean only confessions. It also means instilling fear. And I think this is where Landau was wrong. He idealized something which has to be done, and thus the rein was slackened.

Adv. Leah Tzemel: I think that we might begin to see the light from a rather unexpected quarter. About ten days ago, both the Government Legal Advisor and the Attorney General approved the presentation of a charge sheet to the Military Court in Ramalih, in which the only evidence is a protocol by a GSS agent from an interrogation in which the suspect to be tried supposedly confessed. The suspect did not complain at all about actual torture. There was a bit of pressure, he was not allowed to wash, he was not allowed to sleep, just the routine practice. But he claims that he did not say those things. And when the policeman came to hear his confession, he denied everything. But what did he do? In order to escape this dilemma, Judge Landau stretched the threat to the existence of the State in a totally ridiculous way. He aid: even a child who throws a stone constitutes an enemy who is endangering the State. And in this respect, he simply missed the very point of the definition—he accepted all the claims commonly made by the GSS, without any attempt to assess them critically. My final comment is that the assumption that moderate pressure can actually solve a problem is totally invalid. Judge Landau aid: the GSS will never use illegitimate methods because they are only interested in information, and they can judge what methods will lead to correct information and what methods will lead to false information. Firstly, this is not true. The GSS are not only interested in information. They are interested in catching anything which the State defines as dangerous to its interests, which are control of the territories, and any such thing will be defined as a danger which has to be got rid of. And this does not mean only confessions. It also means instilling fear. And I think this is where Landau was wrong. He idealized something which has to be done, and thus the rein was slackened.

Gideon Spiro: I have two comments. Adv. Atzmon, as you
brought up the matter of the ticking bomb, and as this discussion is being recorded, it is very important to shatter this false claim for once and for all. I work in journalism too, and I would like to inform you that to the best of my knowledge, which is also supported by conversations with GSS agents, since the GSS began their investigations, there has not been a single case in which they apprehended somebody who within thirty minutes revealed the location of a ticking bomb. There has never been such a thing. I tell you this with absolute moral certainty. Secondly, in no state in the Western world (and you claim that Israel is part of the Western world, part of its moral norms and human rights ideology), has there ever been a case of a person who signed a report endorsing torture being subsequently appointed as a High Court Judge. In the U.S.A. such a person would be thrown out of all levels of Congress. Such an appointment would not get approved in any state in the Western democratic world. In Israel, Judge Malz was appointed to his position after signing the report, and not a squeak was heard, which proves the degree to which the principles and norms of "moderate physical pressure" and the oppression of human freedom have seeped into the system.

Mr. Sharatzky: First of all, I have the feeling that we are arguing about something that does not exist, because the Landau Commission report defines a situation of moderate pressure, but during interrogations, either no force is used at all, or force is used, in which case it is not moderate. I know this from the military police. I served there, and I know that when force is used, the people using it use not reasonable but extensive force. And this is not in cases of terrorist activities, but in cases of criminal offences. Secondly, I know today that there is a proposal by Uzi Landau for a legislation which would increase the protection granted in the Penal Code to a person protecting national interests. The Landau Commission tried to provide a solution to a light situation, to an easy problem. The problem is in fact far more serious and we are in fact talking about one thing, while the situation has changed and is constantly changing, and the attempts to provide a solution to it are no longer relevant. In 1965, when there were no problems like the huge problems of friction existing in the territories today, Judge Landau could say what he said. The reason why today he is obliged to sign a report with completely different recommendations is because the tremendous friction has grown to dimensions unheard of and unprecedented in 1965.

Adv. Naftali Or-Ner: First I would like to address Mr. Feldman's arguments. The claim that one can obtain evidence only by means of a confession is really incorrect, for the entire institution of privilege is based on the fact that the GSS have evidence from another source and they want to confirm it. That is my first comment. A second comment addressed to the public sitting here was that anyone who is not prepared to accept torture or moderate physical pressure is in effect denying the right to self-defence, and this is a totally extreme opinion which has no bearing on reality. Our thesis is the opposite, as presented by Yehoakim Stein. When you apply such pressure, you necessarily create a far greater potential of terrorists than you would have done if you had refrained from using such illegitimate means. As opposed to your thesis, according to which the GSS do their job loyally and for our own good, I shall present you with another extreme thesis, according to which these jobs attract negative characters with sadistic tendencies, and the society is now giving them an official and legal channel for implementing these tendencies. And a more basic claim: you defend the report, saying that even "Btzelem" claims that the GSS's behaviour deviates from the report's recommendations. And I tell you that whoever writes such a report is fully responsible for the actual consequences which it can lead to. Look, how many accidents on the job were there in the GSS before? By accidents on the job I mean death during torture. How many were there before the publication of the Landau report and how many are there after it? I recall only one incident before the Landau report: the case of Awad Hamdan from Jenin, in 1987. On the other hand, after the Landau report, I know of at least eight cases. And that is one of the consequences. Another thing, which Avigdor Feldman talked of, is that even increasing sections of society get accustomed to accepting this norm of violence as a possible and legal norm which you can live with. Yehoakim Stein mentioned the doctors' cooperation. You didn't even want to reply to Avigdor Feldman, but to Yehoakim Stein you say that those doctors should be thrown out of the medical union, and even the public health service. This is evading the issue. The problem is that such doctors are a natural consequence of the Landau Commission report and if you defend the report, you should know what its consequences are.

Efrain Wagner: My inclination is to treat people who are under the State's rule today exactly like regular citizens within the State. In other words, there are no extreme cases. The state's rule is adapted to normal systems. If the GSS is entitled to apply moderate pressure, the same thing should have been acceptable for the police concerning criminal offenders. You cannot have two contradictory normative systems. Secondly, as soon as you legitimize the use of immoral means which are presented as legitimate in some way or another, what effect does this have on the citizen? For sure, one asks oneself whether the rules of one's value system have to remain constant, or whether, in light of certain situations at home, in society, or at work, one can create one's own values, which might go against the accepted normative standard, but which are adapted to the current demands. It is important that we remember that any citizen can suddenly find himself in a situation where these measures will be applied to him.

Prof. Kremnitzer: Firstly, there is one point on which I think we are all agreed, but maybe because we are agreed on it, it was not sufficiently emphasized. According to the report, the risk of false incriminations is a real risk, and even Adv. Atzmon did not wish to defend the report on this account. For everybody understands that, at least in the case of crime bordering on terrorism, against the background of the population of the occupied territories, for whom, as far as they are concerned, such offences are not morally reproachable, the decision of a person who has not done anything to confess, under pressure, to acts which he supposedly committed, or to divulge the names of people who were supposedly members in some organization or whom he heard saying such and such a thing, is not a problematic decision. The danger is that in the case of people who confess to acts they did not commit, that "some additional thing" required by the law may be found, and people may be convicted even though they have done nothing. This is the situation in the Israeli legal system. I repeat the question: are we prepared to live with such a situation? I would like to mention again the 50% of suspects who were not tried, with the additional support of what I will call, for lack of a better term, Mr. Sharatzky's thesis, about the effect of such interrogations concerning the creation of new terrorists. Once again, I repeat: 50% of the people interrogated underwent this treatment without having committed any crime. It would be interesting to see what they did afterwards. What happened to these people? As for the claim that there is no alternative but to use physical pressure, there is a very interesting point concerning this matter. Who tells us that there is no alternative? The GSS interrogators. The Commission notes a very interesting finding: the means of pressure deployed in the past were extremely severe and harsh, and over the years (even before the Landau report), they became less severe. On the other hand, the Commission notes that the determination of the people being interrogated, their sophistication, also increased with the years. What does this tell us? What can you learn from this? Well, you can learn that in the Israel of the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's, the GSS interrogators discovered that you can attain a reasonable level of certainty about the more difficult suspects by means of less severe pressure. How did they discover this? Partly because there was a Prime Minister in Israel at the time, whom some of those present are not exactly fans of, called Menachem Begin, and he aid: I forbid you to lift a hand against a suspect. The GSS interrogator's assessment in the past was that they needed severer means, and this assessment was shown to be mistaken. Maybe they are wrong now too in their assessment that you cannot manage without physical pressure. The GSS's interest in describing physical pressure as essential is quite clear. The more you loosen the reins, the easier it is for an interrogator to achieve more in less time and with less work and effort. (A policeman in colonial India is attributed with the saying that it is a lot easier to stick hot pepper in the suspect's eyes to make him confess than to go out in the sun and collect evidence. Of course it's much easier.)

The social effect of the report was mentioned here, and on this
matter I would like to tell two anecdotes. One: I heard a soldier in Gaza on the radio saying: “A kid threw a stone at us, he ran into an alley and we couldn’t catch him. There was an old man sitting there. We asked him where the kid went, and he did not reply. I took my club and I hit him to get information.” Is there a connection between the Landau report and this behaviour on the part of the soldier? It is hard to say. But the report has the potential to have this kind of influence. And the second anecdote: I took part in a discussion in a high school, and the teacher asked: What did they include in the constitution? In it, they included the Landau Commission’s recommendations on using moderate physical pressure in interrogations. Physical pressure has become an educational value!

A state’s strength, as I understand it, lies partly in its moral superiority over the criminals who endanger it. The question is whether a state which allows people to use this means loses its moral superiority over them. What, when it comes down to it, is our main argument against terrorism? (and this is really the main argument against terrorism in general, because terrorism can be for all sorts of purposes, out of all sorts of motives, and nevertheless the international community censures terrorism unconditionally): the argument is that there are means which are illegitimate per se, whatever the aims which they are intended to further. And how do we react to terrorism? By employing means which are illegitimate per se. I am sure that with a bit of psychological pressure, even Uzi Atzmon would have to admit that we are dealing here with illegitimate means which an enlightened state cannot and should not allow itself to use. The point is this: in the Landau report, it says that we will permit physical pressure, but only that which does not constitute an affront to human dignity. How can this be so? How can you on the one hand apply violence (however moderate) to a person in order to break him down, to enslave him to your needs in order to turn him into an information-supplying instrument—you use him as an instrument, and he also has to supply you with the information—and on the other hand, make sure that this does not constitute an affront to human dignity? How can both parts of this sentence hold together? Prof. Arieli was right in saying that if they are so tough and so resilient, how can the moderate pressure work? How can it be of any use?

On the matter of confidentiality, I would like to defend the Commission. A part from the explanation that it is not pleasant for the Commission members to sign the prescription for beating, there is another explanation for the secrecy, and that is that part of the strength of the interrogation lies in the fact that the suspect does not know what to expect. He is afraid of what will happen. If you reveal everything, you lose an important aspect of the interrogation. I am prepared to accept the logic behind this, but the problem is, it is short-term. For sooner or later, the people being interrogated will know what the accepted standards are. And when they know, you necessarily have to go further. How can one accept the Commission’s decision that a ministerial committee shall be authorized to periodically check the prescription, and if the prescription is not sufficient, the ministerial committee can change it? I ask you—are you prepared to live with the fact that government ministers can come and say, well, the Landau Commission prescribed two slaps, but we say the electric chair? It really is not nice to admit it, but it has to be said anyway. Anyone who reads the report carefully understands that in the past, means were employed which can in no way be described as moderate physical pressure. And there were means which, to put it mildly, could be called “very harsh means”. The Commission took no steps to ensure that anybody be held responsible for this. Not even administrative responsibility, a reprimand—noting!

The difference between us and Turkey and Chile is that in those countries, at least they take the line known as “hypocrisy”, but hypocrisy has its advantages. Hypocrisy has been defined as the tax which evil pays to good. In those places, at least from a nominative point of view, such things are forbidden, and when the heads of these states discuss such matters, they deny them. They lie in denying them, but they do deny them. But not here! And you have to admit that ironically speaking, anyone who allows moderate physical pressure is opening a door and creating the danger that it may lead to immoderate physical pressure. The least you can say is that in so doing you are creating such a danger.

And we have a stamp of approval for it. It’s a norm. It’s permitted, and this has a very serious significance. It is serious partly because from the point of view of the person being interrogated, not only is he unable to defend himself physically and thus regain his dignity, but he is also not entitled to defend himself nonverbally speaking, for the law tells him: it is their right to beat you. Can you imagine a greater humiliation than that? You have broken the taboo of a person’s right to his body, and when he screams, then the law, the law itself, tells him: it’s O.K. You’re being treated properly.

Why do I allow myself to speak so harshly on the matter of the defence of the “necessity” according to the existing law (by the way, the proposal which Prof. Feller and myself made for the new Penal Code has nothing to do with agreeing with the report’s position concerning this “necessity.” The two authors of the proposal are of the opinion that even if that proposal is accepted, and it is only a proposal, the three bases for defending the “necessity”, which I have mentioned, and which are not met in this case, remain valid.) My reason is as follows: The GSS interrogators, all these years, acted out of a sense that they were doing something illegal and forbidden. Suddenly the matter is investigated, there is a commission, and all of a sudden they are told that actually what they are doing is permissible. What will the GSS interrogators and the Israeli public think about the Israeli law? They will think that the law is like putty and that it can be freely molded according to the objectives and considerations of those responsible for making the decisions, and if this is what they think, then this is regrettable and very dangerous as far as the perception of and regard for the law is concerned.

I hesitated for a long time over what to say as a conclusion, and I am not at all optimistic. I thought that the members of the Ministry of Justice who are sitting here should be told that it is inconceivable that this report was adopted in Israel, and that if the Government Legal Advisor thought that this report reflected the existing law, he should be demanded to review his decision and state that this is not the legal situation in Israel, and I still think that this should be done. It is not simple, especially since there is a chance that if this happens, the Israeli Knesset will pass a law stating that this is so explicitly and unambiguously, and I am not sure which is worse. The present situation, or having a law which endorses it?

One last comment about the judges and the GSS agents’ false testimonies. Adv. Feldman aid earlier that the Commission gave a simplistic description of the situation. In my opinion, his description is also a very simplistic one. And that includes the bit about the sandwich, which you think is a lie. It’s not a lie. They give them sandwiches and they tell them that they bought them with their own money. It’s not that there is a pre-arranged lie between Israel and South Africa. It is part of the interrogators’ work method. Such things are well-known, and there is no doubt that there was a failure on the part of the court system, and the strangest thing, in my view, is that nobody bothered to go and investigate it and check into it, that it was overlooked, and the GSS interrogators continue to testify; business as usual. When it comes down to it, what we have here, like in the Yom Kippur war, is a conceptual failure. And the conception in question is that Arab are liars by nature and so anything they say about what is done to them during interrogations cannot be true. And a GSS interrogator is a sort of violent son who tells the truth, and he can tell the truth because he is very talented and very sophisticated, and he must have somehow managed, without force but with cunning, to produce the confession. And these stereotypical and childish lines of reasoning still exist, and unfortunately, they also constitute the psychological basis underlying this report.

Avidgor Feldman: I have three comments and they will all be short. In what I aid in the first part of the evening, I allowed myself to lay a trap which Uzi Atzmon fell into. I did something irregular and uncivilized: I referred to the faces of the authors of the report. I talked about Judge Landau’s spectacles for?” This anecdote shows to what extent the reference to the body is entrenched, to what extent the taboo on the body is rooted in us, to the point where any deviation, however
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Minutes, immediately gives rise to strong objections. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in the Landau Commission Report, there is no mention of beating. There is, in fact, not a single word about beating, about hitting. There is no photograph in it (and anyone who knows that photograph knows what I am talking about) of the interrogated person, beaten, humiliated, and stinking in his stinking clothes. There is not a word about it. Research conducted all over the world indicates that methods of torture are usually referred to by familiar domestic names. There is the "shower," the "cupboard," the "chair," the "meal," and I have also seen (I don't remember where) a study on the words used for torture, and they are always taken from the least threatening, the most routine objects, and they are a part of the so complex system of cooperation within the system. And the people being interrogated use the same terms too. Dr. Stein mentioned this when he explained how the self-image of the person who has undergone torture is damaged.

My second comment, which has to do with what Prof. Kremnitzer aid, is that the infiltration of the report into our system has another more complicated and more dangerous channel. The Commission says: we are dealing with convictions into terrorist activities, and nothing else. But the targets of investigation into terrorist activities, as fate would have it, are Arabs. They are always Arabs. What eventually happens is that within the cultural system, an internal conception is created which promotes a low, vulgar and routine distinction between Jews and Arabs. Not between security interrogations and non-security investigations, but between Jews and Arabs. If we look into the question of the infiltration of these norms into the other world of criminal investigations by the police, I am sure that we will find that the infiltration is extremely marked when the person being interrogated is not a Jew, even when he is being interrogated for regular, criminal offences, because this distinction has been incorporated into the system.

My third and last comment: we are talking in an almost abstract manner about how it is impossible to limit the violence, and how moderate physical pressure will always develop and become severe physical pressure. And here, before our very eyes, the most extreme and awful example of this is taking place. Somebody (I accept what Rabin says), somebody aid somewhere or other: you have to beat demonstrators in order to keep things in order. Look what happened to this perhaps correct, justified statement; where did it lead? It led to (and Mr. Atzmon knows this from his own experience) the first Gvatt trial and the second Gvatt trial and Colonel Meir and all the implications of these trials. Somebody aid something. Somebody aid a word, loosened the reins. Somebody allowed, just once, the hand holding the club to fall on the body, and look where it lead. Does anybody imagine that there are no such processes in the GSS? From the moment you shorten the distance between the hand and the body, the distance shortens more and more, and in the military system it has reached monstrous dimensions.

61071. Qawasmi, Muna. "Cave-In Near Al-Aqsa: Woman Hurt During Prayer", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 8, 1995, p. 2. Forty-year-old Hanan Nablusi, a resident of the Bab Al-Silesieh Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem, was badly injured when the floor of her house collapsed due to excavations being carried out by settlers underneath the house, on 12/4/1995. Settler have been burrowing tunnels since the 1970s, under both Al-Aqsa and the surrounding area of the Muslim Quarter. Nablusi's daughter who witnessed the incident said: "I heard an explosion coming from the room where my mother had retired to pray. I ran in. My mother had fallen into a big hole. I called the neighbors and we all worked to get her out. Then we had her rushed to Hadassah Hospital. The house belongs to the Sublaban Family and overlooks the area of the Wailing Wall. Police, officials from the Archaeology Department, and engineers from the Jerusalem Municipality arrived on the scene joined by Abdul Rahim Khayyat, the official from the Islamic Waqf in charge of the maintenance of the Waqf property. "It is clear that there have been excavations under the collapsed room. The area is 5x3 meters across and the hole is 4 meters deep," he said, adding the Ministry of Waqf and Religious Affairs will follow up the situation. Earlier in the week, Palestinian, Arab and Islamic circles reacted strongly to the news of a plan by an Israeli religious extremist to blow up the Al-Aqsa, using rockets. The news broke when the Israeli authorities arrested Yigal Kenan on charges of planning an armed attack on the mosque. The Islamic Higher Council issued a statement on Thursday, 11/30/1995, saying the news of the proposed rocket attack on the Al-Aqsa constitutes a new series of attempts to destroy the Islamic presence. It said. "The
Islamic Higher Council has warned time and again against the dangers proceeding from this mentality and the scourgé that follows from it on the people of the area. We have made clear our positions, that none of the holy places are safe, so long as the shadow of occupation lasts in the shape of these gangs. The Minister of Religious Affairs recalled the “Lifta” gang that had made plans to blow up the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1984; he also recalled that the leader of the gang, Shimon Barada, confessed in 1990 that he had intended to launch two rockets on the Mosque but was discovered. \[=\]


To a Very Brave Man: I am an American psychiatrist who has worked in Gaza for about three months. I am sorry that I do not know your name but I have heard your story. I greatly admire you and deeply appreciate what you are doing to stop the violence and killings. If all Israelis were as brave and courageous as you, the occupation would end!

I came to Gaza to study the effect of violence on children. I have found this place to be one of the worst places in the world for children to grow up in. The living conditions are terrible, but worse is the lack of freedom and the constant humiliation and oppression of the Israeli army.

I have personally interviewed several families who have had a child killed by the soldiers. In one study, 60% of the grieving families have had the funeral interrupted by the military. Autopsies are performed against the families’ wishes, and there is a suspicion that body organs are also used for transplants against the family’s request, and also against Muslim beliefs.

There is also violence and killing by the Palestinians against the soldiers and themselves. This probably would not cease with the end of the occupation, but I believe the violence and eath would be greatly reduced.

I have risked my life to be in Gaza and feel strongly about ending the hatred and violence. I think your action of refusing to serve will contribute to the same result. I only wish there were many more like you.

I have met many wonderful Israelis that are working for peace. Both sides need to end the violence and negotiate peace. I feel very strongly that no people should oppress or occupy another. This is true for America as well; e.g., American Indians, blacks, or Jews.

I have wondered why more young men have not refused to serve in Gaza and the West Bank. Then I have learned just how difficult that decision is. I know that military service is a way of life in Israel and that Israel needs a strong defense. If I were and Israeli citizen, I would join the military but then refuse to serve in the occupied territories. I have also come to realize that if you spend a month in prison you need to return to your unit for three years and this will be extremely difficult for you.

My heart goes out to you. You have made a very difficult and courageous decision. God bless you and I hope that some day I have the honor of meeting you. Thank you!  

John W. Raasoch, MD; New Hampshire, USA. \[=\]

61073. Rabbo, Yasser Abed. "The Obstacles to Peace and How to Overcome Them, Part 3", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 12, 1993. p. 4 & 6. The present negotiations are framed in one particular formula, an originally American formula, meant to serve as a tool in the organization of negotiations between the parties. This formula is not - and cannot be made into - an end in itself. We have accepted it, as the popular saying has it, because "it was the only game in the town." And we will negotiate seriously, in good faith, because there is still no other game in town. But we have always warned against the dangers of a procedure built upon "constructive ambiguity" and the will to avoid and postpone the discussion of core issues.

Let us therefore consider the basic obstacles to peace on the ground and in the political reality of our region and the world, rather than concentrate on the textual impasse in Washington.

The continued illegal Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory conquered in 6/67 - including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip - is the fundamental obstacle to peace. The unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem, the illegal extension of its municipal borders and now the severance of Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank are additional obstacles to peace.

Israeli settlement colonization policies and activities - of which former President George Bush used to say that he could think of no greater obstacle to peace - have also become the primary obstacle to the Israeli government’s very capacity to imagine peace. This is obvious in the negotiations, where settlements and settlers have functioned as the basic conceptual obstacle to any agreement.

This is obvious on the ground, where settlement activity goes on under the guise of security here, annexation there and mere comission of works in yet other places, shedding widespread doubt about the reality of Israeli intentions and the very credibility of the peace process.

Israeli repressive policies on the ground, the massive and systematic violation of human rights in the occupied territories by Israeli armed forces and settlers’ militias; the wanton shooting; wounding and killing of unarmed civilians, particularly children and youth; the mass arrests; the generalized use of torture; the destruction of houses; the expulsions; and the curfews are the greatest obstacle to peace. They do not only stand in the path of an agreement, they undermine the very credibility of the peace process. They discredit the very idea of peace among those who need it most. \[=\]

61074. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. "The Secret of Their Survival: Part 1: Introduction", in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. Why has the Israeli Women in Black vigil persevered over five years? Participation in the vigil seems to have eroded over time, even though commitment to ending the occupation has not changed. Burn-out seems to have increased, reflected in the fewer women on the vigil since the Gulf War (about 50-60 each week in Jerusalem these days). The vigi appears to be treading water. It does not react to political-social changes and almost never initiates new activities or symbols, even though the occupation continues unabated. The vigil seems to have lost its momentum, vitality and innovativeness. Few new women are joining, and the same hard core of women show up every week. The discipline of standing has gone down: we look as if we’re standinglsitting at a coffee house on a Friday afternoon. Researchers seem to have exhausted the topic, which we ascribe to the fact that the phenomenon is static, routine, and frozen. And, as we shall try to show in this paper, these characteristics are, paradoxically, the very basis for the survival of the vigil. \[=\]

61075. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. "The Secret of Their Survival: Part 2: Who Are The Women?", in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. The simplest explanation for the perseverance of the vigil concerns the type of women who come. Data from our questionnaire reveal that they are Israeli citizens (94%); middle-aged (average age 47); and not religious (87%). Most of the women (55%) live without a partner, and 25% do not have children. They are educated (84% have post-secondary school learning, most in the humanities); 85% are in the work force; and almost all (99%) come from a western European or American ethnic background. It cannot be made into - an end in itself. We have accepted it, as the popular saying has it, because "it was the only game in the town." And we will negotiate seriously, in good faith, because there is still no other game in town. But we have always warned against the dangers of a procedure built upon "constructive ambiguity" and the will to avoid and postpone the discussion of core issues.
that the longevity of the vigil is related to the history of social-political activism of the participants. We found that about 40% of the women have been active in various social-political contexts (women’s organizations, political parties, other protest movements, etc.). 72% had been members of a youth movement and about 50% had lived in a kibbutz; 60% of these for more than two years. But this explanation is insufficient, because it also explains the vigil by the traits of the participants rather than the traits of the vigil itself. What's more, 82% of the women report that the vigil is their only social political activity today. [=]

61076. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. “The Secret of Their Survival: Part 3: A Sense of “Sorority”, in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. Another possible explanation is to claim, like some feminist literature, that groups of women adopt alternative patterns of behavior than do mixed groups, and therefore they will last longer. Most of the women we studied, however, reject the claim that women have a style of activity different from men. For example, most (60%) don't think that women are less competitive than men (although 77% say that women are less violent). Some feminist literature claims that female patterns of action are based on a sense of “sorority”, a sense of more symmetrical, sharing relations. This claim seems to entail ongoing friendly relationships among the participants. Our data indicate, however, that friendships play only a small role in joining and standing on the vigil: 27% of the women declare that they stand alone at the vigil. About 90% claim that they have no relationships with other women on subjects not related to the vigil. Thus, sorority does not seem to play a role among the women in the vigil. And the fact that the movement is unstructured and non-hierarchical also does not necessarily indicate a sense of sorority. In our opinion, the basis for the perseverance of the vigil is the ritualistic nature of the activity, the “individualization of the protest”, and not the traits of the participants or a style of action based on sorority. [=]

61077. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. “The Secret of Their Survival: Part 4: The Vigil As Political Ritual”, in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. Most social movements conduct rituals when they are in public. The uniqueness of Women in Black is that their political action is entirely a ritual. Any attempt to add elements that are not part of the ritual - or, organizational structures or public education - fails because it threatens the existence of the vigil. The interpretation of the vigil as a political ritual is drawn from the central features of the vigil, including: (a) set and minimalistic rules: women only, a clear and rigid definition of time and place, uniform dress and signs, and lack of verbal interaction with passers-by; (b) the nature of the message: “End the Occupation” is simple and has multiple meanings; (c) the participants: a given pool from which participants with a set role - standing on the vigil - are drawn. The interwaving of these features constitutes the ritual which enables the “individualization of protest”. By this we mean that in the vigil as a political ritual, each participant can express her personal political interpretation of the occupation. In more graphic terms, each woman in the vigil hides behind the sign as she zealously guards her interpretation of it. The ritual binds together the participants by not clarifying their ideology. [=]

61078. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. “The Secret of Their Survival: Part 5: Individualization of the Protest”, in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. Evidence of the individualization of the protest can be drawn from the fact that most women report they would not leave the vigil even if changes were made in key features: 71% would not leave if the Israeli flag were added to the vigil; 91% would not leave if black clothes were dispensed with; 87% would not leave if men joined the vigil; and 88% would not leave even if their friends left. As for organizational changes, 81% would not leave if the vigil merged with other political bodies; and 80% would not leave if it would become “establishment”. (Even though women say that such changes would not cause them to leave does not mean that these elements are not important in the vigil.) Against this background, it is remarkable that the great majority of the women (86%) say that they would leave the vigil “if slogans were added that oppose my point of view”. This response reveals that the endurance of the vigil is rooted in the depth of the message “End the occupation”, which enables each woman to express her individual world view. The black hand carrying the slogan serves as a kind of mask in a Greek play, and the vigil, the Greek chorus. When the mask is held in the hand, there is a space between it and the “real” face, where communication between the personal message and the common group message takes place without the message losing its uniqueness. In the view of the participants, the common message is that the collective view will force itself upon the individual view. Hence, changing the message endangers the existence of the vigil. This interpretation is reinforced by responses to the question, “Are you interested in what happens to Women in Black (who organizes it, who makes decisions, etc.)?”. Only 66% say that they are interested or a little interested in what happens to the movement, while 86% say that they do not care or care a lot that the vigil continues. In other words, the framework means little to the women, but the vigil is important, as it gives women a defined time and place to express their personal opinions. [=]

61079. Rappaport, Tamar; Hellman, Sarit. “The Secret of Their Survival: Part 6: Lack of Ideological Discourse”, in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. The sole message of Women in Black is “End the occupation”. They do not as a group engage in formal or informal discussions of a possible solution to the occupation. We believe that the lack of political discourse ensures adherence to the individualistic interpretation, and thus to the continuity of the vigil as a political ritual. In our view, any attempt to reach a consensus interpretation of the message through ideological debate would dissolve the vigil. In the years of the vigil, unsuccessful attempts have been made to add new symbols and slogans. Efforts to publish something (a book or a newspaper) or political activity outside the square makes the group uneasy. Products issued by Women in Black are the result of personal initiatives, and possible because the women are unwilling to struggle on behalf of their personal interpretations. The women justify the lack of ideological discourse on various bases: as an ideology of pluralism, an anarchist ideology, and even a feminist ideology of maintaining the “sorority”. Discourse was avoided even when the vigil should have taken a stand about a new reality, such as the Gulf War and the change of government in 6/1992. The importance of this principle is underscored when a new social group (the Zionists, the anti-Zionists, or the feminists) tries to shift the vigil ideologically, and is then accused of harming the ideological pluralism. In summary, ideological ambiguity and refraining from serious ideological discourse preserve the group more than any other principle. The fragile balance between the unequivocal message to the outside, and the multiple meanings inwards, permits the vigil to survive. The ritual, which ostensibly makes us all similar, and the ideology founded on individual interpretation, prohibiting sectoral dominance, explains the continuity of the vigil even under conditions of political change. Thus, despite significant social and political changes, Women in Black have stood for five years with varied and even contradictory political interpretations, when all they have in common is “End the occupation.” [This research conducted under the auspices of the Hebrew University In Jerusalem combining methods of participant observation in depth interviews and closed questionnaires Data here are from the Jerusalem vigil but were there no significant differences In the responses of women from other Israeli vigils Thanks to the Eshkol Foundation and the Truman Institute for Peace for funding and to Anat Penso for her contribution to this work.] [=]

61080. Ruben, Steven Carr, Rabbi. Raising Jewish Children in a Contemporary World: The Modern Parent's Guide to Creating a Jewish Home. Rocklin, CA: Prima Publishing, 1992. [The focus of this abstract is the political aspects of this book.] The purpose of this book is to instruct parents on the proper manner of transmitting Jewish identity to their children; it is a ‘practical guide’ to the central elements, written for Jews and ‘non-Jews’. Judaism is more than a religion, it is an evolving civilization. Definitions: Somebody who has one or two Jewish parents is a ‘born Jew’; a person born to Jewish parents who does not otherwise connected to Judaism is a ‘Jew by chance’; a person who as an adult

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converts is a 'Jew by choice'; a non-Jew who chooses to marry a Jew is a 'Jew by association'. Judaism is difficult to define, more than anything, it is a 'way of life'. Discovering Judaism is like finding an attic full of treasures: this book is designed to unlock these treasures. One of the strengths of Judaism is its ability to adapt to changing conditions. Maintaining cultural symbols is critical. To get involved, first pick a Jewish ritual to share with your family, it will make you feel like you belong to a tradition, but to do so seriously, buy a tree for born non-Jews that makes nonsense of the strong objections of their Jewish partners so difficult' [p. 128].

A heated recent controversy in Judaism is between the Orthodox who see only those born of Jewish mothers as Jews (genetic causality), and the Reconstructionist or Reform movement who see 'patrilineal descent' as legitimate. Children are often persecuted when Orthodox Jewish children discover that a child is not born of a mother Jew. The major distinction between Judaism and other religions is that Jews derive their identity from 'believing', while others derive theirs from belief. The essence of Judaism, therefore, is community. This is why Jews create institutions to protect themselves from pogroms, a prejudiced. The main Jewish institution is the synagogue. 'Praying per se is one of the least important motivations for most members' synagogue involvement', its function as a place for assembly and study is more important. There are several forms of Judaism: Orthodox, Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist. The most important thing for Jewish children is to nurture Jewish self-esteem to counter the anti-Semitism of the majority Christian world. One way is to have Jewish children read biographies of famous Jews, like Barbara Walters, the Marx Brothers, and Barbara Steisand. Anti-Semitism often masquerades as Anti-Zionism. Those who take a stand against Zionism are by definition anti-Semite. 'The Holocaust visited upon the Jews by Hitler and the Nazis of Germany was unique in the annals of history. Though others were killed while fighting and in concentration camps, only the Jews were systematically singled out for total destruction' [p. 177].

Jews should be thankful for the State of Israel, it was the 'Jewish phoenix, rising out of the ashes of the Holocaust. It was the safe haven for the downtrodden, the oppressed, the tortured, the weary, and it has always been a beacon of light and hope in an often dark and troubled world' [p. 179]. Zionism is a national liberation movement; 'when images of Israeli soldiers striking Palestinian demonstrators flash on our television screens, Jews in Houston, London, and Mexico City worry about how Jews and Arabs can live together in peace, and the impact that prolonged war, occupation, and the battle against terrorism has on the emotional well-being and soul of Israel' [pp. 179-180].

The root of that conflict is the inability of the Arabs to accept the existence of Israel. The Arab countries refused to allow displaced Palestinians to be absorbed or assimilated into their countries, keeping them in degrading camps, refusing citizenship and equal rights, and using them as pawns to manipulate world public opinion against Israel' [p. 182].
have been overlooked or leniently dealt with. (Details are given with dates, etc., in Punitive Measures in Palestine, published by the Arab Centre, 72, Victoria Street, SW1.) Damage to property is punishable by life imprisonment. The Government holds power to commandeer any premises or articles it requires, and to demolish without compensation any houses where crimes are supposed to have been committed or abetted, the actual offender being unkindly overlooked. In June 1936 600 Arab homes have been blown up under this regulation. 'Collective fines' are imposed on villages `the inhabitants of which there is reason to believe have committed or connived at crimes or acts of lawlessness or violence'. Concentration camps, general searches without warrant and censorship of posts, telegrams and publications complete the picture. How this regime—in no respect better than Hitler's—works out in practice, may be gathered from our newspapers to some small extent. Here we can find stories of Arabs shot at sight and on suspicion by gallant Englishmen. But the worst facts are not published, though the authority for them is at least as good as that offered for most fascist atrocity stories. A petition from the villagers of Al Tirah tells of what took place there on 4th June, 1936: `The soldiers entered the houses, collected what they could of food, clothes and furniture and set it on fire. . . . The owners, who watched helplessly, were beaten and struck down with the butts of rifles.' In the end no arms were found, in spite of threats, and the soldiers left having destroyed everything but the money of the villagers, which they took with them. In another village (Al Taibah) 150 men were rounded up and forced to march round all day. Those who became tired were beaten and two who attempted to escape were shot down. One was bludgeoned with a rifle butt as he lay wounded, and both died in hospital. Many similar cases are known of brutality and murder. Those who know anything about British imperialism will not be surprised at such facts. Imperialism is like fascism—a system of slavery, savage and ruthless when it is at bay. But while such measures have been used against the Arabs, in only one case has a few been executed up to the present time. With a few exceptions they are either on the side of the Government or 'plus royale que le roi'. The chief Jewish criticisms of the Government are to the effect that it has not gone far enough in its repressive measures! Our sympathy with the Jews in Germany and many other countries must not blind us, therefore, for one moment, to the reactionary character of Zionism. What is appalling from every point of view is that the leaders of the working-class in Britain are whole-heartedly supporting the 'mandate' with all that it implies. With characteristic hypocrisy, the Labour Party carried unanimously at its Conference in 1936 a resolution supporting the Palestine Mandate `in the interests of the peace of the world'. Their argument was that since `the situation of Palestine makes it a point of extreme strategic importance and, as such, an object for rival imperial ambitions' it should remain under British control! But the existence of the 'Thieves' Kitchen at Geneva enabled these 'internationalists' to cloak the proposal in a suitable phraseology to disguise the crude imperialism of their own policy. No-one however, has waved the Union Jack with more enthusiasm than Mr McGovern, who in defiance of the declared policy of his party (the Independent Labour Party) has continually insulted the Arabs and demanded even harsher methods of repression against them. When McGovern visited Palestine, the speech which he proposed to broadcast was so arrogant that even the Government, which is too wise to advertise its mailed fist unnecessarily, refused to let him speak. In this undelivered speech (published later in the New Leader, with an editorial disclaimer) McGovern produced his Zionist version of the White Man's Burden. The Jew was `to bring civilisation to the poor Arab' and if the Arab didn't like it `the law' (i.e. British imperialism) was to operate `in a just but stern manner'. Whether the people of the country liked it or not, said Mr McGovern, `I say, send into Palestine unlimited numbers of Jews'. These Jews were to show the Arab `a higher and nobler life'. Most of this speech might be described as pure Meichett, but the final flourish, with its dictatorial `I say' was worthy of Mussolini in his proclamations against `disaffected' Abyssinians. More recently, McGovern has treated us to another fascist outburst, this time in Parliament. In Hansard of 6/14/1938 there is a report of a debate on the colonies, when McGovern having first sneered at the Arabs for being poor and praised the Jews for being well-to-do, tells us that among the Jews young men and women go about in `shorts', to which fact he adds: `and the minds of the Arab women are being stirred'. Now it is not clear as to what particular blessing of civilisation our Roman Catholic authority had in mind, but later on he says that `we ought to be sending the torch of progress into the East to inflame the minds of the Arab population in order to rouse them from their fifth'.

Whatever may be the advantage of Jews and Jewesses in shorts, I can hardly believe that an Arab who reads those words will feel inflamed with anything but a desire to give Mr McGovern a kick in the pants. Igovern's speech ends with a plain declaration that he Supports the Mandate and that he wishes the Colonial Secretary well—strange words for the representative of a party pledged against imperialism! And he hopes that when the present Government goes out of office he will be able to say to the colonial Secretary: `Well done, thou good and faithful servant'. He does not explain how the Colonial Secretary can be the servant of anything but capitalism, or why he should wish to praise him for having served it. That, no doubt, would be too embarrassing, as it would involve explaining why Mr McGovern is himself such a devoted servant of the system which his innocent constituents imagine he is destroying with floods of Parliamentary rhetoric. . . . The problem of Palestine must be faced with courageous realism. The News Chronicle (7/8/1938) in its report on the Evian Conference of Refugees, reports that Colonel White, Australian Minister of Trade and Customs, who presided over one of the Committees, stated that British stock had created the Commonwealth and people from the Home Country should preponderate while British settlers were forthcoming. No socialist or anarchist would, I hope, endorse that view, but there is no proposal that I know of to force Australia to re-consider its attitude by landing an army of occupation and compelling the people of Australia by force to accept an immigration policy to which they are opposed. The people of Palestine have the same right to determine their own affairs, including matters of immigration, and to decide on policies that we—yes, even Mr McGovern—think bad policies. It may not be too late, even now, to bring the Arab and Jewish people together on the basis of an abandonment of Zionism by the Jews. If so, the first step will have been taken in a process which will drive out first the British imperialist and next the Arab imperialist. After that, the Jews and Jewish capitalists. But unless that step is taken soon it will be too late, and the problem, so far as the Jews are Concerned will be to re-settle them in some part of the world where they can live at peace with their neighbours on the basis of a mutual agreement. This does not indicate either Madagascar or East Africa, where the native people have not been consulted and would have the same legitimate grievance as the Arabs. What is most clear is that the acquiescence of so-called Socialists in British imperialism can only drive the Arabs into the arms of the German and Italian agents. They will see in fascism the enemy of the Jew and the socialist; in Germany and Italy they already see the enemies of England. What more is needed but a little more propaganda and financial support to convince the Arab people that the fascists are their best friends? And yet, if this happens, and the Arab world turns to Hitler and Mussolini in the false hope of salvation, the entire fault will lie with British Labour politicians who have shown that `democracy' to them is a cheap catch-word, to be used when it suits the interests of the British Empire, and laughed at the moment it is used in earnest. All the talk about the Arab leaders being reactionaries or financed by Foreign agents is SO much balderdash, because those who use this sort of argument know that it is worthless and insincere. What does it matter who makes a demand or why it is made or who pays the bill if that demand is just? To reject a just demand is to brand ourselves as friends of tyranny and oppression: to accept it and to work for it is not only our duty but the only policy that will expose the pretensions of our enemies. If the Arab leaders are all that McGovern and his friends would have us believe, the best way to show them up is to accept their demands at face value. [Publisher's note To simplify the sub-title to this volume all articles were attributed to Freedom, whereas some appeared in Freedom's predecessors: Spain & the World (1936-1939) and War Commentary (1939-1945), both published by Freedom]
61082. Robinson, Glen E. “The Role of the Professional Middle Class in the Mobilization of Palestinian Society: The Medical and Agricultural Committees,” in International Journal of Middle East Studies, May, 1993. pp. 301-326. The rise of a new elite, and marginalization of the traditional leadership, is closely tied to the political mobilization of the Palestinians in the 1960s. The primary drivers in this were a rise in wage labor, land confiscations and widespread university education. The organizations which united the new elite were student groups, labor unions, womens organizations, professional organizations, and Islamic groups. This study examines the role of the medical relief groups and agricultural committees in this development.

61083. Rosenfeld, Maya. “Ahead of Her Time: Part 1”, in Challenge, January-February 1993. p. 28. When I asked Ahlam Samhan to tell me about herself, the first thing she said was: “I was born in 1963; I was arrested in 1979.” Like thousands of West Bank and Gaza Strip men who have spent extended periods of time in Israeli prisons, Ahlam divides the periods of her life in half: before and after her arrest, as though we were speaking of two different lives.

Ahlam is the General Secretary of the “Union of Women’s Work Committees,” one of four women’s organizations which have been active in the territories since the late 70s and early 80s. She is young, vivacious and energetic, simply and tastefully dressed. Her schedule is filled with meetings and other activities spread throughout the day, compelling her to travel to many different locations and areas. Her five-year old daughter and infant son spend many hours in the company of their father, except when he is being held in administrative detention.

But Ahlam is not one of the Palestinian women activists who come from prestigious middle or upper-class urban families in Ramallah or Jerusalem. Her independent life style, which perhaps deserves to be called “revolutionary,” cannot be traced to her origins or her upbringing and education. She was born in Nablus to a refugee mother and a father of village origin, and she grew up with eight brothers and one sister. Ahlam remembers herself as a happy child, especially because her parents did not prevent her from playing games with the boys. Ahlam’s mother was married when she was only thirteen years old, and her relations with her children were those of close friends as well as parental: “My mother grew up along with us,” Ahlam explained.

She was moving into her adolescent years when the first wave of popular national protest swept the West Bank in the mid-70s. In 1973 the Palestinian National Front [PNF] was founded, a kind of umbrella organization including nationalist personages, communist activists, representatives of trade unions, and others. The PNF was the first organization in the territories to recognize the PLO as its political representative and to advocate the establishment of a Palestinian state throughout the West Bank.

When she was fifteen years old and still a student in intermediate school, Ahlam was caught near an army base in Nablus with a Molotov cocktail in her satchel. She was sentenced to five years in prison after confessing, even though she had not done anything with the bottle. It was only through the subsequent intervention of her lawyer that, because she was a minor, her sentence was reduced to two years in prison. Ahlam did not belong to any political group at that time, and it had been her own completely spontaneous decision to take action (against soldiers, not civilians - she emphasizes). She remembers having possessed nationalist sentiments and consciousness far beyond her years and attributes this to the education she received, to the fact that she was treated as an equal by her parents, and in particular, to the prevailing political atmosphere. It was only later, behind bars in the Nablus prison, that Ahlam learned the difference between the acts intended acts of an individual person and those committed in the political and ideological framework of an organization. She also understood how naive she had been at the time of her interrogation, when she told her interrogators simply: “You are the army, and we want to be rid of you.”

In some ways Ahlam was ahead of her time, since even had she looked for an organizational framework, in the late 70s, in which women or girls took an active part, she would have had difficulty finding one. Except for voluntary work committees established at the beginning of the 70s by students and lecturers from West Bank universities, especially Bir Zeit, the big expansion of popular organizations and frameworks - open to all and usually quasi-legal- occurred later. Only in the late 70s and early 80s did student associations and high school groups, trade unions and various professional organizations band together to attract and mobilize a wide and varied public of thousands throughout the West Bank (less in the Gaza Strip). Women’s organizations as political, ideological frameworks providing special social services first appeared in 1979 when Ahlam was already in prison.[=]
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medicine, first aid, family planning, learning to read and write, and use of a sewing machine. While such knowledge does not "liberate" the woman - in the sense that the word is understood in Western society - it does, however, enable her to leave her home several times a week, and, most importantly, increases her awareness of different situations and perhaps also the desire to participate in organized activities. Success in a project such as this is measured by the ability to establish new local nuclei of activity. [=]

61085. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Ahead of Her Time: Part 3", in Challenge, January-February 1993. p. 29. In 1986 Ahlam married Ahmad, a trade union activist from the Bethlehem district. When I asked her whom she had married she replied, a munade meaning one who struggles, a revolutionary. They met at a conference of trade unions and again at a volunteer work camp which had been organized each summer by the communist municipality of Nazareth. Before they met, Ahmad had been in prison for eight successive years, and after their marriage, he spent four more years in prison off and on. They live in a rented apartment in Bethlehem, not with Ahmad's parents, which enhanced her independence and freedom as a young married woman.

Ahlam married Ahmad because she loved him and shared his ideas, but in the present socio-economic reality in the territories, even marriage to a munade does not assure an egalitarian relationship. Ahlam is reported as stating that her marriage did not disrupt the consistency of her life. She attributes this in large part to Ahmad: "Ahlam is an expert in Marxism. It can be said that he is a 'wholly dedicated Marxist.' This is expressed not only in his theoretical political thinking but also in his daily life, in our life as a couple, and in this sense, he is a very unusual man. I don't think of him as my 'husband' but rather as my partner. He doesn't wait for me to clean, cook, and put things away. He doesn't mind if there is no cooked food in the house, and when I come home late at night, he doesn't question me or complain. His behavior is completely egalitarian." Their two children were born during the Intifada, during which Ahmad has been placed three times under administrative detention. Ahlam is currently the only breadwinner, because Ahmad holds a green identity card and thus has difficulty finding work.

After her marriage Ahlam shifted her activity to the region of Bethlehem and the southern part of the West Bank, and three years later she was elected general secretary of the Association of Women's Committees, based in Jerusalem. During the half decade from the time she began her activities in Nablus until she moved to Bethlehem, a significant change occurred with regard to "women's organizations" in the West Bank. Although Ahlam found the southern region less developed organizationally than the north where branches had been set up even in the most isolated villages, there were new developments even in the south. Four women's organizations are now active in the area, advocating differing political and social philosophies but employing similar organizational and recruiting methods. The number of women who held membership in women's movements grew to several thousand, and on the periphery of each movement were thousands more.

The "Union of Committees" to which Ahlam belongs has opened kindergartens, runs classes for adult women, organizes voluntary doctors' visits to refugee camps and villages, and brings women together to hear lectures about their legal rights in the family. The union has also set up a number of light industries which are operated as cooperatives employing women, including the jam producing cooperative in Beit Sahur and the crafts groups in Issawiya. Behind the idea of women's cooperatives lies the social idea of setting up a profitable and efficient cooperative factory based on women's work, but the number of employees in these workplaces is too negligible to speak of their special achievements or contributions. [=]

61086. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Ahead of Her Time: Part 4", in Challenge, January-February 1993. p. 30. Each of the four women's organizations emphasizes working among women of different ages and from different social groups, in keeping with their differing perceptions of the process of national and social struggle. While the Union of Committees has attempted to improve the situation of housewives of houseworkers and uneducated women, other women's movements have concentrated on organizing female students or female wage-earners. But the absence of central state institutions providing employment, social services, and welfare relief has caused some overlap in the activity of these women's organizations in their attempts to provide alternative services. The differing outlooks of the organizations find expression in the leaflets which they frequently distribute in response to daily political events: for example, regarding the peace talks, Ahlam relates that her group repeatedly reiterated in its public proclamations, lectures, and gatherings that it supports a peace agreement, but that the setting and conditions under which the present talks are being held is inimical to the interests and aspirations of the Palestinian people. I asked Ahlam if her women's movement is gradually assuming the role of go-between or negotiator in the matter of women's problems within the family. Does it happen, for example, that women turn to members of the organization in matters of divorce, imposed marriage, male violence? Ahlam reported an example of a woman turning to the organization following the attempt of her husband to marry off their sixteen-year-old daughter to a relative against her will. Thus far the father's intentions have been thwarted. The fact that the woman made the overture to the organization at all must be considered an achievement, but the possibility of intervention by a women's movement in such cases is limited and apparently depends upon personal links (or even family ties) existing between the women who request assistance and those who are willing to intervene.

During the first two years of the Intifada there was an outburst of activity from women's movements. In addition to participation of women in demonstrations, processions, sit-ins, and meetings, many joined the "popular committees" which arose throughout the territories, including committees to assist injured families, shifts of nightguards, food provision committees for curfews, and organized first aid groups. When these committees were declared illegal and thousands of their male activists were arrested, it was a serious blow to women's movements to operate and expand their previous spheres of activity. According to Ahlam, every month, those women who actively participate in her movement take part, on the average, in four meetings or activities, such as solidarity visits to families of those who have been killed or arrested, discussions with lawyers about women's rights, and guidance concerning preventive medicine.

I would have liked to ask Ahlam about Hamas' opposition to women's movements and the violent actions it initiates in order to force women to wear the hijab (headcovering) and the jilbab (outer clothing, a sort of cape covering the entire body) - but there wasn't time. It was my impression that the subject was less irritating now than it had been three years ago, but it is surely worth pursuing. Ahlam was in a rush to catch a taxi to Bethlehem. She didn't want to be late for an event organized by women's organizations to protest the deportation of Hamas activists. Translation: Elana Wesley[=]

61087. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Female Relatives Of Palestinian Prisoners Participate In Hunger: Mothers in Solidarity: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 7. Among these women, all of whom have relatives in prison, were old friends who had travelled the long road. The fact that the woman made the overture to the organization following the attempt of her husband to marry off their sixteen-year-old daughter to a relative against her will. Thus far the father's intentions have been thwarted. The fact that the woman made the overture to the organization at all must be considered an achievement, but the possibility of intervention by a women's movement in such cases is limited and apparently depends upon personal links (or even family ties) existing between the women who request assistance and those who are willing to intervene.

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the permanent site for solidarity and protest gatherings, especially of Palestinian women concerned with the plight of political prisoners.

In the shade of the large cedar tree in the heart of the yard, the protesters had erected a first-aid tent staffed with an around-the-clock medical team and an adjacent tent for resting. The women sat side by side on blankets spread on the ground with their backs against the stone fence. Around them, in small circles, huddled members of the families who had come to visit, including small children who spent many long hours there.

There was much commotion about the place: dozens of young men and women never stopping their singing and handclapping, discussing the latest news which had reached them from the lawyers who had visited the prisons; newly released prisoners continuing their fasting alongside the women, providing up-to-date detailed reports of the situation behind bars; and, of course, solidarity delegations from all over the West Bank, delegations of Arabs from Israel including public figures and Knesset members, delegations of religious leaders, representatives of international organizations and delegations of Israeli women's peace coalitions.

On my first visit I met Um Musbah, a mother of eleven children, from Jerusalem, in her fifth day of fasting. Her son Musbah, not yet 16 years old, was arrested about one month ago and has still not been brought to trial. When the Intifada broke out in December 1987, he was a child of eleven; he grew up along with the Intifada. He is her first son after eight daughters, his mother informed me. She looked young, wrapped in a large white headscarf and dressed in a heavy sewn thick cloth garment. This was her first time participating in a sit-in, and it was clear that she was inexperienced in such matters. From time to time she moved off to a corner and cried, still not part of the group of women who were able to comfort and encourage each other with their loud verbal exchanges. She observed women around her growing weaker after five days and calculated aloud the medical situation of the prisoners then in their twelfth day of fasting. The comparison aroused deep anxiety in her, and she burst into tears.[=]

61088. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Female Relatives Of Palestinian Prisoners Participate In Hunger: Mothers in Solidarity: Part 2", in Challenge, November-December 1992, p. 8. Beside her sits Um Jaber from Silwan, mother of eight, five daughters and three sons. Two of the three sons are currently in prison: Jaber, age 22, sentenced to five and one-half years, and Kaid, age 15, awaiting trial in the Russian Compound. Unlike Um Musbah, Um Jaber has more experience. Jaber was previously imprisoned for fifteen months, and his present incarceration began two years ago. In the course of these imprisonments Um Jaber has already participated in sit-in strikes and demonstrations, in spite of the difficult situation at home: "I have a deaf and dumb daughter; my husband is sick and doesn't work; I have six small children, but I won't leave here until a solution is found. The situation in prison is terrible; the food is awful, winter clothes are not allowed in, the only medicine distributed is aspirin."

The women sat up to take notice when someone pointed to a thin man standing under the cedar tree: a prisoner released two days ago continuing his fast "on the outside." He explained that he had a daughter who was not yet two years old, who didn't recognize her father. If conditions for visiting had been normal, if he had at least been allowed to hold his infant daughter's hand, perhaps she would know him now. "Whoever claims that the prisoners receive orders from Tunisia is mistaken. There is no specific political group leading the strike; the fact is that preparations were made to start a strike more than one month ago on August 24, but because of the negotiations taking place in Washington, we delayed it so that no one could say that we were trying to incite and to sabotage the talks." As he sees it one of the most important demands is abolishment of the isolation wing in the Nitzan and Beersheba prisons.

"I've Begin in this Book: The Revolt describes the isolation wing in which he was held for only seven days as a 'criminal violation of human rights.'"

The women agreed among themselves that I should meet Um Omar, recognized by all of them for her eloquence and leadership and the contagious youthful and rebellious spirit she radiates to those around her despite her 65 years. Um Omar was immersed in prayer on her blanket folded at the foot of a cypress tree, and the sun was about to set. We agreed to meet the following day.

The next day I was greeted by the shining faces of the women, my second appearance being proof of my good intentions and alleviating possible suspicions. This time I no longer needed to introduce myself; the women had introduced me, before my appearance, while heaping praises on the "Peace Camp" in Israel. Um Omar was lying on her folded blankets waiting for me and seemed to be especially tired. That morning a procession of women had set out from the yard of the Red Cross building with an Israeli delegation from "Women and Peace." Um Omar had gone with them, but midway she felt very dizzy and turned back to the yard. She had begun her hunger strike independently as soon as she heard from her son that the prisoners intended to start one.[=]

61089. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Female Relatives Of Palestinian Prisoners Participate In Hunger: Mothers in Solidarity: Part 3", in Challenge, November-December 1992, p. 8. Um Omar, from Kufr Kobar, Ramallah, is mother of one daughter and two sons. Fifteen years ago her sons, Omar and Na'il, were sentenced to life imprisonment. Omar was released eight years later in the Jibril prisoner exchange (1985). He married and started a family, but during the Intifada he was arrested again, and he has already been held without trial for one year and eight months. Na'il is currently spending his fifteenth year in prison.

For fifteen years Um Omar's life has centered around prisons; Omar is now being held in Ramallah and Na'il in the Jneid prison (Nablus). One visit, another visit, and yet another, once every two weeks for fifteen years. When her visits to Na'il and Omar coincided, she visits Na'il, and Omar's wife and five children visit him. She is here fasting because of the zulum, she said. "It is the zulum which has been bringing me out into the streets for the past fifteen years." Zulum is a word which conveys a combination of evil, injustice and discrimination. Um Omar's explanation about the robbed freedom of her sons was accompanied by a poem which she composed herself: "Oh, you Zionist, why have you shut up the prisoner in jail? Why don't you let the hero return to his home? Oh, you Zionist, why have you locked the prison gate? Why don't you let Nael return to his sister? I have walked to the prison; such a long journey; I have walked to the prison, how tired are my feet. Let the house of the one who has imprisoned my child be destroyed." The sun had already set, and Um Omar took a few sips from a bottle of water she was holding. She insisted on feeding me a sandwich from the stand set up for fifteen years. When her visits to Na'il and Omar coincided, she visits Na'il, and Omar's wife and five children visit him. She is here fasting because of the zulum, she said. "It is the zulum which has been bringing me out into the streets for the past fifteen years." Um Omar's explanation about the robbed freedom of her sons was accompanied by a poem which she composed herself: "Oh, you Zionist, why have you shut up the prisoner in jail? Why don't you let the hero return to his home? Oh, you Zioni..."
prisoners were not receiving milk.[=]

61090. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Female Relatives Of Palestinian Prisoners Participate In Hunger: Mothers in Solidarity: Part 4", in Challenge, November-December 1992, p. 9. Um Nasr recounted to me: "I am a sick woman, suffering from rheumatism and a heart ailment. The doctor wanted to send me home to rest, but I refused. I explained that I want to be like the prisoners; to suffer as they do." She is a sixty-year-old widow from Zur-Bahr, mother of seven. Her son Nasr is serving a sentence of life imprisonment in the Beersheba prison. "There must be some mercy," she said to me, "all over the world there are wars between peoples, but it can't be that they reach this degree of cruelty. Use of such violence against the shabbat should be forbidden; it should not be allowed to put them in solitary confinement; torturing them should not be permitted." Um Nasr has followed her son from one prison to another: the Russian Compound, Ramle, Shatita, Jalame, Ashkelon, and Beersheba. There have been times when she has waited at the entrance of detention centers or at the gates of prison from 6 am until 6 pm. After a day spent visiting in prison, she collapses for several days. Now she is afraid that Nasr will be transferred to far-away Nafha Prison and that she won't manage to stand up to the difficulties of visiting.

Um Nasr is a long-time participant: "Every time something is done about the prisoners, I participate. It is not only because of my son but for all the prisoners. They are all our children." When she is at home, she feels she is losing her senses, and sitting here with the others helps her. Um Musbah, still seated somewhat off in the corner, nodded in agreement: "My husband comes here and tells me: 'Come home,' and I answer that I can't leave here. I must participate in what is happening to my son."

The sun was about to set, and no one present in the yard of the Red Cross yet knew that the hunger strike in the prisons was going to end in a few hours, on its fourteenth day. Abu Musbah, the husband of Um Musbah, arrived to visit his wife and to entreat her to return home. Ten children were waiting for her there, he reminded her. I asked him why he didn't understand what she was feeling and why he didn't let her stay. "Don't worry," he answered. "We'll only take her for a few hours. Tomorrow, early in the morning, I'll bring her back for the vigil."

Translation: Eliana Welsley.[=]

61091. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Zohoriya Al-Baba: Portrait of a Palestinian Mother, Part 1", in Challenge, May-June 1992, p. 24. On the eve of the Madrid Peace Conference Zohoriya al-Baba bought two olive saplings and set them in the entrance to her house in the Al-A'araf detention camp. When I visited her at the beginning of 11/91, she broke off a small branch and cheerfully offered it to me.

Zohoriya is the mother of the shahid (martyr) Mohammad al-Baba, of the deported Abd al-Hamid al-Baba, of the imprisoned Mahmud al-Baba, and of three more sons and four daughters. Her brother, Ya'qub Rihan, also a resident of Al-A'araf, was hit in the head and killed by gunshots fired by soldiers two years ago. He was then sixty years old. Her husband, Isma'il al-Baba, has been unemployed ever since soldiers broke his right hand three years ago, during the period of mourning or his son Mohammad. "In sha'Alla" (Let it be God's wish), she told me on that visit, "that there be peace and quiet, that the prisons be closed, that all the prisoners be freed, that all the exiled return home."

Zohoriya was born in Ramle 46 years ago to a family of falahin (peasants). Her father worked in the fields of the landowners of Ramla and Lydda and also had his own plot of land. The family arrived in Al-A'araf in 1950 after two years of wandering among several of the villages around Ramallah. Zohoriya grew up in the camp and there she married, gave birth, and raised her ten children. Her firstborn, in 1963, was Abed al-Hamid. Her youngest daughter, Sumud, was born in 1987. The family's breadwinner was Zohoriya's husband, Isma'il, who worked for 27 years as a skilled stone-cutter.

I met Zohoriya in 1/89, after her son Abed al-Hamid was deported, together with the first group of activists exiled during the Intifada. She hosted a visit of Dai Lakibush ("End the Occupation") in her home and loudly repulsed efforts of soldiers who were trying to break in: "These are my guests from the peace movement." Later, she snuck us out the back door. [=]

61092. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Zohoriya Al-Baba: Portrait of a Palestinian Mother, Part 2", in Challenge, May-June 1992, p. 24. Abed al-Hamid completed three years of chemistry study at Bir Zeit University. He was active in the student council, and during certain periods he also worked in the Breadman Bakery in Jerusalem. Before the Intifada, he was imprisoned for one and a half years and was detained for eighteen days on a number of occasions. During the first seven months of the Intifada, he was "wanted" by the Security Forces and slept away from home to avoid arrest. Soldiers, who kept coming to the family home repeatedly arrested his brothers Ahmad, Mohammad and Mahmud instead. On 7/16/88 Abed al-Hamid was arrested and held in the Jneid prison until he was deported in 1/89.

During that same period, al-Hamid's other brothers were imprisoned: Ahmad for two periods of administrative detention at Ketziot, Mohammad and Mahmud for a number of periods of imprisonment at Dahariya, Hebron, Atlit, Megiddo, the Moskobia, and Ketziot. Zohoriya recalls with a certain smile how she "organized" her time during that period: when there was no choice and visiting days in the different prisons conflicted, she and her husband were forced to separate. Usually, each prison institute a different visiting day, and Zohoriya has been to all of them. On Fridays she managed to squeeze in a morning visit in Hebron prison and a visit to the Moskobia in Jerusalem at 2 p.m.

I next met Zohoriya after her son Mohammad, age 17, was killed in the camp in 4/89 from a shot in the heart at short range. He died instantly. When the Intifada began, Mohammad was only fifteen years old, but he had already accumulated a history of many periods of detention, including a long period of imprisonment in the Moskobia (Russian Compound in Jerusalem) when he was only thirteen. During the Intifada as well, Mohammad spent time in prisons in Atlit, Bitunia, and Megiddo. Zohoriya is proud of her son who died as a martyr: "With us," she often repeats, "people wish each other the death of martyrs saying: 'Live happily or else die as a martyr.'" She is proud that he did not simply die as a collaborator and traitor, as she puts it, but was killed because he chose a particular way of life. [=]

61093. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Zohoriya Al-Baba: Portrait of a Palestinian Mother, Part 3", in Challenge, May-June 1992, p. 24-25. On the fortieth day after the death of Mohammad, which fell on the holiday of 'Id al-Fitr, many mourners came to offer condolences at the Baba family home. Soldiers sent them away and arrested the father of the family, Isma'il. He was put into a jeep and taken to an army base. On the way, the soldier asked him why he was smiling, and afterwards they beat him and broke his right hand in two places. Isma'il was released that same day. His hand was set in a plaster cast for a long period of time. Since then, he has been forced to stop working. Never again will he be a stone cutter.

I again met Zohoriya in the summer of 1990, a few months after her son Mahmud was arrested for the third time since the Intifada began. He was being held as a pre-trial detainee, and his mother was worried about his health, because he suffers from an ulcer.

Meanwhile, Mahmud was transferred to the Jneid prison in Nablus, but still - a year and ten months after his arrest - has not been brought to trial. During her last visit to Jneid (4/20/92), Zohoriya was not allowed to meet with Mahmud. She told that he was being punished in solitary confinement. She, her husband, her daughter Samia and her children returned home empty-handed, without any inkling of what was happening and what was going to happen. The day after the aborted visit, Zohoriya went to the funeral of an acquaintance of hers who had died suddenly, a resident of the camp and mother of a prisoner. "Can you imagine," she told me afterwards, "she was only 44 years old, and I am 46. What will happen if I die and my children are in prison?"

My most recent meeting with Zohoriya was the saddest of all. She was still under the influence of what had happened on 2/12/92. Four soldiers came to her home around 6 p.m. They entered and asked where were the shabbat (young boys). In the house at the time were Zohoriya,
her daughter-in-law Zeinab and her infant daughter, five-year-old Sumud, and Yusef, Zohoriya's youngest son, age 14. [=]

61094. Rosenfeld, Maya. "Zohoriya Al-Baba: Portrait of a Palestinian Mother, Part 4", in Challenge, May-June 1992. p. 25. Yusef was seated at the table doing his homework. The soldiers asked how old he was, and when he told them he was fourteen, they called him a liar. He showed them his papers. Two of the four soldiers remained in the room. A third soldier took Zohoriya, Zeinab and the little girls into a separate room and locked them in. The fourth soldier guarded the entrance. The two soldiers who remained with Yusef began to beat him with their fists all over his body, especially in the face and stomach, and banged his head against the wall. His two upper front teeth were broken. The blows continued for between thirty minutes and one hour. Yusef relates. While one soldier beat Yusef, the other threw books from the shelves onto the floor, tore up books and notebooks, and emptied the closets. The soldiers also took many books with them, including Yusef's schoolbooks and books from the library of Abed al-Hamid. They found copies of the magazineBlader al-Siassi, and when Yusef tried to show them that publishing-permission was stamped on the first page, he was beaten again.

Meanwhile, through the window of the room in which they were under "siege," Zohoriya called out to the neighbors for help and asked them to bring home UNR.W.A. and UN representatives. They arrived at the house an hour after the soldiers' beatings. "The soldiers," recounts Yusef, "told the UN people that they hadn't beaten anyone, but my face was swollen from the blows, and they could see what had happened." Yusef was especially upset about the peace dove which the soldiers pulled off the wall and took with them. "It was not just a picture," he explained, "it was a framed picture of the peace dove which we received as a gift and hung in the entrance."

Yusef is a quiet and industrious boy who likes school very much and is a very good student. He has a very deep love of domesticated animals. But dogs and cats are not his style. "They are animals which serve no purpose," he tells me, and proudly presents his seven hens which together lay three or four eggs each day. And he also has a makeshift aquarium, a round glass jar with two goldfish that he bought in Ramallah. [Translation: Elana Wesley] [=]

61095. Rosenfeld, Maya. Interview: "Women of the Opposition Unite: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December 1993. p. 8. Maha Nassar and Aida Issawi are leading members of two women's organizations in the Occupied Territories - the Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committees (UPWWC), and the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC). These two women's organizations are merging, as are the PLO factions with which they are affiliated, the Popular and Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP and DFLP).

The very existence of four women's organizations in the Occupied Territories, each affiliated with one of the dominant PLO organizations (Fatah, PFLP, DFLP and the Communist Party), reflects the fuzzy relationship between women's issues and national or political issues. Since its initiation in the late seventies, the Palestinian women's movement in the Occupied Territories has been marked by a dichotomy between its role in the Palestinian national movement and its priority of addressing the social situation of Palestinian women.

Of course, only recognizing this as a dichotomy would be a superficial understanding of the problem. In many ways the two objectives are inseparable: women's participation in the national liberation struggle created changes in the social situation of women, and conversely the progress of women's issues under occupation is tightly linked to the national movement's organization. Moreover, defining the movement in terms of this dichotomy is not meant to suggest a negative tendency for the national movement to superimpose itself on the development of the women's movement. Rather, it defines a framework to understand the most central problem of the women's movement.[=]


On 12/29/1989, I participated in a day of international women's peace actions in Jerusalem with Israeli and Palestinian women, Europeans and Americans. Culminating the day was a march of 5000 women from Jewish West Jerusalem and Arab East Jerusalem, calling for the withdrawal of occupying forces and for two states for two peoples. Among other demands. It was an historic action, the largest such peace march in the history of the region.

Towards the end of the march, I had the following conversation with an Israeli woman marcher.

Do you think it's possible for Israelis and Palestinians to really live peacefully, side by side? Yes I do. I'll tell you a little story...

There was a Congress of The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Sydney, Australia this summer. And we went, a Jewish woman, myself, and a Palestinian. And we had no money, not enough money, so we ordered one room on the way.

The woman in the travel agency called me and said, "Look there is something I have to ask you privately. There is only one bed. Are you prepared to sleep with this Palestinian woman in one bed? I have to ask you this question."

And I said, "Don't worry, I am prepared to do it, we are doing it. We are good friends, we trust each other."

And if we can do it, there is hope. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]=]}

61097. Roy, Sara M. "Gaza: New Dynamics of Civic Disintegration", in Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1993. pp. 20-31. In 3/1993, after several days of fighting that left 28 Palestinians an 15 Israelis dead, Rabin sealed off Gaza Strip and the West Bank, barring 120000 Palestinian from their jobs in Israel. Many of the attacks on Israelis have taken place in the Gaza Strip or involved Gazans in Israel. Gaza is undergoing rapid change, is seeing rising levels of violence: less well known is the general disintegration of civil society in Gaza fed by widening social divisions and internatl fragmentation. The GNP of Gaza has fallen 30-50% since the state of the intifadah, but the Gulf War revived the Palestinian economy decisively, losing all employment in Israel and $350 million per year in remittances from the now destroyed Palestinian Gulf communities. Losses to the PLO after the war amount to $480 million (Saudi monies to PLO were once equal to 10% of the GNP of the Occupied Territories). Unemployment is 40% in the Gaza Strip, personal incomes have crashed, and personal savings have almost vanished. The 2-week curfew imposed on Gaza after the mass deportations of 12/1992 cost the Gaza economy $1.8 million per day. By 6/1991, some 120000 families in Gaza, and 165000 in West Bank were reduced to relying on UNRWA rations; but in 6/1990 UNRWA had only support 9800 families in Gaza. Famine is a growing problem in Gaza; and population growth is 4% per year, with refugee population growth rate at 7.3%, giving Gaza one of the highest population densities in the world (at 9300 per square mile for Gazan Palestinians, compared to 115 people per square mile for Israelis). There has been extreme psychological exhaustion in Gaza, with a sense of utter humiliation, despair and betrayal (notably, the old Harnas insistence on women wearing the hijab has fallen away since it just no longer seems important). The goals of the Intifadah (ending the occupation by non-violent means, creating a Palestinian state in the territories, decreasing economic dependency on Israel, and reordering society) are simply seen as unreachable. Reduced by a generation of unremitting brutality and poverty, Gazan society is disintegrating as internal conflicts for control of institutions are becoming increasingly violent. Infrastructure has deteriorated to the point that sewage openly runs through the streets, garbage is everywhere, and physical decay is pervasive. Foreign aid is dividing Gazan society, as desperate factions confront each other to anything they can gain to stay
alive (Israelis now allow such contacts, encouraging factionalization and forestalling mass famine, which would be a momentary public relations problem). One of the most 'frightening' problems in Gaza is the brutalization of the children: 70% of the people in Gaza are under 25 and 50% are 14 or younger; they have little education, live in an environment of continuous brutality: an entire generation of Gazan Palestinians have been lost. The only beneficiary of this ground change is Hamas, which may have found little ideological support in Gaza, but has been able to act as both a 'counter-hegemonic force' and to provide needed community and social services (while the PLO has lost funding, Hamas has received $13 million from Iran, and $30 million from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia since 1991); however, Hamas has built a base among both youth and merchants. At the same time, there is an increasing gap between Gaza and the West Bank. Almost all major Palestinian institutions, and all conduits for foreign aid, are in West Bank. West Bank Palestinians increasingly have little empathy or understanding of Palestinian in Gaza. The situation in Gaza is getting bright at the end of the tunnel, which many once claimed to see, is no longer visible. The greatest danger facing the Gaza Strip is not explosion, but implosion. If that happens, nothing will be visible but smoke'.

Rubinstein, Amnon. "Part 01: Preface: Lebanon and the Burden of Jewish History", in The Zionist Dream Revisited. From Herzl To Gush Emunim and Back. New York: Schocken Books, 1984. pp. ix-xix. In 6/1982, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon, and the war of racial extermination reached its culmination with the slaughter of Palestinian civilians at the Sabra and Shattila Refugee Camp. The war was the first without a national consensus that it was a good war, and soon a peace movement emerged protesting the war. When reports of the massacres at Sabra and Shattila leaked out, PM Begin tried to silence reports by terming them 'blood libel', continuing to say: 'goyim kill goyim and they want to kill the Jews'. Begin used the Holocaust to silence those who questioned the mass murder of Palestinians; Begin resorted to the standard tactic of labeling the present enemy of Israel, here Arafat, as a 'new Hitler'. Sen. Alan Cranston, a deeply committed Zionist, stated that reports of the massacre at Sabra and Shattila were typical of the false historical reports of the blood libel: of course, Cranston was merely trying and succeeding in a disinformation effort to cloud the issue of the real mass murder of Palestinians by US-financed Jewish soldiers. However, many Israelis compared the prevalent Israeli racism against Palestinians to the racism they suffered from under Nazi rule. Disdained saw the similarity of pogroms against Jews in Russia in 1905 with the daily pogromist killings of Palestinian children by Jewish soldiers. The brutality of Jewish soldiers in Lebanon discredited the war on Lebanon, which the author asserts was justified and proper. The Anti-Defamation League jumped to defense of the slaughter of Palestinians, classifying all anti-Israel statements and graffiti in the US and Europe as anti-semitism. The author states, without citations and in clear exaggeration, there were pogroms against Jews in Rome and Paris in Europe after the massacres in Beirut. Begin responded by stating that Jews were free to do anything they pleased because the world hates Jews; in a brilliant public relations campaign, Begin effectively used the Holocaust to prevent any open criticism of massacres of Palestinians by Jewish soldiers in Lebanon. The author wonders how the 'Zionist dream' [i.e., Zionism is the ideology of Jewish racial supremacy in Palestine, based on a worldwide mobilization of the Diaspora Jews behind Israel.] of the 'traditionally helpless Jew' had come to be seen as a racial supremacist movement that sought to exterminate the Palestinians 'by the efficiency of its war machine' (a perception Rubinstein sees as anti-semitic). [Amnon Rubinstein, former dean of Tel Aviv University School of Law, is now Minister of Communications and a member of the Knesset.] [TXT]
black political leader is inherently anti-semitic.
Mr. McKinley has observed of Mitnick: "He is a racist Jew, that's what he is, isn't he?" It is relevant because he is running a race-based campaign trying to turn white people against Cynthia McKinney, a black woman". [Note: several analysts have observed that the New York Times article is very supportive of Mitnick in his crude nigger-baiting campaign in what appears to be an illegal, in-kind campaign contribution]. [TXT]

61102. Safire, William. "Essay: Clinton's Database; Big Sister Is Watching You", in New York Times, February 24, 1997, p. A15. "Hillary's List" is the White House Database (WhoDB) and includes 355000 names compiled at federal expense to support political fundraising activities of the Clinton Administration. White House aide Marsha Scott noted in a document of 12/7/1993 that "Both the President and First Lady have asked me to make this my top priority. Bruce [Lindsay] will be kept fully informed." Fifteen months later Hillary Clinton's role in the project is confirmed in a staff memo to Scott which reads in part: "During the demo the First Lady mentioned that she would like, to see the Miles Rubin rapid response list in the database." Rep. David McIntosh notes that at least $1.5 million in federal funding was misappropriated for the political database project. The database includes ethnic information on who is black, Jewish, Catholic, Hispanic, Ukrainian or Chinese.

61103. Salaam, Kawthar. "From the River to the Sea--We've Got It Covered: New Television Schedule", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, February 24, 1995, p. 9. President Yasser Arafat has issued a directive to award financial remuneration to encourage those who work in the field of Palestinian television in the Gaza Strip. The coordinator general of Palestine Broadcasting Corp. Hisham Makki said that Palestinian television has been operating during Ramadan from two p.m. to four a.m. During this time, it has presented a variety of cultural and religious programs; news bulletins in Arabic and English; varieties; and mini-series in Arabic. Makki said that he expects a relay station to be acquired soon in the eastern area of Abu Saba and Banhi Suheilain and in the northern area of Beit Lahiya. He added that after Ramadan, television broadcasts will begin at three p.m. and will continue past midnight. He said part of the broadcast will be educationally geared towards high school students in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Culture. The educational programming will be presented by Zeinab Al-Wazir. Makki added that many local programs have been recorded, using our Outside Broadcasting track for broadcasting from the field. He said the technical part was supervised by engineer Mohammed Saqer, the head of Palestine Broadcasting Corporation's engineering department in the Gaza Strip. Game and quiz shows are among the programs the Palestine Broadcasting Corp. division in Gaza has prepared. There will also be a weekly news show called "Tonight," prepared and presented by Marwan Kanafani. Another is called "The Other Side" prepared by Iman Sharif. Other programs will include programs on health. Particular attention will be given to a program entitled "From Zero Upwards to the Summit," which will deal with the problems of infrastructure in the Gaza Strip. This program, directed by Jar Lafi, is presented by Inas Taweel. [=]

61104. Salaam, Kawthar. "Borders of Harassment", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, April 14, 1995, p. 7. The Israeli authorities have recently tightened their restrictions against Palestinians from the West Bank who want to enter Jerusalem. Not satisfied with fining anyone caught inside Jerusalem without a permit, they have now decided to force ambulance drivers seeking permits to sign statements in which they agree to lose their permits if they are found transporting patients without permits. "I have no idea what is going on around here," said Sabrieh Abu Salima, 73, a handicapped woman in a wheelchair, sitting among scores of Palestinians at Gilo checkpoint near the entrance to Bethlehem. Her son Saber, looking at the chaotic scene, wondered how he could transport his mother in a private car to Beit Fajjar after the Israeli soldiers at the checkpoint denied her entry to Jerusalem for medical treatment. "I am waiting to take my identity card back but the soldiers are very slow. They are preparing to fine me but I think it can't be legal," he said. A West Bank-plated bus stopped at the checkpoint carrying Palestinian passengers. Two soldiers got on the bus. One got off carrying an orange identity card (West Bankers' IDs). The identity card was handed to the soldier responsible for issuing fines. Moments later, a woman, Aziza Rushdi, got off the bus helping a blind old man. She left him to go to another soldier to ask for help. The soldier's voice became loud and furious. The woman went back and took the blind man by the hand to make way for a military jeep arriving at the checkpoint. "Give me my identity card back," Rushdi said furiously. "I will not pay a penny. Where can a blind man get money from for God's sake?" She had visited the Israeli Civil Administration to apply for a permit but was told the officer was not available. She then decided to come on her own and try to bring the old man to Jerusalem for his medical treatment. One of the old men sitting on the ground recalled how the Israeli soldiers had fined him while he was tending his three sheep in a nearby field. "I am not moving from here until the soldier cancels the fine," he said, pointing at the three sheep with his stick. "There is no law in the world that says sheep are forbidden to eat grass. All the world has to be held responsible for what we suffer here. The Palestinian people are not a flock of sheep."

A group of young Palestinians said that the Israeli soldiers captured and fined them at the checkpoint. "This is the tax of peace," said one youngster Issa Matar. "We are paying for it at the expense of food for our families. The peace of the brave has an iron fist." Another youngster, Youssef Hkub, asked why they still needed permits. "There should be a national decision to confront these Israeli violations and atrocities. We have to adopt a daring step to annihilate all these permits," he said. Why do Palestinian need permits to enter their capital, when settlers are allowed free movement? he added. "Our crime is that we are no longer united. We have to adopt the Sharia (Islamic law) and be more conscious of our religion." Hanan Zaki, a young Palestinian woman, believes the Gilo checkpoint is completely different to the other checkpoints. "I can pass through the checkpoint of A-Ram easily. I am amazed at the soldiers' laws at this checkpoint. This is the first time I've realized that people are fined before entering Jerusalem. "The checkpoints at the entrances of Jerusalem have become the balance sheet of the Israeli government." [=]

61105. Salaam, Kawthar. "When Settlers are Your Neighbors", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, May 5, 1995, p. 7. A major residential area in Hebron where Palestinians have built their homes since before 1940, Rumeida is also an agricultural area planted with olives, almonds, grapes and other crops. The tall (hill) overlooks the city of Hebron, and to those standing on top of the hill, Hebron looks like an expansive plate! In 1988, the Israeli authorities built a little Israeli in the midst of Palestinian homes, and allowed Israeli settlers who already own homes in other settlements to live there. On top of that, the Israeli soldiers who came with the settlers to "protect" them put up tents in the middle of their fields, and another soldier to ask for help. The soldier's voice became loud and furious. The woman went back and took the blind man by the hand to make way for a military jeep arriving at the checkpoint. "Give me my identity card back," Rushdi said furiously. "I will not pay a penny. Where can a blind man get money from for God's sake?" She had visited the Israeli Civil Administration to apply for a permit but was told the officer was not available. She then decided to come on her own and try to bring the old man to Jerusalem for his medical treatment. One of the old men sitting on the ground recalled how the Israeli soldiers had fined him while he was tending his three sheep in a nearby field. "I am not moving from here until the soldier cancels the fine," he said, pointing at the three sheep with his stick. "There is no law in the world that says sheep are forbidden to eat grass. All the world has to be held responsible for what we suffer here. The Palestinian people are not a flock of sheep."

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among the most extreme in the West Bank and she often sees them on the television news. Whenever there is a conflict in Al-Khader, Dheisheh, or anywhere else, the settlers are there.

Wisam, age five, is afraid to go to school, especially when she sees the settler children waiting for her, ready to throw stones at her or set their dog loose. The settler’s dog is big and brutal and makes horrible sounds, says Wisam. She is very scared of it. Last year when Wisam was coming from school, she saw a settler child, wearing a new American flag on a Palestinian flag. Forgetting they were settlers, she ran to save it, and they beat her up. An Israeli soldier with the children looked on, but did nothing. A few days ago, Abu Hani and his daughter returned with much luggage from Jordan. Even though he showed the Israeli soldiers their identity cards, they insisted on calling the rest of his family out so that they could identify him. The soldiers have suggested that the residents get permits for themselves and their relatives, but they have refused. “Why should we and our relatives enter our homes with Israeli permits?” he said. “Our weddings turn into fights with the soldiers. This is what happened on my daughter’s wedding day, even though we told them that we were having a wedding ceremony,” says Hajieh Wisal Bakri, age forty-five. It has become a daily routine—conflicts with the settlers and the soldiers; the children not going to school regularly; windows broken and so on, she adds. Her daughter came to visit her last week with her husband, but she was stopped for hours at the roadblock before they were allowed her in. “It all depends on the mood of the soldier,” she said. Another resident, Um Muhammed, couldn’t understand why the soldiers even refused to allow an ambulance to come to her house when one of her relatives died. [=]

61106. Salameh, Maher. “Opinion: New Sorrows,” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 22, 1995, p. 5. Consultations and intensive communications are underway during these days to organize already existing political parties and preparing to establish new ones. All this is taking place in preparation for the next legislative elections. The most fantastic thing I have heard was that a capitalist succeeded in gathering scores of signatures to form a new political party. The only problem was a dispute over the name. I asked one of the founders whether there was a program for this party, and he responded, “There is no dispute over the goals, principles and internal policies. We call for a democratic system. We call for achieving the rights of laborers and equality of all personalities. We fight corruption and ask for a unity in the Arab World and Islamic solidarity. We will support the Non-Aligned Countries, and we see to it that there will be a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. We fight nepotism, and we support the development of industry, agriculture and trade. We will close down jails and open schools. We support the right to return self determination, and we fight internal fighting. The most important thing is that we seek freedom of speech.” I said, “All the political parties and fronts raise these slogans, so what is new about your party?” He answered that the only difference is that his party wants to implement these principles on the ground. So I asked him about their position regarding the peace process, and he said that if it succeeds, they are going to support it, and if it fails, they will attack it. He added that they will keep neutral. I asked, “So what about the story of naming your party?” He related that whenever they had a suggestion it was already existent: the words, people, vow, building redemption, sacrifices, Baath, peace, Islam, peasants, workers, women, men, freedom, oppressed, displaced and exiles all exist. He apologized for being in a hurry but had to leave to participate in a discussion to form a law about new political parties. He said, “I will propose that the existence of so many parties is not healthy, and we will work to decrease them.” [=]

61107. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 11: Zionism As a Recognized Movement: Expansion of the Zionist Movement. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1947. Developments in World Zionism: 1918-1921: After the Balfour Declaration was issued, the Zionist Executive was considered to be permanently established in London. Weizmann and Sokolow-headed the political department. Shmarya Levin took care of education and Vladimir Jabotinsky of propaganda. These men now began to pick up the threads that had been broken by the war and to rework the World Zionist Organization. The great Zionist center in Russia was now out of their reach. In that country Zionism had grown very vigorous and active after the March (1917) Revolution. However, on July 4, 1919, the Soviet Government, apparently upon the advice of the Yevsektsia, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, passed a decree outlawing all Zionist activities as well as the Hebrew language. This was done on the grounds that the “international imperialists of the Entente,” and because their activities and aims were deemed harmful to the interests of the Soviet government as well as of the Jewish workers and the Jewish masses. Membership in any Zionist group became a crime punishable by prison sentences of considerable length or by exile to Siberia. In 1919 the first post-war Zionist Conference was held in London, and in July, 1920, a World Zionist Conference met there. At the latter meeting a definite rift developed between the American and European delegations. The struggle came to a head over the proposed establishment of the Keren Hayesod or Palestine Foundation Fund. This was to be a fund-gathering agency for the upbuilding of Palestine, and it was to include both investments and donations. The American Zionists, under the leadership of Brandeis, strongly objected to this arrangement, insisting that investments and donations must be kept separate. But the underlying difference between the American and European groups was much more deepseated. It was really a difference in the general approach to problems as well as in method. The Americans favored concentrating on economic projects and reducing the political and cultural work. The cool, businesslike point of view of the Americans contrasted sharply with the somewhat emotional, idealistic, and less practical attitude of the Europeans. Several attempts at reconciling the two groups were made, but they all failed. The conference, nevertheless, succeeded in adopting the Keren Hayesod plan as proposed, the program calling for £25 million in five years. Weizmann was elected president of the World Zionist Organization and a new Executive Committee was chosen. To placate the Americans, Julius Simon and N. de Lieme were included in the Executive. Wishing still further to conciliate the opposition, the Zionist Executive appointed, in September, 1920, a Reorganization Committee, composed of Simon, de Lieme and Robert Szold, the last representing the American bloc. The committee criticized adversely all Palestinian institutions and their management, charging many of them with inefficiency. It suggested radical changes, including the admission of immigrants into the country only after economic conditions to absorb them had been created. After the report had been presented, Simon and de Lieme resigned from the Zionist Executive, having consistently disagreed with the other members on matters of general policy. The various charges made by the Reorganization Commission were answered by Weizmann and Ussishkin. Soon after this unpleasant dispute, the Twelfth Zionist Congress met at Carlsbad in September, 1921. There was a great deal of enthusiasm and even excitement at the various sessions; numerous outside activities—lectures, concerts, movies, and gymnastic displays—had been provided for delegates and visitors alike.

The Congress was presided over by Sokolow. There were 540 delegates present and the party alignment was now more definite and clear cut than before the war. The left wing was not so strong, numerically, but it was very active. The Poale Zionists kept demanding more immigration, more practical work, and cooperation with the Arabs, while the Zeire Zion, another labor group, deplored the strength of clericalism in the movement and the lack of social principles in the upbuilding of Palestine. The Mizrachi had more votes than any other single group but its delegates lacked political experience. A Center Bloc banded together to hold the balance. In the course of the general debate which followed Weizmann’s presidential address and the various reports, Sir and de Lieme launched a bitter attack on the administration. Weizmann, Sokolow and Jabotinsky then replied in a spirited and impressive manner. Another exciting moment came when the Mizrachi threatened to withdraw from Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod work because the Congress refused to pass a resolution
withholding funds from institutions which violated the laws of traditional Judaism. Weizmann was elected president of the Organization, and a new type of Executive was established. In addition to the London Executive of six there was also to be a Palestine Executive of six, the latter replacing the Zionist Commission. Among other things the Palestine Executive was to protect the rights of the Jewish population, to negotiate with the Arabs, to establish a Palestine Office for Immigration. Structure of World Zionist Organization: In the course of several years the Zionist Organization had undergone various changes and its Constitution was accordingly revised in 1926. The aim of the Organization was (as formulated at Basle in 1897) to create for the Jewish People a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine. Its membership consisted of all Jews who acknowledged the Zionist program and purchased a Shekel. The World Organization consisted of: (1) Federations, of which there was one to a country, each having its own rules as well as its own administration. (2) Separate Unions or groups holding different views from those of the federations. Such groups could be thus organized only by permission of the Actions Committee and World Executive. If the membership of such a union fell below ten thousand it might be dissolved by the Congress. The governing bodies of the World Zionist Organization were: (1) Congress, the highest legislative body. (2) Actions Committee. (3) Executive.

In each case the instructions of a higher body were to be considered binding upon the lower. The Congress was to meet at least once every two years. It was to receive and consider reports of the Executive and of the various committees, to decide the program and budget, to adopt resolutions and to elect officers. Members (male and female) eighteen years old or over were allowed to vote for Congress delegates, who had to be at least 24 years old to be eligible. Nominations were made by the various groups and the ballot was secret and direct. Every delegate had one vote and was bound by no instructions. The Actions Committee consisted of the Executive, of representatives of certain permanent committees and of members chosen by the Congress, but only the last-named had the right to vote in the Committee. It was to meet at least once every six months. It was to advise and supervise all Zionist institutions, transact current business in the absence of the Congress, and it might even choose a new Executive, but in all this it was responsible to the Congress. The Executive was to consist of from 9 to 15 members, some of whom were to reside in Palestine. It was to be chosen by the Congress, and its function was to administer the World Zionist Organization, and to put into effect the resolutions of the Congress and of the Actions Committee. The Congress also was to choose an Economic Council, a Congress Board of Arbitration, a Congress Council, and a Court of Honor. The revenue of the Zionist Organization was to come from shekel sales and from contributions. The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), affiliated with the World Zionist Organization, was formed shortly after the first World War and was especially interested in training women for productive work in Palestine. It established an Agricultural School for Girls, a number of Girls' Training Farms, a School for Domestic Science, several cooperative kitchens, and infant welfare centers. Among its chief leaders were Lady Samuel and Dr. Vera Weizmann. [-]

61108. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 12: Zionism As a Recognized Movement: Expansion of the Zionist Movement. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1947. Zionism in America: Though Zionism made its appearance on the American stage almost at the very beginning of its existence, it affected comparatively few people, and as an organization it remained small and ineffective for a long time. It was not until 1914 that the movement assumed importance, reaching at the same time both the great American figures and the broad masses. Indeed for a time, during the war, under the leadership of Louis D. Brandeis, America became one of the two centers of the whole world movement, the other being England. The first person in America to answer the call of Theodor Herzl was Gustav Gottheil, Rabbi of Temple Emmanu-El. For a time the leadership of the American Zionist Federation remained in the hands of the "West Europeans" like the Gottheils, the Szolds, and Stephen Wise. The Eastern Jews had not as yet reached the stage of leadership in America but they furnished the strength and organized support of the movement. Although there was already at that time a Hovevei Zion movement in America, the call to the first Congress was apparently unnoticed and no delegates were sent. However, several American visitors who were in Basle at the time attended the Congress. During the same year, the American Zionist Federation was organized by Professor Richard Gottheil. It was a loose federation composed of several already existing societies as well as of a few new ones, all of them adhering to the Basle Program. Gottheil became the president and remained in that office until 1904 when he was succeeded by Dr. Harry Friedenwald. In 1902 Jacob de Haas, who had been Herzl's English secretary (in London), became secretary of the American Zionist Federation and editor of the Maccabean (the official organ of the organization). Soon, however, Louis Lipsky, a young writer and journalist from Rochester, New York, took over both these offices. A little later an attempt was made to interest larger-masses by the establishment of a Yiddish organ, Dos Yiddishke Folk, edited by Abe Goldberg, founder of the Poale Zionist party in America. The organization worked on slowly and quietly. It encountered special problems of its own that did not concern the rest of the movement, such as the charge of double patriotism, which several of the leaders answered in speeches and pamphlets. In regard to this charge the Zionists had to fight Jewish millionaires like Jacob Schiff, the Reform Rabbinate, and especially the American Jewish Committee. On the other hand, the problems that were most outstanding in Europe troubled the Americans very little. The whole Uganda affair, for instance, caused hardly a ripple in the United States. Neither were the Americans much concerned about Palestine itself—it seemed so remote. The first thing that really aroused American Jews was the Kishineff pogroms. The news of the massacre came as a horrible shock to the Jewish community here. The Zionists took an active part in the relief work organized to help the victims. For the first time the condition of European Jewry began to seem close and real, resulting in the growth of the Zionism movement in this country. This feeling of closeness and reality was further strengthened by the visit of Shmarya Levin, in 1906, and later by that of Nahum Sokolow. The eloquence and earnestness of these men left a deep impression on the many people who had seen and heard them.

In 1912, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, was founded by Henrietta Szold. It was loosely affiliated with the American Zionist Federation, and its relief purpose was to do health work in Palestine. Its hospitals, clinics, nurses' training schools, laboratories, and infant welfare service have been of great value in Palestine, to Arabs as well as to Jews. One of its biggest achievements was the establishment of the Rothschild Hadassah University Hospital and the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing. In the last few years Hadassah has also been extremely active in raising funds for Youth Aliyah (youth immigration bureau of the Jewish Agency. See page 152). It has also participated in JNF work. The membership of Hadassah has grown tremendously. 180000 women belonged to it in 1946. And there were another 20000 in its youth movement. Other groups, more or less affiliated with the A.Z.F., grew up gradually: The Order Sons of Zion, a fraternal organization; Young Judea, a children's group; and the Intercollegiate Zionist Association which later gave way to a new student organization called Avukah. When the first World War came the American Zionist leaders felt called upon to act in the emergency. In August, 1914, an Extraordinary Conference of all Zionist parties met it had been called by Lipsky on behalf of the A.Z.F. at the suggestion of Shmarya Levin, who was a member of the World Zionist Executive. A provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was formed with Louis D. Brandeis as chairman and Stephen S. Wise as vice chairman. An Emergency Fund for Institutions in Palestine was also established and the new organization started out in full swing. The new leader, Louis D. Brandeis, had, as the "People's Lawyer" in Boston, become famous for his passion for democracy and social justice. He had been even farther than Herzl from Jewish affairs. About 1911, partly as a result of arbitrating the Jewish cloakmakers' strike in New York he had become interested in the Jewish problem and
in Zionism. By 1914 he was ready to assume the leadership of the whole movement. The period from 1914 to 1920 was greatly influenced by Brandeis who brought great zeal, ability, and a measure-of public recognition into the work. One of the most vital issues of the time was the struggle between the Zionists and the self-appointed, non-Zionist American Jewish Committee over the question of a proposed American Jewish Congress. Finally, after much heated discussion, the pro-Zionist Brandeis-Weizmann administration with Lipsky as president, repudiated the American Jewish Committee did to oppose it. Elections were held throughout the country and delegates were chosen by popular vote. The American Jewish Congress, meeting in December, 1918, was a triumph for Zionism. The Basle Program and the Balfour Declaration were both accepted. England was urged to take the Mandate for Palestine, and delegates were chosen to attend the Paris Peace Conference. There they were to ask for the guarantee of a Jewish Homeland as well as for minority rights for the Jews in the Diaspora. This introduced Zionism into new circles and meant a great deal for the movement in America. Brandeis and Wise had taken part in laying the groundwork for the Balfour Declaration. They had helped to make Washington favorable to the idea of a Jewish Homeland. The proposed text for the Balfour Declaration was scrutinized and revised in Washington and in New York, and bore the endorsement of President Wilson when it returned to London. During this period American Zionists were also busily engaged in war work in Palestine. A medical unit was established there and the schools and colonies were given financial aid. Many American men joined the Jewish Legion. At this time also the movement was reorganized on a permanent basis, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) being formed at a convention in Baltimore in 1917. The organization continued to grow apace, both in membership and in the number and variety of its activities. The New Palestine later became its official organ. In June, 1918, the so-called Pittsburgh Program, drawn up by the Brandeis group as the basis of the charter of the Jewish Homeland, was unanimously adopted and was later carried by the American Zionists to the Peace Conference. Some of its points were: political and civil equality to all; public ownership and control of land resources and public utilities; cooperative principles as far as feasible in organizing all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings; a system of free public education. With the armistice, International Zionism began to reappear, and contacts with Europe and Palestine became real again. The American Zionists were soon convinced that the Europeans would not allow them to remain in the forefront of the movement. The American movement had grown to full stature during the war and it was only natural, now that the war was over, for the prewar leaders, the European Zionists, to seek to resume their former position of leadership. They therefore looked somewhat askance at these newcomers. Certain basic differences in attitude, approach, and method which existed between the Americans and the Europeans tended to strain relations still further. Before long many American Zionists were convinced that they were wanted only for their money, and this they deeply resented. As a matter of fact, each side felt it was being misunderstood by the other. At the London Conference the Americans came into conflict with most of the Europeans, who took the cool, businesslike attitude of the Americans as an indication that they did not really care enough about Zionism. The forty delegates from the United States felt like strangers throughout the Conference, unable to get into the spirit of things and unable to influence the others. Brandeis refused to become a member of the proposed triumvirate, and the Americans returned without having entered into the World Zionist leadership. Upon their return some of the members of this delegation opposed their leaders' isolationist stand, and favored full cooperation with Weizmann and with the Keren Hayesod. Finally, when, early in 1921, Weizmann arrived with Einstein and others to establish the Keren Hayesod here, things came to a head. After earnest but unsuccessful negotiations with Judge Mack, president of the Zionist Organization of America, Weizmann proceeded to establish the Keren Hayesod in spite of the opposition he encountered. He did this with the assistance of Louis Lipsky and several others, who resigned from the National Executive Committee. The official American leadership thereupon publicly disowned the Keren Hayesod, and announced that it would soon inaugurate a separate fund. Both sides then appealed to the Zionist membership and prepared for the forthcoming ZOA Convention which was to meet at Cleveland in 1921. There the administration was repudiated by a two-thirds vote, whereupon it resigned. The Convention then adopted (140-25) the newly established Keren Hayesod and elected Mack as president. Some of the members of the old administration (Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise, later Judge Mack) returned to the Zionist Organization of America. The new administration pushed propaganda vigorously and worked to raise funds for the Keren Hayesod. Meanwhile the Brandeis group continued to do economic work for Palestine, quite independently of the Organization. It undertook a number of enterprises such as the Palestine Economic Corporation which provided credits for constructive purposes in Palestine and the Palestine Economic Committee which gathered information regarding economic possibilities in that country, making these facts available to prospective settlers and investors.

The first Labor Zionist group in the United States, the Poale Zion, had been established as early as 1905 for the purpose of promoting the tenets of Labor Zionism and supporting the collectives and cooperatives and other pro-labor activities in Palestine. In 1931 it united with the Zeire Zion forming the United Zionist Socialist Party, and in 1946 it adopted the name of Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion. Remaining for many years a comparatively small and in the main a Yiddish-speaking group, it was limited in the amount of propaganda and information it could spread concerning Labor Palestine. Gradually, however, it began to reach out into the Jewish labor unions, winning their helpful participation in the Gewerkshaften Campaign, the annual drive to raise funds for the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine). During the period of World War II, the Gewerkshaften Campaign grew markedly, and sizeable funds were collected and sent on to Palestine. (In 1945 over half a million dollars were raised from numerous small contributions.)

In 1925, the Pioneer Women's Organization was founded, as the Women's Labor Zionist Organization. It works directly with the Moatzath Hopolocht (Working Women's Council) of Palestine and supplies the basic funds for the Council's program of training women in agriculture and industry and of caring for the children of working mothers. The Pioneer Women also raises funds for the Gewerkshaften campaign, the Jewish National Fund, and the Jewish Agency Youth Aliyah (Child Rescue Fund). In 1946 the Pioneer Women's Organization numbered approximately 17,000 members. Another labor group—Hashomer Hatzair—operates independently of the Poale Zion from which it differs ideologically. It, too, works to spread pro-Labor Palestine sentiment but it does it primarily through the intensive training of children and young people both in Zionism and in Marxism, to prepare its members for practical halutz life, it maintains its own training farm in the United States. The name of its American publication is Youth and Nation (originally called Hashomer Hatzair). Just before World War I the Mizrachi Organization of America was established. Its purpose was to represent the Jewish religious and labor organizations.

The Halutz Movement and the Third Aliya: The first World War brought especial havoc among the Jews in Russia. Here, after the war itself had ended, came years of civil conflict. Wherever the White Russians were in power there were pogroms in which most Jews were robbed of their possessions and many of them killed. On the heels of this came the decaying of a great part of the Jewish population by the Soviet Government, acted not by anti-Semitism but by political considerations, since the Jews were generally of the middle class. Once again escape seemed the only way out, and many did flee under the
most harrowing conditions. Stealing across borders at great risk, swimming rivers, crossing the Caucasus Mountains on foot, thousands of halutzim, young men and women, persisted on their perilous journey and finally found their way to Palestine. Wherever they went, they inspired the folk to follow them, and soon a movement was started. It was planned and organized by Joseph Trumpeldor, and its branches gradually spread to many countries, even to those where Jews were not victimized. This wave of immigration which lasted from 1920 to 1924 has been called the Third Aliya. About 48000 came to Palestine in those years, the great majority being young people who turned to manual labor. Some of them drained malarial swamps and built much-needed roads; others established new kvutzot. As this stream of immigration continued to flow, the leaders of the Halutz movement began to systematize it. Through Hechalutz, a newly formed international organization, collectives for agricultural and manual labor were established in various countries. By means of this Hakhshara (training) Hechalutz attempted to prepare pioneers: cultural, agricultural, and vocationally for Labor Palestine. It provided for no-specialization but it stressed general manual labor, trying to re-educate middle-class people who made up the majority of its membership, to facilitate this work, Palestine labor leaders were sent out from time to time. They lectured, taught Hebrew, helped to administer agricultural enterprises, and in many other ways encouraged the efforts of the local leaders. These lands were known as Shlihim or messengers. The Hehalutz movement grew very rapidly. In 1931 85% of the Labor Category immigrants into Palestine were members of Hechalutz, while 61% of them had affiliated themselves with the Palestinian collectives before leaving for Palestine and entered them immediately—upon their arrival. By the end of 1935 there were Hechalutz branches in some 20 countries with a membership of nearly 150000. (In Russia the movement was forced to operate illegally.) Affiliated with Hechalutz in some countries was the Youth Organization called Hashomer Hatzair. This was a Zionist scout movement which had arisen independently in various cities in Galicia and Poland in 1913. It started as a reaction to Jewish bookishness, but after the first World War it began to emphasize Palestine and the revival of Hebrew. With this it combined a socialist program thus forming a synthesis of Marxism and nationalism. In Palestine it ceased to be a scout movement and became a labor movement, part of the Hastdrut. It maintained its own Hakhshara and Kibbutz system. Its members lived in collectives of their own having been intensively trained in communal living, in many cases from early childhood. Hashomer Hatzair became the chief element of left wing opposition within the Hastdrut and gradually grew both in numbers and influence. During the Third Aliya many more kvutzot were established, the most famous being Ain-Harod. These kvutzot were made possible by the Keren Hayesod which settled the new halutzim in both collectives and cooperatives on Keren Kayemet land. Keren Hayesod also provided credit to immigrants, facilitated their entrance into the country, and supported Jewish schools and health institutions (the latter in cooperation with Hadasah). This Aliya also replaced the old Agricultural Workers’ Union with the Hastdrut, a general federation of labor unions which was destined to become the major factor in Jewish Palestine, as we shall see later. [=]

61109. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism; Part 14: Palestine Under British Rule: Political Developments. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1947. The Zionist Congresses, 1923-1929: All these events in Palestine were bound to have their repercussions at the Zionist Congresses which continued to be held every two years. The Thirteenth Congress met at Carlsbad in August, 1923. The question of enlarging the Jewish Agency (as the body is called in the Mandate) to include non-Zionists as well as Zionists was the chief subject of discussion among all groups even before the Congress opened. Differences of opinion were very sharp and there was much opposition to the plan. The people who opposed the enlarged Jewish Agency did so chiefly because they feared that the Zionists would lose control of Palestine and much of their work would be destroyed. Its greatest protagonist was Weizmann. In his address he spoke at length in the Synagogue and also stressed the need for cooperation with and trust in the Mandatory Power, a trust that was fast disappearing among Jews who saw that England was treating Palestine much like any other colonial problem in its empire. After prolonged debate a vote of confidence in the Executive was carried. Labor voting for Weizmann and the Mizrachi against it. On the question of the great Hallutz movement which finally emerged, both the Gruenbaum Radicals (a small rightist group) and the Labor groups voted “no.” Weizmann was relected president of the Organization and Sokolow president of the Executive. In August, 1925, the Fourteenth Congress met in Vienna. It was preceded by such violent anti-Semitic riots of the Hakenkreuzler that the delegates had to be put under police protection. This time, in addition to the Center Bloc, the Mizrachi, the Labor groups, and Gruenbaum’s Radicals, a new group appeared at the Congress. It was as yet very small, having only four delegates and its leader was Jabotinsky. It was called the Revisionist Party and its chief stand at this time was opposition to the Zionist Administration, particularly to the conciliatory attitude of Zionism toward Great Britain for its passive and even hostile attitude. The following were specifically demanded: proportional financial support of Jewish schools and health institutions, the granting of state and waste lands to the Jews (as called for in Article VI of the Mandate), Jewish participation in the defense of the land. Jabotinsky maintained that the Executive had been too passive and that politics should be the basis of all activity. To this end he formed a new party—without it no practical work would be possible. At the Twelfth Congress, however, he had particularly stressed education and practical work “as a political factor in the peaceful conquest of Palestine.” After having resigned because of the strength of the opposition, Weizmann returned to the leadership, on a new vote of confidence. The Agency resolution, which gave that body a definite form, also passed (113 to 30) despite the opposition of the Radicals, Revisionists, and some Laborites. Resolutions demanding more immigration and expressing dissatisfaction with the Palestine Government were carried. The Actions Committee was increased to 50. Palestine was still in the midst of its depression when the Fifteenth Congress convened at Basle in 1927, with Sokolow again presiding. The Center Bloc, consisting chiefly of American and German General Zionists, numbered 142 delegates. They desired a non-partisan homogeneous Executive, the Americans especially urging the reduction of the Palestine Executive to three, by the omission of the Mizrachi and Labor representatives. The Labor, Mizrachi, Revisionist, and Radical groups with a total of 133 delegates, the latter two numbering less than 15 each, formed the left and the right opposition. A very fierce attack was made upon the Administration by Jabotinsky, who accused it of pouring millions of dollars into Palestine in a wasteful manner. In view of his stand, it is interesting to note that at this time he said “the Revisionists believe implicitly in the English people. England would not repudiate its signature.” Political resolutions were carried urging the Mandatory to give more assistance to Zionism and to the Yishav, and censuring Great Britain for its passive and even hostile attitude. Resolutions were also passed to continue the work on the Jewish Agency, with due care for the integrity of Zionist rights and principles. Weizmann and Sokolow were re-elected to their respective posts. After a heated dispute over the Palestine Executive—a dispute which lasted all night—the Weizmann-American scheme was carried. It was made permanent and was reduced to three members. The Congress which met at Zurich in 1929 turned out to be very stormy, several of its sessions lasting right through the night. The party strength at this Congress was as follows: General Zionists—140, Labor—83, Mizrachi—50, Revisionists—18, Radicals—12. Although negotiations for the Jewish Agency had been completed and the first meeting of its council was to take place in a fortnight, final approval still had to be given by the Congress, and the baule over it added much to the general excitement. The debate on the Agency continued with Jabotinsky leading the onslaught against it, but it soon was obvious that the great majority favored the establishment of an enlarged Jewish Agency. After much discussion over a number of details in the Agency Constitution, the vote was finally taken: two hundred and thirty-one for it and thirty against with forty-nine absent. Several important resolutions were passed including
one protesting the persecution of Zionists in Soviet Russia and another in regard to the problems of state lands. Weitzmann and Sokolow were re-elected and the new Executive was again—as formerly—to have both the right and left wings represented, this time by two members each.

Formation of the Jewish Agency: Article IV of the Palestinian Mandate calls for a Jewish Agency representing all Jewish people "who are willing to assist in the establishment of a Jewish National Home." In 1925 negotiations were hampered because of the quarrel of the Zionist Organization of America with the Joint Distribution Committee (non-Zionist group which was then raising $15 million for settling Jews in the Crimea). In October, 1926, conversations between Weitzmann and Marshall were resumed, and in the following-January the two men reached an agreement as to the desirability of having an enlarged Agency, in principle. A Joint Commission composed of Sir Alfred Mond, Lee K. Frankel, Felix Warburg, and Oscar Wasserman was sent to Palestine to study conditions and possibilities in that country, with the understanding that the Agency would be formed after the Commission reported. The Agency was finally approved by the Sixteenth Congress (1929). The organization of the Agency was to consist of an Executive of four Zionists and four non-Zionists functioning in London and in Palestine an Administrative Committee of twenty Zionists and twenty non-Zionists and a Council—the supreme governing body of the Agency—in which the two sides were also represented equally. The members of the Administrative Committee were to be chosen by the Council and to meet between the meetings of the Council to consider reports of the Executive and, generally, to supervise the work of the Agency. In August, 1929, the Constituent Meeting of the Jewish Agency for Palestine met in Zurich. It was a decided step forward in Zionist unity since the Jews seemed at last more or less united. Men of all shades of opinion and of all types had come together to work for the Commissioner, who was away, and the military force was greatly depleted.

Three factors helped to make a clash unavoidable at this time. The first was the obvious impending trouble. Help could easily have been brought if it had at all wished to do so. Acting High Commissioner, was away, and the military force was greatly depleted. Tenseness between Arabs and Jews mounted, and was brought to a head by a minor incident concerning the Wailing Wall. While prayers were in progress on Yom Kippur, 1928 British police, acting upon the request of Arabs, removed, in front of the Wailing Wall, a screen which had been continuously raised in Jerusalem. A screen had always been kept there during times of prayer to separate the men from the women. This action evoked widespread protest in the Jewish world. It was not so much the incident as its implications which warned many people. Sections of the Hebrew press in Palestine as well as several less responsible Jews of the supernationalist type wrote and spoke heatedly about "Our Wall." (The Wailing Wall, according to tradition the remaining wall of the once glorious Temple at Jerusalem, had remained to orthodox Jews the symbol of their religion as well as of their great past. For centuries Jews had come from far and near to worship before it, and to bewail their hard lot.)

As a counter attack the Moslem Supreme Council then began to stir up religious feelings, not a difficult task among ignorant, superstitious peasants. They spread fantastic tales, even claiming that the Jews were intending to destroy the Mosque of Omar, which adjoined the Wailing Wall. These agitators, a group of religious and reactionary nationalist leaders, including the Mufti of Jerusalem, were much the same ones as had incited the former riots and had been let off very lightly by Sir Herbert Samuel. While they were thus stirring up the people, the Arabs began to make repairs around the Wailing Wall (in the spring of 1929). They were apparently about to make a thoroughfare of the space in front of the Wall which, until then, had been a blind alley and rumor had it that a small mosque was to be built right in front of the Wall. The construction undertaken by the Arabs therefore aroused the Jews, but the work suddenly stopped, and the storm blew over. However, in July, 1929 the work was as suddenly resumed and, this time, it was pushed ahead rapidly. Many British officials and most Zionist leaders were out of the country at that time, and the Jews were at a loss as to what to do. They could get no satisfaction from the government. There was a general outcry among the Palestinian Jews, some of them—the nationalist leaders—assumed quite a belligerent attitude. Nervous tension grew and trouble was expected, especially since Chancellor, the High Commissioner, was away, and the military force was greatly depleted. Three factors helped to make a clash unavoidable at this time. The first of these was the leniency of the government toward the Arabs and its harshness in dealing with the Jews, a policy which gave the Arabs confidence and courage. This was well exemplified by two minor incidents during the week preceding the riots. On August 16 there was an Arab demonstration at the Wailing Wall. The shamash, who was alone, was beaten, and prayer books and other objects were smashed. The government did nothing about it. On August 20 a Jewish youth died of wounds he received at the hands of some Arabs who had stabbed him. At the funeral the police were unusually strict and even beat up several of the mourners for attempting to go into a street they had been forbidden to enter. Secondly there was the uncontrolled indignation of some elements among the Jews, especially among the young Revisionists, who helped to inflame the Arabs by their statements. Adding still more fuel to the fire was the dangerous and lying religious: propaganda which the Arab nationalist leaders were spreading (even to the extent of showing a faked picture of the Mosque of Omar flying a Zionist flag). Still the Government could have averted the riots if it had at all wished to do so. Acting High Commissioner Luke was repeatedly warned by the Jewish leaders of the obviously impending trouble. Help could easily have been brought from Egypt in twenty-four hours. But the government did nothing, and the Arabs interpreted this as an invitation to proceed; "the Government is with us" was the characteristic cry.

On Friday, August 23rd, ten to twenty thousand Arabs from surrounding villages came in to Jerusalem, heavily armed. The attacks began about noon at the gate of the Old City. The majority of the police in the city was Arab, and even the British police were told not to shoot and...
Women in the Middle East and North Africa  
Israel-Palestine  
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so the attackers were free to loot, damage, and kill. In the Old City, and in other places where Jews and Arabs were intermingled, the Jews could not defend themselves. In certain parts of the New City, however, and wherever there was a Jewish self-defense group, the Arabs were easily repelled and even made to suffer heavy losses. The excellent organization and courage of the Jewish volunteer defense units as well as their self-sacrifice in coming to the rescue of weak spots was indeed admirable. They displayed their strength especially in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and the colonies. But where the Jews were at the mercy of the police and of the British army, actual massacres occurred. The whole Yeshiva of Hebron, with its defenseless students and rabbis, was wiped out with great cruelty in spite of repeated assurances by the British police that they would be adequately guarded. Similarly an awful slaughter took place at Safed where the old orthodox community was undefended and isolated. It is hardly necessary to go into further details regarding the ugly riots that lasted over a week. Many people were killed and wounded on both sides, much property was destroyed, and a great deal more mutual ill feeling was created. The immediate result in Palestine was an effective economic boycott of Arab goods by the Jews. At the same time the Colonial Office annulled over 5000 immigration certificates which had been previously issued by the High Commissioner, an act which further angered the Jews. Outside of Palestine, the immediate reaction of the press was unfavorable to Zionism. The liberals, especially in England and the United States, were caught by the Mufti's false slogans. The aims of Zionism were completely misunderstood, and the Arabs were looked upon as poor innocent natives who were being oppressed by the Zionists and forcibly deprived of their land. The Jewish world, on the other hand, was shocked to its core, and united in loud protest against the inaction of the government. Acts of Jewish self-defense aroused great admiration, and an emergency fund was formed to help the victims. As for Great Britain, its Prime Minister, MacDonald, feeling perhaps that things had gone too far, immediately declared that there would be no deviation from the aspirations. "The Jewish National Home," it declared, "is not meant to be the principal feature of the Mandate" as Zionists claim. The reaction to the Passfield White Paper was immediate throughout the Zionist world. Dr. Weizmann, whose thesis had always been cooperation with the Mandatory, now resigned from the presidency since he felt that cooperation with England was no longer possible. Indignation ran high among the great statesmen of England (especially Lloyd George) and of other countries disapproved altogether of the White Paper. An Anglo-Zionist deadlock followed. It was now up to MacDonald to find a solution. On February 13, 1931, the English government, seeing that it had overshot the mark, retracted to some extent in an official letter sent to Weizmann by MacDonald.

This statement removed many of the restrictions of the White Paper and provided ground for further cooperation between England and the Zionist Organization. It emphasized England's obligation toward the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home and gave assurance of continued Jewish immigration and land settlement. Weizmann accepted this letter as satisfactory and resumed his position at the head of the World Zionist Organization. One other report disturbed the peace of the Zionist world during his period—the French Report. Lewis French, director of the Land Development Commission had been sent to translate into action the policy of land settlement laid down by Simpson. The report, transmitted to the Jewish Agency and to the Arab Executive in June, 1932, reiterated the fact that land purchase should be stopped and that the "dispossessed Arabs" should be settled according to a scheme drawn up by the government. He also recommended that Parliament float a loan of £2.5 million for land development, [=]

6110. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 15: Palestine Under British Rule: Political Developments. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1947. Growth of the Revisionist Party: At the eighteenth Zionist Congress, in 1931, the Revisionist Party, under the leadership of Vladimir Jabotinsky, was strong enough to be able, with the aid of certain right and centrist groups including the Americans, to force Weizmann out of the leadership. The Revisionist Party, making its first formal appearance at the 1925 Congress had been organized in Paris
(April, 1925), under the name of Zionist Revisionists. From the very start they were a strongly nationalist group and advocated a firmer position toward the Mandatory, fearing that otherwise Palestine would never become a Jewish State. The chief demands they made at their 1925 Paris conference were: a majority of Jews on both sides of the Jordan; land reserves to be given to the Jews by the government; power of regulating the type and amount of Jewish immigration to be vested in the Jewish government; and a Jewish High Commissioner appointed only with the consent of the Zionist Organization (these four points were more or less an implicit part of the full programs of all the other Zionist parties as well); the necessity of a Jewish legion for public security; while maintaining that the principle of the class struggle was "incredible and health" the Revisionists at the same time, however, asserted that they would remain above class differences and would try to arbitrate all conflicts, their one aim being a Jewish State. They avowed that they would welcome every honest form of Jewish energy for the rebuilding of Palestine, with the understanding that private enterprise by middle class people should be particularly fostered. The Revisionists then proceeded to organize their members, appealing primarily to middle class youth. Strong discipline was established, somewhat later, within their ranks even to the wearing of uniforms—brown shirts—and the using of army insignia, salutes, and other military symbols. The organization grew rapidly, especially in Poland, where its influence was heightened not only by the magnetism of Jabotinsky's personality but also by the harsh local conditions. There general poverty and bitter anti-Semitism had created a discontented Jewish Youth which was easily stirred up to extreme nationalism and to fiery demands. In Palestine, the growing capitalistic class, recruited after 1929 from many countries in which it had been hit by the depression, was not slow to find in this young, vigorous party a natural ally (one of its principles being that private enterprise by middle class people should be particularly fostered) and an excellent tool to use in the gradually growing struggle against the well organized Jewish labor. Gradually the Revisionists became anti-labor in their orientation and finally they even took to striking. By 1930, their official demands had undergone a fundamental change. Though still professing to be opposed to no party they had in fact turned against the labor groups for they now maintained that to bring into Palestine the European class struggle was sheer nonsense and actually made for national treason. Jewish labor should cooperate and arbitrate their differences. The upbuilding of Palestine came first and there was therefore no time for labor problems. Similarly, their unbounded nationalism led to an antagonistic attitude toward the Arabs. The Revisionists, as the extremist Jewish national "anti-Arab party" had done much to hasten the 1929 riots. England's action during and after the riots had sharpened their nationalism still further. They therefore came to the Congress determined to be done at last with temporizing Zionism and to replace it with their own militant sort.

The Seventeenth Congress, 1931: The Seventeenth Congress, which convened in Basle in the summer of 1931 was divided chiefly on the question of the Weizmann leadership. Of the 261 delegates the 82 Labor Party members and 41 of the General Zionists favored Weizmann. The remaining 40 General Zionists (known as group B), the 55 Revisionists, the 35 Mizrahi members and the 8 Radicals opposed him. Weizmann resigned from the presidency, after defending his policy toward Great Britain. In his three-hour address he stressed the need for harmonious relations with the Mandatory in the future, and then proceeded to outline a program including closer cooperation with the Arabs, the maintenance of Jewish rights under the Mandate, and the extension of the Jewish Agency along broader lines. He further recommended strengthening the kvutzot, the labor organization, and the Jewish National Fund as the best guarantee of the development of the country. The Congress then, (except for some American and English delegates) passed a resolution declaring the MacDonald letter unsatisfactory. In the general debate the Laborites defended the Weizmann policy. The antagonism between them and the Revisionists was now open and undisguised, and many scenes of confusion and even of rowdism resulted. The Revisionists had forced the Congress to redefine the aim of Zionism, but their own resolution on the subject failed to be carried. In its place a milder one was passed: "Zionism is a National Movement to secure the freedom of the Jews and adhere firmly and unalterably to its aim, as laid down in the Basle program." As soon as this resolution was adopted Jabotinsky publicly tore up his Shekel card, crying: "This is no place for true Zionists." and was carried out on the shoulders of his followers who were screaming, "You have sold up the Jewish labor movement to the desire for Zionist revolution." Although the Weizmann government seemed to want to lead the Labor Palestine really moved on with the aid of Weizmann from being re-elected, it actually failed, for both Weizmann's policies and his close associates were chosen to continue. Sokolow, Weizmann's colleague, was elected president (118 to 48). In the matter of the formation of the new Executive, the Labor group, which refused to participate if any Revisionist were included, carried the point and was given the 40% representation it demanded. [6]

6111. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 16: Palestine Under British Rule: The Economic Development. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1947. The Kibbutz and the Histadrut: During all this time, from the Second Aliyah and on, the workers of Palestine were steadily creating their own forms of life and strengthening their position. On the agricultural front the kvutzot multiplied as the years passed and soon they grouped themselves into three associations, called Kibbutzim. Although composed primarily of collectives, the Kibbutzim also included some town worker groups. Each association drew 67000 members from its own world organization. (1) The largest association is the Kibbutz Hameuhad, which was organized in 1923. By 1945 it had over 15000 members living in 40 groups. Its kvutzot are relatively large averaging a population of several hundreds each; and it favors the development of certain industries as well as agriculture. The whole Kibbutz is centralized and some of its members and specialists may be transferred from one kvutzot to another according to need. Within its ranks can be found various shades of Labor ideology. (2) Next in size is the Kibbutz Artzi of Hashomer Hatzair, organized in 1927. In 1946 it had 87500 members in its 40 kvutzot. It consists of medium sized kvutzot. These are political as well as social and economic units, and therefore admit only people of their own point of view. They derive their members automatically—from the world Shomer Hatzair movement. Both these Kibbutzim are country-wide economic units. (3) The third Kibbutz, HaShomer Hatzair Kibbutz, is a loose federation of small autonomous kvutzot, consisting primarily of Gordonia groups. There were in 1945 twenty-seven such groups with 67000 members. Another development of the kibbutz system are the Plugot, which are groups of people who are employed in capitalist colonies but themselves live collectively on land nearby. While some of their members manage the communal household and vegetable garden the rest are usually contracted out en masse, applying their earnings to the development of the Plugs. In addition to the kvutzot, there are also cooperative colonies, called Moshevei Ovdim, first established in 1911. The land on which these colonies are situated belong to the Jewish National Fund and the tenants pay a low annual rental. Each family has its own house, barn, etc, and 100 dunams (25 acres) of land. Many of the economic functions, however, such as marketing, buying, and owning large farming machinery are cooperative. Hired labor is forbidden except that the whole group engages a doctor and a nurse, and a few teachers and artisans. These colonies represent an attempt to preserve the good and do away with evil of private property. In 1945 there were 53 Moshevei Ovdim with a population of about 177000.

Quite as spectacular was the development of organized labor over the whole country. The first attempt at unionization in Palestine dates back to before World War I, when the Agricultural Workers' Union was formed. However, it was after that war that Labor Palestine really organized economically and culturally, though not politically (since the new organization included members of various workers' parties). In December, 1925, the Histadrut or General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine was founded in Haifa with 4433 members. It is an "organization of Jewish settlers who live by their own labor without exploiting others and who aim to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." It is a federation of unions including a large number of
producers' and consumers' cooperatives. As for its organization it is highly centralized and democratic throughout. Local labor councils (moitzot poalim) control local activities but have to abide by the general policies of the Histadrut. Nationally the Histadrut is governed by a General Council or Moatza, and an Executive Committee or Vaad HaPoel. However, the Histadrut is not merely a labor union, whose only aim is to better the working conditions of its members. Interested as it is in the upbuilding of the National Home, it stresses something usually opposed by unions—immigration. Indeed, it has spent much money and effort, through Hechalutz, to prepare people as halutzim, and to place them after their arrival in Palestine. These labor immigrants would usually become members of the Histadrut. The chief tenets of theHistadrut are the socialization of enterprises, participation in the functions of the World Zionist Organization as well as in those of the Yishuv, the complete equality of women and the inclusion of the Arabs in its general scheme of improvement. It considers the Arabs as neighbors who must be raised to higher cultural and economic standards, and therefore helps them through the Brit Poalei Eretz Israel or Alliance of Palestine Workers, to unionize and strike. It publishes a periodical in Arabic. It also offers the Arab workers classes in Hebrew, English, and Arabic, and includes them in the Workers' Health Insurance Fund and in the credit cooperatives. But its pro-Arab program has not been as complete in practice as it is in theory, as we shall see later. The activities of the Histadrut soon became numerous, including cultural, and social work. Part of its task is to transform middle class people into proletarian city people into agricultural workers, and a heterogeneous mass of immigrants into Hebrew speaking citizens with a Jewish cultural background. Among its many activities are a system of progressive schools for the members' children; classes and lectures for adults; a newspaper, Davar, with the largest circulation in Palestine; a theater "Ohel"; a sports organization, "HaPoel," and a well developed sick fund, "Kupat Holim." It has an Immigration Bureau, a system of labor exchanges, and an entire series of well organized producers' cooperatives which it regulates. The latter are under the Hervat Ovdim (Society of Workers), the legal incorporation of the Histadrut. Some of its subsocieties are Nir, agricultural credit institute; Yakahin, agricultural contracting association; Hamashbir Hamerkazi, purchasing and supply organization for the cooperatives; Tnuva, cooperative marketing association for the agricultural cooperatives and collectives; Hasneh Insurance Co., Bank HaPoalim, Shikun, workmen's housing company; various passenger and goods transport services which control practically the whole field; and Soleh Boneh, which is the outstanding building contractor of the Near East, and also owns a number of industrial concerns. The World Zionist Organization has supported all this because it has realized that the cooperative movement has supplied the country with hardy pioneers to build the land and also has enabled a maximum number of people to enter Palestine and live there at a fair standard, making room for more grants in the course of its own expansion.

The Histadrut has been very successful and its membership has grown rapidly, especially in the 1930's. 29000 men and women belonged to it in 1932, and by 1945 the number had risen to 112000 or 75% of the total number of Jewish workers. Counting the families of members it included over 38% of the total Jewish population of the country an unusually high percentage. There is also a youth movement called Hanoar Haoved (Working Youth) modeled on the Histadrut. Its members, all of whom are under 18 years of age, manage two collective farms of their own. It was estimated, in 1945, that 80% of the young people who work in towns and colonies belonged to the Working Youth. Since the Histadrut embraces all of Labor Palestine, there are naturally various shades of political opinion within its ranks. For many years it included three major political parties. (1) M intent Poalei Eretz Israel (Mapa) or Palestine Labor Party, formed in 1929, was the largest party within the Histadrut. It ideology it was similar to the Poale Zion, already described here, and like the Poale Zion was a member of the Second International. It also exercised considerable influence upon the Jewish government of Palestine. (2) Hashomer Hatzair, which was more radical, adhered to Marxism as adapted to Palestinian conditions, and all of its members lived in collectives. (3) Left Poale Zion, a small Marxist party which placed the class struggle above all else and favored complete union with Arab labor against the bourgeoisie. It did not participate in Zionist Congresses and maintained that the Yiddish language was against, Hapoel Hamizrachi, the labor party of Orthodox Jews, cooperates with the Histadrut but does not belong to it because of basic differences concerning religion. It was organized in 1922 as "an organization of religious-nationalist workers who strive to build the land in the spirit of the Torah, on the basis of labor." Its members must not exploit other people and must abide by the Torah in their private as well as in their public life. Most of them are town workers, but it also has several kvutzot and moshavim.

Conflict of Labor and Revisionism: After the Seventeenth Congress the antagonism between the Revisionists and Laborites in Palestine grew serious, each group attacking the other in the press, on the platform, and wherever the opportunity presented itself. Usually it was not the Revisionists who took the offensive. Before long they were not only attacking the policy of the Labor Party but also casting aspersions upon its leaders. They were especially violent in regard to Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff, head of the political department, whose "inaction," "mild attitude toward Great Britain," and "lack of national spirit" they could not abide. Meanwhile, the Revisionists began actively to break strikes, trying to weaken organized labor in yet another way. Thus they widened still further the breach between these two groups, including the Arabs.

The evening of 6/16/1933, Dr. Arlosoroff was assassinated, while walking with his wife on the beach of Tel Aviv. Two Revisionist youths were arrested and were recognized by Mrs. Arlosoroff as the attackers of her husband. One of them, Stavsky, was convicted of the murder, but was later acquitted by the Court of Appeals on technical grounds of local law. As the Judges put it: "In England Mrs. Arlosoroff's evidence alone would have been sufficient but here corroborative evidence is necessary which was not forthcoming." In the course of the trial evidence was produced which showed that the Revisionist leadership had been inciting its members to extreme fascist violence. To the labor groups the murder of their outstanding leader was a profound blow and made them feel that they had to put up a strong fight for their aims and ideals, even within the Zionist sphere. The trial put the finishing touches on the bitter conflict between the Revisionists and the Laborites. Accusations were constantly hurled, and recriminations and threats seemed unending. Fist fights and street brawls took place especially during the trial in the spring of 1934. The Jewish Agency finally took disciplinary steps against this rebellious faction by denying the Revisionists immigration certificates to Palestine. Things quieted in 1935, especially after the Revisionists left the World Zionist organization and after their numbers had dwindled considerably, but strong hostility remained.

The Fifth Aliya: Two external factors greatly accelerates the growth of population and capital in Palestine in the 1930s. One was the world-wide depression which brought to Palestine' capitalists, especially from Poland, the United States, and South Africa. The other important factor was the Hitler regime in Germany. After 1929 thousands of middle-class Jews began to bring into Palestine, one of the few countries that was not suffering from depression, what capital they had salvaged from the general business crash. In Palestine, a small country in the process of being developed economically, their resources assumed relatively greater proportions, and incidentally did much to further the development as well as the prosperity of the land. These people encountered no difficulty in regard to entering the country since anyone with $5000 needed no immigration certificate. The Fifth Aliya was therefore considered primarily capitalist, even though thousands of halutzim continued to come into the country on labor certificates issued by the Government, and distributed by the Jewish Agency. Industry began to grow rapidly as did trade and commerce. There were 16,500 workers engaged in crafts and industry in 1931 and 35000 in February, 1936. Factories for the manufacture of a wide variety of products were opened, and at the Levant Fair, held in Tel Aviv in May, 1934, one could find, in the Home-Products Pavillon, the greatest assortment of articles. To accommodate the ever growing number of tourists, numerous hotels and restaurants were opened. Because of the steady influx of inhabitants
the building trades prospered particularly, the large cities expanding continuously. Whereas 9% of the population was engaged in the building trade in 1931, 13% was thus engaged in February, 1936. Private investment in the building industry increased by 90% in 1933 and was still continuing approximately at the same rate in 1935. (The riots of 1936 interrupted some of this expansion.) Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv all grew enormously, especially the latter, which reached the 150,000 mark by 1936. At the same-time cooperative undertakings also grew very rapidly extending into still more varied fields of activity. Needless to say, unemployment ceased and soon there was a considerable shortage of workers especially of certain kinds of skilled laborers and craftsmen. Because of all this prosperity and also because of the fact that the Zionist Organization and the Yishuv supported so much of the education, health, and other public institutions, the Government soon found itself with a huge surplus on hand, amounting to £5,051,370 on October 30, 1935.

However, this urban progress did not take place at the expense of agriculture. Much private capital was invested in orange groves, especially in the 1930's, and the growing and exporting of oranges became a major industry in Palestine. Citrus fruit made up 55% of the country's total agricultural yield. The cooperative colonies also grew in number and in size and prospered. Much more land was bought by Jews in those years. The Jewish National Fund greatly augmented its holdings in 1935 with the purchase of the vast Huleh swamp in northern Palestine which was expected one day to rival Emek Jezreel. Many of the immigrants, especially of the labor category, settled in rural communities, in private colonies, cooperatives, or kvutzot, the population of the latter two types having nearly doubled in four years (1932-1936). The rural population increased in those years despite the superior attractions of the cities and their higher standard of living each year until in 1935 the average rate of immigration was 1200 a week. 42000 had entered Palestine in 1934; over 62000 arrived in 1935, notcounting those who came unofficially. The Jewish population consequently rose rapidly and, with it, its percentage of the total population. According to Government census there were in 1922, 83794 Jews to 662590 non-Jews. In 1933 official figures placed the Jews at 207000 and non-Jews at 875677. At the beginning of 1936, according to unofficial figures the Jews were approaching the 400000 mark with the non-Jews at less than 500000. The Jewish population grew from one-sixth to almost one-third of the total in these four years, although the Arab population increased simultaneously, considerable numbers immigrating to take advantage of the greater employment opportunities and higher wages paid in Palestine. Throughout this period Sir Arthur G. Wauchope, High Commissioner, whose term was extended for five more years, showed a more friendly attitude to the Jews than his predecessors had. [=]

61112. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 17. Palestine Under British Rule: The Period Preceding World War II, 1933-1939. New York: Book Publishing Co., 1947. The Fifth Aliya was strongly colored by its German element, which was new in Palestine. From the spring of 1933 when Hitler began to carry out his threats against the Jews, a constant stream of his intended victims fleeing to Palestine, and there found a refuge and a welcome. This course of events not only demonstrated the continuing virulence of anti-Semitism and the futility of assimilation but also vindicated Zionism as the solution the Agudat Israel, extreme orthodox Jews whose strong opposition to "Russian idealism" which had characterized the earlier immigrations. This boom, which was felt chiefly in the cities, was extremely distasteful to the agricultural groups especially to the cooperatives and collectives. But it was disappointing also to many people in the towns. By 1936, however, it had passed its zenith, the decline having been hastened by the Italo-Ethiopian war situation and, later, by the 1936 outbreaks. These conditions frightened both capital and tourists away from the country. A great and constructive piece of work was done in connection with the German Aliya. German-Jewish children and adolescents, all of whom faced a very bleak future in their native land, were brought to Palestine. (This Youth Aliya was at first under the direction of Henrietta Szold.) Most of them were placed in the various kvutzot and in agricultural schools. During and after World War II the need for rescuing Jewish children increased a hundredfold. The Jewish Agency bought out thousands of youngsters, most of them homeless and orphaned, obtained immigration certificates for them from the British government, transported them to Palestine and placed them in new homes where they might be re-educated into good and useful citizens, and given a wholesome attitude toward life and toward their fellow men. By 1946 Youth Aliya was caring for 18000 children.

The Eighteenth Congress, 1933: The Eighteenth Zionist Congress was held at Prague in August, 1933, under the shadow of Arlosoroff's murder. Of the 332 voting delegates Labor had 44%, a great increase over the preceding Congress and a fact that made Jabotinsky predict a Revisionist victory in 1935. The Revisionists were further angered when the labor delegation succeeded in forcing an inquiry into the alleged terrorist activities of some of Jabotinsky's followers in Palestine, especially in connection with the Arlosoroff murder. The Revisionists, including the new State Party or former Democratic Revisionists under Grossman, also led a strong fight against the recently formed pact with Germany whereby immigrating German Jews were permitted to bring into Palestine the necessary £1000 in the form of German goods. In general this Congress helped to clarify the party situation, and showed the Revisionists to be quite isolated.

The chief problem and subject of discussion was of course the treatment of the Jews by the Hitler government. A very strongly worded protest against it, as well as a call to the League and the Great Powers to aid the German Jews, was passed by the Congress as a resolution. Plans to settle many of Hitler's victims in Palestine were discussed and Weizmann was elected head of the Central Committee for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine. Weizmann had refused to return to leadership or even to come to the Congress, reputedly because the Revisionists had not been expelled. Sokolow was re-elected as president of the organization. However, at the Actions Committee in April, 1933, it was decided that the Shkalmot - the forthcoming Congress should carry a discipline clause, although the Revisionists announced that if that was done they would not participate in the next Congress. They thereupon withdrew from the World Zionist Organization and formed their own New Zionist Organization under the leadership of Jabotinsky. Their first Congress met in Vienna in September, 1935. They adopted a Constitution and passed resolutions voicing their demands. Except for the Revisionists, the Jewish groups in Palestine which continued outside: the World Zionist Organization were the Agudat Israel, extreme orthodox Jews whose strong opposition to Zionism had gradually diminished (it even formed a halutz movement of its own); the Hitahdut Haikarim, an organization composed chiefly of the richest plantation owners, who employed Arab labor; and the very small illegal group of Jewish communists, who consistently fought the whole idea of the Jewish Homeland and who fostered an Arab nationalist struggle against Zionism.

The Nineteenth Congress, 1935: The Nineteenth Congress met at Lucerne in August, 1935, with 450 delegates. Hebrew was the official language, and German was hardly heard at the meetings. The party program was as follows: the Labor group with about 200 delegates, of which Hashomer Hatzair formed a separate unit of 25; Confederation of General Zionists or Group A (pro-Labor), which together with Labor formed two-thirds of the total; World Union of General Zionists or Group B (anti-Labor); Mizrachi; Grossman's Jewish State Party. Weizmann.
presided this time, and James MacDonald, then High Commissioner for the German Refugees, thanked the Jewish Agency for doing so much for the German Jews. Professor Brodetsky, in his political report, touched on many important problems: conflicting trade treaties, colonial preference and dumping, the unyielding position against the proposed Palestine Legislative Council, internal dissension. The subject over which there was most disagreement was the matter of the Haavara or the Transfer Agreement with Germany, which allowed German Jews, immigrating into Palestine, to take a certain amount of their capital in the form of goods. The chief attack against it was made by Group B and the State Party who accused the Zionist Organization of cooperating with Germany and breaking the anti-Nazi boycott by allowing German goods into the country. The Labor delegates defended it on the ground that it was the only way to salvage thousands of German Jews and that it was not bringing any money into Germany. After much debate, a resolution—was passed restricting the activities of the Haavara and placing it under control of the Zionist Organization Executive in order to stamp out abuses. A budget of £1.94 million was adopted in addition to which the Congress decided to raise $15 million in two years for further colonization.

One of the resolutions asked the Palestinian Government for greater appropriations for education, health, etc., and for the revision of immigration restrictions on non-capitalists. The Congress reaffirmed a resolution recognizing the Histadrut as the only labor federation in Palestine. It was also decided to urge Zionist groups to combat land speculation and to expel from the Zionist Organization Palestinian employers who refused to hire Jewish labor. The Mizrahi succeeded in carrying a resolution for which they had always striven, calling for the public observance of the Sabbath and for the kosher management of public kitchens. Another important resolution that was passed was one affirming the “determination of the Jewish people to live in harmony with the Arabs...” pointing out that the Jewish settlement had aided the Arabs and contributed toward the progress and development of the Near East as a whole. Resolutions were also passed strongly condemning Nazi Germany, supporting the idea of a World Jewish Congress, appealing for greater immigration into Palestine, and encouraging Halutzism. In the end unity was achieved and Weizmann again became president of both Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency, while Sokolow, became honorary president of each. The coalition leadership was reduced to, members: 3 Labor members, 2 from Group A of the General Zionists, 1 from Group B and 1 Mizrahi. Ussishkin was chosen president of the Actions Committee, Arthur Ruppin head of the Special Department for Economic Planning, Lipsky member of the Executive without portfolio and Goldmann delegate at Geneva. With the Revisionists out there was less political argument and more constructive work done.

New Arab Outbreaks: The exceptional prosperity of Jewish Palestine in the years 1933-35, the purchase of the Huleh swamp district in Upper Galilee, and the large immigration of over 130000 (in three years) was utilized by the Arab nationalist leaders to instigate riots against the Jews. Although the standard of living of the Arabs had risen considerably, these leaders, under the guidance of the Grand Mufti, were able to convince, especially the city youth, of the impending danger of political domination by the Jews. In this work they had the assistance of “absorptive capacity” basis. After heated debates in Parliament, the decision was made by the Jews; (7) that the policy of Great Britain toward the Arabs, which had been one of conciliation, had been carried too far, especially in the matter of tolerating subversive activities; the British government must be blamed for allowing the 1936 disturbances to get under way other places. It provided for the transfer of lands and exchange of populations, as far as possible, and also for an annual subvention from the Jewish to the Arab State. The Commission also mentioned certain alternatives in case of the rejection of the partition plan. Among them were the formation of an Arab agency to represent the neighboring Arab States as well as Palestine, and the setting up of a politically determined maximum for immigration (12000 annually for the ensuing five years to prevent the Jews from becoming a majority), which should replace the “absorptive capacity” basis. After heated debates in Parliament, the partition plan was opposed by all parties as being unfair to the Jews and a retreat for Great Britain.

The Twentieth Congress, 1937: Immediately after the release of the Royal Commission Report, the Twentieth Congress met at Zurich (August 3, 1937), The partition problem obscured all other questions and until the last few days nothing else was discussed. There were 473 delegates, representing forty-two countries. Firmly opposed to partition were Group B General Zionists under the leadership of Ussishkin, the State Party, Mizrachi, and Hashomer Hatzair. Group A General Zionists and the Labor party were split but most of their members were finally persuaded to vote for the proposed resolution, because of the insistence of Weizmann who addressed them in caucus and because of the strong anti-partition stand of the non-Zionists. Weizmann opened the partition discussion by presenting the arguments in favor of it. He envisaged it as radio, from Bari, Italy, ‘all villages and cafes having been provided with receiving sets and loudspeakers. The Jewish response to this was "havlagha" or "self-restraint," that is, the refusal to counter Arab terrorism with similar methods. Most Jews felt that they were fighting not the Arab population of Palestine but a body of terrorists; they refused, therefore, to strike out blindly against any Arab—as would have been done in a war between nations—but fought them under the guise of self-defense. Havlagha went formally decreed by the Revisionists, though they bitterly opposed it, observed it except for a brief period in the spring of 1938. An official body of Special Jewish police was formed as part of the highly organized self-defense. Every settlement assigned members for guard duty every night. The Yishuv tried to keep up its morale and to maintain its work of upbuilding. When the strike continued to tie up the Jaffa Port, Tel Aviv finally received permission from the Palestine government to build a port of its own. On May 17, 1936, work on it was begun and it was enthusiastically financed by a public sale of shares. The general strike finally collapsed in October, 1936, after having caused greater loss to the Arabs than to the Jews. The British authorities had done little to suppress the terrorists throughout this period.

The Partition Proposal: London now sent a Royal Commission to study the situation. This commission was headed by Earl Peel and arrived in Palestine in November, 1936. The Arab leaders boycotted it at first but finally consented to testify before it. After taking volumes of testimony, the Commission released its report in July, 1937. It prefaced its proposals with documented statements which seemed very favorable to the Jews. It recognized (1) the close connection of the Jews and Palestine; (2) that the whole of Palestine (including Transjordania) had been meant for the development of the Jewish National Home; (3) that the primary purpose of the Mandate was to promote the establishment of a Jewish National Home; (4) that the colonization of the Jews had been to the economic advantage of the Arabs as a whole; (5) the great progress made by the Jews; (6) the friendly attitude of the Zionist leaders toward the Arabs in spite of the refusal of the Arab leaders ever to cooperate with the Jews; (7) that the policy of Great Britain toward the Arabs, which had been one of conciliation, had been carried too far, especially in the matter of tolerating subversive activities; the British government must be blamed for allowing the 1936 disturbances to get under way other places. It provided for the transfer of lands and exchange of populations, as far as possible, and also for an annual subvention from the Jewish to the Arab State. The Commission also mentioned certain alternatives in case of the rejection of the partition plan. Among them were the formation of an Arab agency to represent the neighboring Arab States as well as Palestine, and the setting up of a politically determined maximum for immigration (12000 annually for the ensuing five years to prevent the Jews from becoming a majority), which should replace the “absorptive capacity” basis. After heated debates in Parliament, the partition plan was opposed by all parties as being unfair to the Jews and a retreat for Great Britain.

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a great opportunity to develop a Jewish State which would allow a large number of Jews to settle there immediately, and pointed out that, under the circumstances, this was more than might have been expected and that such an opportunity might not present itself again. Ussishkin then spoke for the opposition: partition would mean losing Jerusalem; the new state would be far too small to absorb many of the persecuted Jews who now needed refuge; it would have too long a frontier and would therefore be too weak to stand up for itself. Many of the moderate Arab leaders who had been fighting for political autonomy, most of them made behind closed doors. A resolution favoring partition in principle was passed by a vote of 300 to 158. It reaffirmed the historic connection of the Jews and Palestine; took note of those findings of the Royal Commission which admitted the justice of the Jewish position; rejected the conclusion that the national aspirations of the Jews and Arabs were irreconcilable . . . or that the Mandate had proved unworkable, and demanded its fulfillment; condemned the “palliative proposals” such as the curtailment of immigration; and declared that the scheme of partition, as proposed, was unacceptable. It concluded with these words: “The Congress empowers the Executive to enter into negotiations with a view to ascertaining the precise terms of the government for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State . . . That in such negotiations, the Executive shall not commit either itself or the Zionist Organization but, in the event of the emergence of a definite scheme for the establishment of a Jewish State, such a scheme shall be brought before a newly elected Congress for consideration and decision.”

With the partition debate ended, the rest of the business was rushed through with little discussion. The Executive was re-elected in its entirety and the Actions Committee with but slight changes. Immediately thereafter the Jewish Agency Council met. Here, too, the partition debate was heated, most of the non-Zionists, under the leadership of Warburg, opposing the idea of a Jewish State in principle. They even threatened secession. Finally, however, the Council, by a large majority, approved the Congress Resolution on Partition, empowering the Agency Executive to negotiate with Great Britain and then to report back. Upon the insistence of Warburg and other non-Zionists, it was recommended that a Round Table Conference with Arabs be held before any commitments were made. In the new Agency Executive, non-Zionists were now to be outnumbered by Zionists. Next the Permanent Mandates Commission, after prolonged review, made its report to the Council. A new government was formed, and the League of Nations. While it did not oppose the partitioning of Palestine, it felt that the country was not yet ready for independence; and it was therefore against any hurried proceedings in that direction. Furthermore, although it paid tribute to Great Britain for its work in Palestine and reminded both the Jews and Arabs of their debts of gratitude to the Mandatory, it recommended that Great Britain retain its mandatory responsibility at least for some time and that it try to work out a plan acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. If no other scheme were found, the present mandatory system should be retained. As for the limitation of immigration, the Commission would agree to it only as an exceptional means and a return must be made to the absorptive capacity basis after March, 1938. Finally, it reminded the Arabs that whereas the Jews had no place but Palestine to which they could go, they, the Arabs, had the great areas of the Near East open to them. In September, 1937, the League of Nations Assembly adopted a non-committal resolution expressing the conviction that the problem of Palestine would be equitably settled, account being taken, of all interests at stake.

The Arab Terror and Great Britain: The party of the Mufti and the landlords opposed partition from the start and this action forced the rich urban Arabs of Palestine and the neighboring Arab states to join in the opposition lest they appear deficient in nationalist spirit. Soon the struggle against partition became the slogan of the terrorists, and the attacks, which had been resumed in May, 1937, became definitely anti-Jews, on the other hand, did remarkably well. They managed to maintain the opposition lest they appear deficient in nationalist spirit. Soon the extremists were especially ruthless when some of the moderates (the Nashashibi Party), claiming to represent 7000 Arabs, denounced the terror and tried to overthrow the leadership of the Mufti, and to end the violence by negotiating with Great Britain. The terrorists retaliated by killing several of these men, forcing others to flee, and thus for a time suppressing open opposition. The British government, meanwhile, although it had sent military reinforcements to Palestine, appeared singularly ineffectual in the matter of putting an end to the disturbances. Arab towns were evacuated by British authorities and left to the mercy of the terrorists, thus giving the impression of an “Arab Rebellion.” The British merely changed high commissioners, Wauchope being replaced by Sir Harold MacMichael in December, 1937, and exiled a few of the terrorist leaders to Seychelles Islands; but permanent residents of the troubled areas were not registered nor was real martial law declared. The result was that there was little change in the situation. It was not until the fall of 1938 that government troops began their much-advertised “reconquest” of localities under rebel jurisdiction. The Arabs did not resist, as they might have been expected to do. The chief problem seemed to be the protection, not of the Jews (who took care of themselves), but of Arab villagers and wealthy city dwellers.

The Abandonment of Partition: Meanwhile, on the political front, partition discussion raged among the Jews. The Revisionists also were opposed to the plan. At the same time, certain other solutions were brought forward. Sir Herbert Samuel and Dr. Judah Magnes suggested a political absorption of the Jewish population to 40% on both sides of the Jordan River. Magnes was especially in earnest about the establishment of such a binational state in an undivided Palestine. However, efforts to win Arab leadership to these proposals proved unsuccessful. In order, presumably, to fix the exact boundaries for the proposed new states, a new Royal Commission arrived in Palestine in March 1938. Its members, however, were unable to reach an agreement. The maximal plan they offered was similar to that of the Peel Commission, while the minimal plan gave the Jews just a strip of land along the coast. The British cabinet accompanied the report with a statement abandoning the partition proposal as impracticable and calling for a series of conferences between Jewish and Arab representatives, including delegates of the neighboring Arab States. Prime Minister Chamberlain announced beforehand that if an agreement could not be reached—and few expected that it could—the British government would take it upon itself to formulate a new policy for Palestine.

Effect of the Disturbances on the Economic Life of Palestine, 1936-1939: The economic life of the country was bound to suffer as a result of the intermittent outbreaks and of—the uncertain policy of the British government. The standard of living dropped below its 1935 level. The Arabs suffered most. They were almost ruined commercially by their own strike and by the extortions of the terrorists. Many of the Transjordanians who had come to Palestine now left the country. The Jews, on the other hand, did remarkably well. They managed to maintain all previous economic and geographic positions, in addition to having completely supported the government financially, since the Arabs paid practically no taxes. A Redemption Fund (Kofer Hayishuv) made up of voluntary contributions was set up for the defense of isolated and distant colonies. In two months, a quarter of a million dollars was raised in small contributions. People denied themselves many luxuries and
conveniences in order to give their share. The self-reliance of the Yishuv proved to be remarkable. Not only did they refuse to retreat but they actually made forward strides establishing thirty-six new settlements from the beginning of the outbreak to 1939. Some of these were situated in very dangerous places. In addition to the new port which did a thriving business right from the start, an airfield was built at Tel-Aviv. The country absorbed over 50,000 new immigrants during this period. Business men held their own, and the agricultural settlement or insurance company went out of business; only the building trade suffered. Jewish industries began to export more, in order to counteract the shrinking internal market. Europe offered a good market for certain Palestinian goods such as citrus fruits and chemicals, and the Yishuv itself absorbed all of the agricultural output of the collectives and villages.[=]

61113. Sankowsky, Shoshanna Harris. Short History of Zionism: Part 19. Palestine Under British Rule: Recent Political Changes in Zionism. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1947. Ideological Changes: Up to and at the time of the Congress in 1939, as we have just seen, most General Zionists and many Labor delegates spoke in terms of continued cooperation with Britain in the hope of achieving a change of policy; on the whole they opposed talk of non-cooperation and of acting "as though we are already a Jewish state" as one Labor delegate put it. At that time the demand for Palestine as a Jewish State was still primarily the program of the Jewish State Party and of the Revisionists (New Zionist Organization) except insofar as the idea had been accepted by those who favored partition of Palestine into two national states. However, by 1942 a decided change had apparently occurred in official Zionist thinking as well as in its demands. At an Extraordinary Conference held at the Hotel Biltmore in New York in May, 1942, the following program was adopted: (The conference had been called by the American Zionist Emergency Committee and was attended by representatives of all Zionist parties in America as well as by Dr. Weizmann.) (1) An affirmation that the original intention of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate was to re-establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. (2) The immediate granting of authority to the Jewish Agency to control Jewish immigration and to develop the country, especially in the utilization of unoccupied lands and their water resources and in the expansion of industry and commerce. (3) Complete civil, political, and religious equality for all the inhabitants of Palestine, self-government in all municipal affairs, and the granting to the different communities-Jewish and Arab-of the autonomous management of all educational and religious matters.

The Jewish Agency announced that it would abide by the Biltmore Program. Most Labor spokesmen as well as the leaders of the General Zionists and Mizrachi agreed to it. The Shomer Hatzair and other left wing groups, however, said that such a policy would make more difficult than ever the achievement of cooperation and understanding with the Arabs, a need which Zionists stressed in all public utterances; that, in effect, the Zionists had adopted much of the Revisionist program, even though most Revisionists were no longer part of the World Zionist Organization. That the ideological difference between the Revisionists and most Zionist leaders was diminishing was indicated not only in the latter's acceptance of the old Revisionist demand of a Jewish state or Commonwealth) but also in the apparent unwillingness of the Zionist Organization of America and Hadassah to take effective steps against the various groups operating in the United States, to expose their activities, or to identify them with the Revisionists of Palestine. The Revisionists were very active during the war years both in the United States and in Palestine. In the former they operated behind a number of different "front organizations" such as the "American Friends of Jewish Palestine," the "Committee for a Jewish Army," the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" and the "League for a Free Palestine." They succeeded in spreading pro-Palestine propaganda and in reaching certain prominent persons, including non-Jews, as well as in collecting large sums of money. But although these contributions were gathered for specific purposes, such as for illegal immigration, there were numerous charges that little or nothing actually was used in the ways specified. This sort of suspected mishandling and squandering of much needed monies as well as the frequent irresponsible acts and statements were, in the eyes of many Zionists, damaging to the cause of Palestine. In spite of all this, however, in spite also of its anti-Labor stand and its recalcitrance before it withdrew from the World Zionist Organization, the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists) was made welcome when it decided to participate again in the World Zionist Congress, scheduled to meet in 1943. Leaders of the General Zionists and of Palestine (Mapai) had facilitated its return and now expressed satisfaction at this "positive step both in respect of its effect on world opinion and as a move towards greater unity" (editorial in Davar, Labor daily). Various important reasons for opposing the Revisionists' re-entering the Zionist movement were pointed out by Mishmar, the organ of Hashomer Hatzair (left wing of the Labor movement). That the Revisionists were coming back on their own terms, and prepared to fight their old battles may be seen from the following statement made in their official organ: "Our aim is to wage a fight for a great and redeeming conception of Zionism. The Revisionists will enter upon a struggle within the Old Zionist Organization to bring about the fall of the present defeatist regime which has wrought such havoc in the Zionist movement, and to give the nation a leadership full of daring, energy and confidence.

Changes in American Leadership: In America there was a change in the leadership of the Zionist Organization which took place in the years 1939-40. The Lipsky group was replaced by the Szold (Brandeis) group which had during the twenties and thirties remained largely on the fringe of the Zionist movement. The new leadership had always demanded more efficient "American" methods and economic rather than social and political work in Palestine; latterly its policies have resembled those of Group B General Zionists whereas the Lipsky wing followed Weizmann and the liberal Group A. The leadership of Hadassah has long displayed the general character of the new leadership of the Zionist Organization of America. Although some of the top Lipskyites remained in the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Zionist Organization most of the positions of importance, including the directorship of the various funds, passed into the hands of the Szold group. The latter belong on the whole to the upper class income brackets, most of them being either wealthy businessmen or influential rabbis. Successful businessmen easily made numerous new commercial contacts from among their business contacts; while rabbis prevailed upon members of their congregations to join. In some cases whole congregations were signed up en masse. Many people joined now that the importance of Palestine in world politics and in the refugee question made Zionism no longer a sectarian Jewish movement. As the depression of the thirties was replaced by the prosperity of the forties and as the need of refugees to migrate to Palestine increased tremendously, the Zionist funds and organizations in America grew far beyond their former size. The membership of the Zionist Organization of America alone was 190,000 by 1946. Most of these people remained inactive members, merely paying their dues and having little knowledge of or interest in Zionism or Palestine. Even many of those who attended meetings and participated in the organizational work took it as a philanthropic activity rather than as a political movement, while some of the new leaders of the organization seemed interested largely in the investment possibilities of Palestine. A significant indication of this is the emphasis on articles dealing with the economic side of Palestine in the New Palestine of recent years. Huge sums of money were collected for various phases of Zionist work. The United Palestine Appeal (UPA) which since 1933 has been the central fund-raising organization for the Jewish National Fund and for Keren Hayesod and has also been collecting money for the Jewish Agency and the Mizrachi Palestine Fund had as its budget for the year (October, 1944-September, 1945) the sum of $35.3 million. That the Jews of America were overwhelmingly pro-Palestine and immediately following World War II was clearly demonstrated by the meetings of the American Jewish Conference, the first of which was held in New York in September, 1943. At this first meeting, of the 502 delegates representing all of the Jewish communities as well as many Jewish organizations throughout the country, 480 voted in support of a program calling for the establishment of Palestine as a
Jewish Commonwealth. Some of those who voted against Palestine as a Jewish state favored Palestine as a home for refugees and for all other Jews who wished to live there. As for outspoken anti-Zionists, they have practically been won over to some degree of sympathy for Palestine and for what Zionism has done. At the beginning of World War II, the American Zionist Emergency Council was organized as the central political agency of the movement in America. It is composed of representatives of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Poale Zion, and Mizrahi as well as of a number of observers from other Zionist groups. The Council has represented Zionism in all dealings with the British government and with other official bodies and has interpreted for the Jewish community the international scene as it related to Palestine. With the help of its numerous local branches it has attempted to arouse the sympathy of American public opinion in behalf of Zionism: through direct political contacts in Washington, through the publication of literature, through lectures, the radio and the press. Public interest in the Jewish Homeland has been expressed on many occasions. Resolutions passed by thirty-nine state legislatures have endorsed Zionism, as have also the 1944 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor likewise have endorsed the idea of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Two non-Jewish groups, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, have been active in publishing pro-Palestine pamphlets and in sponsoring pro-Zionist speeches through a speakers' bureau. Whether all of this will help to alter British official policy regarding Palestine is a moot question.

Political Changes in Palestine: In Palestine, too, important developments have recently been taking place, especially within the Histadrut. A general shift toward the right on the part of the leadership of Mapai (Palestine Labor Party) caused many of its members to break away from the party. Ideologically they split over the Biltmore Program which they rejected, and over Arab cooperation which they felt was not being sufficiently stressed in actual practice. On these matters the new group calling itself Adhat Ha'avoda was in basic agreement with the three left opposition parties: Hashomer Hatzair, Socialist league, and Left Poale Zion. In the 1945 elections for the Histadrut convention Mapai won 226 of the 423 seats, by far the slimmest majority that party had ever won, while the left opposition parties had risen to a strength of 162 votes. The remaining 35 delegates represented General Zionist workers and German, religious and Yemenite workers' groups. In the following year Adhat Ha'avoda joined with Left Poale Zion to form a new party called Adhat Ha'avoda-Poale Zion whose stand on most political questions was somewhere between that of Mapai and Hashomer Hatzair. At the same time Hashomer Hatzair joined with the Socialist League to form a new party and to run a separate ticket for the World Zionist Congress (1946). As for the relative strength of the various political parties in Palestine as a whole, the 1944 elections to the Asetef Haniv Larim (the Representative Assembly), the first elections in thirteen years, tell a one-sided decree differentiating between persons carrying firearms for military or political purposes and those carrying firearms for personal protection, and difficult conditions. The life of the Jews especially in the collectives impressed many of the British troops stationed in Palestine to such a degree that several reservists wanted to join a collective; one military officer was led to say: "The communal settlements poison the troops." Australian soldiers refused to beat illegal immigrants, and generally became more considerate of Jews that it was found advisable to transfer them. Direct participation of Jews in the armed service would have been greater had the British been willing. As it was the government hesitated long before accepting the Jews into the armed forces, waiting for an equal number of Arabs to enlist. It was only when Arab enlistments proved too slow that the principle of parity was abandoned. But on the question of a separate Jewish unit to fight under its own flag the British continued to be abjectly opposed. In spite of repeated requests by Jews and non-Jews alike and of prolonged negotiations with Dr. Weizmann, among the excuses offered for the refusal was "that it cannot allow sectional religious interests in the Army." Only near the end of the war was permission finally granted for the formation of a Palestinian Jewish Brigade, which operated in Europe.

The Palestine Government and the Jews: That the Palestine government was far from sympathetic toward the Yishuv and its activities may be easily inferred from the above. Not only was a very harsh policy followed in the matter of immigration, but even toward the regular Jewish inhabitants of the country it pursued an unfriendly, but even toward the regular Jewish inhabitants of the country it pursued an unfriendly, and difficult conditions. The life of the Jews especially in the collectives impressed many of the British troops stationed in Palestine to such a degree that several reservists wanted to join a collective; one military officer was led to say: "The communal settlements poison the troops." Australian soldiers refused to beat illegal immigrants, and generally became more considerate of Jews that it was found advisable to transfer them. Direct participation of Jews in the armed service would have been greater had the British been willing. As it was the government hesitated long before accepting the Jews into the armed forces, waiting for an equal number of Arabs to enlist. It was only when Arab enlistments proved too slow that the principle of parity was abandoned. But on the question of a separate Jewish unit to fight under its own flag the British continued to be abjectly opposed. In spite of repeated requests by Jews and non-Jews alike and of prolonged negotiations with Dr. Weizmann, among the excuses offered for the refusal was "that it cannot allow sectional religious interests in the Army." Only near the end of the war was permission finally granted for the formation of a Palestinian Jewish Brigade, which operated in Europe.

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Mapai: 64 seats.
Left Front (Shomer Hatzair, Left P. Z., Socialist League): 21 seats.
Aliya Hadasha (Liberal German Zionists): 18 seats.
Hapoel Hamizrachi (Mizrachi Workers): 17 seats.
Adhat Ha'avoda: 16 seats.
Mizrachi: 7 seats.
Yemenite Jews: 6 seats.
General Zionists Group A (liberal): 4 seats.
Women's International Zionist Organization: 4 seats.
Poale Zion (conservative group): 3 seats.
Nonpartisan Religious list (Orthodox Conservatives): 3 seats.
Haoved Hazioni (General Zionist A workers): 3 seats.
Popular Democratic List (Communist): 3 seats.
Merchants: 2 seats.
State Movement (Revisionist): 1 seat.

The following rightist parties refused to take part in the elections: General Zionists B, Farmers' Federation, and Sephardim (Oriental Jews). However, in view of the fact that fully 302448 ballots were cast in a then total population of some 550000 it would seem that there could not have been many abstaining votes representing the parties which boycotted the election. [=]
redeem only in British goods or other goods subject to British exchange and export controls. The Yishuv was therefore bound to British markets and could no longer trade elsewhere freely. The Palestine diamond cutting industry, for example, exported industrial diamonds to the United States. But the millions of American dollars paid for these diamonds were exchanged by the British for sterling pounds which were credited to the Palestinians. This money, however, could not be used to purchase, on the open market, industrial equipment and other goods that Palestine had to import. Nor could Palestinians get much of these needed products from England since the British government controlled the export of such goods. In this way the British were obstructing the industrial development of Palestine. With the end of the war evidence began to accumulate pointing to a systematic anti-Jewish campaign on the part of British authorities. Reliable reporters and observers told of numerous cases of outright incitement of Arabs by British officials: of terrorist leaders being given money and equipment to train their followers for war upon the Jews. A war of nerves has been carried on in the press and elsewhere, much of it government-inspired, spreading among the Arabs rumors of imminent attacks by the Jews and among the Jews stories of impending Arab riots. British agents, it has been shown, had an active part in the negotiations which led to the strongly anti-Jewish Arab League. There have been several instances of unwarranted and unprovoked military attacks upon Jews resulting in the killing and wounding of men, women, and children. Jewish homes and settlements have been subjected to ruthless search for arms; numerous arbitrary arrests have been made and harsh sentences have been imposed, while mistreatment of Jewish internees in Palestine concentration camps have, in some cases, reached the point of outright torture. All these things have served to make plain to the Arabs the undisguised hostility of the Palestine government and of British officials to the Jews.

Evidence has also been presented to the effect that Arab riots against Jews in North Africa were, in part, the handiwork of British agents. Senator Brewster of Maine reported (Congressional Record 11/30/45) as follows: "Seemingly reliable information indicates that the British commanding officer in Tripoli played the strongest possible part during recent Tripoli disorders, a part which makes it impossible to absolve the British authorities from serious responsibilities in connection with these disorders... Apparently, Arab elements in Tripoli gained the impresion, through their frequent contacts with him and other British officers, that with the cessation of hostilities in Europe the alliance between the British and the Jews was over... The organizers spread the word that the British would not interfere. Indeed the Jewish quarter was attacked and forty Jews murdered on that day and the military authorities did not interfere. No exceptional measures were taken either to arrest known ringleaders or to prevent the recurrence of such disturbances. This attitude of the British authorities was considered a clear encouragement by the organizers of the disorders. "Consequently the riots continued to spread to various villages by the third day. "British authorities seemingly proceeded on the theory that a show of anti-Jewish violence would not be unwelcome to the British government, as evidence that the Arab-speaking world is very bitter about Jewish claims to Palestine."

The Plight of the Jews of Europe: Britain's continued refusal to admit into Palestine refugees beyond the number prescribed in the White Paper seemed more cruel and unbelievable with every year that passed. The situation in which the Jews of Europe found themselves during the war is beyond all description. Nothing in recorded history can match it for cruelty and certainly not for magnitude. Six million of some seven and a half million Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe were massacred during the years of World War II. Most of the Jews of Western Europe were herded into cattle cars and transported to Poland. Those who survived the inhuman journey were thrown into horrible concentration camps to await death in huge crematoriums or in gas-filled chambers. Here and there an individual escaped, homeless, without friends or family, to tell the world something of the dreadful fate that has befallen his fellow sufferers. Some Jews fought to the death instead of falling victims of the gas chambers. Especially noteworthy was the heroic stand taken by the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto who for weeks put up a brave though hopeless struggle. And in the countries which were allied with Germany—Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania—anti-Semitic laws were either instituted or extended. As the Jews of these countries, their numbers swelled by refugees from Germany, saw the Nazi menace closing in upon them, many of them attempted to escape before it was too late. But there was no place for them to go. The various governments spoke most sympathetically of this tragic situation, but did little or nothing about it. The United Nations, the United States, and other governments had been considering the problem of the Political Refugees for some years but did not succeed in providing refuge for even a minute fraction of the surviving victims. An international conference was held at Evian in 1938, and in 1943 British and American representatives met at Bermuda to discuss refugee problems, with the express refusal to consider Palestine. These conferences turned out to be mere empty gestures to appease public opinion which demanded that something be done. When it came to actually admitting refugees into their own land, every country found excuses for refusing to do so. In the face of this dire necessity, the one country in which a large part of the population eagerly sought their admission, where economic conditions, moreover, would, according to imports actually profit by their coming, remained closed to them by decree of the British Empire. A mere trickle was officially allowed into Palestine. And when refugees, driven to desperation by conditions in Europe, braved all possible hazards to reach the land of promise, they were usually turned back, imprisoned, or deported. The end of the war by no means brought an end to Jewish suffering and Jewish problems in Europe. The day of liberation could mean little to these survivors of Nazi torture. Most of them were far from home, among people who were hostile to them, whether in Poland where anti-Semitism antecedent the Nazi regime and has not yet abated since, or in Germany where a decade years of constant vicious anti-Jewish propaganda had instilled a deeply rooted hatred for the Jews. The majority of them were still held by British and American occupation forces in displaced persons camp and under pitiable conditions, according to descriptions of competent and impartial observers. Those who made their way home found nothing but tragedy and disappointment. Their property had been confiscated; their homes were being lived in by other people who now stood to lose a great deal should the former owners be reinstated. Here were the seeds of a new hostility towards the Jews. And, indeed, in a number of places where anti-Semitism had been unknown prior to the war, it now made itself felt for the first time. Many anti-Jewish acts were reported in various places; and several full-size pogroms occurred, particularly in Poland where anti-Jewish violence kept recurring. The governments did little or nothing to counteract this evil.

Anglo-American Committee: Following a study of the conditions in Palestine, Jews in occupied Europe made by Earl Harrison in 1944 at the request of President Truman, the President asked that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted into Palestine at once. When that request was turned down by England, it was decided that a joint committee be appointed to study both the Palestine and the displaced persons questions, and to make suitable recommendations. Accordingly, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Palestine, consisting of six Americans and six Englishmen, were chosen. After three months of study in Europe and in Palestine the Committee made a unanimous report in April, 1946. Its chief recommendations were: (1) The admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine, as far as possible within 1946. (2) That Palestine should be neither a Jewish nor an Arab state, with neither group dominating the other. (3) That Palestine must guarantee the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike and eventually accord to the inhabitants the fullest measure of self-government. (4) That "pending the execution of a trusteeship under the United Nations, Palestine continue under the present Mandate." (5) That the administration of Palestine facilitate Jewish immigration, as is stated in the Mandate. (6) That the land transfer regulations of 1940 be rescinded and be replaced by a policy of freedom of sale irrespective of race and creed. (7) That terrorism and illegal immigration be suppressed.

The report stated at the outset that "Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist
persecution; that other homes be found for some of the stateless Jews, and that for the "considerable numbers of Jews" who will continue to live in Europe, the United Nations should try to see to it that their rights and freedoms are respected. The report was received with mixed feelings. The Jewish Agency, while heartily approving several of the committee's recommendations, noted the inadequacy of the solution: "As the committee itself admits," it said, "the transfer (of a hundred thousand) does not solve even the problem of the claims of Nazi political prisoners alone meet the immigration needs of Jews in other lands." Arab leaders opposed the report, warning that it would plunge Palestine into bitter strife and drive "the entire Middle East into the bosom of Soviet Russia".

Jewish Acts of Terror: Throughout the 1936-1939 outbreaks certain elements among the Revisionists had been extremely restive because of the program of havelaga or self-restraint which almost all Jews of Palestine maintained. In the 1940's in response to Britain's harsh policy, the Jews acted differently. Groups associated with the Revisionists carried on an irregular anti-British terror, but this time the Jewish population did not stop them. And, finally, after 1945, even the Hagana, representing the bulk of the population, undertook anti-British sabotage. The two terrorist groups were Irgun Zvai Leumi an anti-Labor, anti-Arab, anti-British secret army, which had been established before 1939; and the Sternists, a ultra-nationalist group influenced by fascist ideology. (Revisionists have denied any connection with the Sternists but many points in their beliefs are similar.) Stern himself was killed by the Palestine police in 1942, but his followers carried on. Bombs were exploded, raids on police stations made, British officers kidnapped, and several officials were assassinated. The most daring acts were the assassination of Lord Moyne in Egypt (November, 1945) and the attempt upon the life of High Commissioner MacMichael right outside of Jerusalem. After a deed was done, Irgun or the Sternists would publicly announce it and take full responsibility, either in posters which would suddenly appear everywhere, or through their underground radio. The perpetrators were seldom caught. Palestinian leaders and newspapers loudly denounced these acts of terror. Nevertheless the government, while admitting that the terrorists were a very small fraction of Jewish Palestine, held the whole Yishuv responsible. Curfews were imposed, numerous arrests were made and many suspected, activists were detained for long periods after the known criminals were caught and convicted. The government went so far as to blame the Yishuv for impeding the war effort and aiding the enemy. In June, 1946, the government took a far more drastic step than it had ever taken before when in the course of a weekend it arrested some 2000 Jews throughout the land, including all of the important officials of the Jewish Agency which it could find, holding them without trial in order to halt all terrorist acts. British soldiers broke into and occupied the headquarters of the Jewish Agency and of the Histadrut, and confiscated the files. They also conducted repeated searches in Jewish settlements in the course of which they uncovered vast modern arsenals belonging to the Jewish defense forces, looted homes and offices, and killed several Jews. This amounted to a virtual state of war. A committee of leading Jews urged the people to refrain from irresponsible action, and announced that they would devise plans to carry on the struggle. But despite this and other appeals, acts of terror continued. Some of the violence was occasioned by Britain's turning back shiploads of refugees and sending them to internment camps on the island of Cyprus. Tension was also increased by Britain's failure to implement the findings of the Anglo-American Committee or to formulate any definitive policy toward Palestine. A general state of uncertainty and of actual confusion resulted. Attempts at truce alternated with acts of retribution. Thus the imprisoned leaders of the Jewish Agency were gradually released shortly before the Twenty-Second Zionist Congress met at Basle, Switzerland (December, 1946). On the other hand there were many further curfews, searches, and arrests. But apparently neither truce nor retribution could stay the unleashed forces of terror. The Irgun and the Stern Group persisted in their course. [=]

61115. Sarraj, Eyad. "Opinion: Mental Suffering Among Gazans on the Rise: Part 1", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), February 22, 1993, p. 5. The debacle of 1948 is considered a turning point in the mental state of the Palestinian people and society. This event has left its mark on the generations born since.

So has the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Its effect on the social and economic structures of those areas is everywhere to be seen. So has the violation of human rights, the thousands imprisoned and rendered homeless: These events have deeply disturbed the mental and existential state of the Palestinians.

If the Intifada was a popular expression of the Palestinian people's refusal to accept occupation, it was also an operation to cure themselves of the feeling of impotence and of the mental pains that had assailed them in the years before the Intifada began.

In the first years of the Intifada cultivated a positive image of themselves. More than merely giving vent to their anger, they were taking their fate into their hands.

For this freedom, they paid a high price 474 killed; 150000 incarcerated:130000 wounded, amongst them thousands maimed for life.

From the point of view of mental health, the oppressive measures used by the occupation forces have had a deteriorating effect at all levels of Palestinian society, bringing about an increase in mental problems.

A 1992 study by the Gaza Community Mental Health Program established that 12% of the adult population is suffering from severe mental problems, and 8% of severe depression.

The situation has had a damaging effect on the growth and development of children. A child is certainly affected by the sudden house search methods of Israeli occupation forces, and by the sight of his or her father being humiliated. These mental grievances are compounded by long stretches of school closures.

Besides, children have been shot at by live rounds and rubber bullets, leaving them more often than not with injuries difficult to heal.

Studying the cases of 2590 children, the Gaza Community Mental Health Program established the following: 85% were exposed to cases of raids and house searches by the occupation forces; 4.5% suffered from broken bones; 42% were beaten; 55% had watched as their fathers were beaten and humiliated. [=]

61116. Sarraj, Eyad. "Opinion: Mental Suffering Among Gazans on the Rise: Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), February 22, 1993, p. 5. Another study reflects the following: 14% are suffering from various manifestations of mental deterioration (bedwetting, loss of appetite, sleeplessness, loss of speech); 30% are suffering from behavioral outbursts that can be traced to the cumulative effect of the suffering of several generations.

Women, on the other hand, have been exposed to an unexpected source of violence. Relegated to a secondary rank and still considered--just like everywhere else in the Third World--as the source of warmth and tenderness and support for child and husband alike, women in the West Bank and Gaza are also now learning to bear the brunt of their husbands' wrath. Humiliated by the occupation forces often take their anger on their wives.

But on the whole, the occupation has called for more mental strength among women than ever before. With many husbands killed, imprisoned or expelled, women have had to take on greater responsibilities and to cope with greater pressures. [The author is director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program.] [=]
we decided to talk with the children themselves and to observe them in action in the street and at home. Many children were brought to the GCMHP by their families for treatment of the effects of trauma. We also conducted studies in the field, employing psychological surveys, to understand more about the role of these children, the extent of their trauma and its effects.

According to a GCMHP survey of 2,779 children, 92.5% had been exposed to tear gas, 42% had been beaten, 55% had witnessed beatings and humiliation, many times of their fathers, 4.5% had had their bones broken or suffered other severe injuries, 85% were exposed to night raids, and 19% were detained for short periods of time. Such experiences leave their mark on children’s perceptions of themselves and the world around them.

Between the IDF’s policies of shoot-to-kill or break their bones and the night raids and beatings, Gaza children cannot enjoy childhood; they must assume the worries of adulthood. As a child in a Gazarefugee camp you must worry about being chased, arrested, beaten, or shot. You miss your older brother who was arrested a few weeks ago, and you worry when the Red Cross has no news of him. You also worry about your father - was he able to get a permit to work, and will he bring home food today? You feel deeply concerned for your friend who is in the hospital with gunshot wounds. They say it was a rubber bullet, but so much blood poured from his head. You couldn’t even speak to him in the hospital because he was in a deep sleep.

Sami, a twelve-year-old boy, was brought to the GCMHP clinic by his mother after he tried to kill himself by setting a fire. His legs were badly scarred, and he looked hostile, angry, and depressed. “I wanted to kill myself because my father did not bring me a new pair of trousers for the feast. He said he did not have any money. Why should he have children if he cannot get a job?” Sami said. His brother, who was handicapped, died a year ago, and his mother believes that Sami has changed since then. “My brother, Samir, died because he was cold. He was wet when we found him dead. It was raining all night and it was so cold.”

He was wet when we found him dead. It was raining all night and it was so cold. He is too tired and moody since his release from prison. He must have thrown stones to the settlers and to occupy the lowest rung in the Israeli economy. He is shaken awake by his mother; he has wet the bed again. The mother is worried when the Red Cross has no news of him. You also worry about throwing stones is a form of recognizing and identifying the problem, a crucial step in the making of the Intifada child. Through this behavior children decide both to assert themselves and to exercise their right to a free and a better life.

“I went home after school one day to find a big crowd in my uncle’s house. I was told that my seventeen-year-old cousin was shot dead by the Israelis. Since then, I have begun to ask and to understand more about the Intifada,” says Marwan, a thirteen-year-old boy from Gaza. “Now if they do not come, I go to look for them. We have to fight them and free our country from these pigs. If I could only get a gun, I would shoot them all.”

While the battles are raging, the children use their stones to fight the ghoulish monster of their dreams for their right to exist. When the battle is over they gather to talk about their joy at forcing the enemy to retreat, or their grief over their mates who have fallen. Those who have fallen remain in the painful corners of the hearts and minds of their fellow fighters. But death has to be conquered. The dead became martyred, heroes who are blessed and in heaven. Children know that there, life is full of joy, and no children are hurt.

At night, a child cuddles between his parents, afraid of the monsters who might suddenly jump over the wall in pursuit of their prey. In his dream, a monster pulls out his gun to shoot; the child tries to flee. He is shaken awake by his mother; he has wet the bed again. The mother decides to take him to the clinic tomorrow. She has decided this many times, but her son is never home during the day. The mother is worried. Three of her children wet their beds. “What on earth is wrong with our children?”

Children decide both to assert themselves and to exercise their right to a free and a better life.

The children witness the humiliation of their fathers and older brothers as they stand in line at the “slave market,” hoping to be offered one of the few jobs available; building yet another Israeli settlement. The inevitable reaction is a mixture of fear, frustration, helplessness, anger, and perhaps most tragically - rejection of the father. “If my father could not protect himself,” children wonder, “how on earth is he going to protect me?” Children sometimes identify with Israeli soldiers as symbols of power. At the very least, they are driven out of their homes to look for heroes to replace their fathers, who have failed the test.

The streets are the natural playgrounds for the children of Gaza. They reverberate with a life beat that makes them different from anywhere else; defiant, colorful, dynamic. To be a child in Gaza is to be excited by its streets, incited by the graffiti on every wall, and irritated by the Israeli soldiers patrolling on foot or in their jeeps through your home territory. A gathering crowd of activists preparing for a confrontation with the soldiers tension and excitement. Now it is not a game any more. The toys are real jeeps and the enemy real soldiers. There they are, waiting just for you. This is where you can avenge your father’s humiliation. This is what you can do to conquer your fear. This is where you will join the heroes, perhaps even becoming one yourself.[=

61119. Sarraj, Eyad. “Peace and the Children of the Stone: Part 3”, in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 15. Throwing stones becomes a way of rejecting the identity imposed by the occupier, a means of externalizing the slave consciousness that has been absorbed by the child into his or her innermost being. In the psychological sense, throwing stones is a form of recognizing and identifying the problem, a crucial step in the making of the Intifada child. Through this behavior children decide both to assert themselves and to exercise their right to a free and a better life.

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It is certain that many of you will continue to harbor the pain, the guilt, and the anger. Some of you will turn against your own children and against yourselves. And some will turn against the world; the world which preached decency, justice, and democracy, but only stood by to watch the slaughtering of decency, justice, democracy, and their failures.

It is difficult to imagine the future of the children, even in peace, since they have never tasted peace themselves. And after the children of the stone have sacrificed themselves, what kind of peace will their sacrifice bring in the end? [Dr. Eyad Sarraj is the director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program.][7]

61211. Savaya, Rivka. Help-seeking Attitudes And Behavior And The Factors Affecting Them Among Israeli Arab Women. Cornell University. Dissertation. 210pp. AAC 9409552. The current study explores the help-seeking attitudes and behavior of Israeli Arab women. More specifically, it examines the applicability of the Threat to Self-Esteem Model to this population; investigates the effect of religiosity, national identity, hostility toward the state of Israel, and degree of trust that the services are equitable to those provided to Israeli Jews--on their help-seeking attitudes and behavior. It also attempts to identify the conditions under which professional services will be utilized. The sample consisted of 242 Arab women residing in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, a mixed Jewish-Arab town in central Israel. The women answered open-ended and close-ended questions based on both hypothetical situations and their personal experience. Pearson correlation, analysis of variance, multiple regression, logistic regression and discriminant analysis were employed through SPSS to test the hypotheses. The major findings are as follows: (A) The women’s help-seeking varied with the type of problem and the nature of the assistance sought. Respondents expressed the most positive attitudes toward seeking help for children’s problems. In practice they greatly underutilized the available psychological services and sought instrumental help far more. (B) There was a substantial discrepancy between the women’s help-seeking attitudes and their actual behavior. While many women expressed positive attitudes toward seeking professional help for psychological problems and very few recommended going to their extended families for such assistance, in practice almost none sought professional help and almost all of them turned for help to their families. (C) In keeping with the Threat to Self-Esteem Model, Arab women with low self-esteem tended both to recommend and to actually use professional services more than those with high self-esteem. (D) Three main factors were associated with positive attitudes toward help-seeking and the utilization of public professional services: (a) economic need, (b) close contact with Israeli society and, contrary to expectation, (c) negative political attitudes toward Israel as measured by opposition to the Zionist State, strong Palestinian national identity and distrust of the equity of services provided to Arabs as to Jews. In general, these factors played a greater role in instrumental than in psychological help-seeking. The major conclusion of the study is that since the respondents attitudes toward professional help are positive, it is worth making efforts to reach them to rise against the Turks because she wished them well... The Palestinians did do their national duty like the rest, the practice of outstanding Palestinian revolutionary political activity was limited to those residing at the time in the two foremost Ottoman cities in Asia: politically (Istanbul) and culturally (Beirut) The most outstanding significant revolutionary activities were concentrated in these two cities almost exclusively though some activity was carried on in Damascus, Baghdad and Basra. For this reason the Palestinian cities now seem to us to have lagged behind in national agitation against the Turkish rulers. In fact they were not much behind. But the Palestinians, it must be noted, did not have a particular and distinct influence Nor did the Syrians or the Iraqis for that matter. Even the Lebanese, who surpassed their neighbors in their intellectual efforts and wrote more than the rest, had no distinct writings of their own. For the cause was common to the area, the mentality the same, the sentiments, the aspirations and the demands identical. The distinct role of Palestine at that stage in the development of the concept of Arab nationalism lay in another area. Palestine played a part in opening the eyes of the Arabs, in Asia particularly, to the Zionist threat directed at the Arabs as it was at the Palestinians. Thus Palestine opened their eyes also to the dangers of Western colonialism acting in collusion with Zionism. In the heat of their confrontation with Turkish colonialism, which had been exploiting them for four centuries, the Arabs of Asia almost forgot Western colonialism. The ties connecting the Zionist movement with Western imperialism (the British in particular) opened many a slumbering eye to the European danger in general. Britain appeared no longer as the benevolent friend who encouraged them to rise against the Turks because she wished them well... The Palestinians watched Britain encourage the Ottoman authorities to permit Jews to migrate to Palestine and to acquire land; they saw her place under her protection the Jews in Palestine who belonged to various nationalities; finally they saw her leading political, literary, intellectual and serious figures of all political shades, assert the ‘right’ of the Jews to “return” to their homeland, i.e. they saw these people sanction the Zionist effort to occupy Palestine and expel its inhabitants The effects of this Palestinian campaign were limited, not because the Arabs did not believe that the Zionist and the imperialist threats existed or that the two movements concurred, a fact which the Palestine problem has since shown in practice, but because the complications of the international situation and the outbreak of the world war on the one hand, and the gravity of the Turkish oppression, forced the Arab nationalist movement to place its hand in that of its woeing enemy until such a time that it could put an end to the Turkish existence on its soil. Only very few of the leaders of the movement were aware of the British ambitions to the extent that they refused to cooperate with the Western imperialism in spite of their awareness of the Turkish danger and their complaints against it. The majority preferred to come temporarily to an agreement.
with Britain until the war would end.

Therefore the circumstances of the war (i.e. the alignment of the government with the countries of the Axis against Britain, the declaration of martial law in Syria and the appointment of “the butcher” Jamal Pasha as Wali in Syria so that he could use his bestial methods of administration, the serious increase in the popular discontent at the corruption of the administration, particularly since the famine; finally the perception that the Arabs lost more victims than did the Arabs in the other entity during a single revolt against Western imperialism, the Algerian Revolt apart. What concerns us in this essay are not the details or the causes of the Palestine Revolt as much as the role it played in arousing the majority of the Arabs from Iraq in the east to Morocco in the west. This condition led to a series of revolutionary movements in most parts of the Arab homeland during the next five years (1936-1941). A survey of these movements will give us a clear picture of the role the Palestine problem played at the time in spurring Arab national thought, in encouraging the nationalists to undertake joint and effective action, and in reviving the Arab national idea from the torpor it fell into after the 1918-1920 setback and the failure of the revolts in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Palestine in the wake of the First World War. As we shall see, the effect Palestine had on the Arab cause during the late thirties was fourfold: First, the growing Zionist and imperialist danger to Palestine intensified the anger of the Arabs outside against the sources of these two dangers and led them to take quick action. Second, the Arab revolt in Palestine, and the brave deeds of the Palestinian men and women and women became models of the kind of action to be taken against imperialism. Third, the flagrantly anti-Arab attitude of the British in Palestine brought the Arabs in Palestine as well as outside it, closer to the other camp, which was leading an anti-British campaign while wooing the Arabs and calling for the fulfillment of their aspirations. Thus the Arabs found a convenient international ally who promised to back them if they revolted against Britain and her ally France. The propaganda campaigns which the two Axis Powers, famous as they were in the art of advertising for themselves, did not succeed in gaining the sympathy of the Arabs as much as did the bad conduct of the British and the French in the Arab East and the Maghreb. Fourth, many Palestinian leaders left Palestine to neighboring states and steered the course of the national struggle in some of the Arab capitals (Baghdad mostly; Damascus, Beirut and Cairo to a lesser degree). They were a chief influence in shaping the events that took place in the Middle East during the first twenty months of the war. For the first time since the Arab Revolt a quarter of a century earlier, Arabs from one state led the Arabs of another in their revolt against imperialism. On the basis of these four aspects of the connection between the Palestine problem and the events of the second half of the thirties and the early forties in more than one Arab state, we can say that the Palestine problem played a major role in the liberation movements and national revolts in the area at the time. We can go even further and say that these revolts and movements were a direct reflection and a necessary result of the Palestinian developments. We are justified, then, in claiming that Palestine played an important and unique role in the national history of the Arabs generally, in the years following the the First World War, a role possibly surpassed only by that of Egypt in this decade. [–]

61124. Sayegh, Anis. “Part 10: The Palestinian and the Arab Cause”, in Palestine and Arab Nationalism. Palestine Essays 3. Beirut, Lebanon: PLO Research Center, January 1970. Let us now survey very quickly the community of Arab states to see which of the important events in their regional national history bear a special relationship to the developments of the Palestine problem. Possibly, Syria is the closest of the Arab states to Palestine in more than one sense. Geographically Palestine is a part of the Syrian mainland. They formed a political unity during long epochs in history, until, as an aftermath of the First World War, Palestine was stripped from Syria against popular wishes in the two regions, in order to facilitate the judaization of Palestine. This event only served to increase the attachment of the inhabitants to each other: the Syrians feared for their brethren the fate the latter were being driven towards, and the Palestinians hoped for the support of their brethren in their opposition to this fate. Furthermore there are common borders
between the two regions extending over sixty-five kilometers of open and easy to cross terrain. That is why it became the main road followed by combatants during revolts: volunteers from Syria (as well as from Iraq, Lebanon, and Trans-Jordan who were assembled in Syrian training bases) would cross into Palestine to participate in the struggle of the Palestinians; and Palestinian combatants would retreat into Syria escaping intensified British pursuit. These open borders facilitated also the exodus of thousands of Palestinians refuge from the British military rule entrusted with the task of curbing the nationalists. Much of what applied to the relationship between the political developments in Syria and the Palestinian problem in the late thirties and the early forties applied also to the Lebanese scene, though to a lesser degree. A number of Lebanese nationalists participated with their Syrian brethren in seeking an independence treaty 1936-1939, and in forming national political parties tending towards cooperation with the Arabs in other states. Heading the list are the Constitutional Bloc and Al-Nida’ Al-Qawmi (National Appeal Party). Many Lebanese joined the militant parties in Syria (such as the League for National Action) and hundreds of Lebanese youth volunteered to fight in the 1936 revolt. They too sought refuge in Iraq when the French administration proscribed the Palestinians staying in Lebanon and the Syrian nationalists cooperating with them. Similarly, they had a hand in planning to solve the problems of the mandates over Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. That period in particular which witnessed a sufficient Lebanese interest in Palestine to block the Zionist propaganda of the mid-thirties, was characterized by Arab movements (some purely national in nature, others, sectarian or political) which sought simultaneously to gain independence from France, to liberate Palestine and to establish strong ties with Syria and the other neighboring regions. Later, in 1943, when the Lebanese agreed to enter into what is known as the National Charter (undertaking to realize the independence of Lebanon from both France and Syria, and removing the discrepancies between the policies of the two main trends in Lebanon representing the large Maronite and Sunni religious sects), the pro-Arab faction represented in the charter was the same group who, two years earlier, had led the anti-French movement in Lebanon and Syria, the anti-British movement in support of Palestine and Iraq, and the opposition to the Zionist ambitions in Palestine and in Mandate Lebanon in particular. Therefore, just as the Syrian militant nationalists agitating for the liberation of Syria and Palestine inherited a authority from the French and came to power in 1943, to remain in it for the next six years, so did their counterparts in Lebanon, who remained in power for the next ten years or so. As to the Iraqi nationalists agitating for the total independence of Iraq and liberation of Palestine, they had a different fate. They attained neither self-rule nor high positions; the majority fell victim to the hangman’s noose and the rest suffered imprisonment dispersion and exile.

To the extent that Baghdad had been a meeting place for nationalists and a center for action to assist the Arab states (particularly the Asian ones), it fell victim to British tyranny reactionary rule and foreign military occupation to a degree worse than that witnessed by Beirut, Damascus or even Jerusalem and Jaffa. The part Palestine played in the Iraqi events is more prominent than its part in the events of any other Arab state during the period under discussion. A coalition of nationalist officers (known as the Four Colonels) began to have a hand in the affairs of their country particularly in the fields of Arab and international relations. This situation was due to the desire of these officers to do something decisive for the Palestine cause after they had witnessed the dangerous turn that the events had been taking there for some years. They also wished to recover the glories that used to belong to Arab Iraq by reintroducing it into the Arab atmosphere from which previous governments sought to remove it (King Faisal the First 1921-1933 had sought to minimize Iraq's Arab commitments, and anti-Arab Premier Bakr's total 1933-1937 had attempted to tie Iraq to the non-Arab states in the region to weaken its Arab connections). Since the enemy of Palestinian Arabs, who was protecting the Zionist cancer, was Britain, and since Britain was the “ally” of Iraq according to the treaty of 1930, the free officers had first to square their plans for the liberation of...
Palestine with the presence of Britain, the holder of military bases in the country. From here they got the idea of liberating Palestine militarily (and by the way liberating Syria and Lebanon from French domination and possibly liberating Trans-Jordan from the pro-British Hashemite rule) with the consent of Britain since doing it against her wishes would be difficult if not altogether impossible. In other words the Free Officers thought of striking a bargain with Britain by which she would let them carry out this multifold operation of liberation in return for guarantees that the Arab states in Asia (at least Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and Palestine) would take her side in the coming war against the Axis Powers.

The Free Officers’ plans were not mere fantasies or childish whisks. Two factors substantiated their position. First, they had seized all authority—they had full control of the army; they were backed by the nation with the majority of its institutions, social strata, professions and other sectors; they installed at the helm of affairs a purely nationalist government after they had driven the Prince Regent out, removing with him the group of reactionary pro-British politicians. Second, they were not the spokesmen for the liberation movement in Iraq only, they spoke also for the movement in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Trans-Jordan and to a lesser extent for the movement in Egypt. As we have seen earlier, representatives of the various national movements in the west of Asia had assembled in Baghdad since the mid-thirties. Most of them were Palestinian politicians and revolutionaries who had escaped to Damascus; thence they had gone to Beirut and later to Baghdad. In recognition of the merit due to the Palestine Revolt and of the Palestinians’ right to liberation, and in accordance with the belief in the oneness of the Arab struggle, the Iraqis were not satisfied merely to extend their hospitality to the Palestinians; together they formed national committees which directly supervised Arab action: they mobilized the masses, contacted foreign states, drew plans, supplied weapons to the army and formed extensions of themselves in the other Arab states. These committees, in which the Palestinians formed the majority of the members, directed Iraqi foreign affairs for two months. During this period, as mentioned earlier, a plan appeared calling for the liberation by the Iraqi army of the Arab regions under mandate in return for Arab support of Britain during the war. But the British turned down the offer. The nationalist elements were forced, thereupon, to declare the neutrality of Iraq and to limit their dealings with Britain strictly to the humanitarian aspects of the 1930 treaty. Aware of the implications of their neutrality, and in an attempt to forestall events, they decided to buy arms from certain Axis Powers since their allies, the British, had failed to provide the Iraqi army with what it needed. We can see, then, that the effects of the Palestinian presence in Iraq were extremely important in terms of Arab history: the Hashemite house, which had in the past stabbed the Arab (the Palestinian in particular) national movement in the back on more than one occasion, was removed; the claws of British influence in the area were clipped; pro-British elements in the government were not permitted to dominate any longer and Iraqi policies subordinate to Britain’s were replaced by a neutral course between the two contending camps. Other effects were the building up of the Army, and, above all, making the Palestinian demand for liberation the basis of Iraq’s foreign relations and the aim of every policy. However, in the stormy sea of international relations, winds did not blow the way the nationalists had hoped. The winds of British influence were far too tempestuous for the Arabs to steer a safe course. The British occupied Iraq after a four-week war, the majority of the nationalist elements were dispersed and a number executed. Thus the reverse suffered by the Arabs was no less serious than the reversal of a quarter of a century earlier when the two national aspirations of the Arabs (dependence and unity) failed to materialize; instead artificial states, reactionary governments and foreign occupations became the order of the day. The remnants of the nationalist government and of the Free Officers, who had escaped death, had to yield resolutely and bide their time, until, seventeen years later, they were able to fulfill part of the aims they strove for in 1941. They toppled the Hashemite rule, destroyed the last vestiges of British influence and drew up for Iraq a sound Arab policy. In the meantime Palestine had been lost. [...]
Congress. The National Congress led the Jordanian support of Palestine as much as it attacked the Prince for his deviation from Arab unanimity, his covering up for the enemy, and his suppression of the Palestinian combatants who had sought refuge in Trans-Jordan after the British authorities closed the borders with Syria. It arranged the conveyance of volunteers, provided financial aid, and facilitated the passage of Syrian combatants across-Jordanian territory. The opposition shown by this organization to British policy was so strong that it was led to arrest several times, and finally to arrest those leaders who had not escaped. Some had escaped to Syria and Iraq and had joined the national coalition (Al-Tajamu’ Al-Watani) to fight Abdulla through pamphlets, and broadcasts from beyond the borders. Possibly the strongest evidence of the growth of Arab consciousness in Trans-Jordan at that period is the stand of a Frontiers’ Force unit which had been ordered to participate with the Arab Legion (composed of Jordanian soldiers and British officers) in the British campaign against Iraq for the purpose of destroying the nationalist regime there.

The Frontiers’ Force was a small Arab army composed of a Palestinian majority, a Jordanian minority and a British officers’ corps. When the British decided to attack Iraq, in 5/1941, they felt they needed Arab soldiers, on the one hand because these knew how to fight and were familiar with the terrain, and on the other so that the campaign would appear as a legal act aimed at serving the Arabs. The British assigned a unit of the Frontiers’ Force, to participate with the Bedouins of the Arab Legion and some Zionist gang members in the task of paving the way for the British army. But the majority of the men in this unit refused to carry out the orders of the High Command to attack Iraq; instead they stopped resolutely at the Jordanian-Iraqi borders. The British authorities were forced to disband the whole unit and imprison its high-ranking Arab officers. Never since, have the British authorities relied on any of the other units of this force. As to Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, we cannot claim that they witnessed any strong popular movements similar to those we have examined. This fact goes back to the isolation and political backwardness from which they, especially, suffered, and to the type of government to which they were subject that did not permit the people to express their opinions or to listen to the opinion of others frankly and freely. And yet we find some evidence that the effects of the Arab revolt in the Middle East did not stop impotently at the gates of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, but entered, in spite of the obstacles, to affect the foreign policies of both states. The effect of this Arab revolt on Saudi Arabia and Yemen was to draw them out partially from their Arab and international isolation and to help them open up to the external world to an unprecedented degree. In Saudi Arabia, a number of Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese nationalist leaders, who had found refuge there from British and French suppression succeeded in convincing the advantages of bringing his country out of its isolation. Iraq had started its Arab contacts by concluding with Saudi Arabia an agreement which removed whatever disagreement had existed between the two governments due to the Saudi-Hashemite feud. The attempt came to nought and the Saudi-German negotiations remained limited to preliminary talks between the King’s representatives and the German authorities. Nevertheless, this attempt opened before Saudi Arabia the most promising avenue to the Arab soldiers, on the one hand because these knew how to fight and were familiar with the terrain, and on the other so that the campaign would appear as a legal act aimed at serving the Arabs. 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From the admission of Egypt to the Arab League in 1945, through its participation in the Palestine War 1948, this interest reached its peak over ten years ago when Egypt began to consider itself an Arab state, and committed itself to an all embracing Arab policy. A numbers of factors contributed towards this development in the second half of the thirties, in addition to the main factor namely the critical stage the Palestine problem had reached, the outbreak of the revolt, the rallying of the Arabs of Asia around it and their unanimity in considering it the affair of every Arab. Among the other factors we can list the activity of the Asian Arab residents in spreading and explaining the Arab idea, particularly in the universities, the clubs and the press (these were mostly university students, authors, and politicians who had left their countries to avoid being apprehended by the imperialist authorities). Another factor was the emergence of the Egyptian intellectuals from their past isolation from the rest of the Arabs and their going eastward on educational tours and school trips, or, in search of work in universities and government institutions (particularly in Iraq). There were also the improvements introduced in the means of communication between Egypt and Arab Asia; new land routes were built and the railroad was restored; the first Arab maritime company was established in Egypt, the first Arab airlines were founded and dozens of foreign airlines opened branches in Arab cities. Last but by no means least was the fact that Egypt gained its independence treaty in 1936 which made it possible for the state to plan its own foreign policy away from British tutelage, and for the Egyptians to feel a special sense of responsibility towards their neighbors and brethren. We can trace this concern of the Arab Egyptian people in the Arab Palestine problem in more than one group shortly before the Second World War and at its outset. We can notice this trend in a number of parties even the most Egyptian and most removed from the Arab current (such as The Green Shirts who came to be known later as The Young Egypt Movement), and the most Muslim and most opposed to the secularism of Arab nationalism (such as the Muslim Brothers). These political and pseudo-political institutions met in conventions and rallies to support the cause of Palestine, and they sent delegations to that land in order to increase their familiarity with the problem. They made financial contributions, wrote articles and memoranda, and disseminated information. All in all they were a major factor in getting through to the Egyptians their Arab reality. They also aroused in the traditional political parties an interest in the Arab cause which led these to ride with the tide of popular enthusiasm over Palestine. Thus it became an official policy. Successive governments paid special attention to the problem. Their representatives...
defended the Arab quality of Palestine in the League of Nations and later at the Round Table Conference in London. Officially Egypt, thenceforth, cooperated with the other Arab governments in adopting the Palestine cause on all levels. This involvement encouraged Egypt to crystallize the idea of the Arab League and become its principal founder. Members of the Parliament and of the Senate followed in the steps of their governments. They held the first parliamentary congress in support of Palestine, in Cairo, in 1938. The congress was attended by representatives of dozens of Parliaments in Arab, Islamic and Oriental states. Ten years later, both Houses voted unanimously to enter the Palestine War. The congress of 1938 developed into an Arab national rally demanding the realization of all Arab aspirations. It became in a sense, a coalition of Arab M.P.'s following a nationalist line in the various Arab states. This description applies equally to another congress which was convoked at the end of the same year in Cairo: the Arab Women's Congress for the Support of Palestine. It was attended by representatives from dozens of Governments in Islamic and Oriental states. The participants exchanged views about Palestine and called for the realization of the aspirations of its people. Interest in the question of Palestine became widespread among Egyptian intellectuals, specifically among the students and teachers of the University of Fuad I (as it was called at the time). A number of clubs, societies and circles were established for the purpose of familiarizing Egyptians with the Arab cause. With time they became centers for congregating nationalists, Egyptians and non-Egyptians residents. Eventually, these centers became bases for Arab action in Egypt and they remained so for several years. Interest in the Arab cause spread also in army circles, particularly among low ranking officers whose education and interests had given them the opportunity to get acquainted with the grave problems affecting Arab destiny, and among those who had not been corrupted by high positions and status-seeking as had been the leading officers working under the British. Those people were pains by the fate of Palestine and Egypt and by their subjection to British influence. Young and newly graduated from the military academy, low-ranking officers were moved around 1939, to form the first nucleus of what came to be known later as the Free Officers. It was these Free Officers who volunteered to fight in Palestine against Zionism in 1948, and who succeeded in 1952 in overthrowing the regime responsible, together with others, for the loss of Palestine. It was they who drew for Egypt a national Arab policy whose main aim is the liberation of Palestine. During the late thirties and the early forties, the early movement of the Free Officers went side by side with a similar movement started by non-partisan nationalists, who opposed British occupation and believed in Egypt's Arab call. These nationalist elements were able to come out in the open, organize themselves and start implementing their plans when a number of them came to power during the premiership of Ali Maher (8/1939). More than one minister in that Cabinet believed in joint action against British imperialism. Some, particularly the head of the Army, the Arab Egyptian patriot Aziz Ali Al-Masri, acted in harmony with the plan laid by the Iraqi nationalists (a number had been colleagues of Al-Masri during the Arab Revolt of 1916) for liberating Palestine and for considering the stand taken by each of the two international camps vis-a-vis Palestine as the determining factor in the ultimate attitude of the Arabs towards the two said belligerent camps. The nationalists in both Egypt and Iraq were in harmony to the extent that contact was established between the two governments. Later when the Cabinet was dismissed along with the head of the Army, the latter tried to escape British prosecution by fleeing to Iraq where he intended to link of the two North African states with the imperialist French government on the one hand, and with the Arab states on the other. It may seem strange to claim that there is a Palestinian effect on the political movements of North Africa in the second half of the thirties. The proofs are few and the Arab historians have paid but little attention to this fact. It has been customary, since the last century, to consider the North African events and revolts as the influencing factors in the Arab East (such as the effect of uprisings of Emir Abdul-Kadir Al-Jaza'iri on the west of Asia prior to his arrival in that region, then the impact of his advent to it.) Similarly, Arab thought has tended lately towards considering the Algerian Revolt in the fifties and sixties to be the example which should light the way for the Arabs of the East, the Palestinian case in particular. But this is only one side of the coin. There is another side to the relations of the two regions. The Arabs of North Africa have been guided by the events of the East since Algeria rose for the first time in this century, in the wake of the 1933-1934 incidents in Palestine. The incidents of Constantine (8/1934) indicate that the Algerians were affected by Palestinian events for they poured their anger primarily on the Jews of Algeria for their pro-Zionist stand in general and their cooperation with the French imperialism. Of the twenty-seven killed in Constantine, twenty-three were Jews. The following year the spark of zeal against both France and Zionism spread to Sife, Ambara (Bon) Sidi Bel Abbas, Oran, Bou Sa'ada. In 1937-1938, after the Palestine Revolt had broken out, the spark of revolt was transmitted to Tunisia and Morocco. The revolt developed into an all North African Arab national movement uniting nearly everybody against the two common enemies, France and Zionism. Hundreds died, victims or martyrs of this revolt which was not suppressed until the Palestine Revolt was crushed and the world war broke out. The demand of Arab public opinion, in North Africa, was twofold: it demanded that treaties comparable to those granted by Britain to Iraq and Egypt be negotiated with France on the one hand, and that the political nationalist movement in the area declare emphatically their rebellion against France following the example of the political national movements in Palestine during that epoch. The North African national movements were in fact connected with the Eastern movements through their origins, though officially no contacts were established after these movements rose. The Star of North Africa which was so popular in Tunisia and Morocco in 1936 that the French authorities were moved to ban it, was organized along the same lines as the national movements in the East. Also Abdul-Aiz Al-Tha'alibi, the pioneer of the Tunisian national movement, sojourned in Palestine, Egypt and Iraq and participated in the Arab national action. The Algerian High Council of Ulama (Muslim religious leaders) owed its existence to the events of the East prior to his arrival in that region, then the impact of his advent to it.). Similarly, Arab thought has tended lately towards considering the Algerian Revolt in the fifties and sixties to be the example which should light the way for the Arabs of the East, the Palestinian case in particular. But this is only one side of the coin. There is another side to the relations of the two regions. 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in 1975 GUPW published a major study. As the crisis in Lebanon grew, the publishing activities of GUPW ceased. Najjar and Warmoth's work brings the life histories of women of the West Bank foreward in an unprecedented way.

There is no single Palestinian women's movement, rather, there is a strong pluralism that reflects the ethnic/sectarian divisions in Palestinian society, along with regional and local groups, and ideological divisions. An additional to the GUPW, the Palestinian Arab Women's Union (PAWU) survives, there are numerous work committees and social associations, and the Democratic Womens Movement in Israel.

Pre-1948: In late Ottoman times and in the early Mandate, there were numerous women's social associations (mainly along sectarian lines); the first political cross-sectarian women's unions appeared in Jerusalem and Haifa in 1921. The Jaffa Arab Women's Union is reported to date from before WWI. The Palestine Arab Women's Congress (later PAWU) was founded in 1929, and was consistently a strong advocate for militant action. The Rifa'at Qassam (Companions of Qassam), un researched to date, was a militant Haifa area women's group. In 1947, as violence escalated, women formed the Ughwan, a network of secret paramilitary cells. Despite the mass expulsion of Palestinians in 1948, the work of women's organizations continued: the scale of the refugee crisis brought more women into social work, relief work and small business. Many Palestinians women joined other organizations, as family control over women weakened after the Catastrophe, including Arab Baath Party, PPS, Communist Party of Jordan, Arab Nationalist Party, and in Israel: Rakah and Al-Ard; many of these were 'mixed' organizations with men.

As Palestinian resistance was renewed after 1967, Palestinian women were again drawn into Palestinian organizations; Palestinian nationalism spread through the diaspora and linked the disparate groups together. In Gaza Strip, Palestinian women participated in a continuous resistance to the occupation in 1967-1971: many were killed, imprisoned, tortured (Fatmeh Bernawi, Widad Guevara, Aisheh Odeh, Abde Taher, Myriam al-Shakhshir, Lutfiyya Harari, There Halasa), and deported (Issam Abdul Hadi). In Jordan 1968-1970 Palestinian women were admitted for the first time to full membership in Palestinian organizations, such as Fateh. Palestinian women 1962-1982 saw women joining resistance groups, operated independent social organizations and small businesses in the refugee camps; however, little progress was made toward defining women's issues. 1982-1992 was a period of crisis which led to the emergence of the Intifadah, the reaction to Israeli repression and Palestinian political isolation. The women's movement under twenty years of Israeli occupation led to its evolution toward a national, mass structure, that is both autonomous and decentralized. In 1978, younger women founded the first women's work committee, the Palestinian Union of Women's Work Committee (PUWWC): rejected the model of the social help association, the group first tried to unionize women workers in Ramallah factories, but since most women passed through the factories into the home fairly quickly, they turned to organizing housewives. As more work committees emerged, the Higher Council of Women was established to coordinate activities of the work committees and the social service groups.

Israeli repression in the West Bank is a daily reality that is a theme in every Palestinian's life. The occupation has had serious economic effects on many women, driving women into low paid employment as their husbands were imprisoned or killed. The minimal level of medical, educational and public services allowed under the occupation heavily affects women, imposing additional burdens on them. The Israeli closure of unions and other institutions makes it impossible to even measure the poverty of the Palestinians. The terrorism of Israeli death squads, or even midnight raids by Israeli troops to collect 'taxes' for imprisoning someone's child have created a pervasive climate of terror and despair. One response of women has been to seek education: while Palestinians are in general the best educated Arab people, in the five colleges of the Occupied territories women are a large part of the student population: 36% at Birzeit, 27% at Al-Najah, 45% in Bethlehem, 55% in hebron, 38% in Gaza in 1981-1982. In general, the shocks to Palestinian society have given women more autonomy within the Palestinian family, especially during adolescence, which was one a short period before marriage, and which is now a longer period, often of activism. One factor in eroding the traditional family has been the immense number of Palestinian women who have passed through Israeli interrogation centers and prisons: such experiences transform women, making it unlikely that they can return to the role of ward of the family. Palestinian women confront the problem of raising the question of women's issues: although the equality of women has been incorporated into the state's declaration of principles, without a strong feminist lobby these rights will not be advanced. If women do not enter formal political structures, their contribution to the emergence of Palestinian statehood may be forgotten.


The most recent round of the sieges of the Palestinian refugee camps by Amal militia in Lebanon began with Rashidiyyeh on 9/30/1986. The siege of Bourj Barajneh [Lebanon] began on 11/4/1986 and that of Shatila on 11/25/1986. Although the siege of the camps is, at the time of this writing, officially lifted, its reimposition remains an ever-present threat. The testimony that follows is from R.Z., a social assistant with the Union of Women's Work Committee (PUWWC): rejected the model of the street and saw Amal militia gathering. Two or three days before, they had begun throwing explosives on the camp, and it looked as if something was about to start. So I returned to the camp and asked a friend in the safest part of the house. Of course, the first thing I did was to go and buy provisions, on the basis that the battle would last a month at least. She was interviewed on 3/5/1987.

In the morning of the first day of the battle [11/4/1986], I was on the street and saw Amal militia gathering. Two or three days before, they had begun throwing explosives on the camp, and it looked as if something was about to start. So I returned to the camp and asked a friend to keep an eye on my children while I did some case work. While I was filling out a questionnaire, a shot rang out. News came that a young man from the camp had been sniped at and killed. I ran home, and while I was running the shelling started. I found my children at home, and put them in the safest part of the house. Of course, the first thing I did was to go and buy provisions, on the basis that the battle would last a month at most. But the fighting became more violent each day and, with deaths mounting on both sides, there was little hope for a solution.

We stayed in our home for a long time, but then it got hit by a rocket. The children were very frightened so we went down into the shelter. We stayed there a week.

The first two months were bearable. There was food, there was water. People could take it. Of course, many were killed. But we had got used to the shelling, we had got used to death. My cousin was killed, and was buried without his family even seeing him.

At the beginning people ate well three times a day. But the fighting became more violent each day and, with deaths mounting on both sides, there was little hope for a solution.

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month of the siege was the period of hunger. Of course, some of the organisations helped civilians, but later most of the food was given to the fighters.

Food began to be extremely scarce in the third month; we were hardly having one meal a day at that stage. We made tea with sugar and we joked with the children, "Come and have supper." My little daughter of ten months kept saying "Bidi ibsi, bidi ibsi" (ibsi = khubz, bread). I felt like crying. From x-rays I got her a breast-feeding calmer.

Once when we had been two days without a meal, my children were crying, they wanted to eat. I had no food left; my father-in-law's house had no food left. So I decided to go to my mother--she has only my father to feed, and you know how old people store bags of food. Her home is far and I was afraid of the shelling, but I was obliged to go because my children were crying. So I went and brought a dish of shishbarak from her. How happy and pleased the children were! Then a child came and stood there and said, "Auntie, will you give me something to eat?" I told him that I'd got just enough to feed my own children. He stood there by the wall, crying. So I told him, "Come, you are like my children," and I put some food on his plate. My children cried out that they hadn't had enough, but I told them, "The important thing is that you've got something in your stomachs."

People were obliged to knock on doors in search of food for the hospitalized: "My son is wounded. If you have anything..." There are families that didn't have a father, they depend on monthly allowances that hardly cover the cost of bread. People all left for each other, they wanted to help others, but when there was nothing left. Once a young man said to me, "You, as a member of Najdeh, should help me." He wanted sugar. I told him, "By God, I haven't got sugar for my own children. But wait here [his leg was amputated] and I'll bring you some sugar." I went to my mother and told her that I wanted sugar for my children. Of course, she gave me some. I brought it and gave it to him.

In the last period, people picked grass from the cemetery, boiled it, put salt on it and ate it. And many women were sniped at while picking grass. There is no shelter there at all. Water and fuel shortages also caused serious problems. Water went on coming to us for about 2.5 months there was still diesel oil to work the pumps. When mazout gave out, they siphoned off a few hundred litres from a petrol station near the camp. They gave most of it to the hospital, and some was used for pumping water, but it only lasted too days. There was no water for washing. We used to wait for rain to be able to wash our clothes.

If we wanted water badly, we had to get it from the bases at the front line. There was a woman with five children--they have no father--she went to get water and was sniped at and killed there. Her children were left homeless. Many people were killed at the water place.

The shelters are burdened with many more than they can serve. Probably this is what made sicknesses spread--no space, people on top of each other, no water... Some quarters are deprived of shelters. For example, Tarshila only has one shelter and it is constantly under sniper fire. There are nearly 20000 people in Bourj, but there are only seventeen shelters, the largest of which can hold 300 people.

They would declare a cease-fire and then suddenly shell the camp, so as to cause the greatest possible number of losses. One missile fell on seventeen children, killing five immediately and wounding the rest. It was right at the beginning. There was a cease-fire and people were leaving and entering the camp. It was the day of the funeral of the young man who was killed on the first day of the siege. So the women all left their children to go to the funeral. They finally felt secure because there was a cease-fire and there was no shelling. The children were clustered together under a water-tank. A woman was baking menae'esh and feeding them when the first missile came down. Every young man carried two children, and brought them under the shelling to hospital. My house was in front of the hospital, all the wounded came past it. At Amaliyeh. But Amal discovered them and hit the lorry with a shell, burning it and killing the young men. People all wept when they knew that four young men had died for their sake. Amal propaganda said that the lorry was full of whisky and hasheesh. How could anyone believe that? How could they kill people trying to bring in food?

In the last period, people began to get desperate, to despair. There was talk about what to do. The majority decided that we were ready to sacrifice fighters but not to surrender. Because we knew what would happen: rapes, killings, insults and looting.

In spite of harsh siege conditions, social institutional work continued, and played a role in helping people to resist. Soon after the beginning of the siege, we in Najdeh invited the Social Committee to meet. We divided up the work—for example, some helped the wounded, some helped people in the shelter. We had about 560 tins of milk powder, not enough for the whole camp, so we didn't distribute them. Instead, we stored them, and later they solved the crisis for nursing mothers and infants under six months. Without food or vitamins to make milk, mothers' breasts dried up and most could not suckle their babies, even those born during the siege. So our milk powder solved a very serious problem.

We also distributed clothes—especially to families whose homes were on the front line. When the siege began, it was still almost summer. When the winter weather came, many people were without winter clothes. We bought clothes from the shops [inside the camp] and distributed them to children and needy people. We also organised daily visits for the wounded, to take them gifts and raise their morale.

A shell fell on one family. A 12-year-old boy died right away, and a little girl lost her eye. We went to the hospital to visit the girl and we found her mother there, crying. She was also upset because they had no food. Right away I went and bought her food supplies on the Najdeh account, and gave them to her. We searched for such cases, all the time.

On 2/17/1987, Amal leader Nabih Berry announced from Damascus the lifting of the "food siege" around Bourj Barajneh. Transmitted by Damascus radio, the announcement clearly had Syrian backing, and began to be put into effect on 2/20/1987. This date marked a new stage of the siege, with women allowed to leave and enter the camp. But they were still at the mercy of harassment and sniping.

When they finally agreed to raise the siege on food and medicine, women and girls began to leave the camp. The first day, they sniped at and killed four women, but in spite of that people wanted to go out and get supplies. Amal also tried to prevent anyone who left the camp from coming back in. It was like that the first two days. On the third day I left. I had absolutely nothing left, but I went out mainly because my children needed treatment—one of them had burns. My little girl was wounded in the foot, and my eldest son fell over from hunger. As we were leaving the camp, Amal fired at us. The children cried. The millitant said to me, "Will you make them shut up or shall I shoot them all?" I said, "Brother, they are children, what can I do to them?" He said, "That child in your arms, I'll split her in two." I put my hand over her mouth to stop her crying, so we could just get out. He told me, "If you leave, you won't return!" They let us go and fired two rounds over our heads as we went.

There were two who went out to get food, and as they returned they were killed. They continued to snipe at women up to two days ago [3/5/1987]. And today they fired a missile into the camp. During this period, five women were killed and around fifteen wounded, either leaving or entering the camp. All were sure they would get a bullet as they were leaving. But their children are hungry. They have to go out and bring food.

Food is getting into the camp now. Women are going out every day, three or four times a day, to bring in food. They are stocking up. We are expecting another siege.

On 3/26/1987, for the second day running, women and children at Bourj Barajneh demonstrated against Amal sniping, demanding to be allowed to used the western exit from camp instead of the eastern one, which leads directly into a Shi'ite area. Mortarfire directed against the demonstrators killed six women, according to Palestinian sources.

Further Readings: "Arms in Babes," Connexions n. 11, Winter
influenced by the desire of thousands of refugees to obtain gainful work the UN on 11/29/1947, providing for the establishment of a Palestinian way. The Arab world. They used two slogans to rally the refugees to their side. that they are in now—until this somber cloud will be cleared sabotage the UN program to reintegrate the refugees in the economy of the Island of Cyprus. There is also the testimony of an authoritative study decided in 2/1951 to "encourage a policy of resettlement in the states

1984. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/a year; Canada and Mexico US$20/a year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.] =]

61130. Schectman, Joseph B. The Arab Refugee Problem: Part 10: Trends Toward Resettlement. New York: Philosphical Library, 1952. In the Arab World: Where the Dominant Trend Seemed to Help Find work for many of the refugees, despite the fact that the Palestinian Arabs in the beginning was to be repatriated to Palestine, as time went on a growing feeling emerged among them that repatriation—despite the promises still held out by Arab leaders—was unlikely, and that practical steps had to be taken to make them self-sufficient.

Reports from the Scene: As early as 4/1949, indications appeared that not all the refugees were adamant upon returning to Israel. That month, Cyril Quillan, Middle East correspondent of the London Times, reported that the refugees could be divided into three groups: those with property in Israel; fellahin, or peasants without property; and nationalists. The nationalists, united by hatred of Israel, were divided as to what strategy to follow. Some were prepared to live outside until they could "sweep the Jews into the sea"; others wanted to return to Israel to carry out sabotage operations. Those who possessed property in Israel were "generally anxious to return, but only to wind up their affairs." The fellahin, finally, were undecided. Kenneth Bilby, who made a survey of Arab Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon in the early summer of 1949, reported that while it was general Arab policy to demand the return of the refugees, "the refugees themselves seem to be of another opinion. "As one Arab leader put it: "As a general rule, those with large property holdings would like to return and sell out. The artisans and craftsmen, perhaps 30% of the total, seem willing to settle elsewhere if homes and jobs can be found. Only those with no work and less than five pounds in their pockets really want to return." [The Jordan-controlled Ramallah radio, in a broadcast at this time—5/2/1949—reported that Arab refugees were selling land and property they owned in Israel to Jewish agents on the island of Cyprus. There is also the testimony of an authoritative study group of members and associates of Chatham House and of the Royal Central Asian Society of London. This group, under the Chairmanship of Sir Harold McMichael, former British High Commissioner of Palestine, made a thorough investigation of the refugee situation, and concluded that it would be impossible for the "great majority" to return to the land of their ancestors. They would have to become an integral part of the Arab countries. The Jordan report added: "The better informed and more realistic among the refugees—people with a certain amount of property, and the educated nationalists, for example—would, in fact, not dream of trying to live in Israel. They believe that an Arab minority in Israel would if anything be more insecure in the future than it is today, when primary consideration is naturally given for employment, land, and house room, to immigrant Jews, not to the depressed Arabs..."

It would have been much better if the realities of the situation had been honestly faced, and if every effort had been devoted to showing the Arab refugees how and why their chances for repatriation are limited. It was vital for them, they insisted, to earn their living instead of merely waiting for assistance. This did not mean, the representatives added carefully, that they did not maintain their demand to return ultimately to Palestine. Aziz el Doudy Bey established an office in Beirut for refugees who were selling property in Lebanon. It was estimated that 10,000 refugees in Lebanon, Palestine refugees are forbidden to take employment. This was "absolute nonsense," he insisted that the Arab Higher Committee seemingly had undergone a change of heart, and were now opposed to repatriation. Anticipating that Israel would accept only a small number of refugees, they were anxious to avoid any impression that the refugee question had been settled by an agreement allowing only a few to return. The Beirut report added that the Mufti circles frowned only upon settling the Palestine refugees in areas distant from Palestine; they favored a tight belt of thickly-spread refugee settlements along the Israeli frontier. This, obviously would mean the encircling of Israel by a cordon of intensely hostile encampments. [New York Times, 9/17/1951.] The Mufti himself, at once termed the Beirut report as "absolute nonsense." He insisted that the Arab Higher Committee was "more determined than ever" to see Arab refugees returned to Palestine. Yet three days later the Arab Higher Committee published a declaration in three Beirut newspapers stating that while it insisted on the refugees' right to return, it protested only against sending refugees to Syria, Iraq and other points distant from Palestine. The Committee demanded that the refugees "be given an opportunity to live and earn a living near Palestine." [Ibid, 9/21/1951.]

It is worthwhile noting that Communist forces in the Arab States were in this period—late 1951—conducting a campaign to sabotage the UN program to reintegrate the refugees in the economy of the Arab world. They used two slogans to rally the refugees to their side. The first was a summons to revive the Palestine partition plan voted by the UN on 11/29/1947, providing for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State. This was the tenor of exhortations in the Communist organ,
The Way Back, which was widely distributed among the refugees. The second slogan was the allegation that the entire United Nations reintegration program was merely a device by "Western imperialists" to provide labor for the construction of military bases preparatory to drafting refugees into an Arab army of million, much like the British for imperialism." [Ibid, July 8 and 15, 1951. [Placement of Footnote 8 approximate—it was not located in text]. There are recent indications that the refugees themselves are more willing than ever to cooperate. Clifton Daniel cabled the New York Times from London on 12/19/1951 : "Judging by the number of job applications now being received from the refugees, United Nations relief officials believe that if resettlement were started, large numbers would grasp the opportunity for work and homes after three years of idleness and a squalid squatters' existence." Dr. Arthur Draper, social scientist of the Department of Agriculture who recently returned from a survey in the Arab countries on behalf of the pro-Arab "American Friends of the Middle East", also reported that the refugees could make a "tremendous contribution" toward improving their situation if given the opportunity. [Ibid. 12/21/1951].

In the Western World: Western leaders, too, have become increasingly convinced that resettlement is the only realistic and constructive solution to the refugee problem.

The British Attitude: First to realize this were the British. During the debate on the subject in the House of Commons on 1/26/1949, the late Foreign Minister Bevin declared: "A resettlement policy will be a basis for peace and cooperation, not for irredentism and boycotts. As I have already said, there is the tragic plight of the Arab refugees, who must be allowed to return to their homes or else some compensation and provision must be made for them." Mr. Bevin left the door open for an alternative to repatriation. Richard Crossman, Labor M. P., told the House that many Arab refugees would be unable to return and would have to be resettled in the Arab countries. Speaking out of his experience as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, which studied the Palestine question in 1946, he said: "The problem of the Arab and Jew in a mixed community was always difficult. Since this tragic war has separated them, it might be better to leave them separated and only permit Arab minorities of, say, 150000 in Israel, and have the rest resettled in Transjordan. [Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1/26/1949.] When the debate opened in the House of Lords on 3/25/1949, Lord Henderson, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, explained the Government's long-term policy on Arab refugees. He said: "It is undoubtedly true that short-term plans will have only a very limited effect. What can be done in that way should, of course, be undertaken as rapidly as possible. But of greater effect will be a program of long-term constructive plans by which absorption and resettlement on a large scale can be carried out for those who cannot return to their old homes. There is a scope for large-scale works such as irrigation schemes, land reclamation, the building of road and rail communications and other socially and economically necessary developments. "The task is essentially one of providing work for the able bodied, and we understand there are a number of development plans on foot in the Arab States which might be expedited and expanded and so contribute to the absorption of a large number of refugees." Obviously, the undertaking and speeding up of large-scale creative enterprises would involve financial resources beyond the immediate capacity of the Arab countries concerned, and substantial financial assistance would be needed from outside sources—international or other. It is only by such projects that this urgent problem of the Palestinian refugees can be tackled with prospects of adequate success. "His Majesty's Government will be very glad to give the Commission and the Governments concerned all the encouragement and advice in their power in carrying out resettlement of the refugees. [Parliamentary Debates. House of Lords, 3/29/1949.] In keeping with this statement, the British Foreign Office announced on March 31st that "the British Government is giving serious consideration to the extension of financial aid for the resettlement of Palestinian refugees in Transjordan and for an economic development of that country." On September 13, the New York Times correspondent cabled from Tel Aviv that "Reports from London and Lausanne indicate the resettlement of the Palestinian Arab refugees in other areas of the Middle East and North Africa would suit the British better than their repatriation to Israel." During the debate on Arab refugees in the House of Commons on 3/15/1951, Minister of StateKenneth Younger asserted that, "whatever one may think about the moral merits, the fact seems to be that there is no prospect of resettlement within Israel." The British Government, he added, believed that it was in conformity with realism and in the interests of the refugees themselves that the majority should settle among their brethren in Arab countries, rather than in Israel. [ParliamentaryDebates, House of Commons, 3/15/1951.] The British-controlled Near East Arab Broadcasting Station consistently conducted a campaign in favor of resettlement. On 6/27/1949, the station broadcast: "The Arabs must forget their demand for the return of all the refugees since Israel, owing to her policy of crowding new immigrants into the country at such a rate that the territory she holds is already too small for her population, is physically unable to accept more than a small number of Arab refugees. "The Arab states must face the facts before it is too late, and consider the resettlement of the refugees in the Arab States, where they can help in the development of their new lands and so become quickly assimilated—genuine inhabitants, instead of suffering exiles."

On 12/1/1949, the radio speaker stressed that: "Arab insistence on the return of the Palestine refugees to their homes disregards the fact that there is no power on earth able to compel Israel to accept them back. . . . The Arab States would be well advised to change their line and take into account that not all the Arab refugees would decide to return to their original homeland would not benefit them, or be in their interest, and that the right of the refugees to return to Israel. However, now with great influx of Jewish immigration from Cyprus and Central Europe, the Arabs probably will be better off if the funds already in hand are used to resettle them in some of the Arab countries where there are vacant lands that need people to work them." Even Miss Dorothy Thompson, who in recent years has manifested strong pro-Arab and anti-Israel feelings, told the Arab press in the course of a visit in the Middle East: "the return of the refugees to their original homeland would not benefit them, or be in their interest, since in Israel they would be a minority among the Jews." It was better for them, concluded Miss Thompson, to remain in the Arab countries, and there receive the aid necessary for their existence. She added that the United Nations along with the United States should guarantee the payment of compensation to those who suffered losses, and the Arab States which now house the refugees should begin at once upon projects leading to their resettlement. [Quoted in the Lebanon daily in Brooklyn, 11/27/1950.] The US State Department likewise seems to have retreated from its original position with regard to repatriation. Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Under-secretary of State George McGhee admitted: "It is obvious, as time goes on and the population of Israel is still further increased by immigration of Jewish peoples... that the repatriation problem will become still more difficult. [Palestine Refugees, p. 6.]

On the International Scene: The UN Palestine Conciliation Committee Speaks Up: The trend toward resettlement is clearly discernible in the reports of the PCI in its "General Progress Report" submitted on 9/22/1950 (A/1367), the PCI stated that "even if the principle of repatriation were to be accepted, it would be necessary to take into account that not all the refugees would decide to return to their homes. The Commission believed, therefore, that Arab states should
agree in principle to the resettlement of those refugees who did not desire to return to their homes" (p. 30.) In a supplementary report to the UN Secretary-General published 10/26/1950, the PCC stated that while always being guided by paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution of 12/11/1948, "(the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so") the Commission at the same time "believes that, having the interests of the refugees themselves in mind, attention should also be given to the Arab countries of non-returning refugees, to their economic rehabilitation, and to the payment of compensation, as also provided by the above resolution. The Commission considers that the refugees should be afforded every opportunity to realize that the conditions which they would find on returning to their homes would differ greatly from those to which they were accustomed."

UN Delegations Follow: During the 1950 sessions of the United Nations, several delegations outspokenly favored resettlement instead of repatriation. Expressing the longstanding British view, Lord Macdonald told the Ad Hoc Political Committee on 11/29/1950, that "it was doubtful whether it was in the interest of the refugees themselves to return on en masse. It was questionable whether the refugees fully appreciated the conditions to which they would return and the implications of their return. Were they aware that they must be prepared to live as peaceful citizens of Israel, accepting all the obligations of citizenship? There was a grave danger that the legacy of mistrust and bitterness would make the task of mutual adjustment of populations extremely difficult. Moreover, it was probable that the Arabs of Palestine would have great difficulty in adjusting to the very highly organized economic structure of Israel, which ran counter to the economic outlook of the Arabs. It was unlikely that an Arab would wholeheartedly accept the regime of austerity, directed towards the achievement of goals for which at the best he had no enthusiasm and which might well arouse his active resentment. "In the circumstances it was the considered view of the United Kingdom delegation that the Arab refugees would have a happier and more stable future "if the bulk of them were resettled in the Arab countries." (A/AC 38/SR 61). A similar view was expressed by the Canadian delegate Lapointe on November 7: "his delegation hoped that refugees would be told that their future would perhaps be more promising if they agreed to permanent settlement in Arab countries... Such refugees should be immediately compensated for the damages they had sustained, the compensation might be paid out of the reintegration fund." (AAC 38/SR 35). Mr. McIntyre of Australia also stressed that "it was very possible that in many cases the return to Israel would not be wholly in the interests of the refugees themselves. It might perhaps be better if the refugees were compensated for the losses they had suffered and were permitted to settle in neighboring Arab countries." (A/AC 38/SR 64) Mr. Anze Mallenzo of Bolivia insisted that "studies should be made in the Arab states with a view to discovering practical measures enabling them to absorb refugees and at the same time contribute to their own economic development." (A/AC 38/SR 65). Fully realizing the significance of these statements and endeavoring to present them in a most unfavorable light, Dr. Fadil al-Jamali of Iraq, on November 7th, bitterly complained that "a tendency was discernible to disregard the legitimate right of the Arabs to return to their homes. Most of the speeches, and particularly the statement of the Canadian representative, allowed the inference that it was apparently the goal of the United Nations to chase the Arabs from their homes in Palestine." (A/AC 38/SR 38).

New Repatriation Proposal Fails: In 9/1951, the PCC submitted a new five point peace proposal to the Israel and Arab delegations. Point Two of this proposal was that: "the Government of Israel agrees to the repatriation of Arab refugees in categories which can be integrated into the economy of the State of Israel and who wish to return and to live in peace with their neighbors." [Progress Report of the U. N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine covering the period from 21.I. to 19.XI., 1951 Supplement N8 (A 1985) Paris, 1951.] The precise number of refugees was not specified in the official text of the proposal, but the Weekly News Digest (9/19/1951) published by the Zionist Information Office in London, quoted unofficial reports that the PCC had in mind the return to Israel of more than 20000 Arab farmers and their families, who could be settled and become economically self-sufficient in such areas as the Negev." The Egyptian Government strongly objected to the "new principle" that "Israel will accept only such Arab refugees as could fit into her economy." [London Times, 9/27/1951.] This, the Egyptians claimed, "would enable Israel to skimp the cream of the refugees, especially of the skilled agriculturists of whom she is so short." On the other hand, the New York Times reported from Paris that the Israel delegation strongly opposed the return of Arab refugees who "would constitute an unmanageable security problem in Israel." [New York Times, 9/19/1951.] Public opinion in Israel unanimously supported the view of the Israel delegation. The orthodox newspaper Hatzofeh declared editorially on September 19: "Israel (has) no intention of committing suicide and will not acquiesce in the introduction of a host of immigrants who could serve as a fifth column." The leftist Al Hamishmar said the next day: "As long as the Arab countries consider themselves at war with Israel, the question of the return of the refugees can not even be discussed, since no state would admit into its territory supporters of the enemy." The organ of the Mapai Government party, Davar (September 19) asserted that the suggestion was "not related to any promise of peace with the Arab countries" and demanded to know "why Israel should even discuss it?" Herut, mouthpiece of the strongly nationalistic opposition Herut party, insisted that "resistance to the pressure on Israel to accept Arab fifth columnists should be shown by the entire population in order that the Government's hands could be strengthened." On 12/12/1951, the Palestine Conciliation Commission formally reported to Secretary-General Trygve Lie of the United Nations its failure to bring about a settlement between Israel and the Arab states on the basis of this latest five point proposal. In its final report, the Commission made it perfectly clear that it is impossible to invoke the 11/1948 UN resolution as a basis for any repatriation scheme to which the Israel Government would not consent: "When, in 1948, the General Assembly first resolved that the refugees should be permitted to return to their homes, the land and houses which these people had abandoned were considered to be still, for the most part, intact and unoccupied. The operation involved in their return did not, therefore, present any great difficulties; all that would have been necessary was for those refugees who wished to do so to undertake the journey of return and be temporarily housed in the areas from which their interrupted lives, perhaps with a little financial assistance from the international community. It was this kind of movement of return that the PCC was instructed to facilitate. For reasonsthat were beyond the Commission's task of facilitation, this movement did not come to pass... The physical conditions have changed considerably since 1948. The areas from which the refugees came are no longer vacant, and any movement of return would have to be carefully worked out and executed with the active cooperation of the government of Israel." [Progress Report, pp. 4-5.]
addition, the Israeli Supreme Court has regularly condoned torture. Israelis defend torture as necessary to "fight terror" by Palestinians. However, this thuggish Israeli self-justification is increasingly coming under fire from human rights groups and the UN Committee Against Torture.

In one account of torture, a Palestinian, "George", told of his systematic torture for alleged membership in the PFLP, a membership which he denies. He was tortured at the Askelon Prison and the Moscow Prison during "administrative detention", that is, he was never charged with a crime. Human rights organizations estimate that some 5000 Palestinians are tortured per year, with the peace accords having had no effect at all on the level of torture. In Israel, there is no general disapproval of torture: in fact, when the official Landau Commission confirmed that torture by Shin Bet was routine and widespread, which was universally known to be true (although for some reason the New York Times terms the mere truism of Israeli torture a "stunning... revelation"), the recommendations of the Commission were merely to legalize the use of torture of Palestinians.

Now, the UN Committee has called Israel before an extraordinary meeting to face accusations of torture. The Israeli response is always that the threat of Palestinian "militants" required torture. Israeli Ministry of Justice director general Nili Arad argues, "The need to combat the plague of terrorism is a matter vital to this discussion and cannot be ignored", but of course anyone the Israelis wish to torture is merely declared to be a terrorist. Israelis point to the recently bombing that did not happen as proof that torture is useful, defending the reprehensible with the unprovable. Yet Lea Tsowel of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel: "Israel is the only Western country that openly uses torture. This is not some brute in the secret services but ordinary police officers...". Israels justification of torture begins with the assertion that its routine torture techniques are not torture; when this obvious untruth is rejected, Israelis conjure the threat of monstrous subhuman terrorists and argue, falsely, that the whole world uses legal torture against terrorists.

Ruchama Marton an Israeli psychiatrist and head of Physicians for Human Rights-Israel observes: "I can't stand it when the victims start acting victimized. When they tell me, 'It's you we're protecting', I answer, 'Please don't! I say time and time again, there's no way to maintain human rights if you allow any possibility to violate them. After all, these conventions against torture were intended to precisely protect people from torture when there's danger from bombs and terrorists... I believe the main reason for torture is to make the victim silent and frightened. All else is peanuts. Some 80% of Palestinians who are tortured are not indicted, but they, their family and their friends are ruined and silenced. It's useless for anything else. Look, if I was tortured I'd tell you anything. I'd just try to figure out what you want." Torture is protected by criminal procedure in Israel that allows the Shin Bet secret police to refuse to disclose information about torture, and predictably they do refuse to disclose such information. The Israeli Supreme Court has never questioned the argument of Shin Bet that torture was a necessity: not once. [TXT]

61133. Schmetzer, Uli. "Hottest Issue At Women's Forum: Abortion: US Organization Seeking to Reduce Vatican's Role", in Seattle Times, September 1, 1995. p. A12. The NGO Forum became a battlefield yesterday as Theology Prot. Rosemary Radford of Northwestern University and the abortion rights organization Free Choice argued that no religious entity except the Vatican had UN standing [sic: State of Israel?]; she demanded that the Vatican be stripped of its international standing. Her position was supported by Frances Kissling, president of US Catholics for a Free Choice. Elsewhere, Tibetan women marched with scarves over their mouths to protest repression in Tibet, and women in the Vatican delegation stated that their opposition to abortion was in the best interest of women. [TXT]

61134. Schwartz, Michal. "Jewish Political Prisoners In Israeli Jails: Struggling for Recognition of Political Status", in Challenge, October, 1990, pp. 20-23. During the 32 months since the outbreak of the intifada, we have witnessed the appearance of Jewish political prisoners for the first time since the 1970s. This phenomenon is part of the development of an Israeli peace movement which is by far the most radical that has ever existed in Israel, and which includes a growing number of conscientious objectors as well as budding ideas about civil disobedience.

The Lebanon war first gave rise to conscientious objection on the Israeli scene, in 1982, and encouraged meetings between Israeli peace activists and members of the PLO and Palestinian organizations from the Occupied Territories. The authorities responded by enacting an amendment to the Anti-Terror Act, popularly known as the "Law Against Meetings," which made it a criminal offense to meet Palestinians with any connection to the PLO. The intifada not only stimulated the peace movement, it also raised its persecution to new heights.

The first victims of this persecution were the Hanitzotz prisoners, whose arrest and trial immediately following the outbreak of the intifada generated a prolonged political storm. This was due to a variety of factors including the nature of the arrests, the length and secrecy of interrogations and the actual charges. Equally important was the authorities' attempt to turn the trial into a crusade on behalf of the badly-tarnished Shabak (secret service). Concurrently, the Hanitzotz prisoners waged a lengthy campaign to demand their right to be imprisoned with political prisoners, which in the present Israeli context means Palestinian prisoners. For the first time, the status of Jewish political prisoners was an issue on the agenda of both the authorities and the increasingly radicalized peace movement.

The Hanitzotz prisoners did not remain an isolated phenomenon. A crisis of legitimacy affected all aspects of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Military service in the Occupied Territories began to be questioned, as did the laws which served to perpetuate the occupation and constrain the activities of peace activists.

The "Law Against Meetings" met with principled opposition from other sources, and produced another political prisoner: Abie Nathan, who received a six-month sentence for meeting PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Immediately after his release Nathan met with Arafat again, and may be charged a second time. The law may claim new victims in the future. The trials of the Rumania Four and the Budapest group2 are still in progress, and may result in further sentences.

Nevertheless, people across Israel continue to work for peace: 1000 Israelis expressed their readiness to participate in the Cairo Peace Caravan3 to meet Arafat; 500 kibbutz members signed a declaration of their willingness to commit civil disobedience if the policy of occupation and annexation continues; and some 200 participants of a "Women and Peace" conference in Kfar Yassif risked a maximum penalty of five years in prison by signing a petition calling for conscientious objection in the Occupied Territories.

Recently two more Jewish activists joined the list of prisoners. Michel Warschawsky, director of the Alternative Information Center, was convicted of "turning a blind eye" while the center rendered typesetting services to a "hostile organization"; he began an eight-month prison term July 1, 1990. Victoria David was sentenced to three years in prison beginning January 7, 1990, on charges of membership and providing services to a "hostile organization."

The existence of Jewish political prisoners has shattered the simplistic world view held by most Israeli decision-makers. Israel does not officially recognize the existence of political prisoners, referring to them instead as common criminals. Because international conventions are binding only where prisoners of war are concerned, and because Israel denies this status to inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, all the country's political prisoners are technically outside the protection of international instruments.

Non-governmental human rights organizations face similar difficulties. Amnesty International recognizes a category of prisoners it calls "prisoners of conscience"-people who have not been involved in any acts of violence whatsoever, yet who are imprisoned for their...
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine
www.ReferenceCorp/net/downloads

political beliefs. Although AI organizes international campaigns for the release of "prisoners of conscience," Israel has thus far refused to honor them.

In fact, however, the authorities do recognize two categories of prisoners. On the one hand are "security prisoners," who are exclusively Arab and identified as "terrorists." On the other hand are ordinary criminal prisoners, who include some Arabs and all of the Jews. The political prisoners are denied various privileges, first and foremost a possible reduction of one-third of their prison sentence by a parole committee, but also including privileges such as vacations from prison.

The only exceptions to this rule, until the appearance of Jewish political prisoners, were Jewish terrorists. These prisoners were accorded privileges different from their Arab counterparts for no other reason than their ardent Zionism. The three Jewish terrorists now in detention, convicted for the murder of Arabs, are held in open dormitory conditions and are allowed to make home visits during holidays. The rest of the imprisoned Jewish terrorists were released with the help of amnesty from the President of Israel and parole committees. Rabbi Levinger served just three months for manslaughter, and was released before even two-thirds of his prison term had expired.

The obstinate refusal of the authorities to allow Jewish political prisoners to serve with their Arab counterparts is comparable to South Africa's prison policy, as the interview with Dennis Goldberg (see box above) makes clear. In Israel too we have a policy of vengeance against those who "betrayed their own kin," which is designed to isolate the prisoners and break their spirit. The authorities claim that the Jewish political prisoners' demand to be imprisoned with other political prisoners is extremist.

In this way, the authorities hope to deter other prisoners from raising the issue and thus to prevent the collapse of the ideological and political wall that separates the two peoples. Safeguarding a wall of this type is the cornerstone of every racist doctrine. Unlike in South Africa, however, in Israel the separation between Jewish and Arab prisoners is inconsistent. Whereas there is no separation at all between Jewish and Arab criminal prisoners, the separation is fanatically upheld with respect to Jewish and Arab political prisoners.

Written confirmation, the first of its kind, that such an apartheid system exists was given to David's lawyers, Salim and Salma Wakim, last April, after she asked to be moved from Neve Tirtza prison and placed with other women political prisoners in Hasaron prison. Although the authorities usually camouflage their true motives by justifying their actions on "security grounds," on May 3 the prison commander of the central area gave these reasons for rejecting David's request:

a. Hasharon prison holds women prisoners of the minorities who are convicted for crimes against the security of the state.

b. Since your client does not meet all these criteria, it was decided to imprison her in Neve Tirtza prison.

In other words, this documents condemns Victoria David to serving a three-year sentence with criminal prisoners, most of whom are drug users. She is condemned to total social isolation, incessant psychological pressures, and possible physical violence for the sole reason that she is not a "minority," i.e. an Arab.

So far, the prison authorities, and the Shabak behind them, have enjoyed a free hand in determining prison conditions. They are not required to account for their decisions, and the Supreme Court of Justice refuses to interfere on the issue.

It is the policy of the prison authorities to present political prisoners as common criminals who deserve no better treatment than rapists and murderers. Around the world, from South Africa to Ireland, political prisoners have rejected this attitude and have struggled, sometimes to the death, to force prison authorities to treat them as people imprisoned for their ideals.

The struggle of Jewish political prisoners to break the wall that separates them from their Palestinian comrades is, in fact, an extension of the struggle of the Israeli peace movement. It is a struggle against national SUSpection and hatred between the two peoples, sentiments which themselves are the product of the Israeli government's policy of occupation and discrimination.

1. Five editors of the bi-weekly Derech Hanitzotz were arrested in April-May 1988 and interrogated under strict secrecy after the paper was closed by emergency regulations. They were charged with membership in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

2. Two Israeli delegations which met PLO representatives in Bucharest and Budapest in 1986 to protest against the law.

3. Initiated at the end of 1989, the Peace Caravan did not materialize.

4. Publishing a booklet on how to withstand interrogation.[-]


A: The Palestinians are the masters of their own fate. We cannot choose for them the form of their political entity, nor their leaders. If they choose the PLO or others as their representatives, it's their business. My only role in this situation is to represent myself in a correct and fair way. That is, I don't demand for myself anything which I am not ready to give to them, but I do defend my own interests. It doesn't bother me at all to talk to the PLO. After all, the Israeli unwillingness to talk to them derives from the unwillingness to talk to anyone who demands a Palestinian state, independence, the West Bank and Gaza.

Q: Since you hope for an arrangement which will be forced upon Israel from outside, are you pleased or disappointed with the pressure which the Americans are putting on Israel?

A: In many situations I didn't understand the patience which America showed towards Israel. Very many American plans were discarded because we shrugged our shoulders and refused. It's not possible to understand this as a serious attitude towards reaching an arrangement. But it continued as long as we were a strategic ally in the inter-bloc struggle, and this has ended. Now there is no inter-bloc struggle and there is no need for us as a strategic ally. It may be that this patience will be exhausted. Today we are witness to American readiness, over Israeli objections, to take part in UN resolutions which it would have been difficult to imagine in the past, such as the [one endorsing an] international conference. But this is still not enough.

Q: Where do you think the Labor Party is heading?

A: I ask myself whether it suits our goals to blur the differences between the Likud and Labor or not. The attitude of the left toward Labor was useless. The slogan that Labor is a clone of the Likud had appeal in the short run but was a catastrophe in the long run because it blurred the differences which do exist among the Likud. Without him and the Likud because he doesn't see himself remaining in the West Bank and Gaza. We wouldn't allow him to cross the gap between them and the Likud.

Q: What is your position regarding closing off Israel to laborers from the territories and the dispute over this which has developed within the left?

A: At first, Yossi Sarid supported the closure of the green line against the opposition of Shulamit Aloni. The compromise which was reached in Ratz [the Citizens' Rights Movement] seems fair to me. We have to create a liveable economic situation in which it will be possible to say to the hundreds of thousands of people that they will not work in Israel. Clearly, if they have the possibility they will prefer to work in the West Bank and Gaza. But as long as there is no economic development
in the West Bank, we must allow everyone to work wherever he chooses.

Q: What is your attitude towards refusal to serve in the Occupied Territories?
A: This is not one question; there are different types of refusal. There is conscientious objection, civil disobedience and political refusal. There are situations of refusal regarding war, as was the case in the Lebanon war, or refusal to perform certain actions undertaken during war or by the military government. Yesh Gvul [There Is A Limit] began as a movement which refused to serve in Lebanon because of opposition to a war which was defined as non-obligatory by the prime minister himself. Serving in the territories is not the same thing because the war in 1967 was defensive and Israel has not annexed the territories and about half the population opposes annexation. Therefore, I don't justify sweeping refusal. I do justify refusal to follow certain orders and I respect conscientious objectors. But I know that there are situations in the life of a citizen when he acts not in accordance with his conscience because he is a member of a collective.

Q: Where do the Arabs in Israel enter into your equation for Israeli democracy?
A: Israel must be on the one hand a democracy, and on the other a state in which Jews realize their self-determination. The only way to achieve these two things is to see that the law is 100 percent just. It must give no preference to Jews over Arabs, but the society must be a clearly of a Jewish majority. If this doesn't occur, either it won't be democracy or the Jews won't be realizing their self-determination. If there are laws which discriminate then it's not a democracy. That's what the rhetoric of the right fails to understand. Hence the option is to divide the land in two and to say that here we will be the majority and it will be a democratic state in which the Jewish people's right of self-determination will be realized. And they will fulfill their democratic right for self-determination in their own state, where they will be the majority.

Q: But even supposing that an independent Palestinian state is established, we still have very many laws ordinances and procedures which discriminate against the Arabs within Israel and deny them equality.
A: We have very few laws which discriminate and too much policy which does. The legal discrimination in Israel against Arabs is scarce, but it is to be found in operation. This is truly one of the signs of the rotting of the roots of Israeli democracy. We are an onion democracy, built layer by layer. The more we peel, the more we cry. The outer layer is that of relations between Jewish men and there we're pointed to them as correct examples of what we are about as anarchists. When women come into the picture, the level of democracy goes and asked one of them to stick out his chest to make my point more fine. When religion enter, the level goes down further. When Arabs enter the picture we're in free fall.[-]

61136. Seattle Anarchists; Haymarket Remembered Project. Mob Action Against the State: Haymarket Remembered... An Anarchist Convention. [Proceedings] Olympia, Wash.: Seattle Anarchists, Haymarket Remembered Project [Post Office Box 10122, Olympia WA 98502]. 1987. pp. 109-112. [Anticopyright: No permission for anything needed: Copy freely.][May 3, 9:35 p.m.] It is now several days into the conference and much has happened since that first joyous meeting three nights ago. Many differences have developed, many possible friends have been lost. I have actually been overtaken by a deep depression, something that I never expected would have occurred. I am sure many of the problems that I have had here relating to certain people are my fault, my ingrained attitudes and my personal being. But these are universal problems that I believe all people have and so I can't expect myself to take all the blame. I am sitting here watching a dance right now, a scheduled event of the conference. Well, actually it was the banquet which developed into this dance. First the banquet saddened me, all this dead flesh everywhere and people so close-minded about the alternatives that it made me sick. Then I get alienated once again for defending Joffre's right to have his controversial opinion. There were people who wanted him expelled from the conference for distributing what they believed to be anti-semitic material. I actually agreed with Joffre in the sense that I feel that zionism is wrong and this is what he repeatedly stated his literature dealt with. It just did not appear to be anti-semitic to me and even if that was his intention, he should be allowed to distribute it freely with all the critical analysis and questioning that people felt was necessary. He should not be conveniently eliminated simply because he holds an unpopular view. So that is why I left and felt compelled to come out here and write. A friend of mine just told me that he was also condemned for supporting Joffre. He said that one of the same women [sic: woman] that he got down the day before yesterday had just told him infuriated, that if he didn't get the fuck out of there, she would kick him in the balls. A real liberated person she must be. I can't imagine what would have occurred if a man at the conference had bade a similar statement to a woman here. Such a fucking double standard. Something is eating me away here, slowly but surely. -- Tim.

Conference plans enunciated at the Wednesday night meeting included a projected gathering of the whole (at least one) at conference term, whereby to collect reports from workshops, but such good intentions seem to have fallen into chaos and I never experienced such much-desired wholeness. The nearest thing to a plenum was the banquet scene in the church basement Saturday night. The peak experience of the conference was around those tables, after the meal.

Someone denounced as anti-Semitic a graphic engaged on one of my anti-apartheid leaflets which attacked the Zionist connection to a range of imperialist evils we don't like. The drawing, from a Brazilian artist, showed a rabbi holding a religious object which threw the shadow of a swastika: an obvious comment on Israel's role since 1948. The denouncer got firm applause. I answered that I was confident in the faith that there was no anti-Jewish literature circulating in our conference but there was a lot of Jewish Chauvinist Bias which converted attacks on Zionism into anti-Semitism. Light, uncertain applause... Another graphic showed the symbol of the Zionist state, the Star of David, blocked, cancelled out by the diagonal bar which in traffic signs, means "wrong way." Prohibited. Thus, my negation of a mini-Superpower or, if you like, a super-Superpower, considering that Zionism dominates and directs USA foreign policy--was attacked as (1) an attack on Jews and (2) an attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them attack on religion. I pointed out that anarchists of our persuasion are SUPPOSED to attack religion (not protect or conserve it) as atheists. I pointed out that regardless of whether the Star of David was a symbol for the whole Jewish people, it is quite correct for us, anarchists, to attack it because it is a weapon which discriminates against the Arabs within Israel and deny them...
point that David was a war criminal and they should read the Bible for confirmation. There is more than one reason why we an-archists use Hebrew and not, for instance, Amharic or Portuguese, or any of the dozens of other languages in which it could be translated. But one of them is that it is Zionist strategy to strengthen Jewish nationalism at the same time they undermine the weaker other religions or subordinate them to Israel as in the case of Jerry Falwell (in the context). Not only has the Holocaust (an outcome of Zionist support of Hitler) been incorporated into Judaism, but they are even conniving to teach it in public schools. And this will generally be at the expense of blacks because they are not about to tell you that the transatlantic slave trade was significantly a Jewish thing and that Jewish money organized the slaughter of a million blacks a year for 20 years in the Congo, 1895-1905.

A woman (the same?) attacked as anti-Jewish use of the dollar sign in the fifth letter of "Jewish." This is referred to my Haymarket Centennial poem: "Lucy Parsons is Black as well as Indian and she married a confederate soldier." She distorted it by taking it out of context. The $ occurred in "American Jewish Committee" [sic: American Jewish Committee] which I explained was formed by rich German Jews. I would not be surprised if she were one of those in our May 2 demo who shouted for all to hear: EAT THE RICH/FEED THE POOR (anarcho-cannibalistic vegetarianism).

For a long time now, reasonable people have found Jewish Chauvinists impossible to reason with because they employ every contradictory and illogical argument to suppress criticism of Israel, Zionism and totalitarian issues like Judaism. I found some of this in the banquet scene, where one guy stood up to say that Jews are a race and that my graphic attack on the symbols and crimes of Jewish nationalism were racist attacks (!) on him as a member of that race! I waited long and hard for someone amongst those hundreds of people to contradict his racism but no one did. In the 1984 electoral season, I went to a dialogue on black-Jewish relations and threw in the observation that the UN has designated Zionism (not Jews or Judaism) as a racism. (Jews, as well as others, know how to score Nazism as a racism without saying that Austrians, Swiss, Dutch, etc. constitute a "race").

The chair person abandoned nonpartisanship to say Jews were not a race (who said they were?) and therefore the UN finding was invalid. And in that synagogue gathering, larger than the an-arch gathering, no one corrected or contradicted him. Such Jews are successful in having it both ways even while the same Jews would apply rapier logic to cut down non-Jews trying to get away with the same thing. It is our fault as an-archists (of simply as fair minded persons) if we let god's chosen people get away with it and you can do something about it if you are not already subjugated and defeated by the Jewish Chauvinist Drive to World Domination.

There was treachery at the anarchist gathering. Piles of literature I set out on literature tables disappeared without comparable reductions in literature next to them. And not just once. A pile of my poems was knocked off the table onto the floor. Literature collected at the end of a day at Crosscurrents—the gathering operated out of two spaces, about three-quarters of a mile apart—did not appear for the next day a CC. The readings I set out for the censorship workshop were deliberately turned face down to discourage use (THE JEWISH CHAUVINIST CENSORSHIP in spades!). All this over and beyond the honest disorder and confusion you might expect at such a gathering. The stand out and we are different, and we do have an enormous stake, as I say, in a society that is tolerant and respects diversity.

The dilemma, though, as Senator Kennedy indicated in an earlier statement—and I think he is absolutely right—the dilemma here is that there are perspectives among members of this society, whether they be based on religious or moral viewpoints, that there are differences between different types of conduct; that there are certain types of conduct which are inherently entitled to greater moral deference than others.

There are many legal questions that this bill presents, and we have heard from two constitutional experts. Indeed, as Professor Sunstein correctly points out, legislation of this nature probably is unprecedented in the history of this Congress. At the same time, as Mr. Bauer points out, the issue that this legislation is designed to address is also unprecedented, probably in the history of civilized society. Never
before to my knowledge in any society has there been formal recognition of marital relationships between members of the same gender. And so if the proposed resolution of this issue or the proposed way Congress might address this issue is unprecedented, it is because the issue is unprecedented.

Frankly, there are two messages and two important, I think, points that this legislation would make which cause us in particular to support it at this time. Number one is the question of society's attitude toward marriage and what marriage means in this society. It has become tragically clear in recent years that the decline of marriage has engendered enormous social costs, and more specifically--and this is critical--that the failure to view marriage as the cornerstone of family life has had a devastating impact on children.

I was a member of a body appointed by Congress and the President of the US, the National Commission on Children, and when we delivered our report to the American people in 1992, we said this: When parents divorce or fail to marry, children are often the victims. Children who live with only one parent, usually their mothers, are six times as likely to be poor as children who live with both parents. They also suffer more emotional, behavioral, and intellectual problems. They are at greater risk of dropping out of school, alcohol and drug abuse, adolescent pregnancy, childbearing, juvenile delinquency, mental illness and suicide.

It is an urgent objective of this Nation's public policy to strengthen the institution of marriage, and to do so in a manner that promotes a sense of responsibility to children. The historical genius of marriage is that it constitutes not only the legal union of man and woman, but that it furnishes the foundation of family. Sadly, we sometimes lose sight of that reality.

Legalizing same-sex marriages, which, by biological definition, can never have anything to do with procreation, would obscure further still the vital link between marriage and children. It would convey the message that childbearing and child-rearing are matters entirely distinct from marriage. The message is subtle, but it is devastating.

There is one final point that I would make on this issue, and that concerns the attitude of society toward homosexuality, the practice of homosexuality. Again, I hesitate to say this because I don’t mean to come across as intolerant, but I am a believer, as are millions of Americans, and we take Leviticus seriously. As many scholars have noted, when Government passes laws, the laws by which a society chooses to govern itself have, among other things, aneductive function. When society confirms its blessings upon same-sex unions by according them the legal status of marriage, that would convey an unmistakable imprimatur of social acceptability and legitimacy of the practice of homosexuality.

For better or for worse, millions of Americans reject the notion that homosexual conduct is merely an alternative life-style, no more objectionable, no less acceptable than the traditional homosexual life-style. These Americans, pursuant to their faith, try to raise their children with those beliefs. Extending legal protection to same-sex unions is Government's way of telling those children that their parents are wrong, that their priests, ministers, rabbis are wrong, that civilized societies throughout the millennia have been wrong. Respectfully, Government has no business conveying that message.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Zwiebel follows:] [=]
49 times over, however, if the powerful engine of the full faith and credit doctrine is then employed to convert one state court's radicalism into the de facto law of the entire land.

Section 2 is thus a particularly appropriate exercise of Congress' constitutional authority, pursuant to Article IV, Section I, to "subscribe...the Effect" of one state's legal judgments on the others. See generally Laycock, Equal Citizens of Equal and Territorial States: The Constitutional Foundations of Choice of Law, 92 Colum. L. Rev. 249, 301(1992).

SECTION 3: As noted, section 2 of the bill takes nosubstantive position on the validity of same-sex marriages, it allows each state to decide for itself whether to recognize such marriages that have been performed with legal sanction in other states. Section 3, in contrast, takes an affirmative stance. It declares that for purposes of federal law, notwithstanding what any individual state or for that matter, all the states--may choose to do, the terms "marriage" and "spouse" shall not encompass same-sex unions.

The need for this legislation is manifest. The general presumption is that "federal courts should look to state law in defining terms describing familial relations," Spearman v. Spearman, 482 F.2d 1203, 1204 (5th Cir. 1973). If, therefore, Hawaii or any other state accords recognition to same-sex marriages, a federal court might well conclude that the various benefits federal law assigns to married couples must be made available to the same-sex couples whose "marriages" have been validated pursuant to state law. Section 3 would preclude this result by clarifying that the intent of federal law is not to yield to any state definition of marriage that encompasses same-sex unions.

Congress' authority to issue this definitional clarification is a simple matter of federalism. It is the federal lawmaking body, not the state courts Or legislatures, that has the power to decide the meaning of terms used in federal law. Section 3 is thus an unassailable expression of congressional authority in our federal system.

The Social Importance of This Legislation: The movement to confer the status of "marriage" upon same-sex unions is, in Agudath Israel's view, an extremely dangerous one for American society. I will focus on the two aspects of this movement that we believe should be cause for particular concern.

First, there is the question of society's attitude toward the institution of marriage itself. It has become manifestly and tragically clear in recent years that the decline of marriage has engendered enormous social costs--and, more specifically, that failure to view marriage as the cornerstone of family life has had devastating impact on children. In its 1992 report to the nation, Beyond Rhetoric: A New American Agenda for Children and Families, the National Commission on Children noted (at page 255) as follows:

When parents divorce or fail to marry, children are often the victims Children who live with only one parent, usually their mothers, are six times as likely to be poor as children who live with both parents. They also suffer more emotional, behavioral, and intellectual problems. They are at greater risk of dropping out of school, alcohol and drug use, adolescent pregnancy and childbearing, juvenile delinquency, mental illness, and suicide.

It is, or ought to be, an urgent objective of public policy not only to strengthen the institution of marriage, but to do so in a manner that promotes a sense of responsibility to children. The historical genius of marriage is not merely that it constitutes the legal union of man and woman, but that it furnishes the foundation of family. Sadly, we sometimes lose sight of that reality.

Legalizing same-sex marriages--which, by biological definition, can never have anything to do with procreation--would obscure further still the vital link between marriage and children. It would convey the message that childbearing, and childrearing, are matters entirely distinct from marriage. The message is subtle, but devastating.

Second, there is the question of society's attitude toward homosexuality. As many jurisprudential scholars have noted, and as many parents and teachers instinctively recognize, government is not a neutral actor in the field of moral values, the laws by which a society chooses to govern itself have (among other things) an educational function. Conferring society's blessing upon same-sex unions by acceding there the legal and social status of "marriage" as Hawaii appears about to do, would convey an unmistakable imprimatur of acceptability and legitimacy upon the practice of homosexuality. Which brings us full circle. For better or for worse, millions of Americans, of all faiths, reject the notion that homosexual conduct is merely an "alternative lifestyle," no more objectionable and no less acceptable than the traditional heterosexual lifestyle. These Americans strive hard to raise their children to recognize that not all expressions of sexuality are morally equivalent. Extending legal recognition to same-sex unions is government's way of telling those children that their parents are wrong, that their priests, ministers and rabbis are wrong, that civilized societies throughout the millennia have been wrong. We respectfully submit that government has no business conveying that message.

Agudath Israel accordingly supports the Defense of Marriage Act. Thank you very much for your consideration of our views.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I think this has been an excellent hearing. Each of you has presented a point of view that is very important to this committee.

I will put into the record at this point an editorial by Prof. Larry Tribe, Laurence Tribe, of the Harvard Law School, and a letter in response written by Prof. Michael McConnell of the University of Chicago Law School, without objection.

[The editorial of Mr. Tribe, "Toward a Less Perfect Union," in New York Times, 5/25/1996, was reprinted in the original document.] [A letter from Mr. McConnell follows.] [==]

61140. Shadmi, Erella. "Occupation, Violence and Women In Israeli Society: The Culture of Violence: Is It Built Into The State?", in Women In Black Newsletter, Spring 1993. Israeli society, particularly the liberal left, is preoccupied with the corrupting social implications and the disastrous political consequences of the occupation. In this important discussion, only a few pay suicient attention to the circumstances which establish the fertile soil from which occupation grows. We maintain that occupation is conceivable and can be preserved over a long period only in a society which sanctifies violence, in which violence is a legitimate and normative option, and it is our responsibility to acknowledge the fact that Israel is such a society. Only feminism presents a real and feasible alternative. Occupation does not "merely" lead to violence and other harmful mischief, but, first and foremost, is a symptom of a sick society, that is, a society in which violence is a legitimate and socially acceptable mechanism for personal expression, for settling disputes, and for obtaining rights and benefits. Occupation is possible in a society which conflates violence through its myths and the way it interprets its history. Occupation is possible in a society which views violence as a worthy means of solving disputes and conflicts - interpersonal, interethnic, intercommunal, and international. Occupation is possible in a society in which violence is built into the regime and the regime rests upon the allegedly legitimate use of violence. Therefore, occupation is a symptom, perhaps the most serious symptom, of what Robin Morgan calls "the democratization of violence", i.e., participation of all elements of society in violence, a society in which violence is a normative option shared by all, in which the violence of an individual is an acceptable medium of self-expression and problem-solving - in driving, at work, in politics, at home, in the family, and particularly against women as a means for consolidating male domination. Thus, a cycle of horror has evolved here, in which occupation stems from social violence, from a sick society, but at the same time, brings about more and more violence. Therefore, the potential for occupation exists in every society. However, the special circumstances of each society - the historical, social, and cultural conditions - determine to a great extent whetheroccupation has roots in the society, whether occupation can become a real option. And what has happened in Israeli society is that military occupation - the occupation of one people by another - is possible because society has turned the occupation - control by force into an occupation - a profession, a job.

What is violence? Violence is the use of power and coercion.
when there is no provocation by the other side or when there are alternatives to coercion for solving problems. Israeli society has taught us that allegedly there are no other options - in politics, interpersonal relations, interactions between citizens and the authorities, or gender relations.

Above all, coercion is built into the concept of the state. The state as we know it rests upon the monopoly of the legitimate and legal use of its coercive authority, both within and outside its borders through the police, in the first case, and the army, in the second. This monopoly may seem appropriate and inevitable; what is problematic is the way it is used and too often turned into violence. The state uses police coercive authority, for example, against not on behalf of, but against - battered women, Mizrahim, the working class, the poor, and all types of radicals and nonconformists. The state justifies this monopoly based on its desire to preserve the social order, but who defines the social order? Is it not the social order of all people, but of the majority against the minority, of the elite against those considered "dangerous classes," of men against women, of Jews against Palestinians. Therefore the worst violence of the state is not necessarily that of the army, but that of the police, which is meant to protect society at large and the citizens. The violence of the state is also expressed in its attitude toward the disadvantaged members of society, as the state refrains from allocating resources to issues of rape, battered women, sexually abused children, drug addicts, the elderly, or the blind. It abandons all these to their fate and to the violence against them, while fighting tooth and nail for huge budgets to acquire nuclear and conventional weapons. And, incidentally, what is so conventional about weapons? This violence is well rooted in Israeli society. Israel was founded and continues to exist on the power of the weapon. The culture of power and militarism have become the lifeblood of Israeli culture, in which the history of the occupation has been deliberately concealed under the cover of myths and alleged security considerations; in which the army is the breeding ground for political careers; in which the solder is the culture hero, and war stories, the key literature; and in which coercion of various types - religious, ethnic, gender - has become the acceptable norm in political negotiations. It is in this society that Meretz Party members - standard-bearers of liberalism and humanitarian values can vigorously work to enact a Law of Human Rights which is actually a Law of the Rights of Men, at the expense of the women, and of women's rights of women. And what is perhaps worse: in the political fiasco of the hurried expulsion of Hamas activists, force has become not just one means among many, but the official banner of the state of Israel. Because what happened was not only the use of expulsion, which is terrible and painful in and of itself, but also the loosing of state power from the constraints of law and morality. Thus, Israeli violence and the culture of power attained new heights with the support of those who were supposed to restrain them - the courts and the Meretz Party representatives. (As a feminist and a peace and human rights activist, I will add that no one opposes and loathes the religious fundamentalist Hamas movement more than I do, but that my whole system revolts against the expulsion.) The social violence is fertilized by myths, which are well rooted in society and education. I was nurtured on such myths, such as the biblical book of Joshua and the myth of Massada. In these two cases, so we were told in our history and bible classes, there were two options: surrender or violence conquest in the book of Joshua and suicide in Massada.

Everyone knows that the Israelis chose the option of violence, and they even explained to us that there was no other option. Was it truly so? Carol Gilligan, in her wonderful research about moral dilemmas, notes that men tend to divide the world like that - surrender or conquer, right or wrong, black and white, my right versus your right; while women tend to see a number of options stemming from their various conflicting responsibilities. It is possible that women perceive the world differently, not just because they learn something different in their process of education and socialization, but also because they continually experience oppression, because the oppression of women is the basis of every other form of oppression, as Engels teaches. But even women are not immune from social violence. Wars would not happen, claims Cynthia Enlow, without the cooperation of women - as wives, as nurses who care for wounds, or as prostitutes who provide sexual services to the soldiers. Our sons would not volunteer to serve in undercover units (presumably death squads) if their mothers did not view it as an honor for them and their families. The violence of the disadvantaged and the oppressed, from whom we expect different behavior - the violence of women, of Mizrahim, xenophobia in Israel - is explained in various ways, either by saying that the oppression from which they suffer: Sometimes it is viewed as identification of the oppressed with the oppressor, or a way of developing a sense of self by oppressing someone else even more. Whatever the explanation, isn't there a path to strength and a sense of control without going through the process of oppressing another? Will the Jewish people be liberated from their feelings of oppression only by oppressing the Palestinian people? Are violence and a violent society ineluctable facts of life? There is another way. Women in general and feminism in particular provide a new option. One of the major contributions of feminism is that it legitimates an entire new range of feelings, behaviors, and attitudes, which had not previously been appreciated or expressed socially, especially in the public sphere tied as a mechanism for conflict resolution. These include empathy, sharing, understanding, sensitivity to the environment and to the other, and, above all, a sense of responsibility. This is the different voice of the woman, the alternative social message that she offers to society. Feminism is therefore not just an ideology or a theory; more importantly, feminism is a new culture, a new direction for human civilization. And this alternative emerges from within our experiences and it revolves on the concept of peace - which is increasingly losing its value at a time when the Western world is exchanging imperialism through weapons with imperialism through the economy, and the concept of fraternity has remained orphaned since the French Revolution. The alternative that we offer emerges from within our experiences and advances with the concept of peace - not war or subjugation. Perhaps we still don't know how to apply this new option, but at least we are trying it, and - what is more important - we are making it legitimate and turning it into part of the social discourse, especially through our activities on behalf of peace.

Therefore peace in the Middle East, under standing between women and men, will come about not just by signing a peace contract which draws the lines between the rights of each - a border which protects the fears of one side from the fears of the other - but by using an entirely new system of concepts, symbols, and options for understanding and resolving conflicts, recognizing the conflicting responsibilities that we have, and absolutely negating violence and coercion as a way to shape relations between people, societies, nations, and states. Although some strides have already been made, Israeli women are just at the beginning of such a process. Women in the peace and social justice movements, especially feminists - both Israeli and Palestinian - have an important role to play, that of instilling an alternative vision of the world, showing how the ways of women can replace violence. I believe that in the political vacuum created by the ideological retreat of the Meretz Party, the movement of Women and Peace in Israel is the only one which has remained true to the vision, and therefore provides the only real alternative. [Excerpted from an address given at the Women In Peace Conference by Erella Shadmi.]
Before the modern state, this power of the rabbis was the core of Jewish life: the observance of Jewish laws were taught in Jewish schools and enforced by physical coercion. The emergence of the modern state erased this ‘closed society’, which has been the most totalitarian in human history. In 1932, Rabbi Moshe Shapiro of Pressburg (now Bratislava) protested the granting of rights to Jews since this reduced the power or rabbi to enforce Jewish life. This historical reality has been deleted in the process of romanticization, such as that of the writings by Hannah Arendt: nowhere does she speak of the bookburnings, persecution of writers, disputes about magical powers of amulets, bans on all non-Jewish education, the ban on any free thought, and the Jewish mystical idea (now widely popular among Jews) that non-Jews are the ‘limbs of Satan’. Great authorities such as Gershon Scholem have advanced this systematic falsification of Jewish history. Nicholas I of Russia, who was an anti-semite, in the process of strengthening police powers, ended the power of rabbis to murder those who dared to dissent among Jews: curiously, the ‘official’ Jewish histories of condemn Nicomedes for being anti-semitic and for granting individual Jews protection from the rabbis. This remains a central element in Jewish history: that Jews were liberated from their own leaders by non-Jews and this prevented genuine social development among Jews, who everywhere preserve a false history.

Since Jews did not liberate themselves, even progressive Jews remain chauvinist and racist, even if many disguise the fact. Many disguised Jewish racists join progressive organizations merely to advance ‘Jewish interests’: ‘one need only check how many Jewish ‘socialist’ have managed to write about the kibbutz without taking the trouble to mention that it is a racist institution from which non-Jewish citizens of Israel are rigorously excluded’ to see how thin the disguise is for Jewish racists. However, the term Jewy now describes two very different groups, the traditional totalitarian Jews and modern Jews who have internalized the ideal of the open state: as the small latter group disintegrates, it is clear it has few members even in the US. Virtually every trait popularly considered to be Jewish is actually traits (based in Brooklyn) notes that non-Jews are ‘totally satanic creatures in female’, he omits the Hebrew meaning: ‘unclean animal; loathsome abomination; wretch; unruly youngster’ [Maimonides], he omits the Hebrew meaning: ‘unclean animal; loathsome abomination; wretch; unruly youngster’ [Maimonides] accordingly considers all non-Jewish women to be prostitutes, even after their conversion to Judaism (then due to being born of a prostitute). Again, the Hatanyak, the central text of the Habbad Hasidic movement (based in Brooklyn) notes that non-Jews are ‘totally satanic creatures in whom there is absolutely nothing good’: the existence or life of a non-Jew is taught by the movement to have no value at all, since all creation was made only for Jews (this doctrine is widely held by Israeli leaders, soldiers and physicians). Characteristically, Martin Buber carefully conceals the racist doctrines of the Hasidim: so, writing in German at a time when Nazism was coming to power, Buber glorifies Jewish racist doctrines indistinguishable from Nazi doctrines while concealing their content from non-Jews. Shahak blames Buber for spreading this Hasidic race hatred which in turn led to countless deaths of Israeli physicians and nurses, having been educated through such doctrines, refuse to treat non-Jews and watched them die. Buber’s uncritical praise even omitted the common criticisms of non-Hasidic supporters of Hasidic doctrines: of alcoholism, of mysogyny, of superstititions, and of the fanatical cult of the genetic rabbi.

Finally, one peculiarity of Jewish racism is that many non-Jewish progressives believe that to ‘atone’ for the persecution of Jews, they must pretend Jewish racism does not exist. These allies of Jewish progress believe that to ‘atone’ for the persecution of Jews, they must pretend Jewish racism does not exist. These allies of Jewish racism have been especially important in the English-speaking world. [TXT]


1. This law code sees the murder of a Jew as a capital crime, while the killing of a Gentile by a Jew is not even seen as a crime. This has an obvious practical application in Israel, not least through the advice given to Israeli soldiers by rabbis. In the 1973 booklet published by the Central Region Command, these principles are articulated quite clearly: ‘When our forces come across civilians during a war or in hot pursuit or in a raid, so long as there is no certainty that those civilians are incapable of harming our forces, then according to the Halakhah they may and even should be killed. Under no circumstances should an Arab be trusted, even if he makes an impression of being civilized...In war, political culture remain those of the Jews and of Israel today: (1) surreptitious defiance, combined with outward compliance (so racial attacks on Christians were explained away as attacks on Arab, Muslim, Egyptian, Hindu or Aborigine) (one example is the Jewish law that requires a Jew passing a Jewish cemetery to utter a blessing, and if passing a non-Jewish cemetery to curse the mothers of the dead: such doctrines are taught daily in Israeli schools); (2) the creation of new ‘scholarly deceptions, such as Talmudic editions that include calls for exterminations of non-Jews and for the murder of Jesus in Hebrew, but with different, moderate wordings in English (such an edition produced under the direction of Moses Hyamson by Boys Town in Jerusalem, and while widely circulated in the English speaking world, not a single non-Jewish scholar has noticed the erroneous translations) (similarly, the statements of the important Jewish philosopher Maimonides that Blacks are sub-human, in his most important work, Guide to the Perplexed, is falsely translated in the English edition as Kushite, rather than Blacks)’. Shahak points out to note that Bernard Lewis’ argument that Islam was anti-Black, even as it remains unacceptable to even discuss Jewish anti-Black racism reduces Lewis’ so-called scholarship to the merest ‘slander’.

Shahak observes that the participation of American rabbis in the civil rights efforts of Martin Luther King Jr., rabbis who never raised the issue of the anti-Black racism in an honest manner, were either anti-Black racists themselves who support him for tactical reasons of ‘Jewish interests’ or were ‘acknowledged’ hypocrites, capable of passing very rapidly from a hidden enjoyment of rabid racism to a proclaimed attachment to an anti-racist struggle and back again. Even in humorous Jewish works, such as mass edition The Joy of Yiddish by Leo Rosten, mistranslates many words: for Shiksa [a young non-Jewish female], he omits the Hebrew meaning; ‘unclean animal; loathsome creature; abomination; wretch; unruly youngster’ [Maimonides] to consider all non-Jewish women to be prostitutes, even after their conversion to Judaism (then due to being born of a prostitute). Again, the Hatanyak, the central text of the Habbad Hasidic movement (based in Brooklyn) notes that non-Jews are ‘totally satanic creatures in whom there is absolutely nothing good’: the existence or life of a non-Jew is taught by the movement to have no value at all, since all creation was made only for Jews (this doctrine is widely held by Israeli leaders, soldiers and physicians). Characteristically, Martin Buber carefully conceals the racist doctrines of the Hasidim: so, writing in German at a time when Nazism was coming to power, Buber glorifies Jewish racist doctrines indistinguishable from Nazi doctrines while concealing their content from non-Jews. Shahak blames Buber for spreading this Hasidic race hatred which in turn led to countless deaths of Israeli physicians and nurses, having been educated through such doctrines, refuse to treat non-Jews and watched them die. Buber’s uncritical praise even omitted the common criticisms of non-Hasidic supporters of Hasidic doctrines: of alcoholism, of mysogyny, of superstitions, and of the fanatical cult of the genetic rabbi.

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when our forces storm the enemy, they are allowed and even enjoined by the Halakhah to kill even good civilians, that is, civilians who are ostensibly good. This same point is made by R. Shimon Weiser, in his 'Purity of weapons—an exchange of letters' in the prestigious Niv Midrashiyyah Yearbook: at its parent institution, the prestigious Midrashiyat Noam, many of the leaders of the Gush Emunim and the National Religious Party were trained (one observation in the article is: 'The best of Halakhat'—the best of Halakhat notes that many of the leaders of 'Jewish Nazis' gathered in the campus of Tel Aviv University, roasted a few cats and offered their meat to passer-byss as 'shish-kebabs from the legs of Arab mayors').

(2) Saving Lives: For a Jew to save the life of a Jew is paramount, but a Jew has no obligation to save a non-Jew; indeed, a Jew is ordered not to save a non-Jew. Maimonides, the great Jewish philosopher and a physician himself, notes that a Jewish physician should not provide any medical treatment to a Gentile to save the life of any Jew, even for money, unless such a refusal to save the non-Jew might endanger Jews. Similarly, if a baby is found abandoned, it should be saved only if a rabbi can determine that it is Jewish: otherwise it must be left to die. Halakhah authorities continue to reject any need for Jews to save the lives of non-Jews.

(3) Desecrating the Sabbath to Save Life: such a desecration is allowed if the life of a Jew is in danger, but of course, even on a weekday saving a non-Jew is irrelevant, the issue of saving a non-Jew on the Sabbath is never discussed. However, when a group of people need to be saved, and the group may include one Jew, then an effort to save them may be made on the Sabbath, but only if a Jew is likely to be saved. Similar, while a Jewish midwife may attend a non-Jewish woman in childbirth during the week if the Jew is in fear of retaliation if she does not do so, she must not attend the non-Jew on the Sabbath under any circumstance. As R. Moshe Sofer, the great rabbi of Pressburg, whose opinions were adopted as the law of Israel argues, it is better to trick the non-Jews with false reasons as to why they can not be provided help than to provide medical treatment to them. While Jewish doctors outside Israel do not espouse this racist code, the Israel Medical Association remains silent in the face of efforts to make Israeli doctors swear to an oath that non-Jews will only be treated by a Jewish doctor except in instances that doctor believes his life is in danger.

(4) Sexual offenses: while adultery between a Jewish man and woman is a capital offense for both, the status of Gentile women is quite different: the Halakhat states that Gentiles are completely promiscuous, 'whose flesh is as the flesh of asses, and whose issue is like the issue of horses'. Indeed, sexual intercourse of a Jewish man with a non-Jewish woman is defined in Jewish religious law as bestiality; at the same time, marriage between non-Jews is seen as irrelevant, since non-Jews are not really human. However, even if a non-Jewish woman is raped by a Jew, that non-Jewish woman must be executed.

(5) Status: no Jew is allowed to advance any non-Jew to a position of authority over any Jew; converts to Judaism are considered to be non-Jews in this respect for at least ten generations or for 'so long as the descent is known'.Since non-Jews are seen to be congenial liars, they may not testify in a rabbinical court; the only way in which a non-Jew's word may appear in court are if a Jew (preferably a rabbi) tricks him into revealing information, since a non-Jew is presumed to always lie to any direct questioning; then the words of the non-Jew can be repeated in court as admissible hearsary.

(6) Money and Property: Shahak provides many cases: typical is the Talmudic injunction against a Jew defrauding a Jew, but the acceptability of a Jew defrauding a non-Jew; and the command that a Jew return the lost property of a Jew, but the forbidding of the return by a Jew of the lost property of a non-Jew. Notably, Jewish law approves of the theft of property of non-Jews when Jews have greater power: this judicial opinion is manifested in the incessant robbing of the Palestinians by the Israeli occupation army and the Jewish settlers.

(7) Halakhah law also includes a body of apartheid laws to control non-Jews in Israel.

(8) a large body of prayer and ritual designed in inculcate principles of race hatred and contempt for non-Jews (on Israeli television, Gush Emunim leaders openly quote religious precepts calling for racism against non-Jews to justify their terror bombing of Palestinian residents. The consensus of posterity or at least by some influential centers of Jewish thought.

Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

ISRAEL-PALESTINE

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"One needs to be blind to fail to notice what goes on day after day, hour after hour, as long as the occupation of the Territories lasts. The dilemma of what to do with the Territories has turned into an unending sequence of intermittence violence. It distresses us badly enough. A Habad rabbi said that 'this dilemma defies solution to the point that only the Messiah could free us of it'. And he promised us that his terminally ill, 92 year old Messiah lying in a New York hospital would recover and instantly appear here to deliver us. At the same time the National Religious Party, which years ago tried to blend Judaism with modernity, but which has managed to slide into an unprecedented moral decay since, is now guided by rabbis openly preaching that Jews are free to kill innocent non-Jews. One needs to be blind not to notice the hate-filled eyes of Knesset members during what goes under the name of a political discussion... The most significant difference dividing today's Israeli Jewish society into two hostile camps--and it is a recent phenomenon--is not that between the right and the left but between the religious or partially-religious and the seculars. This may seem to be a mistaken generalization because there are religious for peace and seculars against it. But as a factor binding together powerful political blocs and antithetical political cultures, religion is crucial. There have been other conflicts rending Israeli society apart which, in the end, could be somewhat patched up with a fair measure of success--between the Ashkenazis and the 'Orientals', the poor and the rich, the veteran citizens and the new immigrants. But the conflict between the religious and the secular poses incomparably greater dangers, because the two respective cultures have no common political beliefs. The religious who believe in the imminent coming of the Messiah, claim that the Knesset has no right to abandon a single inch of the Territories [even in order to install an autonomy there], deny anyone the right to order an evacuation of a handful of Jewish crazies from any place in Hebron, find religious justifications for murder, and in effect refuse to recognize any game which alone can let us live together with them in Israel. They are implacably hostile to the very rudiments of democracy. As a result, the attendant corruptions and disruptions of our social fabric (including their effect still to be expected) are equal in the degree of risk to any threats to our security from outside..."

"A less sensational and more profound discussion of the potential for a civil war is by one of the leading social scientists of Israel, Baruch Kimmerling ("Haaretz", 21 January). He takes it for granted that an agreement with the PLO, followed by evacuation of some settlements, is imminent. But "It is unreasonable to expect that the evacuation of settlements could avoid engendering very violent resistance of at least some Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories to the point of developing into a full-scale civil war or at least coming close to it. Under such circumstances, some settlers together with their supporters in Israel, who are both armed to the teeth and well-organized, will fight both the Palestinians (as they already do) and the Israeli authorities which will have no choice but to respond with counter-violence. There is no certainty that, under such circumstances, the army will, to the last man, stand on the side of the elected government. Nor is it clear which side will have more of a clout over its own followers especially over the marginal groups among them. Since this has happened in other nations, there are no grounds to take it for granted that 'it can't happen here'. It is preferable to analyze such a civil war situation in terms of universal premises applied to the specific Israeli context". Let me skip the detailed (and in my view roughly valid) comparison of Kimmerling between the U.S. in the last years before the outbreak of its 1861-1865 civil war and the present-day Israel. Let me instead proceed straight to his thoughts about imminence of a civil war in Israel. He thinks it may break out because "the course that we have embarked upon in 1967 and have followed with utmost zeal after the 1973 war leads straight to it. Not because anyone desires a civil war, but due to objective conditions created on the ground and especially to the absence of any mechanisms for resolving some conflicts. Strange as it may sound, a civil war may break out in Israel not necessarily because of the withdrawal from the Occupied Territories... The withdrawal may be a weighty factor as a plausible excuse that would let both sides recruit supporters. But it is hardly enough to be the root of the problem. The rift between 'doves' and 'hawks', or between right and left. Such categories will for certain overlap with the belligerents in the prospective civil war and each of them will have the support of different segments of the Jewish diaspora. But the fundamental issue over which a civil war may erupt are the rules of the game defining our collective identity. Each of the opposing camps envisages those rules very differently than the other, but each wants to impose them on the other. "The Jewish citizens of the state are in consensus that Israel should be a 'Jewish State'. But practical interpretations of this concept differ enormously one from the other. On the one hand, most Jewish citizens are prepared to recognize some tenets of Jewish tradition and religion as binding and even bear some concomitant burdens of that recognition, such as the religious marital status laws, as unifying symbols of Jewish nationality, in the way they were conceived of by secular Zionism. On the other hand, the opposing camp interprets the term 'Jewish State' as a religious state run according to the principles of Jewish Orthodoxy. Until about 20 years ago, Orthodox Judaism and to some extent religious nationalists as well, treated the secular Jewish state as a temporary expedient, valid until the 'days of the Messiah'. The religious majority learned to adapt to the Jewish state only after some segments of Orthodox Judaism had opposed it in principle, denouncing it as a false messiah, as a springboard of accelerated secularization, and as a factor postponing the coming of the Messiah and the "true Redemption"..."

Kimmerling describes at some length the development of the Gush Emunim ideology and the growth of its influence. It would be more instructive, however, to concentrate on its final stage which began in the early 1980s and crystallized in the "Jewish Underground". It needs to be recalled that the members of this underground were arrested by the Shabak in the spring of 1984, after having been caught red-handed while laying bombs under Arab buses, timed to explode at the beginning of the Sabbath (so as not to injure any pious Jews) and that they were, at the same time, planning to blow up the Temple Mount mosques. As revealed for the first time by Daniel Ben-Simon ("Davar", February 27, 1994), the real aims of "Jewish Underground" were absolutely cosmic in their outreach. "While interrogating one 'Jewish Underground' member, the Shabak men were stunned by the downright Satanic idea of undermining the plan to demolish the Muslim mosques on the Temple Mount. As the man explained to his interrogators, the demolition of these mosques would have infuriated the hundreds of millions of Muslims in the entire world. Their rage would inevitably lead to a war which in all likelihood would escalate into a world war. In such a war the scale of casualties would be formidable enough to promote the process of Redemption of the Jews and of the Land of Israel. All the Muslims would by then disappear, which means that everything would be ready for the coming of the Messiah"..."
heritage of our ancestors [i.e. Sinai] to strangers].

Quite regardless of this version of “end of history”, the fundamental tenets of Gush Emunim are absolutely incompatible with Zionism ideology. The latter wanted the Jews to undergo a “normalization” by emigrating to Palestine and forming a Jewish state “like any other state”. Gush Emunim, by contrast, claims that the Jewish people are “peculiar”, and denounces the aspirations for “normality” as “a delusion of the secular Zionists”, because of Jewish criteria. Jews are not and cannot be normal, because “their everlasting uniqueness” stems from “the covenant God made with them on Mount Sinai”. Therefore, as explained by rabbi Shlomo Aviner, “God does require other nations to abide by abstract codes of ‘justice and righteousness’, but to Jews such codes do not apply”. Kimeering stresses that Gush Emunim settlers “accepted the teachings of their rabbis fully, zealously, genuinely and somewhat naively”. The settlements they established in the Territories, far away from large, westernized, and therefore “corrupt” Israeli cities, were designed as “religious and moral communities”, to be managed in conformity with their concept of true Jewish religion, with all the coercive practices that concept implied. Although Kimeering and some other critics of Gush Emunim fail to say it, the ideology of Gush Emunim (and of Kahane which is not very different, except in style) falls in line with a major tenet of the Bible as exemplified by God’s command to exterminate the Canaanites. Unlike Islamic and Christian fundamentalism, which are hotly discussed by Western media, Jewish fundamentalism is hardly ever, in spite of its hold upon Jewish public being far stronger than that of its Islamic and Christian counterparts on their respective coreligionists. Thus, there are many Jews, mostly but not necessarily religious, who recognize the Biblical commands of genocide as having had beneficial effects in the past and are therefore worth trying again. After all, “the Word of God” which cannot be altered, says explicitly: “But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, you shall save alive nothing that breatheth” (Deuteronomy, Chapter 20, verse 16). And “the Word of God” explains why the Jews should even perpetrate genocide “So that they shall not teach you to do after their abomination, which they have done unto their gods and cause thee to sin against the Lord thy God”. (ibid., verse 18) Yet quite a few secular and even atheistic Jews conveniently reinterpret such genocidal messages in non-religious terms, by substituting “the spirit of history” or “the body national imperative” or other abstractions for “the Lord thy God”. It resembles an old Jewish saying from the turn of the century that “some Jews don't believe in God but they do believe that He granted the Land of Israel to them”.

Lately Jewish fundamentalism has become increasingly religious. Biblical commands in general and the command to exterminate the Gentiles in the Land of Israel on particular, are indeed a major theme in “the literal interpretation of Jewish religious law” which Kimeering attributes to Gush Emunim without specifying its contents. Whoever talks to Gush Emunim members or reads their sectarian writings cannot doubt that they are genuinely afraid of being polluted by both the Arabs and “the corrupt western influences”. In fact, this combination of hatred and fear, so reminiscent of the Nazi feelings about “the Jews as constituent of an abomination, which they have done unto their gods and cause thee to sin against the Lord thy God” (Deuteronomy, Chapter 20, verse 16). And “the Word of God” explains why the Jews should even perpetrate genocide “So that they shall not teach you to do after their abomination, which they have done unto their gods and cause thee to sin against the Lord thy God”. (ibid., verse 18) Yet quite a few secular and even atheistic Jews conveniently reinterpret such genocidal messages in non-religious terms, by substituting “the spirit of history” or “the body national imperative” or other abstractions for “the Lord thy God”. It resembles an old Jewish saying from the turn of the century that “some Jews don't believe in God but they do believe that He granted the Land of Israel to them”. 

Kimeering was predicting a civil war long before Goldstein massacred Muslim worshippers on the morning of February 25. The massacre was either acclaimed or at least “understood” by more than a majority of Israelis, among them a majority of the religious. Speedy organizing of Gush Emunim settlers commanded by the Association of Judea & Samaria Rabbis was described by Dov Elbaum on January 7 (“Yerushalayim”). The Association was founded in 1991, after Bush's aborted pressure on Shamir. Lay settler leaders were then scared. “The rabbis, trusting the Divine promise took advantage of that situation, filling the leadership vacuum”. Elbaum perceives this change as acquiring special importance after the Oslo Agreement. Says one of the Association's members, Rabbi Daniel Shilo of the settlement Kedumim: “The Judea and Samaria Rabbis at present solve the gravest problems the settlers face when they begin to lose faith in Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria as conducive to Redemption. Some Jews who lack faith begin even to ponder whether the whole idea of settlement might not be fundamentally wrong or whether the process of Divine Redemption is not in retrogression, or whether the Almighty is not trying to signal to us that we stop the settling. In such a moment the rabbis have the duty to provide the answers. This is why we, the rabbis, have now more power than any conceivable lay authority. By virtue of our spiritual influence”.

Elbaum observes that “the Judea and Samaria rabbis are not satisfied with being vested with spiritual power only. They began developing their own extensive intelligence network using information gathered from religious or otherwise sympathetic officers from the army's high command. General Moshe Bar-Kochba (a member of the General Staff) who has recently died after retiring from the army, was named by the Judea and Samaria rabbis as one of their major informants. He is said to have been informing the rabbis regularly in advance about plans for army operations in the Territories. Upon learning about him, other officers followed in his footsteps, proffering information of their own. Thereupon the army decided to maintain those relations, understanding that it thus gained access to the real leadership...
of religious settlers. For example, one battalion commander did not hesitate to dress a local settlement rabbis in an army uniform, take him to a look-out post and identify to him the undercover soldiers operating in local villages, in the hope that he would thus convince the Judea and Samaria rabbis to stop blocking the major highways and thereby obstructing that unit's movements. And this was not an isolated instance. "The heads of the Judea and Samaria Council now confront the rabbinical council of the Kingdom of Judea which rose up before their very eyes stealing their power from them. The former council, unlike the latter, can derive some consolation from their solid connections with various government agencies. Rabbi, whose top priority interest is to reach a dialogue with religious settlers, keeps summoning the Judea and Samaria Council members for intimate talks. Not the 'Kingdom of Judea' rabbithough, because the rabbis would find it demeaning to lobby by addressing a sinner. Besides, they also know that the Council members would under no circumstances dare to make a major decision without first obtaining their blessing. Realizing this, all government agencies now recognize the importance of the rabbis. At their council's founding rally the rabbis made three rulings, which retain its force till this day—to take the settlers to the streets for protest demonstrations after each terrorist assault, to block all major highways after each terrorist assault and to publish a newsletter containing religious rulings binding the public. Following this triple ruling the Prime Minister's [religious] Adviser on Terrorism, Yigal Pressler, came to Rabbi Shapira's home to humbly ask that it be revoked. But Rabbi Shapira absolutely refused to budge."

Rabin announced his decision not to evacuate even the tinier Jewish settlement in Hebron only on April 1 but his decision had been predictable since early in January. So was Rabbi Shapira's further refusal to budge when on March 30, he received a visit by Rabin's deputy in the Defense ministry, Motta Gur (the former chief of staff). Gur came to Shapira to beg him most deferentially to revoke the rabbis' ruling that Israeli soldiers ordered to evacuate Jewish settlers were to refuse to follow the orders to this effect. The only thing which perhaps could not be predicted in advance, was the unhospitable contempt with which Shapira treated his secular visitor. After Pressler's and Gur's failure, Rabin may yet himself have to go to a Jewish Canossa. Incidentally, the "left" Meretz list and the entire "peace camp" bear their share of responsibility for those self-demeaning ventures directed not because in their crassness they stick to the dogma that "the peace process" tops everything else in priority. The result is that they cling to Rabin abjectly, believing that if he falls the "peace process" would be halted and with the additional effect of their losing their ministerial seats. Much as they may grumble, Rabin can take it for granted that their support for him is assured. On the other hand, the power of the rabbis largely stems from the fact that for Rabin and his "experts" consider that their behavior is unpredictable (even though Kimmelman, Elbaum and I do not agree). Shapira's contempt for his secular visitor was by no means atypical. Hatred and contempt for all secular Jews (not just for Rabin and his ministers) by the rabbis of the settlements and their numerous allies in Israel may not be a new phenomenon but it is increasingly noticeable, especially in view of their growing influence on the Haredi, religious or "traditionalist" Jewish public. In itself this is a major factor of growing tension which may eventually escalate into a civil war. As has been widely noticed, extremism is in growing vogue, both in purely religious practices and in hatred of both the Gentiles and secular Jews. The extremist haters are nowadays called "Haredi-nationalist" which also means in Hebrew "mustard-like". Nerri Horowitz in his perspicacious article ("Shishi", March 11) analyzed their "twofold hatred for Arabs and secular Jews", backing his analysis by plentiful quotations from their copious and rather abstruse literature, filled with Cabalistic references. This literature is too esoteric to be readily understood by the uninstructed but its influence on a majority of the religious Jews is not to be doubted, even though there also exists a minority which, without ceasing to be religious, opposes it strongly in public. The extent of the internecine tension among the religious can be gauged from its many recent manifestations. =

61145. Shahak, Israel. Is a Civil War Between Israeli Jews Forthcoming?: Part 3 of 4. Shahak Report 136, Israel, April 6, 1994. To give just one example, some brothers recently declared to the media that they were willing to fight their own brothers over the recent political developments. For example, the notorious Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Hebron (mentioned in report 135) has a brother, Ya'akov Levinger, also a rabbi but employed as a professor of Talmud in the secular Tel Aviv University, who has been supporting Israeli withdrawal from all the Territories, the establishment of Palestinian state there, and - most notably - separation of religion from the state. For years the two brothers have managed to keep some sort of family relations. But on March 18, Ya'akov Levinger gave an interview to "Shishi", in which he openly said "that a civil war in Hebron was inevitable" and that the State of Israel should not hesitate from fighting such a war. He added that had he been a Hebron Muslim, "he would be now busy manufacturing bombs to throw them at Jewish settlers". And he seemed to hint that in the event of a civil war as he predicted it, he would be willing to fight his own brother.

A popular description of the new ideology of "twofold hatred" can be found in Nadav Shraggai's article ("Haaretz", February 18). He responds to the renunciation by religious settlers and by some other religious Jews of the traditional prayer for the State of Israel, said on every Sabbath and holiday since 1948. Concretely, the prayer was renounced by those who refused to recognize the State of Israel as holy, once it "betrayed its sacred mission". The words of that prayer "O God, radiate Your light and truth upon Israel's leaders, ministers and advisers" were found to be particularly offensive since Rabin and all his ministers began to be regarded as traitors. Shraggai insists that the whole milieu under his description is comprised of relative moderates. "The personal, ideological and religious crisis in which the national-religious Jewish community in Israel has found itself, generated doubts about the very foundations of religious Zionism, namely its historic alliance with secular Zionism and its wholehearted acceptance of the State of Israel. In the past, that alliance revolved around the perception of the secular State of Israel as a first stage in the process of Redemption. At present, even the moderates put this assumption in question. The doubters do not need to have much in common with radicals like Yehuda Etzion from the Jewish Underground, who would oppose any Jewish state which is not a monarchy reignred over by the Davidic dynasty, or like Mordechai Karpel, the founder of the "Jewish nation exits for eternity" movement which also wants to turn Israel into a theocratic monarchy".

The "moderates" are led by several influential rabbis, among them by Azriel Ariel, the son of rabbi Yakov Ariel who, as mentioned in report 135 eulogized Goldstein at his funeral. Rabbi Ariel junior conceives of religious settlements as established "not only to create facts on the ground, but also to affect the hearts and minds of Jewish people. We believed that by the Jewish masses encountering the holy parts of the Land alive, their hearts would be at one with the heart of the Land. We envisaged the process as reconnecting the national consciousness with its spiritual roots". Unfortunately for Ariel junior, "for a majority of Jews, the settlements have failed in restoring that sacred linkage. They have renounced the Jewish roots in their soul, profaning themselves by the sin of choosing the so-called 'morality' of Western culture instead. In the state of that sin, their hearts remained unaffected by the Land of Israel". The conclusion is "to build the sacred and observant community from within. Let us stop looking out. Let us stop seeking paths to the hearts of our sinning brethren. One day those who refuse to follow the orders to this effect. The only thing which perhaps could not be predicted in advance, was the unhospitable contempt with which Shapira treated his secular visitor. After Pressler's and Gur's failure, Rabin may yet himself have to go to a Jewish Canossa. Incidentally, the "left" Meretz list and the entire "peace camp" bear their share of responsibility for those self-demeaning ventures directed not because in their crassness they stick to the dogma that "the peace process" tops everything else in priority. The result is that they cling to Rabin abjectly, believing that if he falls the "peace process" would be halted and with the additional effect of their losing their ministerial seats. Much as they may grumble, Rabin can take it for granted that their support for him is assured. On the other hand, the power of the rabbis largely stems from the fact that for Rabin and his "experts" consider that their behavior is unpredictable (even though Kimmelman, Elbaum and I do not agree). Shapira's contempt for his secular visitor was by no means atypical. Hatred and contempt for all secular Jews (not just for Rabin and his ministers) by the rabbis of the settlements and their numerous allies in Israel may not be a new phenomenon but it is increasingly noticeable, especially in view of their growing influence on the Haredi, religious or "traditionalist" Jewish public. In itself this is a major factor of growing tension which may eventually escalate into a civil war. As has been widely noticed, extremism is in growing vogue, both in purely religious practices and in hatred of both the Gentiles and secular Jews. The extremist haters are nowadays called "Haredi-nationalist" which also means in Hebrew "mustard-like". Nerri Horowitz in his perspicacious article ("Shishi", March 11) analyzed their "twofold hatred for Arabs and secular Jews", backing his analysis by plentiful quotations from their copious and rather abstruse literature, filled with Cabalistic references. This literature is too esoteric to be readily understood by the uninstructed but its influence on a majority of the religious Jews is not to be doubted, even though there also exists a minority which, without ceasing to be religious, opposes it strongly in public. The extent of the internecine tension among the religious can be gauged from its many recent manifestations. =
Even more articulate is Rabbi Yair Dreyfus. He argues that Israel will commit “a spiritual apostasy the day the agreement with the PLO takes effect. That day will mark the end of the Jewish-Zionist era in the sacred history of the Land of Israel. Historians will record that the Jewish-Zionist era lasted from 1948-1993. It ended when most Jews turned into Canaanites. Hence 1993 marks the beginning of the Canaanite era... In that era of sin, Jewish political thought, cultural-educational thought included, will be polluted by--as he terms it--‘speedy Arabization’. The Jewish left will continue its treacherous practices of dismissing Jews from key posts and replacing them with Arabs. This will be done in government, the Broadcasting Authority, the Land Authority, editorial boards of the newspapers, boards of directors of the universities. Every important position will be filled by Arabs”.

At the time when no Arab has held any major post in Israel, such fantasies resemble Nazi fears of being driven away everywhere by the Jews. When rabbi Dreyfus speaks about pollution, he apparently means the contact with the Gentiles as its source, exactly as contact with Jews was supposed to “pollute” a German Nazi and “change his nature”. Rabbi Dreyfus similarly accuses the Jewish seculars of “wanting to create a new Israeli-Canaanite personality and to destroy the authentic Judaism by blending it with alien elements, which would also spell the end of Jewish-Zionist motivation. In a surrealist manner, communism polluted Zionism when the two were blended together by the Meretz of this appreciation as most significant, because they were spontaneous and therefore drew already extant ideology which approves indiscriminate murdering of Gentiles by individual Jews. This is why I am going to cover here Avirama Golan’s (’Haaretz’, February 28) description of how news about Goldstein were received on the very day of the massacre in the overwhelmingly religious city of Bnei Brak, and how a day later a religious crowd reacted to a praise of Goldstein during a mass entertainment event. Since the massacre fell on the Purim festival day, during which religious Jews are enjoined to be merry and drink alcoholic beverages, the city streets were filled to the capacity by joyful celebrants and a special security force comprised of religious veterans of the Israeli army ‘elite units’ was hired by the mayor to enforce order and especially modesty. Here is Golan’s description of the street’s response to the spreading news of the massacre. ‘A hired security guard, with a huge gun in his belt, a black skullcap on his head and the special insignia of ‘Bnei Brak Security Team’ on his chest, stared at a fundraising stall. Then he noticed a pal of his on the sidewalk across the street. ‘A Purim miracle, I’m telling you, a Purim miracle’, he shouted at the top of his voice. ‘That holy man did something great. 52 Arabs at one stroke’.

The fundraiser, a slim yeshiva student, was skeptical. ‘That’s just impossible’, he said. ‘Those must just be stories’. But the people standing around confirmed the news. ‘It was on the radio’, they said. ‘Where?’. ‘In Hebron, in the Patriarchs Cave’. The yeshiva student turned pale. ‘I don’t mind the Arabs, but it is us who will pay the price’, he said. ‘What are you talking about?’ the security guard shouted. ‘It’s a Purim miracle. God helped’. The people around the stall formed two groups--on the one hand those who said that God Himself ordained a well-deserved punishment of the Arabs, on the other those who remained silent throughout. The fundraiser went on writing receipts and shaking his head. ‘Oh’, he said, ‘nothing really happened’. The wife of a Bnei Brak functionary said that dozens of visitors who, as is customary on Purim, visited their home that morning were shocked. ‘By the murder?’, somebody asked. ‘To tell you the truth, not exactly by the murder. About what may now happen to the Jews’.

On the evening of the next day, continues Golan, “the masses of religious Jews were expected to come to Yad Eliahu stadium [the biggest in Israel] to be entertained by the famous religious jazz singer, Mordechai Ben-David. For months before the massacre, the evening was planned as a demonstration intended to save the Land of Israel from Rabin, Peres and other Jewish infidels”. Golan says that all factions within the religious community were represented in the crowd. “The first part of the evening passed quietly and even rather dully. Only after the intermission, several minutes before the star of the evening was to appear on the stage, the crowd went on rampage. The master of the ceremony called upon a Kiryat Arba resident to address the crowd. He immediately conferred a praise on that ‘righteous and holy physician, Dr. Goldstein, who rendered us a sacred service and got martyred in the process’. The speaker called upon the audience to attend his funeral. By and large, the audience remained silent. Some applauded. Only a single individual, wearing a small beard and a knitted skullcap, stood up and yelled: ‘I disagree, for that was a cold-blooded murder! Instantly he was physically assaulted, with many in the crowd yelling back: ‘Kick the infidel out from the hall!’ The tempsers cooled down only when Ben-David finally appeared on the stage and began singing.

After the performance, already outside, some kept reminiscing that more Gentiles had been killed by the Jews in Susa during the Purim of 75000 so that that was the right time to kill a comparable number of Gentiles in the Holy Land again”. No wonder Dov Halbertal, from a small and almost defunct faction of the National Religious Party (NRP) doves told Golan that “this Purim joy epitomizes moral collapse of religious Zionism... If religious Zionism does not undertake soul-searching right now, I doubt if it will ever have another opportunity”.

The subsequent developments have shown that neither the religious Zionism nor other factions within the religious Jewish community are in any mood to engage in soul-searching. On the contrary, steadily growing is only the appreciation of Goldstein, who by now has already become a folk saint of sorts, but also the feeling that Jews have the right and the duty to massacre Gentiles who live in the Land of Israel. While reserving a fuller discussion of this development.
for another report, I confine myself here to describe its three relevant episodes, all of them recent.

On March 23, Nadav Shraggai reported in "Haaretz" on the visit of a delegation of all Israeli branches of the mighty youth movement affiliated with the NRP, "Bnei Akiva" to Kiryat Arba and Hebron (then under curfew selectively applied to its Arab inhabitants) intended to "encourage the Jewish settlers". A Jewish leader from Hebron, Yossi Lebovitz, "talking with satisfaction while on his face a smile" of the visit of this delegation, "have you already visited the Holy Rabbi Doctor Goldstein's tomb?". The flustered visitors declined the suggestion but without uttering a single word of rebuke to the worshippers of the new saint. Thereupon they had to withstand a flurry of abuse on the part of their local "Bnei Akiva" comrades who said that, by their refusing to pay tribute to Goldstein, they "supported the left". This denunciation was vociferously backed by some local rabbis affiliated with the NRP. One of them, Rabbi Shimon Ben-Zion, senior teacher in the local "Hesder" Yeshiva, a part of the Israeli army, which makes him a state employee, delivered for the visitors' consumption an eulogy of Goldstein and of what he called "his act". He also told them that if the government "keeps bowing low to the Arabs, all of whom are murderers", and if "the Jews fail to establish firm rule over the entire Land of Israel", there will be "more Goldsteins". Most visitors didn't agree with their local comrades about Goldstein's sainthood and kept arguing back. Yet they were noticeably influenced by the arguments of their hosts, to the extent of collectively deciding that support for the Jewish settlers in Hebron tops any disagreements about Goldstein in priority. [=-

61146. Shahak, Israel. Is a Civil War Between Israeli Jews Forthcoming?: Part 4 of 4. Shahak Report 136. Israel, April 6, 1994. On March 16, Gabby Baron reported in "Yediot Ahronot" on how the "Deputy Minister of Education, Mikha Goldman, was physically assaulted after delivering yesterday a welcome speech at a meeting of Jerusalem district teachers in the Binyaney Ha'umah hall in that city. He managed to avoid being hurt, though. His speech infuriated dozens of religious teachers, because he talked about his visit to Kiryat Arba and of the shock he had experienced at finding how enthused were the religious school children there by the massacre in Patriarchs' Cave. A virtual riot erupted in the hall, filled by about 5,000 Jerusalem district teachers, as soon as he spoke about it. Dozens of religious teachers jumped up from the podium. A female teacher who managed to reach it, picked up a flowerpot from the speakers' table, ready to hurl it at him, except that in the last moment she was balked. The whole mob of religious teachers in rage assembled in front of the podium, decrying the Deputy Minister as 'a fascist'. Goldman insisted on continuing his speech. When he ended it, he had to leave the building under a heavy guard, thanks to which the teachers pursuing him were unable to injure him'. A virtually identical version of the same event appeared on the same day in "Haaretz". Yet neither the Education minister (from 'Meretz') nor the Prime Minister has uttered a single word in condemnation of the incident at the teachers meeting. Peres alone made some circumspect remarks about it.

On April 5 the Israeli radio reported that the mentioned Rabbi Shimon Ben-Zion had disseminated a flier among Kiryat Arba and Hebron settlers requesting contributions for a book about "Saint Baruch Goldstein". On April 6 "Yediot Ahronot" published the text of the flier. Goldstein is referred to there as "Rabbi doctor Baruch Goldstein of blessed memory, let the Lord avenge his blood". According to "Yediot Ahronot", Ben-Zion's idea was backed by the Kiryat Arba municipal council. On April 5 Amnon Barzilay reported in "Haaretz" that two days earlier all Gush Emunim leaders, Kiryat Arba mayor Benny Katzower included, had an amicable talk with Rabin, who apologized to them for his past outbursts against them and promised never to do it again. (These "outbursts" were anyhow intended for the consumption of the Israeli "doves", Arafat and the western media.) The two sides agreed to cooperate closely in the future. No wonder, therefore, that Rabin found it ill-advised to say anything about rabbi Ben-Zion's idea. It can be predicted with near certainty that, like all Gush Emunim ventures, the book commemorating Goldstein will at least in part be financed by the Israeli government. Needless to say, the proliferation of such stories within a short time span of about six weeks produced an increasingly strong backlash on the part of the Jewish seculars (with which I will not deal here) and added their weight to fears of a civil war. Although such fears have not been as yet voiced by any major politician, they have become rampant in all conceivable segments of Israeli Jewish public opinion, even if the contemplated remedies have varied to the point of irreconcilability.

Accordingly, some right-wingers have hardly been any less worried about the prospect than others. Thus Dr. Yossi Olmert, an Arabist, brother of the mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert, was Shamir's trusted adviser, appointed by him as director of the Israeli Press Office. On March 28, Yossi Olmert published an article in "Yediot Ahronot" warning the right-wing of being swept into a civil war by the religious settlers. "There are terms which, when uttered in public, in particular by responsible civic leaders, may have an irrevocable effect. The terrifying two words 'civil war' are a good example of that. Until recently we used to hear those two words only from the extremest fringe of the settlers' movement, that is, from people who already long ago lost all shame and sense of national responsibility. But recently we can hear these two words from Knesset members of right-wing parties in the context of a possible evacuation of Jews from Hebron. This is far more terrifying". Olmert goes on to explain that he opposes the evacuation of Jews from any place in Hebron (which he compares to "expulsion of Catholics from Vatican") as much as anyone else. But he defines himself as even more opposed to anything conducive to a civil war. Therefore he is determined to obey any legal orders, even if they order such an evacuation. In this context he recalls how "about 20 years ago", during the first Rabin government, he himself led a group of settlers resolved to establish an illegal settlement near Bethlehem. "We were stopped by reservists commanded by a captain who, with tears in his eyes, assured us of his whole-hearted support for Jews settling anywhere. But he said he will follow his orders faithfully and if necessary open fire at us". Olmert says that the captain's tears impressed him no less than his threats. "We struggled hard with our conscience, but in the end we decided to yield so as not to spark a civil war". He appeals to responsible right-wingers to follow this example, and to the government to avoid doing anything which might push people to the brink of civil war. I know Olmert's story is true, although it was then banned by censorship. My only comment is that a lot has changed in Israel during those 20 years and therefore the appeals invoking such memories are no longer likely to be paid much heed. My view seems to be shared by the author of "Davar" editorial article (April 3) who writes that "already a few weeks before the Hebron massacre a senior officer in the General Staff said that 'some current Israeli army servicemen, especially some junior and middle-ranking combat units officers, have recently undergone radical changes. The army now contains a high percentage of men educated in 'Hesder' Yeshivot or by teachers with similar views. It is uncertain whether these men would follow all orders issued to them during the peace process'". But the penetration of Israeli army by settlers and religious zealots will be a subject-matter of another report.

The second right-winger concerned with the likelihood of a civil war is a regular "Ma'ariv" columnist, Emuna Alon, a Gush Emunim publicist. Her opinions could be very extremist. For example, she recently called upon Likud to repent its erstwhile "delusions" over the Camp David Agreement, repudiate Begin's memory and abrogate the peace with Egypt. Yet she has always made an effort to argue with "the leftists" - with everybody to the left of Gush Emunim-without hatred toward them. In contrast to the style usual in her camp, she has always regarded them as deluded rather than deliberate in wrongdoing. In her March 28 article Alon laments "the fact, already acknowledged by almost everybody that Israeli Jewish society is nowadays, not only torn asunder, but also deeply injured by squabbles", to the point that even the vocabulary in common use (the "peace") has different meanings depending on who uses it. Charitably, she blames both sides for that, admitting that neither wants any more to know what the other one thinks. She realizes it is already too late to come out with projects in "understanding" in whose framework "the extreme left of the big cities" might visit the settlements "to find how nice the settlers really are", or
Gush Emunim people might visit Tel Aviv to to find that its inhabitants are not drunken or pursuing illicit sex on every conceivable occasion.

The remedy she envisions is "that four and a half million Israeli Jews would realize that they live on a virtual island surrounded by the sea of Muslims, all of whom want to kill us all. As the precedent of the Gulf War shows, Israel is the only state in the world under an imminent threat of extermination. This is why we should be brothers to each other, instead of fighting each other. The Gentiles have always wanted to exterminate the Jews, except that now, by fighting each other, the Jews themselves encourage the Gentiles in that aim". I doubt if such arguments can convince anybody apart from the religious Jews.

Let me conclude this report with a brief summary of another article by Kimmerling ("Haaretz", April 6). Its core discusses the penetration of the Israeli army by religious zealots and the powerful influence of the settlers on the units stationed in the Territories. Let me refrain from reporting this analysis here and confine myself to quoting the article's conclusions.

"Now it is all-important that the army's command sees to it that every army unit is supervised. Perhaps those officers and even entire units which have been too long involved in negotiations with the religious settlers and in protecting them, and which have in the process developed too much affinity and even solidarity with them, should be transferred elsewhere. Perhaps some such units should be instantly disbanded". Plainly, such measures are too radical for Rabin or Peres to ever carry them out. But even Kimmerling regards them as no more than stop-gap solutions. "In the long range, our problems are tougher still. On the one hand, it is difficult to see how an army with a significant number of officers adhering to ideology of religious settlers could evacuate a settlement. On the other hand, I find it difficult to imagine how the Israeli army could be ideologically "purified". Kimmerling leaves the dilemma unresolved, perhaps because he realizes that it has no solution, at least, by means a social scientist could recommend. [–]"

61147. Shahak, Israel. Settling the West Bank and Israeli Domestic Politics: The End of Deception: Part 1 of 4. Shahak Report 149. Israel, January 29, 1995. The inescapable fact of Israeli domestic politics, often referred to in these reports, is that Palestinian demands, no matter how minimal, can command no Israeli majority, let alone Israeli-Jewish majority. I don't speak here of Palestinian self-determination, or the right to their own state, which is now opposed by at least 103 Knesset members and supported only by 5; whereas 12 Meretz MKs say different things at different times, avoiding any public commitment in favor of this right, however self-evident I myself may consider it. What I have in mind, are the more immediately urgent rights, e.g the right of the Palestinians in the Territories (and for that matter within Israel) not to be officially discriminated against, or not to be despooled of their land taken away from them for the exclusive benefit of the Jews, or of having their property protected from the daily acts of vandalism committed by the settlers. The inescapable fact is that only a small minority of Israeli Jews consistently support such rights, and that this minority is by no means coextensive with the "peace camp" which usually tends to ignore such matters. For the most part this minority comes from the politically powerless center of the Israeli political spectrum. The opposition of a great Israel majority to Palestinian demands clashed with Palestinian hopes to win some rights through the Oslo process. Since any governmentwants to stay in power and be reelected the Oslo style "peace process" could only be carried out by means of deceiving both the Israeli Jews and Palestinians, the latter with the help of Arafat. This report will concentrate on the fact that this deception wears now thin.

True, Israeli masses are still deluded by official reassurances from the TV and the popular Hebrew press that the Oslo style "peace process" goes on. But beginning with 1/1995, the elitist Haaretz started already to disclose that the heads of the Labor party, and therefore heads of state, were already admitting that the Oslo style "peace process" was dead. To present the current views of the main leaders of Labor party, let me extensively discuss an article by Orit Galili (Haaretz, January 13, 1995). Galili admits that in spite of the efforts of the party's leadership to advance new figures who support the Oslo Agreement, the majority of the active Labor party branch members oppose it firmly. A case in point is that of Tzali Reshef, for years a "Peace Now" leader, who on recently joining Labor party's ranks "was immediately appointed a member of the party Center, its Executive and its Political Committee". Since Labor party does not suffer from an excess of democracy, this was done without any elections. But all his prestige notwithstanding, when Reshef appeared in the bigger Labor party branches, he encountered according to Galili their relentless hostility of their members, especially when "he attacked the increasing construction of housing units in the Territories and proposed to dismantle at least a few settlements". By the way, he advanced such proposals not out of any regard for the Palestinian rights, but because "in order to win the next elections Labor has to do the reverse of what Likud did. If they invested money in settling, we need to invest money in removing some settlers". Interestingly, the party secretary-general, Nissim Zvili admitted that "in order to reach a logical solution in the West Bank, it would be necessary to remove 60,000 out of the 130,000 Jewish settlers from there, except that nobody in the party has the courage to say this", in recognition that it could only contribute to a major electoral defeat. It can be presumed that at least some senior Laborites have been aware of this dilemma already for a long time, because Galili quotes "the most important Labor party leaders" as telling her that "since when the Oslo Agreement was signed, we haven't behaved with any resolve".

According to Galili's sources, Rabin and Peres hold similar views. "One of the best guarded secrets in the Labor party is that Yitzhak Rabin is already contrite about his support for the Oslo Agreement. This makes some party seniors sad and disappointed. The first to recently feel it was the Foreign minister, Shimon Peres. He recently told his friends how the entire government was already dissociating itself from the Agreement and accordingly doing nothing to advance it". Galili adds that Rabin has never supported the Oslo Agreement wholeheartedly. Since he also has emotional problems in talking to the Palestinians, he granted Peres the requisite even if always limited powers to negotiate the implementation of the Agreement". Lately, however, "whenever Peres submits to Rabin any practical proposal devised to forward negotiations about granting more powers in the West Bank to the autonomy authorities, Rabin vetoes the idea. As a consequence, the talks with the PLO not only have not progressed, but since the conflict over the hill confiscated from Al-Khader village they have regressed".

All Laborites interviewed by Galili admit that their party's standing in the eyes of the Israeli public is very bad and that in all the polls Rabin's rating are considerably lower than Netanyahu's. There is no reason to report the findings of those polls when Labor's standing deteriorates rapidly. According to Galili, most of the Labor leaders are convinced that the only salvation is to find somebody from the outside with personal prestige high enough to remedy the party's plight. The two names mentioned in this context are the present secretary-general of the Histadrut, Hayim Ramon, expelled from the party last April, who nevertheless told Galili that he would be quite willing to come back; and the ex-Chief of Staff, Ehud Barak. Let me omit the lengthy - and in my view pointless - estimates of possible electoral gains which either might deliver to Labor. Let me just illustrate the futility of this approach by quoting the opinions of the deputy foreign minister, Yossi Beilin who is rightly perceived as Labor's greatest dove. Beilin thinks that "Labor might win in the 1996 elections by reaching a solution with Syria and Lebanon and advancing a permanent solution with the Palestinians". At the same time he proposes that "Ehud Barak should join Labor party without wasting a single day". It is not known whether Barak wants to join Labor; Galili couldn't find anything definite about it. Barak's notions of "the permanent solution with the Palestinians" are sheer impossibility, even as a temporary solution. I will not discuss in this report Barak's views concerning the solution with Syria and Lebanon, except to say that with him at Labor's helm no solution with those countries would be easy to reach. In general, the sole seeming aim of all important Laborites is to win elections by deceiving the voters about peace. But as an American statesman remarked already in the XIX century: "You cannot deceive all the people all the time".

But not only senior Laborites now admit their opposition to the
Oslo Agreement. Opposition of the Israeli army to any further implementation of this agreement, which even before Beit-Lid terror attack of January 22 became both open and unprecedented in its intensity, can be presumed to be more important than purely political factors. A prestigious Israeli commentator, Ze’ev Shifff wrote in Haaretz (January 20) that “although the word ‘veto’ was not used” in talks of the Israeli army senior officers with Rabin and the government, “what they said could be understood as a warning that under certain conditions the Israeli army might refuse to accept responsibility for security of Israelis who travel to the West Bank and its settlements. Shiff comments that “some may see it as instance of the army’s pressure on the political system, or even a case of the army’s indirect veto in a matter of military competence. But the Israeli army’s view is: “It is our duty to single out military implications of a decision. If that decision is the government’s, we will be bound by it, even if we perceive it as very difficult to execute”. Even if all these reservations are granted, a so overt attempt by the army to determine politics did not occur in Israel since 5/1967, when army generals led by the current President Ezer Weizman and seconded by Matty Peled practically forced Levi Eshkol to terminate the diplomat attempts to solve the crisis for the sake of preparing an armed attack on Egypt.

According to Shiff the army’s pressure on Rabin “has already yielded results. Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres are currently trying hard to convince Arafat that the redeployment of the Israeli army in the West Bank needs to be postponed. The real reason for postponement is the need to complete construction of the bypassing roads and other fortifications which is what the Israeli army demands”. In other words, Shiff admits that Rabin and Peres routinely deceive Arafat.

Shiff lists four main reasons of the army’s attitude. In my view, all four arguments are actually intended to preempt all withdrawal from the entire West Bank. First, the army objects to the Palestinian police presence in any area from which the army will eventually withdraw. This runs contrary to the admittedly absurd plan of “redeployment” hatched by Peres: that the Israeli army would withdraw from the densely inhabited downtowns of some Palestinian cities and remain on their outskirts, while the Palestinian police will enforce order in their densely inhabited downtowns. Peres’ idea implies joint responsibility of the Israeli army and the Palestinian police for security in such towns. According to Shiff, the army doesn’t want to share responsibility with the Palestinian police in anything, and does not even want the latter to enforce order anywhere in the West Bank. “The army’s arguments are that the Palestinian police is unlikely to guarantee the safety of Israelis passing through the areas abandoned by the army, and unlikely to prevent terror emanating from the areas under its control. The realities of the Gaza Strip and its boundaries corroborate such anticipations”. These realities will be discussed separately.

Secondly, “the Israeli army and the Shabak believe that as long as terror goes on, any area from which the army would be withdrawn is bound to become a new base and refuge for the terrorists. For the army and Shabak this situation will be pretty intractable”. The army is in particular concerned about Bethlehem as one of the towns envisaged by the just mentioned Peres’ plan. The army considers it likely that “from within Bethlehem it will be possible to open fire at the Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem”. In the army’s estimate such shooting may have more serious effects than frequent instances of firing from within the borders of the Gaza autonomy.

Thirdly, the Israeli army insists that “in order to protect security of the 114 Jewish settlements in the West Bank and of all Israelis who may travel there, it needs an exclusive responsibility for guarding all the roads and their intersections”. Some of these roads pass through Palestinian towns. The army insists that it must guard them also there, at least until the bypassing highways are ready for use. “The army also insists that it must keep in its hands exclusive responsibility for all the electricity and water networks in the West Bank”.

Fourthly, “the army estimates that prior to any withdrawal some 100 km of bypassing roads must be constructed, as the only way to reduce tension between the two West Bank populations”. Moreover, the army demands the construction of “strategic roads”, devised solely for its “logistic needs” leading toward Israel’s east. These “strategic roads” can be presumed to be intended to link places all over Israel with the Jordan Valley which, with the exception of the Jericho enclave, according to Israeli plans will remain under military occupation. Rabin often uses the stock phrase “The Jordan river will forever remain the security border of the State of Israel”. The last time he said it was in his speech to the nation on January 23.

Shiff adds that “the realists among the most senior commanders of the Israeli army wonder whether even under the present circumstances the army can guarantee security of Jewish settlements and of all Israelis travelling in the West Bank without fail. The army claims that it does not have the prerogative manpower even if it would send all its soldiers to policing the West Bank”. Shortage of manpower in the largest army in Israel’s history stems from the absurdly exaggerated demands of the settlers for protection by soldiers under all imaginable or unimaginable circumstances. Rabin gives in to such demands for political reasons. Shiff mentions one such instance. “A platoon of soldiers is now assigned everyday to escort a single small girl from one settlement to another where she insists on taking recorder playing lessons”. The army says that under present circumstances it hardly succeeds in meeting all such demands, but “if the number of terrorist assaults grows, larger amounts of reservists would have to be called up”. In fact, the Israeli army can still cope with the settlers’ demands because in the recent period the assaults on the settlers have been rare. The casualties they sustained have been much lower than casualties inflicted on Israelis in Israel. But as a result of Rabin’s contrivance, a high proportion of religious settlers hold fictitious government jobs. Accordingly, they have plenty of time and can instantly react to each assault on them by violent demonstrations in front of Rabin’s residence or government offices in Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Tel Aviv, by comparison, need to work. Accordingly, they cannot spare much time to demonstrate even after many of them are killed in a terror assault. The burden the army so much complains about results therefore from Rabin’s policies. [4]

61148. Shahak, Israel. Settling the West Bank and Israeli Domestic Politics: The End of Deception: Part 2 of 4. Shahak Report 149. Israel, January 29, 1995. Shiff says that the Israeli army is going to tell the government that “as long as Palestinian terror goes on, in matters of strict military competence, the army may be unable or hardly able to meet what is being demanded from it”. As usual, the army will also exploit this opportunity to complain that it does not receive all the money it asks for. Shiff’s own conclusion is that “Israel needs political rather than military decisions. The Prime Minister and his government should take full responsibility for their decisions. Nevertheless, it would be something exceptionally rare in Israel’s history if a government, especially the one with a [Knesset] majority as slim as this government has, would dare to force the Israeli army to follow a decision running against the latter’s firm preference”. In my view the army has realized it already for some time that Rabin will not dare to do it. This is one of the reasons why, in Galil’s words, “Rabin is conrte about his support for the Oslo Agreement”.

Let me discuss in more detail “the realities of the Gaza Strip and its boundaries” to which Shiff’s army sources referred only in passing. In contrast to the West Bank where the Israeli army troops are for the most part 18-21-old draftees, with rabid anti-Arab feelings prevalent in their age cohort, the boundaries of the autonomous Gaza Strip and the settlements within the autonomy are manned by reservists, usually serving in top military quality units, comprised mostly of middle-to-upper classes of relatively advanced ages. Their significant part are reserve paratrooper units in which the percentage of academics can be as high as 25-30%; whereas the remainder tend to be recruited from the relatively high income strata of the population. The purpose of this collection was to establish as good relations with the Palestinian police as possible. After all, precisely such segments of the Israeli Jewish population - high education and/or income holders - tend to support the Oslo Agreement and could be expected to try their best to apply it in practice. Since early 10/1994, however, people like myself could find
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from friends serving on the boundaries of the Gazan autonomy how rapidly the situation was deteriorating there. Sure, the Israeli government was suppressing information and manipulating the news to convey the contrary impression. But even from the limited amount of information available in the press, new press it could not be seen that Israel's troops were being routinely fired at from within the autonomous territory, even if the resultant damage was rather minimal. Israeli soldiers and junior officers serving there are all convinced that some shooting is done by the Fatah Hawks but most of it by Palestinian policemen, often when their officers are absent. (Not without contempt, the Israeli reservists comment that the Palestinian policemen are too used to shooting into the air to remember how to aim at a target). The Israeli soldiers are forbidden to return fire except when "in danger", but it easy to imagine that with the lapse of time such orders are more and more often ignored. This was how in two incidents in 12/1994 the Israeli soldiers killed 6 Palestinian policemen. Needless to say, shooting from within the autonomy became thereafter more frequent.

Since early 1/1995, military censorship somewhat relaxed its ban on reporting such incidents, presumably due to what Shift described as "the army's pressure on Rabin". Some reservists who had served on the boundaries of the autonomous territory were allowed to recount their experiences to the press. In an Oz Sheleah's interview (Kol Ha'ir, January 13), the recurrent phrase the reservists used was "we felt like sitting ducks" when exposed to constant shooting at them. The reservists during their previous service stints in the Gaza Strip "we had looked forward to the day we would guard the Strip from outside". But their current experience disappointed them to the point that they now consider "guarding it from inside" as preferable. The same reservists also said that if called up to serve there again, they would prefer to refuse and go to a stockade, because the conditions in a stockade couldn't be as bad. People who say it tend to come from what I would define as the most influential segment of the Israeli Jewish society. Until a few months ago most of them were staunch supporters of Oslo-style peace process. Davar's coeditor, Yoram Peri who quoted such reservists in his "Open letter to the new Chief of Staff" (January 20), went as far as to warn the addressee that the situation on the boundaries of the autonomous territory (and other factors, such as attrition war in Lebanon) may yet give rise to "a Vietnam syndrome" in the ranks of the Israeli army.

Another instance of "the army's pressure on Rabin" was the affair of its Attorney General's report about the violations of the Oslo and Cairo Agreements by the Palestinian Authority. Since early January the press published reports, firmly denied by the government spokesmen, especially by Peres, that such a report had been drafted. But when Peres denied it again at a meeting of the Knesset Committee for Foreign and Defense Affairs, a Likud MK Benjamin Ze'ev Begin distributed the copy of that report to all Committee members. Flabbergasted, Peres had to admit the report's existence and the fact that it had been sent to the Foreign ministry, but he added: "I am not excited by its contents". He "explained" his previous denials of the report's existence by claiming that "he was misunderstood": he only meant that "it was not he who commissioned drafting that report" (Gabby Bron, Yedioth Ahronot, January 21 and other Hebrew papers of the same day).

The report accuses the Palestinian Authority and the PLO (i.e. Fatah) of systematically violating their various obligations toward Israel. Each charge is backed by many examples. Let me quote a few points. The Palestinian Authority is accused of refusing to either detain or to extradite to Israel the suspects of the murders of Israeli civilians. Two such suspects serve in the Palestinian police. The recurrent refusal of the Palestinian Authority to ban in the Gaza Strip the well-publicized celebrations of anti-Israeli terrorist assaults "constitutes a violation of the PLO's undertaking to prevent incitement to terror". The Palestinian Authority and the police are charged with encouraging thefts of Israeli cars. The report states that some Palestinian policemen have been caught and many more have been seen driving stolen cars". Many instances of presumed firing at Israeli soldiers by Palestinian policemen are singled out. And so on and so forth.

According to Aluf Ben (Haaretz, January 24) similar accusations were made by "senior officers of the Security System" to the army, Shabak and Mossad] attending a special government session convened to discuss the Beit-Lid terrorist assault. They accused the Palestinian Authority of doing hardly anything against either Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. The new Chief of Staff, Amnon Shahak said that "the Palestinian Authority is not holding its obligations: the Gaza Strip and Jericho turned out to be sanctuaries for terrorists". Shabak's Head, who also blamed the Palestinian Authority, used the occasion to propose expulsion of the entire families of the suicide bombers as a deterrent measure. But it seems that Shabak's Chief relies even more on aggravated torture (hypocritically called in Israel "moderate physical pressure"). Tova Tzimiki reports (Yedioth Ahronot, January 24) that a ministerial committee for Shabak affairs, headed by Rabin (with Yossi Sarid of Meretz as its member) permitted unlimited use of drastic methods against "extremist suspects", in addition to "some which cannot even be specified". Those which can be specified include "total blindfolding, extreme humiliations, total isolation, unlimited use of sacks for food and water, protracted sleep deprivation, protracted standing position, protracted denial of access to the restroom, long-time denial of the right to see a lawyer, etc." In his capacity as the Health minister, Ehrein Sneh said in a speech to high school students: "we permitted Shabak to do what it wanted" (Davar, January 24).

The firmest supporter of these and even more brutal measures is the "architect of Oslo" and a recipient of Nobel Prize for Peace, Shimon Peres, who alone defends the Israeli decision. He still remains Arafat's patron. Nahum Barnea and Shimon Shifer (Yediot Ahronot, January 27), who report the responses of senior Israeli ministers to the Beit-Lid terror assault, write that Peres firmly supported Shabak's Chief on the use of torture and the expulsion of the entire families of the suicide bombers. Peres also turns out to favor "assaults" - presumably murderous "on Muslim clergy" and the "forceful entry and closure of mosques". Moreover, he proposes that "Israel deals with Iran and Syria at once", because "we should never tolerate a mini-Iran right next to us". Peres, described by the Hebrew press as the best friend of Nabil Sha'at, reiterated his unconditional opposition to dismantling even a single settlement, and his support for the bypassing roads "and for all other needed security means in the West Bank". He anticipates that the Palestinian Authority will accept such measures if only the negotiations are not formally terminated and if some money continues to flow to its coffers. As will be seen below this is a plausible anticipation.

Many other instances of the "army's pressure on Rabin" could be produced. Let me confine myself to a case of Mossad's intervention in politics. On January 26, Rafi Eitan, the well-known Mossad veteran, who had served as the boss of Pollard and in other unsavory jobs, published in Yedioth Ahronot an article containing previously unpublished information, which shows how well-briefed by highly placed members of the Israeli Intelligence he still is. Eitan claims that high-quality explosives are now regularly smuggled from Egypt to the autonomous Gaza Strip. If before the foundation of the autonomy, all bombs detonated by Hamas and Islamic Jihad were constructed from home-made explosives, or consisted of improvised devices such as cooking gas containers, now the terrorists can already for some time use T.N.T or similar high-quality explosives. This disclosure appears in the Hebrew press for the first time but is in my view credible. Eitan writes on the current state of affairs to political factors. Let me quote him extensively: "A number of armed militiae coexist in the autonomy in a symbiosis. In such a situation, distinctively reminiscent of Lebanon during the civil war, the Palestinian Authority, which can be seen as just one among several such armed militias, cannot possibly ever become a government aspiring to a monopoly of violence. We have passed the point of no return. A Palestinian law enforcement agency capable of preventing terror against Israel can no longer possibly emerge. This is well-known to all branches of the Israeli Security System, but no one there is courageous enough to acknowledge it in public.

"Such a situation must make Israeli Jews increasingly insecure. It can be predicted that terror assaults of the Beit-Lid type can be expected to recur in Israel, particularly in Jerusalem. Other law violations, such as car thefts, robberies of agricultural property and all kinds of violence around the Green Line can be presumed to intensify
beyond their present levels. Under those circumstances Israeli citizens are likely to be prompted to take the law into their hands, something which will not be tolerable. In a short time not only the Strip but the entire Israel will resemble Lebanon during the civil war. Anyone shocked by this comparison would be well-advised to recall what happened in Yugoslavia.

"There are several options how to restore security of the inhabitants of this country, but all of them are conditional on a public acknowledgment that the Oslo Agreement has been failure. Any further implementation of the Oslo-style peace process can only lead to a war of Jews against Jews, Jews against Arabs and Arabs against Arabs." [9]

61149. Shahak, Israel. Settling the West Bank and Israeli Domestic Politics: The End of Deception: Part 3 of 4. Shahak Report 149. Israel, January 29, 1995. Let me comment here on Eitan's reference to "car thefts". Plenty of cars have been stolen in Israel and driven away to the Gaza Strip where they are either sold, or dismantled for spare parts (subsequently often resold in Israel) or seized by the Palestinian Authority and its police, which proves that the they have been accomplices in those thefts. The phenomenon has been noticed in Israel since early 10/1994. The incidence of car thefts increased enormously compared to that from the period before the formation of the autonomy, and the premiums demanded by the Israeli insurance companies soared accordingly. The first correspondent who broke the wall of silence about it was Nadav Hățițni (Maariv, December 2). I am going to quote him extensively. "Those who travel these days throughout the streets of Gaza find it hard to believe that the living standard of the Gaza Strip inhabitants has dropped by 40% since Arafat's arrival. The first thing that impresses the visitor is the abundance of motor vehicles. In fact, one may say that in the last half a year Gaza has moved by leaps and bounds in the use of such vehicles. Before the Israeli army's withdrawal the average age of a car in Gaza was about 15 years. Right now, however, the leaders of the Palestinian Authority succeeded in introducing a much younger generation of cars, including plentiful supplies of recent models...

"The explanation of this economic miracle can be offered by every child in Gaza. He will tell you which car was bought honestly and which car was stolen. Many stolen cars have patched up license plates in the local white color, or simply a cardboard covering the previous license plate, or else their previous license plate is painted over in local colors of the Palestinian police. Accordingly, after a short initiation into these mysteries, even a casual visitor can soon tell the difference. In fact, most of the recent model cars to be seen on the roads of Gaza were stolen in Israel, and there are plenty of such cars. A large parking lot, located between the gates of the Palestinian University and the new offices of the Fatah leadership, serves as a virtual car market. You can find here everything... Two weeks ago, a 1994 model Mercedes was sold to a Palestinian police officer for no more than 6,000 dollars... The thieves do not disregard old compact cars either. It is easier to sell them than the police. Most astonishingly, however, many privately stolen cars are "incorporated" into the official fleet of the police. Thus, official vehicles are arrayed on the parking lot of the Gaza police headquarters... Only one single polished Blazer car from U.S. army surpluses is an honest case. An average policeman who hands you a traffic ticket will in all probability do so from a stolen Israeli car. "This week the Minister of Police, Shahal, sounded an alarm over the issue of the stolen cars driven away to the Autonomy. In his phrasing, Arafat's capital is the biggest slaughterhouse of Israeli vehicles in the Middle East. Nevertheless, Shahal and his colleagues can do a lot to counteract the car thefts, and yet they have done nothing... "Meanwhile the Israeli diplomats travel all over the world to implore the heads of states to disburse millions to the Palestinian Authority. To none of them it occurs to remit a few percentages of the donations to the accounts of the Israeli car insurance companies. Several percent, far from too many, could reduce the insurance rates we now pay to the levels we paid before the Palestinian Authority had to be taken into account in calculating those rates".

Haaretz's article was followed by others, the issue was raised in the Knesset Committee for Internal Affairs (chaired by a Likud MK) and shown on TV. Yet Peres and Rabin have ignored the issue totally, in spite of its transparent electoral appeal. It is fairly well known that in most cases stolen cars are smuggled into the Gaza Strip either directly by the Palestinian Authority officials and policemen. They have the right to travel beyond the confines of the autonomy, and they take advantage of this right to take over a stolen car in some abandoned spot and then just drive it through a checkpost. Their freedom of movement is an essential for the purpose. But Jibril Rajab's men from the West Bank are also known to have been involved in the same business. It can even be surmised that total closures after each major terrorist assault are inter alia dictated by the wish to reduce, at least for a time, the thefts of Israeli cars.

But widespread lawlessness exists not only under the autonomy. The settlers, particularly the religious ones, also operate as a Lebanese-style militia, and the Israeli government has also encouraged their lawlessness for years on end. Since this issue has often been discussed in my reports, I'll confine myself here to covering only the latest exploits of the settlers. On January 1, two Haaretz correspondents Uri Nir and Nadav Shragai reported the following incident which was also presented in some detail by the Israeli radio and TV. "On the morning of December 30 Jewish settlers from the Jordan Valley demolished the foundations of a gas station owned by Jonas Hantuli, the head of the council of Silt A-Dahar village located in the West Bank, near Jenin. The demolition took place in daytime and lasted several hours. That gas station was located near the settlement of Mehola... Alice Shazar, the spokeswoman of Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria, said that Hantuli had indeed obtained all the permits required to operate his station... For long years Hantuli has been on the best of terms with the Israeli authorities. Five months ago he received from the Civil Administration the permit to build a gas station. Two weeks ago he began to prepare the ground at the site. After removing the stones from the soil he laid a layer of limestone. "The Civil Administration spokeswoman said that on December 29 the Mehola settlers asked for a meeting with the Head of the [Civil] Administration, Colonel Gadi Zohar. The purpose was to protest the construction of the station. She says that an appointment was made for the beginning of the next week. Without waiting for the meeting, the settlers demolished the foundations of the station the next day... The Mehola settlers argue that the permit for the station was not consulted with them, and that the presence of Palestinians in their vicinity lowers considerably the quality of their life". Let me comment that the phrase "for long years Hantuli has been on the best of terms with the Israeli authorities" can only mean that he has been a collaborator and he got his permit as a reward for his collaboration. Yet interestingly, until January 30 nothing has been done by the police or any other Israeli law enforcement agency to open an investigation of the affair. Clearly, the Israeli authorities do not intend to depart from a policy of "for long years Hantuli has been on the best of terms with the Israeli authorities" which will not be tolerable. In a short time not only the Strip but the entire rates".

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settlers as a threat to their survival”. In my view the last sentence is plain wrong. The settlers are not afraid of the Palestinians, let alone of the Palestinian collaborators. They simply view them as inferior human beings whose rights count for nothing.

“For the time being Israel has agreed to grant the Palestinians only a limited autonomy. The idea of an autonomy was invented by Menahem Begin and is now accepted by an overwhelming majority of the Right. Curiously, the Left is not against it either: it even agreed to a more comprehensive arrangement developing on its foundations. However, the settlers cannot stomach the idea of the autonomy even in its most circumscribed version. What can autonomy mean if a Palestinian cannot build a gas station nearby an Israeli settlement? Israeli authorities in charge of keeping law and order in the Territories in fact tolerate the hooliganism of the Jordan Rift settlers. The foundations of the gas station were demolished completely in an undertaking that lasted several hours, and was blessed by some settler leaders. But the Military and Civil Administrations and the Israeli army saw and heard nothing”.

Let me skip Benziman’s discussion of the protest demonstrations of the villagers of Al-Khader, and quote only his conclusions. “Like so many among us, Rabin is addicted to the opium of the occupation. 27 years of rule over the Palestinians have generated attitude and behavior patterns which can take into account nothing apart from what is narrow-mindedly perceived as an Israeli interest. All needs and all points of view of others are totally ignored. Such thinking is unimaginative enough to lead to claiming ownership of the occupied Territories (according to the Right wing version) or their considerable part (according to the concept of Territorial compromise professed by the Labor movement). This thinking constantly finds its manifestations in the attitude of the Israelis toward the Palestinians, in the manner the Civil Administration deals with the applications of the West Bankers, in the sophistry which Israel uses in the negotiations with the PLO and in the style of the personal contacts between Israeli and Palestinian politicians”. Yet there is more to Israeli racism whose two most important characteristicsBenziman fails to mention. The first is that settlers are never punished for breaking the law, except (and rarely) when they wound or kill people by shooting. The second is that Israeli security forces never open fire at the settlers. The Rabin government did not even contemplate any changes on these two counts in the first weeks after Oslo. Yet only by recognizing these two points can we understand how come the settlers can be so cock-sure that they may act with total impunity.

The settler militia is by no means confined to the Territories. It has large following within Israel and is on the best of terms with Israeli army and Shabak. This can be best seen from the report of Nadav Shragai (Haaretz, December 16) who spoke to the present militia commander Nissan Slomiansky. Slomiansky is a rabbi who serves as the chairman of the local council of the settlement of Elkana in the West Bank and who “was the first secretary-general of Gush Emunim. He heads the operations division of the Judea and Samaria Council and drafts various drawer-plans and working memoranda for that council's directorate. Only a few of these plans have been implemented to date, because Slomiansky is an ardent devotee of the detenence school. In his view in most cases there is no need to put a plan into practice as long as the government complies with the settlers. It is sufficient if the plans are known.

“Slomiansky succeeded in passing his first major test already long ago. After the Patriarch’s Cave massacre Yitzhak Rabin considered evacuating the neighborhood of Tel-Rumeida in Hebron... Today Slomiansky reveals that as soon as the evacuation would have begun, ‘someone would have simultaneously started to evacuate the Arabs from Hebron. There were specific and detailed plans for doing it at the time’, he said, refusing to elaborate. Slomiansky says the tactic of counter-evacuation of Arabs, ‘regardless of how many’, could again acquire relevance whenever the ministers contemplate ‘shrinking’ the settlements into enclaves. ‘In my terminology this amounts to an evacuation’. In Hebron, Slomiansky and his comrades organized 15,000 people during the Passover week. They worked hard behind the scenes, met with ministers and Knesset Members, warned and sounded alarms. The Jewish residents of Hebron made their own contribution. Noam Arnon spoke about booby-trapped gas tanks. The Hebron Jewesses exclaimed: ‘Over our dead bodies’. 1200 rabbis from Israel and diaspora signed a petition to the Prime Minister. The Chief Rabbis were also active. Last week, incidentally, Rabbi Israel Lau appeared at the central rally for Hebron held at the main auditorium of Jerusalem. In Kiryat Arba, said Slomiansky, everybody knew where was he supposed to be in an hour of a real emergency. “We have a hard core, numbering hundreds of people, who are prepared to reach the site in minimum time. They are ready to do things that an average Jew is not yet prepared to do... In order to consolidate the hard core, I now meet every night with groups and representatives of various organizations. If, heaven forbid, Rabin again considers evacuation of Netzarim or any other Jewish spot in order to accelerate the peace process or to please Arafat, there are people who will quickly appear on that spot to resist. This will just be the first batch, allowing us to gain time before a crowd of our followers arrives...” As far as possible Slomiansky tried to evade the subject of the envisaged nature of the planned resistance. He limited himself to presenting the case of the Brakha settlement, near Nablus, as a ‘theoretical’ model. ‘There is only one road linking it. I assume there are people ready to make that road impassable, either by barricading it, or by demolishing it by explosives. At the first stage we will just want to gain time. But simultaneously we will bring to the site thousands of volunteers who will foil the evacuation with their own bodies... There may also be people who will simultaneously evacuate an Arab village.

We will also activate our city headquarters. We now have 90 city headquarters all over Israel. They will block major highway intersections with the effect of paralyzing the whole country. Whoever does not manage to pass through, will remain wherever he got stuck in his car, thus unwillingly helping us to maintain the blockade. And if they nevertheless succeed in evacuating [a settlement], we will return to its site time and again””. Slomiansky is even now active in the Territories. “The vicinity of [the settlement of] Einav was in recent months plagued by a wave of stone-throwing and road blockades. The Israeli army sent troops there, but they failed to cope with the problem. I was called in by friends from Einav and met with the division commander and the battalion commanders who provided gloomy evaluations. They said that unless Shabak enters the adjoining villages to identify for them the targets, they couldn’t do a thing. I told my Einav friend: ‘we are going to form a group of Israeli volunteers’. We held some meetings in Netanya. People were willing to join our patrols, especially the kibbutzniks from the neighborhood. With maps and legal briefings, people were instructed about the do’s and don'ts. We reached the stage of working arrangements, being able to draft patrol duty rosters. Five days before Oslo, incidentally, Rabbi Israel Lau appeared at the central meeting we intended to begin patrolling the army told me unofficially that the Shabak had decided to massively infiltrate the villages in question. Within three days the area was almost completely quiet. And it has remained so”. The story shows how close is the settlers’ cooperation with the army, and with Shabak which operates under direct orders of Rabin.

Incidentally, Shabak by itself couldn't achieve such effects so fast. It must have relied on the services of Arafat and Jibril Rajoub for the purpose. And this is by no means the single instance of Arafat's cooperation not only with Rabin but also with Gush Emunim! This is not a unique story. There have been many others of roughly similar kind in the Hebrew press. They all show what was anyway known to anyone who refused to delude himself: that no Israeli withdrawal, even from one single settlement, is possible without a civil war fought by some Israeli Jews against others. Of course, neither Rabin nor the Meretz hypocrites have ever wanted to dismantle any settlement. They wanted instead to drag the “peace process” onward by sheer deception. [=]
first place, most of West Bank lands (70% by my estimate. 73% by that of the Orient House) were confiscated before the Oslo Agreement. The Oslo Agreement contained no provision for returning even the still unused part of these lands (54% by my estimate) to their rightful owners; nor did it challenge the rule that they could be used only by the Jews. There are grounds to believe that both Yasser Arafat and the Israeli "peace camp" accept those terms unconditionally. After the protests of Al Khader public against the robbery of their land by Izzi Benziman (Haaretz, January 29), whom I am going to quote extensively, is on this point. "There is no escape from the conclusion that the Oslo experiment has failed. Throughout 18 months, the Israelis and Palestinians failed to form relations of trust, and they no longer attach any credibility to the process supposedly initiated in Oslo. As things appear at the end of 1/1995, the historic reconciliation supposedly then initiated turned out to be nothing but an illusion.

"A majority of Palestinians now interpret the Oslo Agreement as an Israeli trap into which Arafat fell. They interpret the Agreement's aim as the perpetuation of the conquest regime (without the Gaza and Jericho enclaves and with a phony Palestinian self-government) under conditions preferable for Israel. On the other hand, a majority of Israelis now regard the Oslo Agreement as a dangerous experiment in which the Palestinian side, after winning legitimacy for Arafat and the beginning of a withdrawal, has reneged on its promise to stop the terror. The consequence is that the relations between the two peoples are now inferior to what they were before Oslo. Renewed hatreds feed renewed tensions. The Palestinians have mastered improved methods of warfare, with the effect of posing greater and greater dangers to Israel.

"Yitzhak Rabin and the Labor party must clearly realize that the utter failure of the Oslo-style process proves the political arguments of the [Israeli] Right correct. After all, it was Likud which correctly predicted the consequences of the peace process as framed by the [Israeli] government. It was Likud which warned that the autonomous Gaza Strip would become a haven for terrorists. It was Likud which claimed that Arafat would covertly if not overtly support Hamas' terror assaults against Israel. Finally, it was Likud which correctly predicted that various security risks would preclude the possibility of transferring authority over Judea and Samaria to the Palestinian Authority. All these predictions have already been confirmed even by the present government's own evaluations and conduct."

The Al-Khader affair was followed by the Hebrew press investigations of Rabin's government conduct in the West Bank. It was not hard to discover that Rabin had been systematically deceiving the public about his settlement policies. To begin with, the Israeli government spent in 1994 70% more on settling the West Bank than in 1993. Under the Labor government "Greater Jerusalem" is expanding much faster than it ever did under Likud. But let me quote only a single report by Hana Kim (Haaretz, January 20). She refers to an ad published on January 13 by a Tel Aviv local paper, "calling on the Jews of Tel Aviv and its vicinity to settle in Ma'aleh Efraim". Ma'aleh Efraim is located south-east of Nablus, on a high mountain range overlooking the Jordan Valley. A freeway built long ago bypasses all Arab localities linking Ma'aleh Efraim directly with West Jerusalem. It is one of the most pampered settlements, whose residents have an average income at the level of the wealthiest suburbs of Tel Aviv. The ad ran: "The settlement offers you a swimming pool, sports facilities, enormous lawns and a real countryside atmosphere which will impart high quality upon your life". In addition to those attractions the new settlers from Tel Aviv area were offered government grants and benefits amounting to 64,000 shekel [$21339] per family, an advantageous mortgage, an income tax exemption and 'employment in the near-by industrial park Barkan'.

The ad was signed by the Housing ministry, Ma'aleh Efraim local council and the Labor and Welfare ministry. I am not surprised", says Kim, "that the Housing ministry which notoriously supports settling and the local council signed this ad. But how come the Labor and Welfare minister, Ora Namir, who agreed to the compromise on Efrat only to save Rabin from remaining in minority, supports 'the thickening' of Ma'aleh Efraim, and how does she transfer funds from her depleted budget for the sake of employing the settlers who pursue a high-quality life in the West Bank?"

Incidentally, the "thickening" of a settlement is a stock-phrase used by Rabin government to deceive the public about its settling policies. Efrat is supposed to be "thickened" (or perhaps "elongated" would be a better term) until it is 19 km. long!

Let me omit clarifications offered by "sources in Ora Namir's private office" concerning her involvement in the affair. Given Israeli economic situation as described in my report 148, the "advantageous mortgages and income tax exemption" offered during the Oslo-style "peace process", can be more effective means of promoting settlement than land confiscation. Kim says that "according to a still valid blue pamphlet published by the Director-General of Prime Minister's Office, Shimon Shoves in 1/1993, Ma'aleh Efraim is included in 'the area of highest national priority'. By virtue of merely following the instructions of this pamphlet Namir should have assisted Ma'aleh Efraim, just as the Housing ministry is now busily constructing there a special project for housing young couples". The story illustrates just one of the innumerable ways by which Rabin encourages the settling of the West Bank.

In any case there can be no doubt that Rabin's government is determined to renego on the implementation of the Oslo-style "peace process", regardless of what will happen to the Oslo and Cairo formulas for the end of the conflict. And, for example, Beziman did not hesitate to extend the settlement of Efrat, a committee of ministers was set up, with the supposed chief dove of Rabin's government Shulamit Aloni among its members. The committee arranged a "compromise" which only demonstrates the futility of waging a popular struggle under present circumstances. The "compromise" was that the hill in question, a small chunk of land robbed from Al-Khader and other Palestinian villagers, will be turned into an army fortress, whereas the extension of Efrat will be build on another hill. In other words, the once confiscated land will never be returned. No wonder MK Hanan Porat, a rabid Gush Emunim minister, hailed Aloni's consent to this "compromise" as a major victory for the settlers. At the same time Arafat and his henchmen managed to stop the popular protests in Al-Khader and other villages. Incidentally, Arafat performs services for Israel not in the West Bank alone. In 1/1995 the cost-of-living index in the Gaza Strip since its takeover by Arafat on July 1, 1994 has increased by 40% and it is increasing further still. Israel has an obvious interest in keeping the Gaza population as much impoverished as possible. But it is doubtful if it could perform this task so rapidly and effectively without Arafat and his henchmen.

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separated. Different chunks of the West Bank, Peres' close friend, the writer A.B. Yehoshua, seconded by other doyish writers, spoke even more enthusiastically about segregation and other functions of the fence (Ma'ariv, January 24). "Behind the fence we will have a genuine Palestinian Authority fully recognized by us, but also fully responsible for any terror assault. We will not need to rely on our dear soldiers for pursuing and capturing the wanted in the alleys of [Palestinian] towns and refugee camps. Instead, we may shell the police and the security forces of the Palestinian Authority from our artillery and helicopters whenever they default on eradicating the evil in their midst. This will be an educational process turning the Palestinians from murderous assailants into responsible allies. It will resemble the events of the mid-1950s, when by repeatedly striking at Egypt and Jordan, we turned both into responsible states which for the whole decade, from 1957-1967, refrained from letting their territories be used for terrorist infiltrations". I can only comment that I often define the Likud (with the exception of Sharon), as a lesser evil compared to Meretz and the Israeli "peace camp" in general. Yehoshua's views, so typical of that camp, can only prove me right in this preference, especially since Yehoshua and his likes find it easy to present such views as documenting their "desire for peace". Let me add two comments of Ron Milberg (Ma'ariv, January 27). "Yehoshua recommended that Israel would use its helicopters against the Palestinians. Since the Vietnam war other civilized nations no longer use in combat the helicopters "Vulcan" guns which can fire 6,000 bullets per minute". And the second comment: "The support of the writers for segregation achieved by electronic fence reminds me of Rehavam Z'evi's idea of transfer".

The character of Rabin's government plans for the future is therefore already known, at least in a broad outline. It becomes a political issue of the first degree of importance. Let me reserve for another occasion the question of whether Arafat still has any role in those plans. Let me only say that after the Beit-Lid terror assault, knowledgeable Hebrew press commentators, like Amir Oren (Davar, January 27), again predict that unless Arafat complies with Israeli demands to suppress the Islamic Jihad and Hamas, he will be removed and replaced by some other Palestinian leader, preferably a tough and young Palestinian police officer. But the crucial conclusion of the present report is that an apartheid regime inferior to that of the pre-Oslo conquest conditions is no longer just planned but already implemented. The sooner this grim reality is recognized, together with the role played by Arafat and his supporters in the whole scheme, and the sooner the illusions about the "peace process" are discarded, the easier will it be to put up resistance to the advancing apartheid. [=]

61151. Shahak, Israel, Shahak, in the Past and Now: Part 1 of 2, Shahak Report 111. Israel, October 4, 1992. Several rather unusual attacks on Shabak, all containing new disclosures of its past misdeeds, appeared in the Hebrew press toward the end of 9/1992. The media finally lost patience with Shabak's continuous attempts to explain away the blatant fiasco of its operations in the Occupied Territories by lies and by misrepresentation of the successes of the army as its own. Therefore it should be no surprise that the army retaliated by leaking discrediting information about Shabak's performance to Aharon Klein ("The army against Shabak", Hadashot Supplement, September 25, 1992). The very title of Klein's article is indicative of the source of his knowledge. But a chain of personal scandals implicating the higher ups in Shabak's hierarchy, some disclosed fully, and others known from hints and allusions, have stirred the curiosity and indignation of the media even further. Finally, the former head of Shabak, Avraham Shalom who had once been indicted for the gravest crimes but escaped the punishment through a presidential pardon chose to describe his career in Shabak in rich detail. This report will first deal with the current state of affairs in Shabak. But since Shabak's present ineptitude and corruption have their obvious roots in the past, this report will have to go back to Shalom's time in order to comment on his revelations.

Let me begin with the army's disclosures as reported by Klein. They can only be understood against the background of the situation in some parts of the Occupied Territories, namely the entire Gaza Strip, the Jenin district and to some extent also the Nablus and Tul Karem districts of the West Bank. In those areas the Israeli army has during the last several months been fighting a real war against the Palestinian guerrillas, who in the army lingo are called the "wanted persons". In that war the army has some successes, consisting of the murders of a non-mean number of the "wanted", mostly through the good offices of the units comprising the "soldiers disguised as Arabs" (see report 102). But some "wanted" have been captured without being killed, while still others have surrendered.

Perhaps in response to those defeats of theirs, the surviving guerrillas recently decided to embark on some publicity making for themselves. They let themselves be interviewed and often even photographed with their weapons in the Israeli press, both Arabic and Hebrew. The often reiterated ordered of the "United Intifada Command" to refrain from such publicity stunts proved to be of little avail: the best proof being that interviews and photographs have continued to appear. The Black Panthers of the Jenin district proved to be most publicity-hungry of the lot, but other groups have trailed not far behind them. An Arabic weekly published by a former Mapam Knesset member, Muhammad Fadl, has specialized in interviewing and photographing Palestinian guerrillas, as a result of which its circulation rose to the 30,000 in record time of 6 months after its establishment. As pointed out by Ronit Yoo'li (Hadashot, September 30): "The inhabitants of the Territories are deeply moved by the weekly, but also very suspicious of it". Also in the Hebrew press such interviews became commonplace. Between September 20 and September 30 I counted 16 photos of armed guerrillas with uncovered faces in the Hebrew press alone. They could be accompanied by short statements or lengthy interviews, as the case might have been. Needless to say, in the Arabic press there was more of it.

It goes without saying that such publications are approved by army censorship, which is not known for any liberal twinges of conscience. Thisensorial policy must have its reason, or reasons, especially since for the Jewish readers, such publications can only be a major irritant. One reason for authorizing such publications to appear in print is obvious. In every more extensive interview with them, the interviewed guerrillas announce that they are subordinated to no one else and refuse to obey orders "from those who don't know the local conditions" as they commonly put it. Sowing dissension among the Palestinians has always been a major Israeli goal. In this, such declarations cannot but help.

But the military must also have wanted to discredit Shabak performance in order to subordinate it to army's command, at least in the Territories. Critique of Shabak's performance in the Territories by the "army sources" as reported by Klein merits to be quoted extensively, especially since disclosed on that scale haven't been made since 1967. The "sources" are convinced that "Shabak has failed in its primary task in the Territories" namely in "preventing hostile [to Israel] activities", or in capturing the culprits with all the speed. The very existence of the guerrillas is attributed to this failure. Moreover, that failure occurred in spite of the fact that since the beginning of the Intifada "Shabak has increased its personnel in the Territories by several hundred per cent. Apparently, this massive recruitment has lowered the average quality of Shabak's performance, at least in the initial stages [of the Intifada]. The army officers opine that Shabak's capabilities haven't improved since 1967". But "higher ranking army officers", while agreeing with this assessment, add that "poor performance of Shabak is attributable to factors existing long before the Intifada, whose outbreak Shabak failed to foresee, with the effect that it found itself completely unprepared for the contingency. "The Intifada caught the Shabak with its pants down, and Shabak hadn't been able to button them up since they are these senior army officers". Another "senior army officer" adds that Shabak also failed to predict and even to comprehend the rise of Palestinian guerrillas. "It took then a long time to understand the mood of the militants and how it changed about two years ago. They are incapable of noticing changes. They busied themselves with chasing the authors of Intifada's leaflets and their printers, instead of seeking out the armed bands which had existed throughout. The effect is that it is up to us [the army] to do their job. The bands had ample time of relative quiet, could get organized,
acquire more weapons, and train themselves in combat skills”.

Yet another “senior army officer” claims that “Shabak's performance in the Gaza Strip has been even poorer than in the West Bank. 90% of the wanted in the Gaza Strip whom we have succeeded in capturing got captured not on Shabak’s information, but through what goes under the name of area capture, that is a result of army operations. For example, I order a Borderguard unit to unexpectedly erect a roadblock on one of the axes of traffic”. Cars which try to escape while coming across such a roadblock or approach it hesitantly, are fired at instantly, often with unnecessary casualties, as can even be understood from the Hebrew press, when it reports, for example, that a 6 year old boy was killed in one of such incidents. The “senior army officer” claims that “suspect detention procedure” at such roadblocks follows due process. But, as the military court cases amply show, the veracity of army officers in describing the circumstances of killing the Palestinians isn’t any better than Shabak’s.

The army has apparently decided that the failure of Shabak to supply accurate information about the guerrillas has reached the point at which it could not be tolerated any more. A “senior army officer serving in the Territories”, says that “I myself wouldn’t trust anything Shabak tells me”. He says even more: that during a large-scale army operation “which took place at the beginning of this year in the northern part of the West Bank, all information we received in advance from Shabak turned out to be derisory”. He claims that even Shabak’s sources denied only because the army had its own techniques of collecting information.

But the army officers are not only angry at Shabak. They also “feel insulted” by it. This is because Shabak, which has good “connections” with some correspondents of Hebrew press (see below), used them to misrepresent captures of some prominent wanted guerrillas as due to its own exertions. The army sources deny it, in my view with considered consideration by Shabak unless a collaborator certifies, in person or in writing, that the applicant can be trusted enough to have his request granted. Naturally, such certifications can be obtained only in exchange for juicy bribes. In this, Shabak together with its corrupt and useless informants strikingly resemble the secret polices of various defunct regimes in Europe and of some still existing Arab states. Nothing indicates, by the way, that Rabin would even consider relieving the population of the Territories from this particular form of oppression which for them is very grievous. [=]

61152. Shahak, Israel. Shahak, in the Past and Now: Part 2 of 2. Shahak Report 111. Israel, October 4, 1992. Confronted with the uselessness of Shabak, the army concluded that “it needed to expend considerable resources in order to achieve its goals”. The wealth of some collaborators going together with their usefulness as sources of information can be explained easily enough. All collaborators are already living either in heavily fortified houses or in even heavier fortified compounds containing several families. Because of that, they couldn’t have possibly retained any social contact with the rest of the population of the Territories. Their riches come from brazen bribery which Shabak winks at and even encourages. Shabak’s real task which absorbs most of its time, is to administer the Territories, when the “Civil Administration” is no more than a facade. Its administration consists of approving or denying the multitude of permits, licenses and certifications which every Palestinian needs for any conceivable purpose. In most cases, the pertinent applications are not even considered by Shabak unless a collaborator certifies, in person or in writing, that the applicant can be trusted enough to have his request granted. Naturally, such certifications can be obtained only in exchange for juicy bribes. In this, Shabak together with its corrupt and useless informants strikingly resemble the secret polices of various defunct regimes in Europe and of some still existing Arab states. Nothing indicates, by the way, that Rabin would even consider relieving the population of the Territories from this particular form of oppression which for them is very grievous. [=]
the truth than Shabak in its claims.

But the failure of Shabak to perform is not the whole story. The Hebrew press has recently also dug out a number of scandals of personal nature involving Shabak's head and the members of his private office. The scandals are unprecedented in their scale. For brevity's sake I am going to retell only some, my source being Amnon Abramovitz, well-known for his good "connections" with the "intelligence community" but also for his disdain for "accuracy" ("Abramovitz, Menashe, against whom they had some grudges of erotic nature. According to Abramovitz, the head of Shabak has staunchly refused to fire the director of his private office, or even to transfer him elsewhere, on the ground that the man had been "just wonderful".

Abramovitz provides more information about how "just wonderful" the man has been. His revelations deserve to be extensively quoted. "The director of the Shabak's head's private office once had a close friend: one Ts, a young and rich businessman, sexually very attractive. Both friends were "cruisers", used to drinking together until the wee hours of the morning, with Ts, usually footing the bill. One night, while returning by car from a bar-hopping round of Tel Aviv [I omit the list of the bars, all of them high-class] they smashed a support wall at some turn of the highway. As soon as the traffic police appeared, the director of the private office told them where he worked [which is strictly prohibited], adding a complete fabrication about how they had been pushed into that wall by an Arab car passing them by with the intention of hitting them. This was not the only instance when, against all rules of secrecy, the "just wonderful" director identified himself as a Shabak man in conduct of his private affairs. One day, Ts, wife switched her sexual allegiance, becoming the "just wonderful" director's lover. One Friday night, near the Arab town of Telbeh, Ts, retaliated by beating his chum savagely, and making in the process enough noise to be heard at a nearby police station. Two Arab cops who happened to be on duty approached, to find the two, both bloodstained, yet still hitting each other. The cops set them apart, and instructed them to get into a police car. The two pleaded that they would appear at the station in their own cars. During the ride to the police station the "just wonderful" director used his official car phone to call Ts, driving nearby, in order to call him all the vilest names he could think of. Ts, refrained from answering in kind, merely laughing into the phone. Even today he is very pleased with himself, especially since he is physically much weaker than the other fellow, and yet managed to get out of the brawl with only mild scratches, whereas the "just wonderful" director, with his body bruised and swollen "the story began on April 12, 1984", when four Palestinians from the Vardi touches upon the already known circumstances of Shalom's dismissal. In the end, the director of the private office of the head of the Israeli secret police had to sit on the bench of Telbeh police station until the morning, crying, screaming, submitting to an interrogation by two [Arab] policemen named Ahmad and Mahajana, and finally signing the minutes of this interrogation". Abramovitz concludes that "whoever wants it, can see in this surreal story a reassuring evidence of coexistence [in Israel]. But others may also see it as evidence showing how Israel has become a Third World country".

More or less explicitly, Abramovitz also recounts other scandals of the last two years which involved either the head of Shabak or members of his close entourage. Those scandals have been investigated by various inquiry commissions, with no apparent effect. He hints clearly that the present head of Shabak stays in power due to the backing from Labor politicians, among them especially Yitzhak Rabin and Binyamin ("Faud") Ben-Eliezer, at present the minister of Housing elections. According to Abramovitz, Ben-Eliezer was "a member of a subcommittee in the [former Knesset's] Foreign and Security Affairs Committee in which capacity he used to help the head of Shabak in his dealings with that particular subcommittee". It can be presumed that Abramovitz refers to the subcommittee overseeing Israeli intelligence agencies, established in the wake of various scandals which occurred in those agencies, which acquired considerable power during Shamir's Prime Ministership. Incidentally, another "friend" of the head of Shabak in that subcommittee was a Meretz MK, Yossi Sarid. Abramovitz also says that Shamir and his associates didn't like the head of Shabak because of his extravagant lifestyle and sex affairs, rather resembling the "just wonderful" director only more so.

According to Abramovitz, particularly inimical to the head of Shabak was "the secretary for military affairs in the Prime Minister's private office, Azriel Nevo, who fancied himself as a guardian of public morals": their enmity reaching the point at which "they once almost began fistfighting". One of Rabin's first steps was to arrange for Nevo's "speedy removal" to London as a military attache. "His replacements are already the head of Shabak's good friends". No wonder "the head of Shabak could demonstratively appear in the Knesset during the ceremony of swearing Rabin [as Prime Minister], all in smiles, without bothering to conceal his satisfaction", telling everybody that Rabin, unlike Shamir, was a personal friend of his. Such spectacular public appearance on the part of the head of Shabak is quite unprecedented. The possible implication of the above can be that Shabak's behavior under Rabin may be more brutal than it was under Shamir. In particular, customary torture of Palestinians during interrogations may well get aggravated, encouraged by Shabak's immunity from criticism.

But Abramovitz attributes the head of Shabak's staying power in the wake of recurrent scandals also to his good relations with journalists and politicians and to his skill in manipulating them to his advantage. I am not going to report the pertinent passages of Abramovitz's article because they are written in a manner purposefully obscure and filled with personal allusions which can be understood only by those who follow the Hebrew press regularly. I myself tend to agree with Abramovitz's view although, as he himself admits, in the recent 6-8 years, some correspondents have been criticizing Shabak and its head, more so at the time of Shamir's Prime Ministership than Peres'. Abramovitz is apprehensive that under the present government such criticism is likely to become rarer still.

It cannot be attributed to chance that the same right-wing Maariv where Abramovitz writes his columns, also published the long article by Ronit Vardi ("Aramash Shamal, the former head of Shabak, speaks", September 25). The ignominious dismissal of Shalom from his post was the first occasion when revelations concerning Shabak's routine practices became in Israeli public knowledge, even though they still haven't been adequately covered by the Western press. Naturally Vardi touches upon the already known circumstances of Shalom's dismissal, but doesn't confine herself to retelling them. As she recalls, "the story began on April 12, 1984", when four Palestinians from the Gaza Strip hijacked a bus filled by Jewish passengers. The capture of the hijackers took place before the press cameras. Some of the pictures thus taken showed at least one of them alive while handcuffed and escorted by two agents. The official story, however, was that all hijackers had been killed during their capture. The truth was that Shamal, present at the site, ordered Shabak agents to beat them to death. It is not known whether Shamal issued this order without telling Shamir, or whether he reported it to Shamir right afterwards, or else whether he had Shamir's advance authorization for that lynch. I myself would consider the first of the three possibilities as the most likely. All Hebrew papers appearing in April 1984, only the then brand-new Hadashot, with its relatively youthful staff, took it upon itself to bring the truth to the surface against Shabak's efforts to conceal it. To some extent, however, Hadashot was then succeeded by Haaretz, both owned by the same Schocken family, and both rather centrist in their orientations. After nearly two years, when the truth was already pretty widely known or at least surmised, the two papers were in turn succeeded by the right-wing Maariv, with Abramovitz himself impugning mercilessly those Shabak agents who had perjured themselves. But Davar and Al Hamishmar, the organs of respectively Labor and Mapam, kept their silence throughout, until the disclosures became already confirmed by official sources. And the largest-circulation Hebrew paper,
Yediot Ahronot, behaved likewise.

Vardi says for the first time that Hadashot could have identified the Palestinian shown on the photo by name, on the basis of his recognition by his family and friends. But when it tried to prove his identity with the help of previous pictures of his, it ran into trouble. "Shabak raided the family's home confiscating all its family albums. It removed his pictures from his Civil Administration file, and it even raided some of them in order to confiscate his photos. At the same time, military censorship used all its power to prevent the publication of any knowledge about these truly Orwellian ventures in erasing history. Yet they concerned not just the photos of one men: the same was done in homes of families of other killed hijackers. In the end, Vardi relates, a perfectly good photo of the lynched Palestinian was found in the school he had attended. Poor Shabak overlooked it somehow. With undeniable identifying evidence in its hands, Hadashot could no longer be prevented from publishing the picture. A scandal ensued. Changing tactics, Shabak then moved to another line of defense. It claimed it had not been responsible for the lynching. It had merely obeyed orders. Vardi quotes "Shalom's friends" as claiming that the Lynch "had conformed to the then binding instructions, enjoining that no terrorist be allowed to remain alive after committing a terror act involving hostage taking". And the "friends" also claimed that "Shalom had reported to Shamir everything already the next day". Shamir has denied both the existence of the instruction which it later on could have authored, and the receipt of Shalom's report about "everything".

The government had no choice but to appoint two successive inquiry commissions, both headed by general (in reserves) Meir Zorea, a rather naive and gullible character. It was known in advance that Shamir would appear before the commissions with his own testimony which Shabak couldn't afford to contest. This is why Shabak moved to another line of defense, no less mendacious than the previous one. The new claim was that general Yitzhak Mordechay, in charge of the hijackers' capture, lynched them himself. One of the members of the Zorea's commissions was a high-ranking Shabak operative, Yossi Genossar (now a respected Labor politician), who systematically deceived the other commissioners by "coordinating" the testimonies of Shabak's witnesses before their delivery. It was he who mightily helped Shabak fabricate evidence implicating Mordechay. And indeed the first commission of Zorea concluded, in its top secret report, that "general Mordechay was the most probable suspect in the case". But the fabrication of evidence for the purpose of implicating a distinguished general could not but lead to Shabak's clash with the army, whose sequel was reported by Klein. Vardi recounts how Mordechay who had served for most of the time with the paratroopers, "succeeded in organizing what goes under the name of the paratroopers' mafia" in his own defense. The existence of this powerful lobby -- which by the way includes the present Chief of Staff -- is well-known but seldom mentioned. The still ongoing strife between the army and the Shabak originates from these events.

The "mafia" turned out to be powerful enough to force the government's hand to appoint a second inquiry commission which had no choice but to exonerate general Mordechay. Genossar's membership and tireless efforts to fabricate evidence and produce perjuries being this time to no avail. Although Shabak defended itself by itself -- Vardi recounts, "three senior Shabak operatives, Reuven Hazak, Peleg Rada'i and Rafi Malka came to Shalom one morning requesting that he retire. When Shalom refused, they turned to Peres, then a Prime Minister, disclosing all the truth. Peres responded by kicking them out of his office and firing them instantly from Shabak, and also by leaking out a falsehood that their real intention was to make a putsch within Shabak with the aim of forcing him to appoint Hazak as its next head". But the three had some powerful connections of their own within the Israeli establishment and they knew how to use them, much to both Peres' and Rabin's chagrin. According to Vardi, "Peres appreciated Shalom so highly that he sent him to the US to negotiate the Pollard case" after the latter had been caught. And Rabin, as minister of Defense, "made a prerecorded TV speech in Shalom's defense". It would not be unjust to say that the whole affair under this description involved not just the Shabak, let alone just the ultimately scapegoated person of Shalom, but on the equal footing also the entire old generation of Labor leaders, the very same who now again returned in Israel to power.

Ben-Gurion had openly used Shabak as his tool in account-settling with domestic critics and opponents, and his Laborite successors did more or less the same, even if less frequently and more covertly. Because of that tradition, Shabak's ties with the Labor party have always been closer than those of other Intelligence branches, namely the Mossad and the Military Intelligence. No wonder that in the interview with him, Shalom identifies himself to Vardi as a lifetime Labor sympathizer; from his youthtime until today. But the "special relationship" between Shabak and Labor has consisted not only of personal "connections" and mutual favors. The two organizations also share the same variety of racism, better disguised than the variety of its very own, even more deadly. Shalom and the present head of Shabak define themselves as "really" being against the conquest of the Territories, and as hoping for a day when Israel could securely withdraw from them. But they invariably qualify such stirrings of their hearts in "realism", informing them that such a day is still very remote and that until then Israel "has no choice" but holding on to the Territories with all the ruthlessness. Needless to say, such hypocrisy is just the right thing to say to the Western public, particularly the Western liberals. In this sense, it has paid off handsomely. But no less handsome have been the payoffs which Shabak has always been collecting from the Labor leadership, in the form of political support helping extricate it from the stench of personal and political scandals and from evidence of its misperformance and even uselessness. With Labor back in power, Shabak can only look forward to more and more of such extirpation. [=]
to the Arabs" was increasingly often replaced by "Murder to the Arabs." Even more significantly, the crowd could be often heard screaming "Kill all Arab babies" and "Rape all Arab women." On Wednesday, 8/8/1990, there was more of the same, but already at a somewhat lesser intensity, clearly due to the changed attitude of the police. (See section 2 following.) But attacks on press reporters (chided as "friends of Arafat") continued. Also, in a number of instances, a person believed by the crowd to be an Arab, and beaten accordingly, turned out to be a Jew. The victims of such "beating by error" were then invariably offered profuse apologies, treated to food and drink, offered friendship, etc. Oddly, most of them accepted such kindness in good graces. On Thursday, 8/9/1990, the rioting was already quite sporadic and slowly petered out. Outside Jerusalem, violence occurred in only one place. In Hebron, there was a crowd that his leniency was a judicious way to calm down the excited Sarna in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/10/1990 tells a story of an army officer who immediately released after a cursory interrogation.) The police made no arrests. (Actually, a very few rioters were detained and almost between the treatment of the Arab and Jewish rioters by the police. The 8/6-9/1990: Part 3: Question of Standards. Israel, p. 4. The Hebrew Shahak Report 18: Lynching in Jerusalem on 8/6-9/1990: Part 2: Political Background. Israel, N.D. (September 1990). Immediately after the discovery of the bodies of the two missing boys, Prime Minister Shamir appeared on TV, to express his outrage at their murder and to condemn Palestinian terrorism in the fiercest of terms. A similar statement by President Herzog was read by a TV announcer. Neither statement contained a single reference to the ongoing pogrom. This fact intrigued some, and inquiries were made. Answering these inquiries in Shamir's name, his spokesman Yossi Ahimeir explained that "Shamir had confidence in the common sense of the public and relied on the police's capability of restoring calm." And in response to similar inquiries about his statement, Herzog pleaded illness. Both of them kept their silence until the end of rioting in spite of appeals to denounce them. Palestinian leadership in East Jerusalem also behaved rather curiously. Asked for help in search for the two missing youths, they refused to say "yes" or "no," hinting that they were afraid of the "extremists." After the bodies were found, they did belatedly publish a statement condemning the murder, but in terms too carefully balanced to offend anyone. Incidentally, no Palestinian group has taken responsibility for the killings of two boys and no one was charged of the crime. Still, it was rather disingenuous on the part of Al-Fajr (of 8/13/1990) to claim on that basis, that no conclusive proof existed that the boys were victims of terror. (Leading article in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990.) Some political figures made statements of their own. Of these, of foremost importance was the statement by Housing minister Ariel Sharon whom the rioters virtually idolized. On 8/8/1990, when lynching still went on in full swing, Sharon said that "150 leaders from the Territories should have been deported that very night." (Reported by Yedioth Ahronot of 8/8/1990) Again, no slightest attempt to restrain the raging crowds! Other politicians were reported by Yigal Sarna (Yedioth Ahronot of 8/10/1990) as expressing their "understanding" for the sense of grievance which acted the people to retaliate.

The inspiration flowing from the top level of political authority may perhaps partly explain the philosophical detachment of the police from the riots. (But, as Reuven Padatuz observed in Haaretz of 8/13/1990, the ranks of the police itself were pervaded by the ethos of retaliation against the Arabs and this may well be another part of the explanation.) To begin with, the police took pride in its leniency toward the rioters, in particular in the fact that during 8/6/1990 and 8/7/1990 it made no arrests. (Actually, a very few rioters were detained and almost immediately released after a cursory interrogation.) The police superintendent Yaakov Terner kept himself busy making announcements to the press and to the radio, and thus informing the public that his leniency was a judicious way to calm down the excited crowds, and that his "velvet glove" policy was actually dictated by "wisdom." (Uri Shenhall in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990.) In line with this policy, the rioters could repeatedly hear over the radio that the police "understood" their feelings. (Unsigned Haaretz editorial "Lethal restraint" of 8/12/1990). Only on the third day of rioting, 8/8/1990, the police began making arrests - still not overly many - and (see section 1 above) they had some deterrent effect on further street violence. Terner nicely explained this change of front in his appeal to the rioters: "If you don't stop rioting and going berserk, you will give the police no choice but to use force against you, however unwilling we are to." (Reported by the just referred to Haaretz editorial.) All in all, however, only about 50 persons were arrested out of the estimated 10000 rioters, and only 12 police files against them were actually opened. (Max Levita in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990.) Among the 50 there were two persons responsible for the death of an Arab cook dragged out of his car on a Jerusalem street and fatally injured by beatings: a young mother of a 1-year-old baby and a 14-year-old youngster.

But significantly, even at this stage there were no arrests of Yeshiva students whose overall proportions in the rioting crowds was enormous. Uzi Benziman in Haaretz of 8/12/1990 explains this by political considerations. According to Benziman, the police knew that while no secular politician would overstrain himself in defense of secular rioters, religious government ministers would immediately intercede on behalf of the arrested Yeshiva students. By sparing the religious rioters, the police spared trouble for itself. It needs to be stressed that the police had sufficient manpower and equipment to deal effectively with the riots (the just quoted Haaretz editorial of 8/12/1990), and that under the existing laws the rioters could be liable to as many as 20 years of prison. (Moše Negbi in Hadashot of 8/8/1990.) Yigal Sarna in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/10/1990 and Reuven Padatuz in Haaretz of 8/13/1990 are concerned with the broader issue of the impact of the 8/1990 riots on Israeli democracy. They see the silence of the country's political leadership, the "understanding" of various politicians for the lawbreakers, and the inaction of the police vis à vis the violent mobs as symptoms portending the demise of democracy in Israel. Padatuz views this process in a historical context. He opines that Israeli democracy has been steadily decaying since 1967, and that the 8/1990 riots merely precipitated this decay. Indeed, the 1967 annexation of East Jerusalem amounted to a designo discriminate against the annexed population, particularly in terms of building permits and the right to live in "Jewish only" neighborhoods. What the riots showed with particular clarity was that the overall pattern of discrimination against the Palestinian population of Jerusalem was already systematically applied in law enforcement. Such discrimination is incompatible with the rule of the law principle, and thereby with democratic government.

Nurit Vorgatt in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990 notes another ominous impact of the riots: on the Jewish protest movement of the homeless. In her opinion, riots helped divert attention from the housing shortage, and isolated the homeless in their tent communities from sources of their public support. Furthermore, given the easy access of anyone to their tents, their occupants became mortally afraid of a potential Arab terrorist assault. The number of tents began to dwindle accordingly, until the police on 8/24/1990 evicted the homeless from their tent community in Pardes Katz (north of Tel Aviv) with violence unseen during Jerusalem riots. (=] 61155. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 18: Lynching in Jerusalem on 8/6-9/1990: Part 3: Question of Standards. Israel, p. 4. The Hebrew press which by and large kept its sanity throughout these days of madness, has devoted much of its space to the examination of standards by which the riots and the rioters were judged and treated. Following is a brief survey of the press commentary on this topic. An unsigned editorial "This is Jerusalem" in Hadashot of 8/8/1990 points to the difference between the treatment of the Arab and Jewish rioters by the police. The normal methods of dispersing Arab rioters are tear gas, clubs, rubber bullets. The methods which the police, even at the last stage, used against Jewish rioters still consisted mainly of talk and persuasion. Yigal Sarna in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/10/1990 tells a story of an army officer who stopped a rioting Yeshiva student carrying a large-sized stone in his hand. "I took the stone from him, and told him to go home," recounted the officer after the student hold him he meant to use that stone against Arabs. "How would the same officer behave towards an Arab carrying a large-sized stone?" asks Sarna. Bassam Aid and Max Levita in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990 point out that "hundreds of Arabs were arrested as suspects...
Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

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in connection with the murder of the two Jewish boys,” and contrast it with the failure to arrest murder and murderous violence suspects during the riots. As Maya Dan pointed out in her letter to Haaretz editor (of 8/21/1990), after the murder of an Arab pregnant woman in Hebron, her killers were not pursued, no suspects have been arrested, and a curfew was imposed. The same point was made by Mikhail Sela in Davar of 8/17/1990, who also observed that the murder of that woman had been barely mentioned by radio, and not at all by TV (both state-owned). Quite a contrast with publicity accorded to Jewish victims of Arab terror!

Mikhail Sela in her report just referred to, and an anonymous reporter in Haaretz of 8/17/1990 reveal the circumstances of the burial of the two lynched Arabs. It turns out that both the Hebron woman and the cook from Silwana were, by order of the authorities buried in secrecy at nighttime, according to the regulations relating to the burial of killed terrorists. Again, Jewish victims of Arab terrorism are never buried in a manner precluding publicity, the manifestation of bereavement by access to the places of burial, whether at the time of their funeral or thereafter. In her letter-to-the-editor just referred to, Maya Dan also reminds the readers that according to army regulations, Arab rioters whose faces are covered can be shot at and killed. During the 8/1990 riots, many Jewish pogromists covered their faces in order to avoid identification. Yet none was shot at, and none was even arrested for the offense of covering his face. One double standard is ordained by the existing legislation. Families of terror victims are entitled by law to receive monetary compensation from the government. But the law restricts eligibility for such compensation to victims of the “enemy” terror alone. Accordingly no victim of Jewish terror, whether a Jew or an Arab, is eligible. Moshe Negbi in Hadashot of 8/15/1990 describes this law as “racist,” while Member of the Knesset Shevah Weiss in Davar of 8/20/1990 calls for amending it so as to cover the victims of Jewish terror and their families as well. [—]

61157. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 18: Lynching in Jerusalem on 8/6-9/1990: Part 4: Demographic Characteristics of the Rioters. Israel, N.D. [September 1990] It is easy to say that the pogromists hated the Arabs, but it is much more difficult to explain their hatred. Economic explanations won’t do. If they were valid, Arab property would have been looted. In fact, Arab property was vandalized but no looting has been reported. Hadashot of 8/9/1990 carried an interview with a 15-year-old Haredi pogromist who “expropriated” a beaten Arab of his sunglasses. He thought of using these sunglasses, but after some cogitation decided to smash them, because “I felt disgust. These sunglasses belonged to an Arab! I felt I could never use them [after them]” It may be just a single case, not lending itself to any generalizations, but it does not look like one. Some Israeli psychologists sought to explain the hatred of the Arabs in terms of the feelings of the poor and powerless about those who are poorer and weaker still. It may well be that a comparison in those reference terms gives the Jewish underclass some sense of satisfaction from finding themselves not-quite-so-poor and powerless, and therefore “worthier” than the hated others. But ultimately, this hypothesis explains little, least of all the ritualistic aspects of violence, like refusal to use the “tainted” property, or its expressive aspects, like the widely reported (e.g. by Tom Segen in Haaretz of 8/10/1990) sense of pride derived from participation in violence, or like as widely reported (e.g. by Polly Rolen in Kol Ha’ir of 8/10/1990) sense of enormous pleasure derived from it. In the opinion of the author of the present report, a better explanation would be in terms of official indoctrination which in Israel invariably dignifies Jewishness and casts some aspersion on Gentileness in general and Arab-ness in particular. The term “invariably” is not intended to mean that there are no differences in degree. Religious indoctrination does it much more emphatically and insistently, but secular indoctrination is by no means free from the described contents either. In very real sense, the 8/1990 riots can be said to have been the ultimate product of this indoctrination as refracted in the tutored minds of its recipients.

Also taken into consideration may be the impact of the Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern ethos of blood vengeance. The avowed purpose of the rioting was, after all, to retaliate for the murder of two Jewish children. However, Shulamit Hareven in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/13/1990 has her doubts over whether this avowed purpose was the same as the actual one. The crowd, argues Haraven, did inflict injuries on many Jews: On Jewish press corpsmen chided as “Arafat’s friends,” on those who interceded on behalf of the Arabs, on those beaten “by error,” etc. Besides, asks Hareven, why should it be assumed that the mob could not be more bereaved by the murder of the two boys than their own fathers who both behaved most honorably by begging the mob to stop its “retaliation,” or, for that matter, any more bereaved than any average Israeli who did not think of avenging the murder by wanton violence against the haphazardly picked victims? Indeed, an explanation in terms of blood vengeance ethos raises objections which must be considered, for example, the “picking” of victims among the Arab community, and therefore “worthier” than the hated others. But ultimately, this hypothesis explains little, least of all the ritualistic aspects of violence, like refusal to use the “tainted” property, or its expressive aspects, like the widely reported (e.g. by Tom Segen in Haaretz of 8/10/1990) sense of pride derived from participation in violence, or like as widely reported (e.g. by Polly Rolen in Kol Ha’ir of 8/10/1990) sense of enormous pleasure derived from it. In the opinion of the author of the present report, a better explanation would be in terms of official indoctrination which in Israel invariably dignifies Jewishness and casts some aspersion on Gentileness in general and Arab-ness in particular. The term “invariably” is not intended to mean that there are no differences in degree. Religious indoctrination does it much more emphatically and insistently, but secular indoctrination is by no means free from the described contents either. In very real sense, the 8/1990 riots can be said to have been the ultimate product of this indoctrination as refracted in the tutored minds of its recipients.

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Without doubt, the rioters viewed themselves as a political avant-garde, forcing the government's hand into adopting the transfer "solution," in conformity with what the majority of the nation wants. Indeed, according to all the polls, the transfer idea is now supported by more than 90% of Jewish respondents. But they were not understood in the context of the entrenched notion of the Israeli popular culture that the state as well as the land "belong to the Jews," with the corollary that the fate of the resident non-Jews depends on what the Jews may "democratically" decide. The concepts of such as equality of citizens under the law, or the rights of minorities, are totally alien not just to the pogromists, but to an average Israeli-Jewish man of the street as well. The fact that the rioters had the transfer in their minds can be directly inferred from their constant screaming at their victims "Go to Iraq," "Go to Saudi Arabia," and the like. The foregoing explains a certain ambivalence in the rioters' attitudes towards the government. At the beginning the rioters certainly perceived the present ultra-right government as "theirs." They expected the government to encourage their action, and they interpreted the leadership's silence and the leniency of the police as clear confirmation of these expectations. According to Hila Blum in Yerushalaim of 8/17/1990, the fact that the rioters interpreted Shamir's silence as encouragement to riot, was stated by no lesser authority than Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek. And the same point about the broadcast assurances to the effect of "understanding" the rioters' feelings was forcefully made by Ygal Sarna in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/10/1990. Without any ifs and buts, Sarna wrote that such assurances only incited the rioters to further violence. Gradually the idyll cracked, especially after the police made its first arrests. Then the rioters suddenly recalled that the police was responsible for its failure to provide "us" with sufficient security against Arab terrorism; and the rare government figures (Minister Avner Shahak of the National Religious Party and vice-minister Geula Cohen of the HaTehiya Party) who happened to confront the enraged crowds were blamed for the same. But there was more to it. As reported by Yoram Levi in Davar of 8/8/1990, in many confrontations the police and the army were also blamed for siding with the Arabs against "us." According to the same source, the scream "this is a police state" could be heard by the rioters quite often. (The popular concept of the "police state" is in Israel a typical expression of grievances of delinquent milieus against law enforcement.)

61159. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 18: Lynching in Jerusalem on 8/6-9/1990: Part 7: Fate of the Interceders. Israel, N.D. [September 1990] Intercessions on behalf of the attacked Arabs were not understood in under a variety of circumstances and for a variety of reasons. Indoors, on private property premises, they tended to be successful, while on the street the mob was not in the mood to listen to pleas and arguments. On the rational side, however, the mob had good reasons to perceive some intercessions as half-hearted, hypocritical or otherwise lacking in genuineness. The paramount case is that of the police. The police did repeatedly intercede in defense of the attacked Arabs, and it ceaselessly pleaded for restraint while talking sweetly and appealing to rioters' reason. A particularly curious case of that is described by Bassam Aid and Max Levi in Kol Ha'ir of 8/10/1990. After first attacks of the mob on the media, the government press office did provide the reporters with police escorts. But the escorts talked to the crowd gently, with the predictable effect that media people continued to fall prey to beatings. With rare exceptions, political authority figures were conspicuous by their absence from the scene of riots. Most intercessions were made by ordinary Jewish civilians. It soon turned out that there were good reasons to talk gently to the crowd, because many who talked not quote so gently were beaten in addition to the Arabs they defended, or at least verbally abused in vilest of terms. By all means, there were numerous cases of perfectly genuine intercessions by bystanders outraged by the savagery of the crowd. The already mentioned case of the fathers of the two murdered boys clearly belongs to this category. Al Hamishmar of 8/15/1990 carried a detailed description of two intercessions. Avner Schlesinger, an army officer in uniform, was a genuine interceder. The second, Avi Alsam, member of Likud and the chairman of a neighborhood council, merely tried to protect a single old and handicapped Arab sanitation worker of his neighborhood. To the Al Hamishmar and other press interviewers Alsam later said that the crowds should have discriminated between young and healthy Arabs and old and sick Arabs who deserved to be spared. The outcome of their intercessions: both Schlesinger and Alsam were beaten up. [=]
effects of Haredi indoctrination which Shragai ignores. From early childhood, every Haredi child constantly hears that the difference between Jews and Gentiles is cosmic, no lesser than between humans and animals. From early childhood he learns that his behavior towards Jew and Gentile should be guided by entirely different, in many cases exactly opposite, standards. From early childhood he absorbs a thoroughly dehumanized image of the Gentile. No wonder years of such indoctrination in the end bear fruit, both in terms of rising appetite for violence when opportunity strikes, and in terms of general mental debilitation. [=]

61161. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 18: Lynching in Jerusalem on 8/6-9/1990. Part 1: The Kahane Factor. Israel, N.D. [September 1990] The presence of Rabbi Kahane's followers among the rioters was highly publicized, but a number of commentators (e.g. Lily Gaflil in Haaretz of 8/17/1990 or Yair Nehorai in Yerushalaim of the same date) doubt if it was in any way decisive or even important. The conclusive proof of the Kahane's ultimate powerlessness came on 8/13/1990, when his movement called for the resumption of rioting but the police this time firmly insisted that it won't tolerate any. Nothing happened. In Hadashot of 8/8/1990, Shuki Levanon interviewed the head of the Jerusalem branch of Kach party, Noam Federman. Federman boasted that he had plenty of money and most up-to-date technology at his disposal. He told Levanon he was using an ultra-modern radio equipment for overhearing radio communications of the police and directing his faithful through walkie-talkies to various destinations accordingly. (Overhearing the police radio communications is a punishable act, yet it is done by the settlers routinely with total impunity.) Even if some of Federman's boasts were true, they in no way affected the spontaneous character of the riots, from which any element of planning and organization was entirely absent. Presuming that the police has accumulated much evidence from filming the riots, Shulamit Hareven in Yedioth Ahronot of 8/13/1990 calls nevertheless for prosecution of all Kach members in Jerusalem under charges of fomenting violence or assisting in violence. Paraphrasing a historic 1939 slogan of Ben Gurion, Hareven coins her own: "We should fight [Arab] terror as if Kahane didn't exist, and we should fight Kahane as if [Arab] terror didn't exist." To conclude, much as the intentions of the Kahane followers were despicable, their numbers were too paltry, and their organizational resources too inadequate to make any difference. Their boasts of having provided the riots with leadership are totally groundless. [=]

61162. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 41: Meir Kahane's Life, Death and Two Funerals: Part 1. Israel, N.D. [December 1990] In two respects, the 10/8/1990 funeral of Meir Kahane in Jerusalem belied common expectations. In the first place, much violence was expected to erupt on this occasion. In reality, while violence was by no means absent, it was much more contained than on other recent occasions - such as the lynchings of 8/6-9/1990, the incidents preceding and following the Temple Mount massacre, and the incidents accompanying the temporary closure of the Territories - which turned the heretofore rather quiet Jewish part of Jerusalem into a city gripped periodically by the outbreaks of riotous violence. The second expectation was that the funeral would be a rather sectarian affair, with hard core followers and sympathizers screaming for vengeance and engaging in all sorts of rhetorical theatrics, joined by a certain amount of sensation seekers eager to be present wherever crowds gather, and perhaps by some publicity-hungry figures here and there. Instead, the funeral turned into a massive demonstration of popular grief, with attendance estimated at about 50000 or 10% of the city's Jewish population. Let me discuss the violence first and the mass attendance second.

At the funeral itself, incitement to violence abounded: overt, completely untrammeled, devoid of any euphemisms or circumlocutions. The crowds chanted "Death to the Arabs!" throughout the event, and death threats to the media, to Jewish leftists, to "traitors," and to this or that "treasonous" politician also were repeatedly heard. Speaker after speaker called for "vengeance" as the only appropriate response to Kahane's murder. Moreover, the mourners were enjoined by Kahane's faithful to march straight from the funeral to the Arab sector of the city in order to exact vengeance. And some of them did, mostly in buses specially hired for the occasion. The best description of what followed is by Max Levita in Kol Ha'ir of 11/9/1990. When the buses were stopped by the police, the pogromists, accustomed to their previously rather amicable relations with the ever-lenient lawmen, started making jokes. The police, however, acting under newly appointed Superintendent Bibi, were on this occasion not in a joking mood. The Kahans were forced to stand facing a wall, and though not arrested, the bus driver's license was confiscated. Sure enough, they subsequently tried to return to the Arab city on public buses or by otherwise circumventing the police cordons. This cat and mouse game with the police lasted well into the night, but no violence occurred. This episode proves that when the police act decisively to deter street violence, the results are not slow in coming.

There was, however, some violence on the day of the funeral which was directed against randomly encountered Arab victims deep inside the Jewish sector of the city. There were two such incidents: one Arab was rescued from the mob by the police, and the other was beaten terribly enough to require hospitalization in an ambulance. When the ambulance came, the mob did its best to prevent his rescue. The story of the conscientious ambulance driver, Meir Eilezer, as told to Arieh Bender in Maariv of 11/8/1990, is a rather poignant testimony about the mood of the crowd on the day of the funeral: "I summoned the police and under their protection I managed to steer the ambulance over to where the wounded man was lying, but the mob wouldn't disperse. They pushed the ambulance and hurled stones at it, yelling: 'Don't take him! It's a Jew! He's an Arab!' They also tried to prevent me from treating the man but nevertheless I succeeded. Then, they surrounded the ambulance from all sides and tried to force open the door and carry off the wounded man.... The police had to step in between the ambulance and the crowd and protect the rear door with their bodies in order to prevent the mob from getting in. In the process, one policeman fell onto the pavement injuring his head and legs.... Another ambulance had to be called to rescue him...." Does this reveal that the police have had a change of heart, no longer prepared, as was customarily the case, to covertly side with right-wing rioters in their violent encounters with Arabs or left-wing demonstrators, preferring instead to impartially enforce order? As the day's events pointed out, on the day of the funeral, the police were determined to prevent the mob from going berserk, and more or less succeeded in doing so. And yet, none of Kahane's would-be avengers was arrested. Moreover, when the mob vented its wrath on the media by attacking the television broadcasting building, neither tear gas nor other non-lethal weapons were used to disperse it. Such leniency seems to indicate that some higher-level "understanding" between the police and the mob persists.

The lenient treatment of the most outrageously violent Kahansists by the police may well stem from Israeli intelligence's assessment of Kahane as a person and his movement. Most instructive in this respect is Amnon Abramovitz's column in Maariv of 11/9/1990 whose contents with near-certainty may be presumed to be "inspired" by circles within Israeli intelligence. What is striking about this assessment is its shallowness and lack of psychological insight. Kahane is portrayed as no more than a cool and calculating publicity seeker. "Meir Kahane...was at different times a paid CIA agent, a sports reporter, a goya [gentile woman]. This is the record of a person who loves the good money and most up-to-date technology at his disposal. He told Levanon Bender in Maariv of 11/8/1990, is a rather poignant testimony about the Riotous violence when opportunity strikes, and in terms of general mental Kahanists were forced to stand facing a wall, and though not arrested, the bus driver's license was confiscated. Sure enough, they subsequently tried to return to the Arab city on public buses or by otherwise circumventing the police cordons. This cat and mouse game with the police lasted well into the night, but no violence occurred. This episode proves that when the police act decisively to deter street violence, the results are not slow in coming.

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purposes, or the unwillingness to perceive oneself as driven by personal self-interest alone. Consequently, it does not even cross the author's mind that Kahane might have been an egomaniacal popularity seeker and a genuine believer in impersonal causes at the same time. The assessment of Kahane's movement that follows is also unconvincing: "It does not preclude the possibility that some of his followers may try their luck at political murders, and it even singles out some Vietnam-trained Amikam Tzvi, among them, as contributing to his cause. Yet, it minimizes the danger of such murders on the grounds that the core of the movement consists of individuals too deranged to be really effective. But nothing undermines the credibility of this assessment more than its concluding downright puerile boasts about the extent to which Kahane's movement has been infiltrated by undercover police agents. It really sounds as if the boys are now in line for government rewards for a job well done. Below, the reader will have the opportunity to notice how various assumptions of this assessment have been belied by certain aspects of the funeral and certain facts revealed by the Hebrew press in its commentary on the funeral. 

61163. Shahak, Israel. Shahak Report 41: Meir Kahane's Life, Death and Two Funerals: Part 2: Funeral Attendance. Israel, N.D. [December 1990] As pointed out by MK Burg in Haaretz of 11/12/1990, the male mourners could be roughly divided into three categories: the devoutly religious, in their Haredi garb, the superficially religious commonly referred to in Israel as "traditionalists," with their heads covered by skullcaps, and the seculars, undistinguishable in their dress from anyone else. There is little doubt that the female mourners could be placed in the same three categories, even if they could not be as easily identified by their dress. On closer inspection, however, it was clear that the secular mourners were much less secular than they might have appeared at first sight. For all categories of mourners alike, the seculars included, could be seen adhering to some distinctively Jewish religious folk customs of a rather superstitious kind, such as rushing to touch or kiss the coffin, or even the hearse, in the belief that tactile or preferably oral contact with a holy man confers holiness upon the one who touches or kisses him. Two public figures attending the funeral, Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu and Minister of Absorption Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, obviously took advantage of this folk custom - and its underlying belief - when they stretched out their right hands to be kissed in order to avoid being scorned by Kahane, who spoke in the same way as secular figures associated with the present Israeli government were. In Judaism, holiness comes easy.

The topic which particularly intrigued press commentators was the massive funeral attendance. As observed by Ron Kislev in Haaretz of 11/11/1990, Kahane's public rallies, frequently held in various spots throughout the city, could never attract crowds larger than 300. Moreover, in the recent election of Jewish neighborhood committees, Kahane's candidates sustained embarrassing defeats, in spite of their party's best efforts to have them elected. Hence, the need to explain that an estimated 50000 attended the funeral. Of course, Kahane's murder by an Arab added to his popularity: all funerals of Jews killed by Arabs are well-attended. But this cannot be the whole explanation. According to Kislev, the bulk of the mourners were Likud supporters, who would not have voted for Kahane under any circumstances. Their identification with Kahane could be attributed to the steady rightward drift of the popular mood, which can be traced back as far as 1977. Gradually, the Likud implanted the notion in the popular imagination that the very talk about withdrawal from the Occupied Territories smacked of treason. Consequently, the occupation itself thus acquired an aura of holiness, like outstretched rabbinical hands. No wonder the most fiendish ideas of what to do with the Arabs - kill them, deport them, put them behind barbed wire - became thinkable under these circumstances.

One point in Kislev's explanation strikes me as dubious. There was much hostility towards the present government at the funeral. If the bulk of the mourners were indeed Likud supporters, why did they curse the Likud-dominated government in the vilest of terms? Moreover, three members of the government who felt compelled to pay their last respects to Kahane - Yuval Ne'eman, Geula Cohen and Rehavam Ze'evi, all three of whom are not from the Likud but from secular right-wing parties - were far from welcomed by the mourners. Why? Possibly because of their upper-class, secular and (with the exception of Cohen) Ashkenazi demeanor. Certainly because they refused to chant "Death to the Arabs" together with the crowd. But also because of their record of past involvement in attempts to ban Kahane's part from running in Knesset elections. By the same standard, however, the Likud's record is quite questionable. At the time, the Likud did its best to ban Kahane from the Knesset elections. The presumedLIKUD supporters among the Kahane mourners should have remembered that, in the same way that they proved they remembered similar stains on the records of non-Likud ministers at whom they spat.

On the other hand, Kislev is certainly on the right track when he sees the key to Kahane's popular appeal in his ability to free human language of all moral restraints and inhibitions, the same point is argued in some depth by Prof. Ehud Sprinzak, a Likud sympathizer, interviewed from Washington over the phone by Tali Lipkin-Shahak in Davar of 11/9/1990. "The greatest success of Kahane," Sprinzak said, "lay in making the Israelis feel free to profess, without shame, their wish to kill the Arabs, or otherwise wreak vengeance upon them." The difference between Kahane and other Israeli right-wingers is that in the ranks of the latter, shame, according to Sprinzak, still acts as a potent restraint, whereas Kahane jettisoned all restraint in articulating the most murderous impulses of the crowds. Sprinzak's best evidence of this is Kahane's endorsement of the deed of Ami Popper, a deranged murderer who shot dead seven entirely innocent Arab laborers outside the Tel Aviv suburb of Rishon LeZion. At the time, Kahane made the following speech: "Good evening, good Jews and dirty traitors. Why is there so much lamenting going on in Israel? I could get the impression that it's Holocaust Day or Tisha Be'av [the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple]. But no, [it is due to] a Jew having killed seven Arabs, savage ishmaelites, haters of Israel. What's wrong with that?" (Quoted by Eli Shay, Kol Ha'ir, 11/9/1990). Sprinzak argues that prior to Kahane nobody would have publicly dared to approve of the murder of Arabs. Kahane was the first to dare, and herein lies his historic innovation. Yet Kahane was more of a moral reformer than a moral nihilist. He was not telling the crowds to discard all moral sensibilities. Rather, he fought conventional morality in the name of "a higher" morality of serving God and executing His will. Murdering, expelling and brutalizing the Arabs constituted an act of divine sanction. In the mass of press commentary generated by Kahane's death and funeral, the religious dimension in Kahane and Kahanism is not brought into sufficient relief. Yet without this dimension, his challenge to commonly shared moral notions could have hardly succeeded in attracting any significant following. Ordinarily, people do not find it easy to perceive themselves as just swine, without any saving graces or redeeming features.

There were two clear exceptions in the press of commentators who recognized the importance of the religious dimension: Uzi Benziman (two articles in Haaretz of 11/9/1990) and Knesset member Avraham Burg (Haaretz of 11/12/1990). Both clearly perceive Kahane first and foremost as a religious figure. Benziman points out that Kahane's endorsement of the deed of Ami Popper, a deranged murderer who shot dead seven entirely innocent Arab laborers outside the Tel Aviv suburb of Rishon LeZion. At the time, Kahane made the following speech: "Good evening, good Jews and dirty traitors. Why is there so much lamenting going on in Israel? I could get the impression that it's Holocaust Day or Tisha Be'av [the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple]. But no, [it is due to] a Jew having killed seven Arabs, savage ishmaelites, haters of Israel. What's wrong with that?" (Quoted by Eli Shay, Kol Ha'ir, 11/9/1990). Sprinzak argues that prior to Kahane nobody would have publicly dared to approve of the murder of Arabs. Kahane was the first to dare, and herein lies his historic innovation. Yet Kahane was more of a moral reformer than a moral nihilist. He was not telling the crowds to discard all moral sensibilities. Rather, he fought conventional morality in the name of "a higher" morality of serving God and executing His will. Murdering, expelling and brutalizing the Arabs constituted an act of divine sanction. In the mass of press commentary generated by Kahane's death and funeral, the religious dimension in Kahane and Kahanism is not brought into sufficient relief. Yet without this dimension, his challenge to commonly shared moral notions could have hardly succeeded in attracting any significant following. Ordinarily, people do not find it easy to perceive themselves as just swine, without any saving graces or redeeming features.

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According to Burg, Kahane's problem with the Arabs was their massive presence on God's territory, not their being the foulest sort of Gentiles. Kahane hated all Gentiles, but he made discriminations. As the worst among them, he singled out the Blacks, then the Russians, then the Arabs, then the Americans, and only then all the others. According to Burg, Kahane also hated secular Jews, but concealed that hatred when it was convenient.

Nothing in Benziman's and Burg's arguments can be construed as implying that Kahane was a true believer, or that his followers were genuine seekers of religious instruction. But by laying stress on Kahane's theology, Benziman and Burg at least realize that what both Kahane and his followers sought and obtained were religious rationalizations for their thirst for violence, bloodshed, cruelty and plunder. Kahane's theology was like a gift from heaven for his followers, because it enabled them to perceive themselves as noble-minded characters, animated by noble motives. Paradoxically, the throngs of ignoramuses who at the funeral venerated Kahane as a "holy man" and who turned the whole ceremony into a spectacle of nascent religious revivalism, may have understood Kahane better than the press commentators who ignored the religious contents of his teachings, and certainly better than Israeli intelligence which treated him as a commonplace power-hungry cynic. An article by Nahum Barnea in Yedioth Ahronot of 11/8/1990 constitutes a minute chronicle of events that took place at the funeral, most of them too trivial to deserve being mentioned in this report. But one passage by all means deserves to be quoted. "How could a member of a despised and vile people, whose fate is to be expelled and killed and humiliated by Kach, succeed in assassinating the greatest leader this generation has produced? Messianic answers have been forthcoming and no doubt will preoccupy his followers for months to come. At the funeral, many spoke about a precursor of the Messiah whose death will pave the way for the construction of the Great Temple. If I understand it correctly, the operative conclusion is that divine sanction has been granted to attack the Islamic holy places on the Temple mount."

What is striking in the description given by Barnea and others of the crowd's behavior at the funeral is the expressive exuberance with which the mourners vented their feelings. Everyone imaginable was accused of treason, or of responsibility for Kahane's death. Everyone imaginable was threatened with murder, or with more refined forms of vengeance. There was a sense of liberation in the air, similar to that which typically occurs in the initial stage of popular revolts. People felt free; eventually to do anything, in the meantime, to say anything. Above all else, people felt free to daydream: about the imminent victory to be achieved through rivers of blood, about the imminent utter humiliation of all foes. One particularly curious daydream, recorded by Sima Kadmon in Ma'ariv of 11/8/1990, is worth quoting. Kadmon heard a woman shrieking: "It isn't the Arabs who must be killed. We should rather kill the media and the Jews. Without them, the Arabs would forever remain our fawning slaves." In other words, when the media and the Jewish leftists are killed, the Arabs will be "our" slaves. This lady already fancies herself midway between a plantation owner and a Party members and of Knesset members to the left of Labor, who are the genuine seekers of religious instruction. But by laying stress on other delivering qualified eulogies, still others preferring to remain silent. Among the organizations that turned out at the "funeral" were: the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith, the Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations and the Rabbinical Council of America. (See New York Times of 11/8/1990.) The state of Israel was represented by the deputy consul general in New York. (Same source.) The same New York Times report quotes one Rabbi Moshe D. Tendler of Yeshiva University as eulogizing Kahane as a holy man who "spoke with God" and spoke the truth. "Sadly, sadly," the learned rabbi added, "time has proven his wisdom." The same rabbi is reported by the New York Times to have "paused several times to take note of what he called 'the dignitaries' in attendance." One of the things that happened at this funeral and which the New York Times considered unfit for print was revealed by Amnon Tavori in Davar of 11/9/1990 and Dalia Shehori in Al Hamishmar of the same date. It turns out that next to the displayed signs in English, there were some in Hebrew: and it was precisely these signs which called for "rivers of Arab blood" and the like. On the other hand, the Hebrew press stressed the absence of any violence at the New York ceremony. Unlike in Jerusalem, there were no precedents for expecting the New York police to stand by amused in the event violence would have occurred.

On the basis of these facts, I can speculate that the spectacle was dignified by calling it "a funeral," in order to justify the presence of assorted "dignitaries" in terms of their commitment to Judaism which indeed unequivocally commands respect for the Jewish dead, regardless of how odious they may have been while alive. But this still does not fully explain their massive presence at the spectacle. For all the lip service the American Jewish "dignitaries" may pay to Judaism and its commandments, they do not attend every funeral of every Jew in New York. Then why did they attend Kahane's? A few of them could have done so out of sympathy, overt or covert, with the deceased. But many others were on record as having been quite unenthusiastic about Kahane when he was alive. Yet whether they wanted it or not, their presence at the funeral was a manifestation of their basic identification with Kahane, overriding any possible disagreements with him. My tentative explanation is that their absence would have made them vulnerable to accusations of covert sympathy with an act of Arab terrorism against a Jew. The same explanation applies to the 26 Knesset members who, rather than absent themselves, chose to stand at attention during the one minute of silence with which the Knesset ritually commemorated its former member. Among the 26 there was a preponderance of Labor Party members and of Knesset members to the left of Labor, who are more vulnerable to such an accusation than most of those who absented themselves from the hall. The behavior of the 26 was severely criticized in the Hebrew press: notably by Yitzhak Ro'eh in Yerushalayim of 11/9/1990 and Gabi Nitzan in Hadashot of 11/9/1990. Yet in a sense, the behavior of the 26 was more excusable than the presence of the "dignitaries" at Kahane's "funeral" in New York. For the former unquestionably had one thing in common with Kahane: they were his fellow Knesset members. The latter, in contrast, demonstrated by their presence that they had something in common with Kahane, without making clear what it was. [”]
or how successful he was in persuading people and recruiting followers. be implemented without recourse to violence. In view of all this, it seems

referred to, is guilty of such simplification when he says that Kahane's God's name. He pays all the lip-service to democracy and legality that

teachings can be dismissed outright. (Nahum Barnea, in the article just secular. His propaganda is free of any religious appeal, any invocation of

Nazism is not comparable to them at all. primarily determined by political programs. In terms of its political

American, the heir of a distinctly American cultural tradition. Hitler not even interested in attracting the votes of erstwhile Kahane voters.

on the right track when he reminds his readers that Kahane was an himself and Kahane, to the extent of conveying the impression that he is

brimstone; Kahane was. Nahum Barnea (Yediot Ahronot of 11/9/1990) is He stresses all kinds of differences - real and imagined - between

Hitler was not an American-style Bible-toting prophet of fire and the interview to set himself apart from Kahane as sharply as possible.

Divine Providence being on his side, Hitler did not perceive himself as the person of Ze'evi, and Yerushalayim of 11/9/1990 features an

ennobled these hatreds by his peculiar blend of pseudo-history and mongering Moledet party. This is also Sprinzak's view. This view has

rousing and channeling the frustrations and hatreds of the crowds. Hitler Kahane's mantle will now pass to Rehavan Ze'evi and his transfer-

similar "ideas" of using and subsidizing Kahane for purposes other than Arabs, hooliganism and violence. Kahane's cultural legacy - a fully

from the band of their overt brown-shirted or yellow-shirted followers, Sprinzak is not alone in making predictions about Kahanism

the double standard of law enforcement which always worked in his surrounded himself with arrant mediocrities. At the same time Sprinzak

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to me more likely that the average Kahanist would (not without good reason) rather view Ze'evi as a sickness hypocrite than be attracted to him. At the funeral, Ze'evi was booed by the crowd the moment he was recognized. Furthermore, a research study undertaken by Dr. Yo'av Peled of the University of Tel Aviv showed that in the 1988 Knesset elections, after Kahane's party had been banned from running, the Kahane vote went largely to the Shas Party, and not to Ze'evi. Kahane's appeal, after all, consisted primarily in telling his followers that they no longer needed to hypocritically propitiate the powers-that-be, because they have the Highest Power on their side. In this respect, Ze'evi's message is the exact opposite. It is difficult to see how his message can be accepted by those who, above all else, yearn for the sight of blood in daylight. [8]

61166. Shahak, Israel. The Influence of Xenophobic Ideologies on the Israeli Jews: Part 1 of 4. Shahak Report 131. April 22, 1994. In report 136 I quoted at length an outstanding Israeli social scientist, Baruch Kimmerling ("Haaretz", 21 January, 1994) discussing potentialities of a civil war between the two camps of Israeli Jewish society. Kimmerling observed that for Gush Emunim the settlements aim "at speaking to and thus absorbing the secular population of the State of Israel in their concept of the collective Jewish identity as religious, ethnocentric and programmatically anti-liberal and anti-universalist. Within this concept democracy can be tolerated only as long as it fosters the Divine Jewish Kingdom. Any values discrepant with 'Jewish values' which alone have absolute validity are to be suppressed". Moreover, Kimmerling wrote that "between 1974-1992 Gush Emunim has managed to surround itself with a periphery of supporters with varying degrees of commitment and contact. Its greatest achievement was its quite extensive influence on Israeli-Jewish culture and collective identity, whose concepts have become with time more and more ethnocentric". Another factor, which in Kimmerling's view, increases the likelihood of a civil war is the "ideology. Their power has two additional sources: the spreading of xenocentric and xenophobic views, especially of the hatred of Arabs, among the the Israeli Jewish masses and the penetration of the Israeli Security System, i.e. the army and various Intelligence branches by Gush Emunim members and supporters. This report will be devoted to discussion of two latter factors. As such, it can be seen as a sequel of reports 131 and 136.

All the polls taken after Goldstein's massacre have shown that while the approval of that massacre was in the Israeli Jewish society on the whole quite considerable, some population subgroups have approved it more and some less. An expertly poll taken ten days after the massacre by Eliyahu Hassin for "Shishi" and published on March 11 used a representative sample of all Israeli adults, which means that it included the Arab holders of Israeli citizenship. The respondents could choose between three options: justifying the massacre, "understanding" it without justifying, and condemning it in no uncertain terms. The first two answers were categorized jointly and thus contrasted with clear condemnations. (The remainder needed to add up to 100% stands for those who refused to answer or had no opinion.) The national average was: justifying 6%; understanding 30%; not condemning 36%; condemning 63%. Since the answers of the Arabs, who constitute about 14.5% of Israeli adults, were predictable, we can infer that about 40% of Israeli Jews either justified or at least "understood" Goldstein's massacre. This is the point of departure for this report and it probably should be a point of departure for any serious analysis of Israeli Jewish attitudes. As mentioned, the poll breakdowns showed that those responses varied significantly between various segments of the population. The most meaningful was in my view the variation between the younger and the older age cohorts. In the age cohort 18-29 8% were found to justify the massacre; 35% to understand it; (i.e. 43% did not condemn it), and only 56% condemned it, which means that overt or covert approval for the massacre was higher than in the national average. By contrast, in the age cohort 50-65 only 3% were found to justify it; 18% to understand it; (i.e. 21%; did not condemn it), whereas as many as 78%, (which means much more than in the national average) did condemn it. The breakdown by age shows that on issues involving the Palestinians in the Territories the Israeli attitudes tend to get increasingly more tough with the lapse of time. Incidentally, on issues not directly involving the Palestinians in the Territories, like the freedom of Israeli press, the younger Israelis turn out to be more liberal than the elderly.

Although Israelis below 18 were recently not polled, the descriptions of their views and attitudes had abounded in the lastdecade. Those descriptions make it clear that xenophobic attitudes tend to be at their highest among the youth aged 14-18. Indisputably, the major reason for this is the character of Jewish education in Israel. Jewish high school students from largest Israeli cities interviewed by "Yediot Ahronot" correspondents (March 2) displayed such xenophobic attitudes in abundance. Ronit Antler, who summarized those interviews, compared them with comments of top echelon Israeli educators. Thus: "Joel Kolodner, the head of the Education Ministry's Psychological Service, said that 'Israeli society undergoes a deep crisis if after 45 years [of statehood] a generation appeared which believes that what happened in Hebron was O.K'. By contrast, the General Director of the Education Ministry, Shimshon Shoshani, remained unimpressed. 'I haven't yet heard that the students approved of the massacre. Most students in this country behave maturely'. Antler comments that visits to schools around the country revealed that many students did denounce the murder, but also that many others did not have any hesitation to profess their solidarity with the murderer. The common argument in support of the latter attitude is: 'Since they kill us, why shouldn't we kill them?'"

Here are some specifics of the interviews and their setting. "Municipal High School A is an average Tel-Aviv school. The school is integrated, in that it contains students from all social strata. It is located on the boundary dividing the northern [wealthy] from the southern [poor] parts of the city. Most of its students denounced the murder, but refused to feel sorry about it. They were by no means shocked. Usually they avoided calling it 'murder' or 'massacre', preferring instead expressions such as: 'the event', 'the incident', or 'that thing which happened in Hebron'.'

"Yesterday, during the afternoon recess, the students assembled in [discussion] groups. They were sitting on the floor, smoking cigarettes, eating sandwiches and arguing. Miri, from grade 11: 'Murder is a terrible thing. Every murder should be denounced. Both by Arabs and by Jews. It's too bad that the extremists on both sides are recklessly wrecking the peace process. I offer my condolences to the Arabs'. But Oded from the same grade was more annoyed by the 'all-out vilification of Jewish residents of Kiyat Arba'. He said: 'They are falling prey to all that talk about evacuation. Those people chose to live there, they have a splendid ideology. The minute Arafat called off the talks on the ground that he didn't receive a satisfactory compensation for what happened in Hebron, I came to the conclusion that no Arabs really want peace.'"
condemned as inhuman. It should be condemned just like the murder of a pregnant woman and of an old Jew in Kfar Saba”. But Lior from grade 12 could not understand what all the furor was about: “What he did was O.K. Too bad he didn’t have more grenades to throw them and kill more Arabs. That’s what should have been done. This state belongs to the Jews and to them alone. I esteem Goldstein for what he did. The Talmud says: “When someone comes to kill you, hurry to kill him first”. All the Arameans can now understand Yael opposed Kahane’s name was not mentioned, it climaxed... But the Van Leer survey also showed that support of religious youth for Kahane was three times as large as that of secular youth, and that the former tended to profess that support in much more extremist terms, stressing explicitly such tenets of Kahanism as hatred of Arabs, the denial of their rights or the demand to expel them from the Land of Israel”. Those findings sparked a quite extensive debate in the wake of which “the then Education minister, Yitzhak Navon [Labor], set up a unit for Education for Democracy and Jewish-Arab co-existence”. However, “the religious Jewish community firmly opposed any education for democracy and co-existence in the name of the double standard prescribed by the Jewish religion between the attitudes towards the Jews and the Gentiles. This double standard applied with particular force against the Arabs whom many religious Jews perceived as the ‘offspring of Amalek’ which they were duty-bound to exterminate”. This is why they have opposed education for democracy and co-existence not only in their own schools, but also in secular ones. As usual, the Labor party yielded to pressures of the religious parties, with the effect that “the established unit remained very small, with paltry budgets”. Moreover, “the religious education took advantage of its legally guaranteed autonomy to announce that it would not tolerate any joint meetings of Jewish and Arab schoolchildren as trangressing Judaism”. This announcement is still binding.

“The Education Ministry once again researched the attitudes of youth toward Kahanism in 1990, through a survey carried out by Prof. Ze’ev Ben-Sira. Support for Kahanism was then found to have increased. 39% of surveyed youths said that they identified or agreed with Kahane’s views. When Kahane’s name was not mentioned, support for his ideas climbed. 66% either supported or strongly supported ‘encouraging the Arab residents of the Territories to emigrate’. 53% supported ‘restricting the human rights of people who did not fulfill the duties of the state’s soldiers, such as military or national service’. The Ben-Sira survey also revealed an enormous difference between the attitude of secular and religious Jewish youths. The over-all percentage of those who expressed their preference for the domination of the Territories over the human rights was about 60%. But in the secular educational institutions the idea commanded the support of only 35%, whereas in the religious ones of as many as 74%. In secular vocational schools (i.e. attended mostly by children of parents with income below the average) 61% expressed that preference, whereas in the religious vocational schools 71%”. In addition to documenting the formidable influence of Jewish religion upon the formation of xenophobic attitudes, the Ben-Sira survey noted the impact of poverty. This finding was recently corroborated by Hassin who found that respondents with income below the average justified Goldstein’s murder in 7%, “understood” it if it was O.K. (i.e. did not condemn it in 47%) and condemned it only in 51%, whereas the respondents with income above the average justified it only in 4%; “understood” it in 20% (i.e. did not condemn it in 24%) and condemned it in 75%. Fishbein adds that “the Education Ministry, headed by Zvulun Hammer [from National Religious Party], refrained from publicizing Ben-Sira’s findings. The excerpts from the Ben-Sira report cleared for publications were very selective: the selection having been biased to show the superiority of religious education in inculcating commitment to Zionism”.

Jointly with plenty of other available data these findings show that Jewish religion and poverty (especially if caused by unemployment) are the two major factors explaining Jewish chauvinism and Nazism. Far from ignoring either, I would attribute more importance to the influence of religion. This is at least a conclusion drawn by numerous surveys and other investigations researching the causes of Kahane’s election to the Knesset in 1984. It was then conclusively shown that vote for Kahane...
was the bulkiest in localities or neighborhoods which were religious and poor at the same time. Neither of those variables alone sufficed to explain massive vote for him. But jointly, these variables have a high correlative power: higher than that of any other variable. The silence of not a few "leftists", especially Jewish, about the influence of Jewish religion may be deliberate in their intention to conceal the truth. But it always strikes me as pernicious in its political effects. Incidentally, for all the differences between the conditions under which the Palestinians live as compared to the Jews, a combination of extreme poverty with religious influence appears to generate religious extremism among the former no less than among the latter.

The findings quoted by Fishbein concerning the difference between religious and secular students in their attitudes toward the Arabs have been confirmed by the poll of Jewish residents of Jerusalem ("Kol Ha'ir", September 24, 1993) investigating their attitudes toward the Oslo Agreement. Let me quote what I myself wrote about the latter in report 127. In accordance with the usual Israeli polling routine, each respondent was asked to identify himself as secular (who defies all or most commandments of Judaism), traditional (who observes only the more convenient among them), religious (who observes all commandments without renouncing the Western culture, except when it directly contradicts those commandments) or Haredi (the ultra-pious, who rejects all Western culture.) All four categories were then asked whether they support or oppose the Agreement. Without counting the undecided or those who refused to answer, the percentages were:

- Jewish attitudes toward the Oslo Agreement: secular: 70% support, 25% oppose.
- traditional: 48% support, 40% oppose.
- religious: 29% support, 62% oppose.
- Haredi: 12% support, 65% oppose.

Since the Haredim usually don’t serve in the army, their opposition to the Agreement must be assumed to have little to do with the traumas of the Intifida or the possibility of a war. If anything, it is ascribable to their basic worldview.

But let me return to other findings quoted by Fishbein. "During the same period Dr. Ofra Meizlish and Dr. Reuven Gal [a former chief of the army's Social Sciences Unit] surveyed the attitudes towards the Arabs in Jewish high schools. The findings were again discomfitting: 58% of religious and 35% of secular high school students said that they hated all the Arabs or most of them. To the question "to what extent would you like to wreak a vengeance on the Arabs?" 76% of the religious youths replied that they would like it much or very much. But the secular youths were not far behind, with about 61% replying likewise. In the same period of time professor Kalman Binyamini surveyed political and civic attitudes of [Jewish] youths in Jerusalem. 60% of his respondents agreed that 'it would not be wrong if we gored most Arabs to leave Israel'. 62% agreed that 'one could justify Jewish indiscriminate acts of vengeance when they are retaliation for Arab violence'."

But Fishbein also reports the findings of prestigious pollsters confirming the findings of education experts. "A survey of Mina Tzemah published in ‘Yediot Ahronot’, showed that 51% of young people favored 'the deportation of all Arabs from Judea and Samaria'. The Education Ministry, however, was not overly concerned with such findings. It simply ignored them. After all, that Ministry's higher-ranking staff was predominantly religious, and the minister was also religious. They feared to probe into their own political and educational attitudes. The Unit for Education for Democracy and Co-existence was therefore put on a back burner. True, there were some voluntary associations which undertook some worthy initiatives, but that was all'.

Fishbein provides detailed information on how two consecutive Education ministers in Rabin’s government, Aloni and Rubinstein, both from Meretz, refused to do anything to change that state of affairs. They made all sorts of lofty declarations of their intentions and appointed various committees which still deliberate about what can be done about the steady growth of xenophobia in the Jewish educational system in Israel. Skipping her descriptions of their inactivity, let me only quote her conclusions. "The reality did not wait for the committee's reports. The results of the poisoned Kahanist education slapped all of us in the face with indomitable force. The massacre in Hebron may have been a product of a pervert mind, but the approval of that massacre has been more widespread than anyone in the government would be willing to admit... Israeli society is plagued by some of the most terrible social malignancies of the 20th century: racism, hatred, dehumanization and apologetics for killing of people called the Arabs. At this time our educational system is in the hands of a Meretz minister who sits idly and keeps pretending that everything is O.K."

The pernicious influence of Jewish religious education was also discussed by another veteran education correspondent, Nilli Mandler ("Haaretz", April 5). She reports that religious Jewish educators recently began to use the term "Amalekit" as referring to "all Gentiles who can be presumed to hurt the Jews". As an example, she quotes a new book "Adey Ad" ["Forever and Ever"] authored by Dr. Dov Ehrlich, which contains "essays in education and philosophy" published by the autonomous Department of Religious Education in the Education Ministry for the use by its teachers. Since the Bible study is a central subject in religious education, both teachers and their students can be presumed to know the Biblical verses commanding the Jews to exterminate the Amalekites, e.g. "now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass" (I Samuel, Chapter 15, verse 3). But Ehrlich continues: "Amalekites can be now found all over the world, but especially within the borders of the Greater Land of Israel which the Lord, blessed be His Name, gave us to the Jews. The Amalekites are hated to hate us forever and ever, so we are justly commanded to hate them twice as strongly. The Bible commanded us to exterminate the Amalekites, Just as we obeyed the command by exterminating the ancient Amaleik." As Mandler informs us, in the preface to the quoted book, "the director of the autonomous Religious Education Department, Mattay Dagan, stresses the relevance of the issues discussed in the book to the present time, due to which ‘the problems it so sagaciously raises will enrich the thought of the educators and school headmasters’. Dr. Ehrlich himself explains that ‘it is always important to disclose where the hatred of the nations toward the Jews comes from. But the hatred of modern Amalekites toward the Jews cannot be logically explained, because they suck it with their mothers’ milk. Such hatred toward the Jews can be contested only by our reciprocal hatred toward them’. In his Biblical quotations and commentary, Dr. Ehrlich does not neglect to emphasize the verbs, like to exterminate, to destroy, to raze from the earth's surface, etc. But his intellectual exertions climax with the Talmudic quotation defining the term "Amaleik" as 'a nation which, like dogs, wants to lick Jewish blood'. This fact, contends Dr. Ehrlich, frees us from the need to justify our hatred of them. He just wants to provide the religious educators with 'ammunition against the counterclaims raised by hypocritical or do-gooding Jews against the truth'.

Mandler is perfectly right in commenting that this recent book follows in the footsteps of a similar literature published earlier by the same autonomous Religious Education Department. She says that all this literature "has commended all Jewish conquests and the settling of the conquered territories when located within the borders of the Land of Israel as demarcated according to the Bible by God, whose promise should turn into reality now". I can only comment that such borders contain a territory much larger than that which presently falls under Israeli rule. "Such publications also staunchly oppose any contacts between Jewish students and teachers and their Arab colleagues (even those holding Israeli citizenship), on the presumption that such contacts cannot but foster Jewish assimilation. They also propose to solve the Arab problem either by converting the Arabs to Judaism en masse or by goading them into emigration. A book supposed to teach the citizenship duties claims not only that a Palestinian nation has never existed, but also that it will never exist unless treacherous Jews help create it".

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61168. Shahak, Israel. The Influence of Xenophobic Ideologies on the Israeli Jews: Part 3 of 4. Shahak Report 138. April 22, 1994. Mandler also shows how two formerly separate and even mutually hostile Jewish religious education networks, the autonomous but still belonging to the state, and the ultra-independent, mainly ultra-orthodox, are now coordinating their endeavors. Coordination between them has already produced a book for religious teachers which posits the construction of the Third Temple as an urgent necessity, and "notes with astonishment that instead of building it, the Jews who returned to their own land didn't even put at the top of their priorities the purification of the Temple Mount from the abominations now standing there" (i.e. the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aksa mosque). This coordination of educational efforts can be understood as by-product of the formation of the "Hardelim", i.e. the Haredi-nationalist bloc, as mentioned in report 136. I would anticipate a repeat of the 1984 attempt to demolish the Temple Mount mosques as a near-inevitable effect of the politics of education under this discussion.

Mandler does acknowledge the existence of a tiny minority of religious educators committed to the cause of peace, but she deplores their weakness. She says that Meretz ministers of Education have on purpose ignored the activities of the autonomous Department of Religious Education in their ministry. "In any event", says Mandler, "there was nothing much that they could do", since the Department's autonomy was guaranteed by the law. Nevertheless they "labels" them right. intelligence. He advanced to a high-ranking post in the Military Administration of the West Bank and subsequently became a lecturer in "Arab mentality" for Israeli army officers and ranking Shabak agents. He began his career while attending a Catholic Arab school "Terra Sancta" in Jerusalem, where he spied on both his teachers and schoolmates. After his book appeared, he was respectfully interviewed in "Kol Ha'ir" (August 20, 1993) and "Yedioth Ahronot" (August 27, 1993). In those interviews, Alkalay professes his love for Arab food, folklore, folk music and other customs with all the extravagance possible. When asked by an Ashkenazi "Yediot" interviewer, Yaron London, "and given your unbounded attachment to Arab language and Arab folklore, what's your opinion about the Arabs as individuals?" Alkalay answered: "I find no difficulty in reconciling the love of Arab language and folklore with mortal hatred of the Arabs. I know it better than you can possibly do, that you can never make any deal with an Arab. I will never trust any Arab, even though I do have more Arab than Jewish friends. I kiss these Arab friends of mine, but I never believe a single word they tell me. All of them are at least retained in Israel, but rather because remaining religious has meant following Judaism's laws, beliefs and traditions.

Of interest to this discussion is also the Hassin poll's correlation between attitudes toward Goldstein's massacre and extraction as measured by the difference between the Jews "born in Israel of Oriental parents", and "born in Israel of European parents". The former justified the massacre in 9%; "understood" it in 41%; (i.e. did not condemn it in 50%) and condemned it in 49%; whereas the latter justified the massacre in 2%; "understood" it in 18%; (i.e. did not condemn it in 20%) and condemned it in 78%. The correlation is by all means high, and most polls investigating the impact of extraction upon political attitudes come out with similar findings. On closer examination, however, strong grounds appear for dismissing this correlation as spurious, i.e. explainable by the already discussed poverty and religion factors. With income level held constant (e.g. by surveying or polling middle class or academic respondents of "Oriental" extraction), the initial correlation tends to disappear. In other words, it can be shown that "Oriental" Jews tend to discard their xenophobia when they cease to be poor, along with discarding tribal atavism of their forebears when they become secular. The transition from religiosity (defined as strict observance of Jewish Orthodoxy including its tenets regarding the Gentiles), to a mere "traditionalism", (defined as selective observance of the same) may not be decisive, but adoption of a secular world view has been shown to obliterate all statistical differences between Jews of whichever extraction. The only exception from this rule are the recent Jewish immigrants from the former USSR. Having lived all their life under the communist regime, they tend to retain their secularism, but together with pronounced xenophobia and especially with hatred of the Arabs. I am not going to back those contentions by quoting specific evidence, whether to the effect of the mentioned spurious correlation or to the effect of the Soviet Jews being an exception. But I do want to continue discussing the "Orientals".

There are two conflicting dogmas on the subject of the "Oriental" xenophobia as supposedly more pronounced than that of the Ashkenazis. Both dogmas are fairly widespread but neither has any validity. The first dogma is that for whatever reasons the "Orientals" hate the Arabs much more intensely than the Ashkenazis would be capable of. The second dogma is a specialty of the PLO and various "leftist" circles. It holds that the "Orientals" really like the Arabs or even regard themselves as "Arabs by culture" or as "Arabs of Jewish faith", but have been brainwashed by the Israeli government or some other recondite power to hate the Arabs. As I see it, loathing the Gentiles is a fundamental tenet of the Jewish religion, and it is common to all Jews as long as they remain religious. A substantial proportion of the Ashkenazis have forsaken the Jewish religion, whereas among the "Orientals" that proportion has been much smaller, especially until they arrived in Israel. Consequently, the bulk of the "Oriental" Jews hated the Arabs (or the Iranians, or any other nation in the midst of which they happened to live before immigrating to Israel), because most of them were religious. This attitude has been retained in Israel, but rather because remaining religious has meant following Judaism's laws, beliefs and traditions.

Curiously, the "Orientals" may loathe the Arabs while loving their language or folklore. But this also happens elsewhere in the world. In Israel there are many "Orientals", usually quite traditional in their outlook, who would love Arab culture (although often only its superficial aspects like cuisine, popular music, etc.), and even highly appreciate what they would call "Arab mentality" (supposed to be antithetical to "European mentality"), and at the same time hate the Arabs viciously and advocate all kinds of barbarities as the "right" way of dealing with them, on the ground that they alone "know the Arabs". I would not dignify such popular beliefs by naming them "an ideology", but the political impact of those beliefs is in Israel tremendous: not only because of their social influence, also upon the Ashkenazis, but primarily because a lot of such "Orientals" serve the Israeli Security System as "experts on Arabs" and can thus shape Israeli policies.

The best case in point of the impact of such beliefs upon policy-making is the person of Ben-Zion Alkalay, the author of a collection of over 4300 Palestinian proverbs, which the author assiduously collected while working 55 years for Haganah and Israeli intelligence. He advanced to a high-ranking post in the Military Administration of the West Bank and subsequently became a lecturer in "Arab mentality" for Israeli army officers and ranking Shabak agents. He kind of career while attending a Catholic Arab school "Terra Sancta" in Jerusalem, where he spied on both his teachers and schoolmates. After his book appeared, he was respectfully interviewed in "Kol Ha'ir" (August 20, 1993) and "Yedioth Ahronot" (August 27, 1993). In those interviews, Alkalay professes his love for Arab food, folklore, folk music and other customs with all the extravagance possible. When asked by an Ashkenazi "Yediot" interviewer, Yaron London, "and given your unbounded attachment to Arab language and Arab folklore, what's your opinion about the Arabs as individuals?" Alkalay answered: "I find no difficulty in reconciling the love of Arab language and folklore with mortal hatred of the Arabs. I know it better than you can possibly do, that you can never make any deal with an Arab. I will never trust any Arab, even though I do have more Arab than Jewish friends. I kiss these Arab friends of mine, but I never believe a single word they tell me. All of them are at least retained in Israel, but rather because remaining religious has meant following Judaism's laws, beliefs and traditions.

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addition to his untrustworthiness he changes his opinions twice a week".

Interestingly, Alkalay shares this opinion held by some Arab intellectuals. The opinion is that the conflict between Israel and the Arabs cannot be resolved because the rulers of Israel have absorbed the "European mentality" which precludes their "understanding" of "Arab mentality". Alkalay ascribes the "weakness" of Begin and Dayan in making peace with Egypt and of Shamir and Arens in consenting to the Madrid Conference to their not following the expertise of "Arab Hawwars" like himself. Failures of Shabak in dealing with Palestinians are attributed by Alkalay to tender-heartedness of its Ashkenazi interrogators, who do not know that Arabs need to be knocked mercilessly. Only those who "know" the Arabs are fit to interrogate them properly, enunciates Alkalay. But due to their ignorance of "Arab nature", the Shabak Ashkenazi interrogators are also making another mistake. They cannot understand that the best way to beat Palestinians is with the indigenous bludgeon [called "nabut"], rather than with a standard mass-produced police club used by the Israeli army, which according to Alkalay the Arabs "fail to respect". I can only say that I myself have heard similar views since the late 1940s, and so I know that no one who mixes with crowds in an Israeli city can avoid listening to them even now.

So far I have discussed Israeli Jewish xenophobia as a popular culture trait, whose political impact, although considerable, remains indirect. But by virtue of the penetration of the Israeli Security System by the religious settlers and their sympathizers, the political impact of their culture becomes direct. The extent of this penetration in at least some branches of the Israeli army has recently been estimated by a number of articles. Danny Rubinstein ("Haaretz"; March 16) cogently observes that although formally it is the army which rules the Territories, yet by virtue of dominating the army the "extremist settlers" have already become "the real masters of the West Bank and Gaza Strip long ago". His ample exemplification of this state of affairs includes the following facts: "The army authorities believe that both the Israeli left and the Hebrew press correspondents serve the interests of the 'Arab enemy'. This is why whenever possible, the commanders of the Israeli army do not spare efforts to deny them access to any place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip... This state of affairs was created by the settlers who had gradually managed to penetrate more and more effectively the entire Security System in the Territories". (By using the term "Security System", Rubinstein apparently means to say that the Shabak has been penetrated by the settlers as well.) "The settlers have achieved a status equivalent to the soldiers... The army passes on to them all recent intelligence and the army to the settlements includes inter alia the jeeps, communication equipment, a network of security fences and their illumination, along with other equipment. This equipment is intended to let every settlement cope with any potential security problem. All civilian settlers are organized in military detachments devised to let them respond instantly to a terrorist assault or any other military emergency".

It can be seen that apart from penetrating the army the settlers also wield a far from negligible military power of their own. The extent of their penetration of Shabak can be estimated only indirectly. A few weeks ago, after the Shabak coordinator (i.e. commander) of the Ramallah district, Noam Cohen, was killed by Hamas guerrillas, his name was provided and his parents were interviewed. The interviews revealed that he had been deeply religious and that he had regarded his service in Shabak, and before this in the top elite unit of the Israeli army, "The General Staff Patrol", as a sacred duty. Moreover, he was told by his spiritual mentors that if he gets killed while serving in Shabak, he would attain martyrdom and his soul would receive instant accomodation in the place of honor in the Jewish paradise, just beneath God's Throne. His pious father, Dr. Yehezkel Cohen, a well-known religious educator told the press that this must have actually happened. Returning to more mundane matters, Dr. Cohen told the press that his son had often assured him that Shabak activities were perfectly humane and beneficient to the Arabs, and that Jews "who slander Shabak" were traitors. Some Ramallah inhabitants appear to hold views similar to Dr. Cohen, except in respect to things mundane. After one of Noam Cohen's assailants was killed by the Israeli army, the assailant's father told a Hebrew paper that it was his martyred son who was in Paradise, since

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he had "relieved Ramallah's inhabitants from a despot terrified everybody". It appears that a holy war is waged in the West Bank in which Shabak, penetrated by Jewish religious zealots, is hardly different from Hamas.

More facts concerning the penetration of the army by Jewish religious fanatics have appeared in Avirama Golan's article ("Haaretz", April 5), bearing the title "When lots of colonels wear a skullcap". This article discusses the role of the "Hesder" Yeshivot in the Israeli army. The arrangement works as follows: Some Yeshivot agree with the army contractually that their students are to serve under conditions involving some autonomy from the army. They are drafted separately to serve in units of their own for half a year, followed by a half year of Talmudic studies. This alternation between 6 months of army service and studies of Talmud continues for 4 years, which means that "Hesder" soldiers effectively serve in the army only 2 years instead of 3 as all other draftees. Each such unit has its own rabbi, whom its commanding officer is obliged to consult before making any decision. The army consented to this arrangement with enthusiasm, because otherwise Yeshiva students would not serve at all, and also because they had proved themselves as excellent and dedicated soldiers, who pray and often dance before being sent on a dangerous assignment. During the war in Lebanon "Hesder" units suffered much heavier casualties than any other units of the Israeli army, and their battle conduct became notorious for bravery to the point of recklessness and for cruelty. At least on one occasion they were reported to have chopped off the ears of their victims.

Golan quotes Rabbi Hayim Drukman, one of the extremist Gush Emunim leaders, who heads a "Hesder" Yeshiva and lauds the institution extravagantly. But Golan also quotes the renowned researcher of the Israeli religious community, professor Menahem Friedman, who himself is religious, but liberal in his political beliefs. Friedman views with trepidation the growing numbers and growing role of "Hesder" Yeshiva soldiers in the army, especially since most of their rabbis are affiliated with Gush Emunim. He says: "Rabbinical extremism, which nowadays is so common, has an increasing clout upon national-religious youth. It is not clear whether this trend can be reversed, and what extremes can it yet reach. No rabbi has so far dared to halt this surge toward extremism. Let it be borne in mind that many "Hesder" Yeshiva soldiers remain in the army after completing their compulsory service. Many become officers advancing up to the the colonel's rank. Let us not forget that military coups in other countries were usually hatched by colonels... The combat troops of the Israeli army nowadays abound not only with colonels but also of battalion and company commanders affiliated with Gush Emunim. All of them unconditionally accept the authority of their former Yeshiva Heads. They represent a new variety of preoccupying themselves with diplomatic trivia of "the peace process". I only conclude by stating with all the firmness that for the Israelis towards extremism. Let it be borne in mind that many "Hesder" Yeshiva soldiers remain in the army after completing their compulsory service.
accuracy, and on correspondents reputed for their good "connections" with Israeli high command like Ze'ev Shifl and Alex Fishman. The two categories of writings complement each other. Other correspondents tended to simply confirm the version of the named three. But I also used my private informants who also confirmed the Hebrew press descriptions. But there were sources which I didn't use, concretely the "B'tzelem" interim report, apparently written by their chief investigator Bassam Yid, and a report by the Association of the Gaza Strip Palestinian Lawyers. The two reports tally with each other, but apart from containing major factual errors and omissions, they drew conclusions which are politically misleading, I suspect deliberately.

After several days hardly any difference remains any more between the Israeli army’s version of that event and the testimonies of Arab witnesses communicated to the Hebrew press. As usual, the army at first tried to lie about the circumstances of the murder, but in the end it had to indirectly admit - through the medium of Ze'ev Shifl - that the testimonies of local inhabitants were accurate. The army’s initial clumsy lies can therefore be safely ignored. The story can begin with the testimonies collected by Amira Hass ("Haaretz", March 29 and 30). "All the local witnesses said that the six murder victims served "in the Jabliya refugee camp" to distribute leaflets" (March 29). In her report of March 30, Hass clarifies that the six were a part of larger group of about 15 men who all arrived in Jabliya from a Fatah rally, held on a spot about 2-3 km away, which they attended armed and wearing commando uniforms. As the printed sources hint and my private sources confirm, the rally was held in full view of a nearby Israeli army lookout. In Jabliya they did for some time distribute leaflets to the inhabitants, again in full view of another Israeli army lookout. One day earlier that lookout had been assaulted, but ineptly, resulting in no damage. At the time of the leaflet distribution quiet already reigned on the spot. As Hass reports (March 30), as soon as they finished that job, they confiscated two passing cars from their Palestinian owners, which is nowadays a routine practice, done in emulation of the Israeli army in general and of the Mista'aravim in particular. Two small cars, however, couldn't accommodate 15 men. So some drove in them, while others followed them on foot toward a gas station, where they stopped another car ordering its Palestinian owner to hand them the car's keys. It was at that moment that they were assaulted by the Mista’aravim who arrived in two cars (also confiscated from local inhabitants), jumped out of them, at once opening fire while running toward their victims. Some managed to escape unhurt, but the wounded lying on the ground and one man shot while escaping were soon killed by shots straight into their heads. Right after the murder another, bigger car, hurriedly arrived. The Mista'aravim tossed the corpses of the Fatah men onto that car and drove away. The corpses of two women were left on the spot, to be taken care of by local inhabitants.

The procedure of shooting the wounded - and potentially salvageable - in the head so as to kill them instantly, is already the Israeli army’s routine. In the army’s lingo it bears the name of "certification of death". In a number of combat units, the Mista’aravim of course included, the soldiers are trained to perform it. It is applied both in Lebanon and in the Territories in capturing the wanted Palestinians. Needless to say, it amounts to plain murder, perpetrated not only in cold blood, but against individuals completely helpless when they lie wounded. Because of that it is particularly repulsive, especially since it resembles Nazi murders. Within Israel this murderous practice is already well-known, especially after a Jewish soldier from a Mista’aravim unit, mistaken in the night for a Palestinian, was wounded by his fellow Mista’aravim, and then duly killed by a shot into his head.

With the help of some newspapers, (interestingly, especially by "Ma’ariv"), his family made a scandal in the media. But it was not helped in the process by a single Knesset member. The silence of the Zionist left about this issue is understandable, because a high proportion of Mista’aravim come from the kibbutzim and continue to be “doves” while "certifying the death" of their victims. After being invited at the end of 1992 by the Chief of Staff to visit the Mista’aravim bases and talk freely to their soldiers, the chief “dove” of "Meretz" list, Shulamit Aloni, could see for herself that many Mista’aravim backed her and her list, so no wonder she advertised herself as their admirer and patron. But the silence of the Knesset members from the “Arab” parties on this issue is more curious. Perhaps it has to do with silence of the PLO on the same subject, and with the readiness of both to sacrifice the most basic Human Rights and the welfare of Palestinians in the Territories to the Moloch of the “peace process”. In any event, this concerted silence appears to be an instance of covert cooperation of the PLO and its supporters with the Israeli army.

But let me return to the story of the murder of 6 Fatah men. Although Fatah top leaders in the Gaza Strip were initially reported to be “stunned” by the news, their covert cooperation with the high command of the Israeli army has been going on throughout, their overt protests against the army notwithstanding. After a few days they were even granted the honor to meet not just colonel Almog, the commander of the army forces in the Gaza Strip, but the very commander of the Southern Command, general Vinay. Ze’ev Shifl ("Haaretz", April 6) undoubtedly relying on army sources, provides an account of this meeting which must be quoted verbatim as it confirms Amira Hass’ and other correspondents’ story from the preceding week, even if rather obliquely. According general Vinay explained to "three top Fatah leaders in Gaza Strip" that "the deplorable death" of the six had been "an inevitable consequence of insufficient coordination between Fatah and the Israeli army", and after he added that "two separate military forces, like the army and Fatah, or the army and the Palestinian police in the future, cannot let their military operations in the same area remain uncoordinated, the Fatah leaders had no response to his argument and just said nothing". Shiff nevertheless comments that “one grievance of Fatah leaders has no real answer. The grievance is that ‘the soldiers who killed our men were in no way endengered. The encounter should therefore not have led to killing them all’. Vinay did argue that the Fatah detachment ‘had acted near the Israeli army lookout in Jabliya’ to which the Fatah leaders answered: ‘But it was plain stupid to suspect that the six could pose any threat to the lookout. An Israeli patrol [of the Mista’aravim] observed the Fatah men in action [i.e. in distributing the leaflets]. The patrolmen could very well distinguish them from the Hamas militants. Yet you were trigger-happy’, claimed the Fatah leaders. “No wonder there are rumors in the Gaza Strip that it was an execution’.

“And they are plainly right”, comments Shiff. “Firing was not preceded by any warning. The Israeli army claims that soldiers who see men with drawn weapons do not need to warn them first. According to the army regulations, at the second stage [i.e. after the initial fire] there must be an assault with shooting going on. Still, it is true what the Palestinian say that two or three Fatah men were killed while sitting in a car. They terminated their job and were about to drive away”. (Incidentally, since the Fatah men had only rifles, they couldn’t “draw” them while sitting in a small car). “The Palestinians claim that each victim was shot straight in his head, after receiving other wounds. From this fact they infer that the soldiers must have killed the wounded. This claim has not been confirmed, just as Israeli army could at its briefing find no confirmation for a claim that a Palestinian who escaped into the near-by gas station, was captured there and shot”.

Notice that Shiff says that the Palestinian “claim has not been confirmed” without saying that Fatah leaders are lying, as is the routine when the Israeli army wants to shirk its responsibilities for some serious wrongdoing. I would think the absence of this routine accusation can be interpreted as an oblique confirmation of the Fatah version. Other correspondents report that weapons of some Fatah men were hanging negligently on their shoulders or lying next to them in the cars. It is certain that no Palestinian managed to fire a single shot. A week earlier (March 30) Shiff wrote in "Haaretz" that “the investigation of the incident held two days ago showed that the Fatah men were caught off-guard by being fired upon. They had not expected any encounter with the Israeli army”. Their weapons had not been triggered”. It is in my view certain that the “rumors in the Gaza Strip” to the effect of “an execution” committed for political reasons are true. This is what the well-informed Alex Fishman seemed to mean one day after the murder ("Ma’ariv", March 29). Let me quote him verbatim. “Last night the Gaza Strip Fatah
leaders were totally confused. The only thing they could think of was to wait for a call from Tunis. Some of them said: 'had the Israeli army, instead of defining the event as an initiated operation, officially admitted that it was an accident or mistake, it could satisfy us. Had they done so, we could at least explain it plausibly to the Fatah Hawks'. In previous similar cases the Gaza Strip Fatah leaders had proclaimed three days of voluntary seal-off, together with public protests and a general strike. All this was done with the encouragement of [Israeli] authorities. The aim of both Fatah and Israeli authorities was to rechannel the hostility of Palestinian masses so as to make it harmless. But for how much longer would it be possible to resort to means which have been too abused to retain effectuality? Fatah Hawks were once prohibited to carry weapons. Then the army undertook initiated actions against Hawks who refused to comply with the discipline of their own political leadership. But should such initiated actions continue on the eve of the resumption of negotiations?

I understand Fishman's words as meaning that cooperation between the Israeli army and the Fatah leaders loyal to Arafat involves killing those Fatah men who "refuse to comply with the discipline of their own political leadership". For some time already, this fact has been no news at least to some Israelis and Palestinians. The identity of the victims as rebels against the Fatah-imposed "discipline" can be indirectly confirmed by the contents of the leaflets they distributed. It was this aspect of the affair which was totally missing from the accounts of the Arab-language press, "B'tselem" and the Gazan lawyers.

Hass (March 30) says that "the leaflet which they [the victims of the murder] distributed was signed by "The Secret Armed Fatah Organization". The signature amounted to announcing the formation of a new organization. "The leaflet called upon to put an end to 'the aberrant' Fatah activities and to punish their perpetrators. It hinted that people were violently interrogated [i.e. tortured], punished by shooting in the legs, and that 'moral criminals' [i.e. sex offenders] were tormented by the Fatah Hawks. It admitted that the Fatah Hawks were carrying out the official policies of their organization, but it warned that the dissidents would from now on have no choice but to paralyze the execution of such policies. Some distributors of that leaflet, the murder victims included, were formally responsible for security in the Northern Gaza Strip, and therefore also for overseeing the Fatah Hawks. As far as it can be known, the leaflet was a product of recently growing tension between Fatah upper echelons with both the Fatah Hawks and the civilian residents". "The Fatah upper echelons" couldn't but mean those chummy with the "Israeli army commanders". On March 30 Shiff wrote that "the leaflets called on Fatah leadership to refrain from filling the ranks of the Palestinian police to be formed in the Gaza Strip by recruiting anyone who had served in the Israeli police and to have resigned at the beginning of the Intifada."

I perceive Hass' and Shiff's information as complementary. In the absence of a sufficient number of loyal аппаратчиков from abroad, the recruitment of old policemen would indeed serve best Arafat's policy to reach as close a cooperation with Israeli authorities as possible. But the entire leaflet was filled with contents subversive of the Fatah leadership, and its cooperation with Israeli authorities. It can be taken for granted that such a leaflet couldn't but qualify as a breach of Fatah personnel's discipline and insubordination to "its political leadership", i.e. to Arafat's appointees. This was a crime which in the Israeli army's eyes deserved to be punished by death.

In fact, already few days after the murder, cooperation of the Gaza Strip Fatah leaders with the Israeli army was resumed in a form closer than ever before. On April 4 David Regev ("Yedioth Ahronot") reported that "the Israeli army will appoint in the Gaza Strip an officer in the rank of colonel whose sole task will be to coordinate the activities of the Israeli army with the local Fatah leadership. This was yesterday decided upon at a meeting of the Commander of the Southern Command, general Mattan Vilnay, with the Fatah senior leadership in the Gaza Strip". One day earlier, Regev reported on a form of cooperation which may be even more important: "Fatah senior leaders were told by the Israeli army that it will withdraw first from where Fatah's domination is guaranteed, and where its men can assume authority immediately. Only then will the army withdraw from where Fatah's power is more problematic. And so it will go on, until the Israeli army will remain only in localities perceived as 'very hot', e.g. in the Jabliya refugee camp. From such localities the army will withdraw only after Fatah's domination of all other areas in the Gaza Strip becomes assured".

It can be seen that "the withdrawal" means now nothing more than redeployment. This interpretation was confirmed by the Israeli radio newscast of April 10, and by Elian Rabin ("Haaretz", April 11). Both reported that during a Gaza Strip tour of Hebrew press military correspondents, they were told by general Vilnay that the number of Israeli army soldiers in the Strip had "slightly increased", but their deployment had changed. For instance, the bulk of the forces formerly patrolling the city of Gaza are now redeployed north of it, around the nearby settlements or at the Erez Roadblock. The entire Gaza Strip Border guard brigade has been redeployed in kibbutz Netzafim, a few km. south of the city of Gaza. The troops formerly patrolling Rafah and Khan Yunus have been redeployed in the Katif Bloc, a short distance away. All signs indicate that the Mista'aravim units are to continue their routine operations, undoubtedly well-coordinated through the exertions of a colonel delegated to perform this task. In spite of this apparently perfect coordination, I would anticipate another Intifada as looming in the Gaza Strip, this time to be openly contesting the rule of Fatah, as de facto representatives of the Israeli authorities. After all, conditions of the Strip population deteriorate rapidly, day by day. In the meantime, the redeployment keeps the troops out of sight and out of reach of the children's stones. It seems to me likely that those stones will continue to be hurled at the flunkies of Fatah senior leaders. Let me conclude this report with a translation of some relevant excerpts from another article by Amira Hass, also published on March 30 in "Haaretz", to be followed by a brief comment of mine. Fatah men are, of course, not disclosing the ways in which their 'military branch' is organized and acts. The Fatah Hawks now have a chief, one Ziad Al-Kadman from the Nuseirat refugee camp. Yet it seems that out of three armed organizations active in the Strip, i.e. the Fatah Hawks, the Red Eagles affiliated with the PLFP and the Azz A-Din Al-Qassem affiliated with Hamas, it is the last which is the most amorphous, devoid of any central leadership which would exercise a command over the wanted..."
Fatah Hawks may be fulfilling, a society which tolerates criminality, waste and military ineffectuality under the cover of an armed struggle, cannot advance far toward its liberation, even toward some alleviation of its present abysmal conditions. Let me take as an example just one of the Fatah Hawks' customs: their shooting in the air. A West Bank friend of mine, an engineer by profession, who happened some time ago to spend 24 hours in the Shati refugee camp [in the Gaza Strip] estimated that some 5000 bullets were then fired into the air, and roughly confirmed his estimate by counting samples of the shells left on selected spots. The cost of a single bullet in the Gaza Strip is $3, which means that $15000 were spent in a single day, in a single Gazan locality, on a vacuous "psychological need". In the horribly deprived Strip, isn't it a little too much? In any event, the value of gratifying that "psychological need" must be declining with each gratification. The shooting in the air was at the beginning rather limited but soon became uncontrollable. It seems to me that gratification of "psychological needs" of a physically deprived population by ostentatious expenditure by a privileged group (as resembling some patterns of feudal thinking) cannot but produce in the present decade a backlash, not just in the Gaza Strip but in the whole of Palestine. [-]

61171. Shahak, Israel. The Religious Settlers' Assault on Palestinians: Page 1 of 4. Shahak Report 130. Israel, December 10, 1993. Since 6/1967, occupation of the Territories has been marked by enormous violence against the Palestinians and, almost immediately after instituting the occupation, the Israeli regime greatly increased its existing apartheid policies. In some respects, the apartheid has been much more strict than even that of South Africa at its worst.

Until 1974, as long as the Territories were governed by Moshe Dayan as Defense minister, one aspect of modern jurisprudence was scrupulously observed. The government kept the monopoly of violence in its own hands, letting no Jewish individual assault Palestinians with impunity and letting no lawless intent in this respect to influence its policies. Dayan was faithful to the doctrine of Ben-Gurion which had sustained these two principles and their strict enforcement.

This state of affairs changed only with the rise of Gush Emunim in 1974-75 which, not by chance, coincided with the first government of Rabin. Shimon Peres served as a Defense minister and used this post to protect Gush Emunim's violence. Since that time, private violence has tended to increase when the Defense ministry was in the hands of Labor. Such violence soared under the "national unity" government of 1984-90 when Rabin was Defense minister, plummeted under Arens [1990-1992] and flared up again after Rabin came to power again in 7/1992. In both qualitative and quantitative terms, it has acquired an unprecedented intensity since mid-9/1993. Anticipating this almost a year ago, commentators close to the Israeli army, such as Ze'ev Shiff, expressed fears that the Territories might undergo "a process of Lebanonization". Indeed, the term now seems fitting as a description of a class in itself. The description of events it provides reflects the point of view of Yasser Arafat's positions. The above explains my estimate by counting samples of the shells left on selected spots. The remarks in another article (Maariv, August 9) as nevertheless justifiable.
women in the Middle East and North Africa

Israel-Palestine

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took them a minute to decide. ‘We’ll give it back to him provided he walks home’. Then, as a gesture of good will, they let him take his cigarettes from the car and watch his empty vehicle from a safe distance. Without the news media presence, they would probably have acted differently’. Gilat adds that soldiers were not far away from the scene of the incident.

Hanna Kim (Hadashot, November 9) inspected a roadblock set up by religious settlers from the settlement of Yaqir, where “a local hero, Yehuda, nicknamed by his neighbors ‘Crazy Yehuda’ revealed in all his glory. ‘Do you want to watch how an Arab gets burned alive? Just point your camera at me’, he boasted to the reporters… A bus of Arab workers arrived and Crazy Yehuda yelled that he would not let it pass through. He screamed at the (Jewish) driver: ‘You little parasite, take your Arabs back. Get me some fire, so that I can burn you all’, he shouted, and got on the bus. The stunned Arab passengers stared at him in silence. Two chums of Yehuda took him away from the bus, one of them telling him to ‘shut up’. Two conscript soldiers, one of them a lieutenant, and two reservists without indication of rank, were watching it unruffled. ‘Because of them, I was waken up at 2:00 a.m.’, one of the reservists complained. ‘Isn’t it enough that I have 23 days more to serve in the West Bank, in Tulkarm? Do I need to do this as well?’ The term ‘to do’ was inappropriate as the reservist remained seated throughout.

At a moment of quiet the religious settlers talked to Kim. Crazy Yehuda told her that “they should be exterminated just as we [the Israelis] had exterminated the Amalekites. [See Samuel I, Chapter 15.] Not only the males, but entire families, and their descendants no matter how remote. You just have to seek out all the descendants’. His buddy, Meir, who was holding an Israeli flag, upbraided the Israeli media for wanting to be on the spot in order to document his deeds. ‘Hitler owed his successes to Goebbels. You are doing the same’.

Like other correspondents, Kim recorded the numerous instances of religious settlers mistreating secular Jews for Arabs. “A taxi with an Israeli license plate somehow got the settlers excited. ‘Let me pass through, or I’ll punch your face,’ yelled the Jewish driver at Meir, demanding to see the former’s ID card. A dilemma. What is to be done with a vehicle whose Jewish passengers are dark-skinned and look like Arabs?” On the spot of another roadblock Kim witnessed “a near fistfight between a Jewish secular settler with dark skin and black hair, a taxi driver from Ariel, and a religious settler who suspected that the secular settler was an Arab and demanded to see his ID card. The secular settler was furious. ‘How do you dare suspect me of being an Arab?’ ‘You behave like the Arabs do’ the religious settler shouted back. The driver glanced at the settler’s ID card, and then decided. ‘We’ll give it back to him provided he forced him to step away’.

But Kim also witnessed the “Oriental-looking Jews” who sympathized with the religious settlers to the point of encouraging them when stopped. “Good for you,” one of them said. ‘A Jewish intifada, that’s what we now need’. After the car drove away one religious settler muttered, ‘The passenger on the back seat looked to me like an Arab’. But a pal of his comforted him: ‘That’s not so bad if only one slipped through’.

Hillel Cohen (Kol Ha’ir, November 12) reports how in Hebron “a group of settlers went to the Patriarchs’ Cave cove for Sabbath prayers. On their way there the settlers damaged 14 cars belonging to Arab residents of the neighborhood. They smashed their windows or punctured their tires and then proceeded on to the Cave where they greeted the arrival of the Sabbath by singing melodious songs… On Sunday, after a settler was killed by Hamas guerrillas, ‘Hebron was announced a military zone closed to the media. A curfew was imposed on the city’s Palestinian residents. The army had good reason to deny the media access to the place, because evidence of the settlers’ rampage was plentiful. Many buses and dozens of cars parked on the city’s major streets had windows broken. It was an ideal testimony of the army’s impotence vis-a-vis the settlers’. Cohen comments that “breaking the windows of an Arab car is in Hebron an everyday occurrence which already long ago stopped attracting any attention”. After the army did not let Cohen enter Hebron, he simply, together with his photographer, boarded the religious settlers’ bus in Jerusalem. In this way he could enter the city undisturbed. ‘On the way, the religious youths from Kiryat Arba kept themselves busy singing stonings at Arab passersby, while justifying their behavior by saying, ‘We are settlers, aren’t we?’ At the entrance to Kiryat Arba old graffiti ‘Only a sucker doesn’t kill an Arab’ was still visible’.

Like any Jew, settler or non-alike, Cohen could walk freely through ‘the city of Hebron even under curfew, when its streets were deserted’ with none of its Arab inhabitants in sight. He noticed ‘evidence of the settlers’ rampages from previous days’ everywhere: shattered windows, overturned cars and traces of arson. Grafitti in Hebrew, noticed by other reporters, like Gideon Levy (Haaretz Supplement, November 26) were in full view. Religious settlers threatened the locals with dire consequences if they dare wipe out the grafitti. According to Levy, the most frequent among them was the beginning of verse 7 of Psalm 149: “To execute vengeance upon the Gentiles whereas the next in frequency was “Death to the Arabs”. Apartheid manifests itself in the Territories also in that the Israeli army orders the local Palestinians to wipe out any grafitti in Arabic even those which express longing for peace. But grafitti in Hebrew sprayed painted by the settlers are left untouched, regardless of their content. This racist practice has long standing. The highway from Jerusalem to the “Military Headquarters of Judea and Samaria” in Beit-El passes through a bridge and on that bridge a grafitti in Hebrew “Make mincemeat of the Arabs” was sprayed painted as long ago as 1986. The officers serving in those Headquarters and the officials of both Military and Civil Administrations which have their offices in the same compound see it everyday. But it is still there, even after the Oslo Agreement.

As a digression, it would be instructive to quote here verses 5-9 of Psalm 149 which is part of the Jewish Morning prayer, often chanted by religious settlers and for Gush Enumim serves virtually as their battle cry. The verses are: “Let the saints be joyful in glory, let them sing aloud upon their beds. Let the praises of the Lord be in their mouth and a two-edged sword in their hand. To execute vengeance upon the Gentiles and punishments upon the nations. To bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron. To execute upon them the judgement which is written, this honor have all His saints. Halleluyah!” The preference of pogromist religious settlers for such bloodthirsty Biblical passages is self explanatory. (Incidentally, the same passages exercised similar influence on the more extreme among the Calvinists in the 16th and 17th centuries.) But unfortunately, this linkage between the Bible and political violence is hardly ever talked about.

But let me return to Cohen’s report. “The car of M., from the Zaloum family (he preferred that his first name remains unknown; “not a lot of fear, but as a precaution”), stands without tires not far from the Cave. It was damaged before the assaults and the curfew. Zaloum: ‘When Friday prayers were over, I left the Cave and went to a street where my car was parked. I found all four tires flat and all windows broken. Suddenly I heard something. I looked around and saw an neighbor of mine sitting with a baby in another car with a broken window. Her arm was bleeding. Forgetting my car, I approached to find out what I could do. Eventually she was taken to the hospital’. He said that during recent months, the settlers have gone on rampage on this street almost every Friday, always smashing cars. His own car has been smashed four times already and he now wants to sell it, even at half its price. ‘My problem is that I can’t repair it any more. Due to all that damage the Army return it to me at all. Not only the males, but entire families, and their descendants no matter how remote. You just have to seek out all the descendants’.

Cohen also visited the victims of what he calls “an avenging raid”. A convoy of vehicles filled by religious settlers from localities north of Jerusalem raided Arab villages and refugee camps “two weeks ago. They broke windows in many houses and set all the cars they could find on fire… One of their targets was the house of Hussein Bakir in Bir Zeit. His wife, Shams, was then at home, and she recounts: ‘I was sitting at home with my one year old baby, Basil, watching TV. I suddenly heard knocking at the outer gate. I went out to the balcony and saw many cars in front of the house. Several men threw stones. I was very scared about Basil. I left through the back door and went to the neighbors’…”
settlers later returned assembling in front of Bakir’s house. ‘I saw from the second floor window in the neighbor’s house that my house was burning. I saw the smoke coming forth from there. I started screaming’. Other members of the family called the firemen but the settlers halted the approach of their engine and even punctured its water hoses... Bakir’s family points an accusing finger at the army, which stood aloof throughout, doing nothing. Dr. Rashid Bakir, a surgeon at the Ramallah government hospital, said that an officer who was accompanying the soldiers had photographed the fire, without trying to prevent the arson. The family saw him, later, but he denied having been present at the scene”. This was by no means the only act of vandalism which the religious settlers committed in Bir Zeit under the army’s eyes. [=]

61173. Shahak, Israel. The Religious Settlers’ Assault on Palestinians: Part 3 of 4. Shahak Report 130. Israel. December 10, 1993. The elections to the Students Union at the Bir Zeit University resulted in the first-ever defeat of a list supported by Yasser Arafat took place shortly after this spree of vandalism and can be seen as its consequence. But to the best of my knowledge, no Israeli (or Western) “expert” has connected these two events. Yet in my view at least, the connection is obvious.

The last story is by Nahum Barnea (Yediot Ahronot, November 26) concerning Muhammad Latif Danwish al-Ra’ouf al-Zaru and his pregnant wife Rima. Al-Zaru was driving his car on the way to his sister. Due to the beating, Rima al-Zaru miscarried her twin children. Barnea stresses that al-Zaru had in his youth worked for ten years in factories owned by Jews and learned to speak fluent Hebrew. Here is Barnea’s story in detail.

Al-Zaru, 33, now supports himself by driving Palestinian workers to work in a rented Peugeot 504. On November 6, at 9:40 a.m., he was with his wife driving his car on a highway to the east of Hebron. Their destination was the home of his sister. The assault on him was thus described to Barnea, “A group of religious settlers were walking on the road linking Kiryat Arba with the neighboring settlement of Giv’at Ha’Harsina. One of them, a large, bearded man wearing a prayer shawl, signalled my car to stop. I shifted gear and stopped the car slowly. Without saying a word, he Knocked me in the eye. I saw red. I moved be hospitalized to abort the fetuses. “At the time my wife was in the hospital, recounts Al-Zaru, “I kept going every morning to the police station in Kiryat Arba in order to file a complaint. But the policemen refused to let me in. I went to a Civil Administration officer whose name was Torer. ‘We are very sorry,’ Torer said, ‘but we can do nothing to help you’. Then a policeman, investigating another case, came to the hospital. I told him my story. He took me to the police station. There was an officer there by the name of Golan. I said, ‘I will take your name down. ’ No need’, he answered, ‘a Jew who identifies himself to a Gentile on Sabbath, desecrates Sabbath and commits a religious sin’. The Border Guard didn’t insist. The incident was reported by the Police minister, Shahal, at the next day’s government meeting. Some junior ministers denounced that religious settler as a ‘racist’ (Haaretz and other Hebrew papers, December 5). Rabin and the two senior ministers, Peres and Shohat (Finance), however, refrained from making any comment. And the government did not issue any instructions to the effect that settlers refusing to identify themselves, on Sabbath or at any other time, were to be detained, charged and brought to the court.

Two days after the assault on al-Zaru and his wife, she had to be hospitalized to abort the fetuses. “At the time my wife was in the hospital”, recounts Al-Zaru, “I kept going every morning to the police station in Kiryat Arba in order to file a complaint. But the policemen refused to let me in. I went to a Civil Administration officer whose name was Tomer. We are very sorry,” Tomer said, “but we can do nothing to help you”. Then a policeman, investigating another case, came to the hospital. I told him my story. He took me to the police station. There was an officer there by the name of Golan. I said, ‘I will take your name down. ’ No need’, he answered, ‘a Jew who identifies himself to a Gentile on Sabbath, desecrates Sabbath and commits a religious sin’. The Border Guard didn’t insist. The incident was reported by the Police minister, Shahal, at the next day’s government meeting. Some junior ministers denounced that religious settler as a “racist” (Haaretz and other Hebrew papers, December 5). Rabin and the two senior ministers, Peres and Shohat (Finance), however, refrained from making any comment. And the government did not issue any instructions to the effect that settlers refusing to identify themselves, on Sabbath or at any other time, were to be detained, charged and brought to the court.

The incident described here, including the one reported by the entire Hebrew press, can not be considered isolated instances. They clearly follow a recurrent pattern. Day after day Palestinians are being beaten up or otherwise humiliated or their property is vandalized. Such incidents happen wherever religious settlers show up and they recently occur all over the West Bank, even if infrequently in the Gaza Strip. Since mid-September the conditions of everyday life of the Palestinians vividly resemble the conditions the Jews lived under in viciously anti-Semitic countries or the American Blacks during the heyday of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the South. The difference is that the world
media don't pay to Jewish religious settlers even that amount of attention they would pay to much milder manifestations of anti-Semitism. Although Kiryat Arba is the largest religious settlement in the Territories, similar offenses are being committed, even if at somewhat lesser scale, wherever the religious settlers are present. The Hebrew press mentions it, even if not always as informatively as the columnists quoted above.

Since the signing of the Agreement between Israel and the PLO, the number of Palestinians beaten up or humiliated by the religious settlers, quite often under the eyes of Israeli soldiers who were unable or refused to intervene, must be very large. As for the “experts” dealing with the current situation of the Palestinians and their responses, most of the “experts” have studiously ignored the oppression by the religious settlers in their “expertise”. The Israeli government is certainly well-informed about the atrocities which it condones and supports. By that I don’t only mean the financial and the strategic expressions of that encouragement which were discussed in Report 129. What I mean is the behavior of the settlers which remains supportive of the religious settlers even in the rare instances when orders are given to detain some of them so as to impress the media. To substantiate this point, let me quote an earlier article by Amit Gurevitz (Ha'olam Ha'ze, November 3) which vividly describes the typically tolerant behavior of the army towards the religious settlers. Gurevitz defines it as “let them do as they please” attitude, which is manifest even in cases of tokenism. The commander of Israeli Police for the Judea District, Moshe Mizrahi, who in the process, told this correspondent that “any stone throwing is a crime and thereby a sufficient reason to detain any settler committing it”. In fact, only three besiegers were detained. They were ordered to get into a police car and at once out through the car’s other door. The three were “detained” only after they were observed to be going from stone throwing to arson. Others were at the same time told that they had an opportunity “to relieve their feelings” which they did wholeheartedly. Upon entering the house, I found the entire Hasunni family lying on the floor of their upper storey, in absolute darkness, while from the outside the settlers applauded and whistled in joy whenever glass was broken or a stone did not miss its mark. During all that time, dozens of Israeli army soldiers, policemen and Border Guards were walking around, mixing with the crowds of religious settlers. Nothing could escape their attention. A commander of the battalion of soldiers on the scene, and an officer in the rank of a colonel were present, serenely listening to two teenagers bickering over who was better at stone throwing. When the teenagers realized I was a journalist, they showed me their ID cards, proudly requesting to have their names published. Here they are Yaron Ben-Yitzhak and Shimon Re'eveni. A minority of religious settlers belonging to various splinters of the Kahane (Kach) movement are in a class in itself. They are supposed to be more extremist than the remaining religious settlers. In my judgement, however, the difference lies in their being more brazen in professing their real views rather than in their deeds. Most of the Kach progeny in the territories are organizationally united in the so-called Committee for Safety on Highways, an organization which began its career in 1/1988. The Committee and its leaders have openly admitted their involvement in assaults on the Arabs and their property for almost six years, during which time the Israeli government has done nothing to stop them. The last time they admitted their involvement was in an interview granted “by a veteran member of the Committee, who requested to remain anonymity”. In the interview “he spoke about the Committee’s character and activities” to Haaretz correspondent Nadav Shraga'i (November 23). Of concern to this Report, however, is the fact that this Committee takes full advantage of the rules restricting the options the Israeli army has been left with in dealing with Jews, as Gurevitz described the rules (November 17). Presumably as a quid pro quo for their dalliance with the rules, “The Committee members may have carried out hundreds of actions but the Israeli army, police, security forces [the Shabak] and the judiciary have hardly ever responded”. (The quote is from Shraga'i.) The openness with which the Committee professes its aims and acts accordingly is truly remarkable. Says the “veteran member”, “After Ayubi’s murder we used our loudspeakers in the streets of Kiryat Arba to call upon the Committee activists to assemble at the southern gate. About 60 people came in about 15 cars. We planned in advance. We divided ourselves into groups. Each group was assigned an area. We were equipped with our personal weapons, crowbars to fracture doors, iron rods, plenty of stones and many gallons of gasoline”. None of this could have been done except under the very noses of the Israeli army. “Our method was simple, and already proven effective. We drive with searchlights lit so as to blind the Arab drivers approaching us. The driver gets confused and slows down. This gives us two options: he either gets into an accident, or waits until we pass him by. In the latter case we throw a large stone at his windshield. The stone may hit him or cause an accident. Last week we were helped by dense fog over the Hebron area. The blinding lights and the stones had quite an effect on the Arab drivers. At Beit Kakhil junction alone we precipitated six accidents I know of. One Arab vehicle crashed into a police car. In some accidents the Arabs were wounded”.

Shraga'i then asked “Have firearms been used?” The veteran member answered, “As a rule they aren’t. We use knives to puncture the tires. Usually, we try to puncture two tires of each car so as to make themeye have to be used to break the door looks. The Arabs recently learned to protect their water heaters on the roofs from all sides by iron bars, but crowbars are the answer to that. Stones are thrown at house and car windows. In the summer we also set fire to every pile of hay we see and spray herbicides on vineyards of the Halhoul area. After the Ayubi murder we uprooted two dunums of Arab-owned grapevines near the site of the murder and set fire to 15 Arab cars. We arrived at an Arab building site near Hebron. We vandalized it as much as we could. There was a huge crane there. In the foreseeable future that crane won’t work”.

Question: “What happens to those who defy you?” The veteran’s answer: “We concentrate on damaging property. If there are locals who dare defy us, they get beaten badly. This happened at the Hebron market, where we follow a standard retaliatory procedure. The procedure is to overturn as many market carts as possible. Several Arab peddlers were cheeky enough to put up resistance. They got beaten exactly as they deserved”. [–]

61174. Shahak, Israel. The Religious Settlers’ Assault on Palestinians: Part 4 of 4. Shahak Report 130. Israel, December 10, 1993. Such atrocities are perpetrated not only in Hebron and the adjoining area. The veteran says that the Committee “is active, not only in the Hebron area, but also in Ariel, Yitzhak, Beit-El, Shilo and in [the ultraorthodox town of] Immanuel. We have a handful of members in almost every one of the 140 settlements [of the West Bank]. 3 or 4 people are enough to carry out simple unsophisticated operations. For that we don’t need more people. Such minimal manpower is always available to us”. To all appearances this is true. The veteran also provides the already well-known information about the Committee’s members such as “Baruch Marzel, the first chairman of the Committee for Safety on Highways who is now a member of the Kiryat Arba [Municipal] Council, which proves some of our representatives coordinating work in the Local Action Committee, which is the Council’s informal vigilante outfit for retaliations against the terrorists”. The same is, in my view, the case in all religious settlements but not in the secular ones because all major Israeli secular parties abhor Kach, Likud even more than Labor. An example of the Committee’s performance which occurred far away from Hebron was reported by Haaretz on November 21. The above mentioned Baruch Marzel together with another well-known Kach militant, Noam Federman, were detained a day before for having gone on rampage during the visit of the President of Israel Ezer Weizman to Kiryat Arba. Weizman’s intention was to encourage the settlers but Marzel and Federman nevertheless abused him violently. When they were brought before the magistrate in Western Jerusalem (as settlers have the privilege of standing trials in Israel), the police asked that they be remanded on the grounds that “they could not be found while

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were not our activists, whose weapons were almost confiscated. But officials will determine most of the civic laws that are to govern society," the army "tries to confiscate your weapons?" The answer was revealing, future of autonomy in Gaza and the West Bank is being determined.

of the army and the police. Shraga'i asked "the veteran" whether the male-dominated political circles where official policy regarding the settlers is unaffected by whatever they may do to the Gentiles and it happen," she says. "We weren't even thinking about it. That wasn't our

(religious, by the way) accepted this "argument", to the point of lauding participation in the national struggle. For decades, women set aside any
dictated by his zealous concern for the Jewish honor". The learned judge Palestinian women find themselves forgotten, despite their valiant

Another conclusion to be reached from this Report is that in social and political terms, systematic violence such as described herein inflicted on the bulk of the Palestinian population is much more effective than the murders (even of children!) or tortures inflicted only on relatively few Palestinians. On the contrary, the present report shows that, with the exception of the "wanted", the Israeli Security System is not interested in having too many Palestinians murdered or even wounded. It is interested in having them continually harassed, humiliated and therefore in having them feel vulnerable, as the serfs of a feudal lord had felt in the Middle Ages.

By saying this, I don't minimize the significance of murder and torture. For years on end, I have been struggling against the murders of Palestinians by the State of Israel. I was one of the first Israelis to openly protest against the torture of Palestinians after 1967. I can only say that violent and widespread harrassment has strong impact upon every Palestinian, men, women and children. Such an impact can not avoid affecting mass social consciousness. The results will not be to the oppressors' liking. The settler violence described in this Report can only lead to new Palestinian resistance, regardless of the fate of the Agreement between Israel and the PLO. [=] 61175. Shalala, Nancy. "Women Leaders Skeptical About Elections and Civic Policies", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 10, 1995. p. 7. During the 28 years of Israeli occupation, Palestinian women marched beside their men and actively contributed to the struggle. Palestinian women served as leaders in local movements, were imprisoned for their activities and served as primary breadwinners when husbands or sons were imprisoned or killed. In the wake of the peace process, Palestinian women find themselves forgotten, despite their valiant participation in the national struggle. For decades, women set aside any active pursuit of a feminist agenda in order to devote their energies to the national struggle. Director of the Women's Center for Legal Aid & Counseling, Maha Abu-Dayyeh Shamas, explained that a feminist agenda was not constructed because the political landscape did not encourage the pursuit of such goals. "It's not because we didn't want it to happen," she says. "We weren't even thinking about it. That wasn't our priority at the time. Now it is our priority." This increased sense of priority has taken place partly because of the socio-political dynamics at work. Palestinian women leaders now find themselves outside the male-dominated political circles where official policy regarding the future of autonomy in Gaza and the West Bank is being determined. Keeping in mind that during the course of the next five years, elected officials will determine most of the civic laws that are to govern society, women leaders realize the importance of securing positions either in decision-making or advisory positions to politicians who are sensitive to
the needs of women. However, not one of the many women's groups regards the coming elections optimistically. The electoral system, asserts seasoned political activist Ghada Zughayar, director of the Jerusalem Center for Women, is not only undemocratic but is also biased against women. Zughayar charges that the election process has been undemocratic from the outset. The public was not included in the drafting of the electoral system, nor has it been permitted, to date, to examine the memorandum. Zughayar is afraid that we are not allowed to look at it? We are not foreigners, we are citizens of this country who are taking part in the elections, and in the end, those for whom the elections were held in the first place. So why should we be isolated from discussing the process and offering our opinions?"

There exists a consensus among women that the current multi-district electoral system works against the interests of women. If a district is given a limited number of representatives, women argue, the district party members will be unwilling to take chances on the candidates whom they select and would ultimately regard women as being too risky to include in their lists. On the other hand, women believe that in a single district election, women would have a greater chance of being elected. Zughayar also challenges the Palestinian National Authority's current practice of making appointments to ministries at the municipal level as further threatening the concept of democracy, and accuses the PNA or Fatah of "resorting to appointing [men from] powerful families and accepting bribes to choose members for their councils." Beyond the election, leaders of the women's movement fearfully anticipate the inevitable confrontation in the coming months between their course of liberal feminism and the more traditional track of Islamic fundamentalism. Palestinian women now face the arduous task of establishing a gender-sensitive constitution that would guarantee equal rights to all of its citizens. Under Islamic law, privilege is extended to men, especially in the areas of marriage, divorce and child custody. Leaders of the Palestinian fundamentalist movement have publicly announced that issues of Islamic law are non-negotiable. Abu-Dayyeh Shamas perceives the feminist-fundamentalist conflict as critical, and notes the dangerous appeal of fundamentalism for those who support the nationalist side of the fundamentalist agenda without considering the long-term implications of its other policies. She warns that, "It is very clear that they want to take over the ministries of justice and education." Abu-Dayyeh Shamas condemns the practice of establishing civic policy based upon a woman's relationship to her husband, and insists that civic codes should be based on gender equality. Director of the Women's Studies Center, Suha Hindeyeh-Mani, perceives the increased dialogue between Yasser Arafat and Hamas as "threatening," and believes that family status legislation will be one of the concessions made by Fatah to appease Hamas. "When I look at Algeria," says Hindeyeh-Mani, "I feel that sooner or later we are going to have to face what Algerian women are facing." And the fundamentalists, she says, will be the main opponents to any women's agenda or participation in parliament. As far as reaching a resolution based on security and equality of the so-called "fundamentalist battle," most women leaders remain skeptical, "I think what is happening here is very serious," concludes Abu-Dayyeh Shamas, "And given the complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict, I don't see a resolution in the next 100 years."[=]


How is One to Be Born? A Legal Guide: Artificial Insemination: In 1977 and again in 4/1989, the Health Ministry published rules for the management of sperm banks and for performing artificial insemination. In spite of some doubts as to the legality of these regulations, doctors act in accordance with them. The rules are intended to ensure the anonymity of the sperm donor, protecting him from, among other things, legal responsibility for child support. (In Sweden, a law was passed cancelling the principle of anonymity, in order that children might search for their biological roots when they reached maturity. As a result, however, there have been difficulties in finding men willing to contribute sperm.)

In the case of married couples, the husband must agree in advance—in writing—to the wife's fertilization. He must also sign a form declaring that the child will be considered his biological child. These measures are intended to ensure that the husband's paternity is legalized. The donor's blood type must match that of the husband, and it is recommended that the husband's sperm be mixed with the donor's, so that the husband's legal paternity cannot be negated on the basis of blood tests and also, perhaps, to allow the illusion that the newborn may actually be his biological child.

A few years ago, the Supreme Court ruled that the agreements signed by the husband legally bind him to provide child support for children conceived by artificial insemination. But the Great Rabbinical Court in Jerusalem recently ruled that the husband is not bound to provide child support. Although some rabbis disagreed, the majority argued that the mother herself is not bound to take care of such children—that she would be allowed to cast off any children born as a result of artificial insemination. According to the court, the woman should have resisted her husband's suggestion that she undergo fertilization by another man, because doing so is a sin. Conclusion: we should be careful not to give authority to the Rabbinical Court to discuss this matter; we should make sure it is raised in the civil courts.

The Health Ministry's original regulations did not address the issue of artificial insemination for unmarried women, but since they did not expressly forbid it, single women could undergo this procedure in private clinics. Since the sperm used were usually fresh, however, there was a risk that they hadn't been tested for sexually transmitted diseases and tuberculosis, as required by the 1977 regulations. Because of that risk, the new rules forbid artificial insemination in private clinics. They also require additional tests for Hepatitis B Tay-Sachs, and HIV antibodies.

The new regulations clearly allow single women to undergo artificial insemination under the auspices of a hospital sperm bank. However, strict conditions are imposed: a psychiatrist must make an assessment of the woman, and a "senior" social worker must make a report. Such rules also apply to married people whose doctor isn't sure of their "fitness" in terms of their intelligence, physical health, or mental health. In this way the law grants doctors the authority to determine a person's capability to be a parent. But it also leads to questions about whether such decisions will withstand review by the courts.

Because of the principle of donor anonymity, children born to single women have no "known" father. This guards against situations in which known donors try to exercise paternity rights. Ten years ago in the United States, for example, a woman artificially inseminated herself using a do-it-yourself method and sperm donated by a friend; when the child was born, the donor asked for visitation rights, and the court acknowledged his paternity and granted him the rights.

In Vitro Fertilization: The Health Ministry published regulations concerning in vitro fertilization (IVF) in 1987. The regulations are complicated, focusing in an intrusive way on the woman's personal status—on whether she is married, single, widowed, or divorced. Such concern probably stems from fear of incest and adultery, forbidden by Jewish law. The regulations require that every IVF procedure performed on a married woman be agreed to by her husband.

When an egg is taken from a married woman for fertilization and re-implantation in her own womb, the use of donor sperm is permitted. But when the egg is donated by another woman, it must be fertilized only by the husband's sperm. Thus if the husband and wife both suffer from impaired fertility, the couple is not eligible for in vitro fertilization treatment.

An unmarried woman may donate an egg for implantation in a married woman, but she cannot herself receive an egg donated by another woman. She is required to bring a report from a social worker in support of the request for undergoing in vitro fertilization. For widows and divorced women, the regulations specifically require the agreement of other people for the treatment. A woman whose husband dies after the fertilization of her egg but before its implantation must wait at least a year for implantation, and even then the implantation can be done only
after a social worker submits a report in support of her request. If a woman divorces after the fertilization of her egg by her husband's sperm, the implantation will be done only if her ex-husband agrees. (In the draft of the regulations, the husband's admission of his paternity was required, but this condition was dropped from the final version.)

An additional distinction between married women and single women is made in the case of a woman who dies after an egg has been removed from her. If the woman was married, no use will be made of the egg, because of fear that its use would constitute adultery. However, an egg taken from a single woman can be donated to someone else if the woman agrees to this before her death.

Fear of incest led to a regulation prohibiting the implantation of a fertilized egg in a woman related to the donor. The definition of family relatedness is very broad: parents, their parents, their parent's parents, children, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and their offspring. This makes finding donors more difficult because it is family members in particular who want to come to the aid of a childless woman.

In the case of embryo implantation, it is the woman who carries the child who is considered its mother. The regulations state that a fertilized egg will be implanted only in the woman who will be the child's mother, implying a definition of "legal maternity" that privileges the carrying mother over the biological mother. A woman unable to carry a baby herself thus cannot become a "mother" even if she produces fertile eggs.

Nothing is said about the legality of paying a donor, but it is implied that donations should be made without payment. Eggs can be taken only from women who are themselves undergoing medical treatment for impaired fertility. The hormonal treatments these women receive bring a few eggs to fertility every month. All of the mature eggs are taken from the ovary at the same time, and usually a few eggs are fertilized at once because of the fear that not all of them will adapt to the womb or that there will be an early miscarriage. However, because of the health risk to a woman who carries two or more embryos, not all of the fertilized eggs are implanted. The rest of the unfertilized eggs are kept frozen. With the agreement of the donor, these eggs are donated to other women.

The internal guidelines of the Health Ministry specify that a woman in whom a fertilized egg is implanted must be of the same nationality and religion as the donor. This regulation stems from the concern for the well-being of the child and for preventing social and legal complications throughout his or her life.

Surrogate Mothers: Since regulations about in vitro fertilization state that the woman who carries a child resulting from a donated egg is its legal mother, it is sometimes claimed that they forbid surrogate motherhood. In fact, these regulations apply only to in vitro fertilization and not to the classic surrogate mother situation, in which an agreement is made between a childless couple and a woman willing to be artificially inseminated with the husband's sperm, who commits herself to hand over the child to the couple after it is born. Arrangements like this are nevertheless widely regarded as illegal because they violate the three main provisions of Israel's adoption law. First, payment for adoption is a crime, punishable by up to three years in jail. Second, giving a child up for adoption directly to a private party, rather than through a social service agency, is also a crime, punishable by one year in jail. Third, a parent who has agreed to give a child up for adoption has the right to change his or her mind as long as the court has not yet issued an adoption order (which happens only after the child has spent at least six months with the adopting family). In fact, the first two rules put a criminal prohibition on the arrangement of surrogate motherhood, whereas the third rule undercuts the legal status of the arrangement.

There is a claim that adoption laws should not apply to surrogate mother agreements because such laws are intended to alleviate the problem of an unplanned and unwanted pregnancy, whereas the surrogate mother becomes pregnant intentionally in order to give birth to a child for another family. But this reasoning is not widely accepted. The only possibly legal way to make surrogate mother arrangements in Israel is to ask for permission from the court beforehand. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]

61177. Shalom, Chaya. "No Longer Silent: Women and Peace Coalition Mobilizes Women Against the Occupation", in Challenge, July-August 1991, p. 24. Israeli women have not achieved the status that their sisters in the Western democratic countries have, for two main reasons. First and foremost is Israel's continuing state of war, which enhances the militarism of Israeli society and with that, the image of the Israeli hero. Throughout the state's existence, Israeli men have made war or occupied territory in the name of defending their women and children, while Israeli women have filled the traditional role of taking care of household matters, on the one hand, and the men at the front, on the other. The Gulf war was a glaring example of the low social status of Israeli women, as women were forced to stay at home when schools closed without compensation from the government or employers. Second, government institutions are dominated by religious elements, which strengthens fundamentalism. In Israel there is no separation between religion and state. This situation not only reinforces the traditional role of women, it also undermines the achievements that have already been made despite it all, particularly in legislation.

As long as Israeli society is bound by the traditions of militarism and religion, and supported by education in a nationalistic spirit, there will not be meaningful change in the status of women. Almost no Israeli women are in policy-making positions in the government, and just eight out of 12 Knesset members are women - only 6%! Until the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, raising the Palestinian question in the feminist movement would result in an explosion: "Political questions are not a women's issue!" In 1980, when a group of women at a feminist conference expressed solidarity with the struggle of Palestinian women, it caused a rift in the movement. Thus, it was innovative for a group of women to protest the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Since then a kind of legitimacy has developed, so that women are not only allowed to be involved, but are obliged to protest policies they do not agree with.

The outbreak of the Intifada in 12/87 shocked the Israeli public and confronted women again with their situation in a chauvinist society. Women realized that they have no role in the political arena, although they contribute to the social and economic policies affect their image, reinforce their traditional role and hurt them economically. Budget cuts take their toll mainly on women, who are already inferior to men in salary and professional level. Women and Poverty, published by the largest women's organization in Israel, Na'mat, describes its subject as a situation, not a trend; a policy, not circumstances. Israeli women as a social group are poor! Women could no longer keep silent in the face of the harshness of prolonged occupation - the erosion of social mores and human values, the increasing corruption in all sectors of the nation, and the distorted education with which boys and girls in Israeli are being raised. Many Israeli women also felt solidarity with the struggle of Palestinian women and children, who were bearing on their backs the revolt for freedom from occupation. In 1/88, seven women dressed in black, carrying signs in the shape of a hand and reading "End the occupation," began to stand in the streets of Jerusalem to protest government policy. Other women joined the weekly protests, and soon the numbers reached 100-120. Separate vigils began throughout Israel, until there were about 30. This movement was called Women in Black, and it went beyond the borders of Israel. Today there are groups throughout the United States, Europe and Australia. Women in Black has managed to sustain a consistent level of protest, in contrast to the sporadic demonstrations organized by women in 1982 and afterwards. Women from all shades of the political spectrum contribute to the weekly vigils. Women from the center to the radical left; women for whom it is their first demonstration; feminists, mothers, religious, secular, lesbian, heterosexual, Arab, Jewish, teenagers, 80-year-olds - these are the reasons for the increasing strength of the group. What keeps it going is the internal dynamic and the process of making decisions without hierarchy and with participation and a search for consensus. A culture of nonviolent protest, debate and organizational management has developed which does not exist in mixed groups. This
allows women freedom of expression without being inhibited by sexism or male dominance.

Here I will note the role of lesbians, who comprise a significant proportion of the demonstrators and even more of the organizers. Even so, lesbians are still in the closet in women's movements, despite some attempts to come out. Homophobia makes itself known. Passers-by still react harshly to the women. They inflict not only the sexist and homophobic violence of verbal abuse - women are called "whores," "lesbians" and "Arafat fuckers," and told to "go home and prepare the Sabbath" - but also real physical violence. It is a miracle that this has not claimed victims (don't forget that Israeli men walk around freely carrying weapons). However, the feeling of togetherness gives us great strength.

Women in Black was the inspiration for the establishment of the Women and Peace Coalition, which unites eight women's organizations as well as unaffiliated women. Each of the eight deals with a different aspect of the struggle against the occupation. Shani (Israei Women Against the Occupation) deals mainly with education. Women for Women Political Prisoners protests the conditions of women political prisoners and gives them aid. Women for Coexistence conducts dialogues with Palestinian women, and so forth. The coalition, in contrast to Women in Black, uses political tools instead of just making statements about a solution that will bring peace. Its goals are to involve women in politics, to develop ties and cooperation with Palestinian women's organizations, and to press for international peace negotiations with the participation of the PLO, international protection of the Occupied Territories, and, of course, two states for two peoples. In its conferences, joint demonstrations and other protest activities, the coalition sends a clear and stable message, and has thus acquired a central place in the Israeli peace movement. No doubt, Women and Peace is a new phenomenon on the Israeli scene.

Even before the outbreak of hostilities, it was this group which raised its voice against the Gulf war. It also protested the policy of extended blanket curfews in the territories during the war. In 5/90, the coalition sponsored a meeting in Geneva of Israeli and Palestinian women from 10 countries. At this meeting there was an exchange of thoughts and views and the atmosphere was positive and constructive, as only women know how to create. A joint document was issued calling for international peace negotiations with the participation of the PLO, expressing the need for international protection of the Occupied Territories, and affirming the right of two states for two nations.

Recently, Women in Black was informed that it had been awarded the Aachen Prize for Peace for its activities. This prestigious award gives institutional and international recognition to that brave group of women which, in spite of all the political and economic crises, continues to transmit the message, "End the occupation." The cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian women proves beyond doubt that dialogue, mutual respect and an honest desire for cooperation can indeed bring positive results. These are the things which, unfortunately, the parties in the Middle East conflict, primarily the State of Israel, have yet to learn. Note: Chaya Shalom is one of the founders of the Women and Peace Coalition.

There is a complete lack of a realistic policy for dealing with the situation. We still need to learn from the experience of other countries which have been moderately successful in dealing with such violence. This has been achieved through the development of different methods and programs including courses in the public schools, organizations for preventive treatment of violent men, and classes for police and judges. These are programs which we could also implement.

Counselling services for prevention, which exist on too small a scale, are not being expanded.

Services for abused women and children are totally inadequate.

The number of battered women's shelters are trifling in comparison to the number we need. Moreover, the shelter alone is not the best way of dealing with the crux of the problem. It is only a form of first-aid which provides relief, but which definitely does not offer a cure.

Only this morning, we were informed by social workers that the country lacks sixty additional posts for workers in order to implement a new law for the removal of violent family members from their household; a law which would also provide aid to the victims of violence.

There is no social or economic policy which adequately expresses the welfare policy recommended by the Labor and Welfare Committee. The recommendations of the Commission on the Status of Women (the Namir Commission)[l], presented to the Prime Minister in 1978, have yet to be implemented.[=]

61179. Shalvi, Alice. "All talk and no budget: Violence Against Women Increases: Part 2", in Challenge, January-February, 1992. p. 31. Therefore, there is still a place for discussions such as the one we are engaged in today. But talking is only justified if it results in active pressure on policy makers, decision makers and those responsible for the allocation of resources. Words are justified only if, in the end, they lead to action.

It is inconceivable that the development of adequate services in so important an area should be dependent upon donations from abroad, or that the main form of treatment for battered women is carried out only by volunteers. Rather, these workers should be as skilled, professional and devoted as possible.

On November 25, the Knesset called for the establishment of twelve additional shelters. Who will ensure that the budget now awaiting Knesset approval transforms this call into a financial reality?

The time has arrived for all state authorities (including the Knesset committees, the government, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Welfare, and the local authorities) to unite in order to uproot this terrible phenomenon from our society. It is a widespread feature, not only in the home and in the family, but also in public life, and in relations between different sectors of society. In all of these spheres, violence is used as a means of relieving feelings of injustice, or as a legitimate way of achieving what cannot be achieved through legal, peaceful or otherwise acceptable methods.

Our gathering today must be practical and to the point. There can be no more crying over symptoms and incidents. Rather, proposals and concrete decisions should be made regarding steps which must be taken: policy-making and lobbying in order to ensure that our proposals find expression in the state budget and in government actions.

The time for talking is over. We must now work together, using all the moral and political power available to women—especially during the election year. Let us pool the resources of our electoral power, and bring about real change in the priorities of the government and the political parties. Together we can build a just and healthy society.

Alice Shalvi is the Chairwoman of the Israel Women's Network. [The above is the text of a speech delivered at a public debate held at the Knesset on December 2, 1991, under the auspices of M. K Tamar Ganzatsu.] [Translation: Josie Glausiusz.] [=]

Orthodox Agudat Israel party as conditions for its joining the Likud-led coalition government was the passing by the Knesset of certain laws based on the party's religious attitudes and practices. These laws, which both the media and the general public rapidly termed "religious legislation," included two of direct concern to women and to feminists: one aims to limit women's access to abortions under the current, fairly liberal law, the other to eliminate so-called obscenity in advertising.

The law now permits abortion if one of four conditions is met: the pregnant woman is under 18 or over 40 years of age, the pregnancy results from an illicit relationship such as incest or rape, the physical or mental health of the unborn child is at stake or the mother's life is in danger.

A woman requesting an abortion must appear before a three-person screening committee composed of two doctors and a social worker. Twenty-seven such committees now exist, six of them in privately-owned hospitals. The proposed amendment seeks to abolish these six on the grounds of conflict of interest. However, since these committees meet Obs almost daily, unlike those in state or public hospitals, and deal with a disproportionately large number of requests, their abolition would drastically reduce the accessibility of abortions.

This would concomitantly increase the emotional suffering of hundreds of women, the number of decisions given too late into the pregnancy to make abortion a safe option, and the number of unwanted births, with all that that may entail in the way of child abuse and related problems.

To prevent the passing of the proposed amendment, a powerful coalition of women's and civil rights organizations in Israel and abroad has proposed that if the six committees must be disbanded, they should be replaced by new screening committees to be established in the major local clinics of all sick-funds. Such a measure would not only meet the conflict-of-interest charges levelled against the private hospitals, but it would make screening committees more widely available and reduce the waiting period of applicants, and with it the physical and emotional strain endured by women who legally qualify for cessation of their pregnancy.

The unexpectedly strong opposition to the proposed amendment has apparently surprised Likud members of the cabinet, including the Minister of Health himself. Unlike the religious laws relating to pig-rearing and Sabbath observance, the abortion amendment has not been forcibly pushed through the Knesset and may even die an unlamented death for lack of continued advocacy.

The proposed amendment of the law relating to obscenity is more complex. The law currently lays down three years' imprisonment as sanction against 1) the sale, printing or copying of obscene material in order to sell, lend or publish it; 2) public display of such material; 3) operating a business for the sale, publication or display of such material; 4) advertising or otherwise publicizing the fact that such material is available at a specific location.[=]

61181. Shalvi, Alice. "Politicicking at the Expense of Women: Religious Party Legislates Morality With Likud's Backing: Part 2", in Challenge, March-April, 1991, p. 31. The obscene material referred to in the law may be in written, printed or pictorial form, and obscenity is defined as material "liable to corrupt morality." Because of the vagueness of this definition, the law has never been enforced.

Agudat Israel's prime interest was to guarantee enforcement of the law, and its amendments were worded accordingly. The term "offensive publication, which will replace "obscene material," is defined as follows:

1. Depiction of a nude person or of intimate parts of the male or female body.
2. Depiction of sexual intercourse or sexual violence.
3. Depiction which contains sexual debasement.
4. Depiction of a person as an object available for sexual purposes.
5. Depiction of a partially nude body, or one which is liable to offend the moral sensibilities of the public or sectors of the public, or to corrupt public morality, or which is harmful to minors or to their education.

In addition, the regulations protecting consumers are to be changed, so that they will no longer relate to sexual arousal or enticement to sexual intercourse, but rather—more specifically—to pictures of nudity or sexual debasement. Infringement of the law will be punishable by six months' imprisonment or a fine.

Women's rights activists have objected to the amendment on the grounds of both omission and commission. First, they find the outlawing of all nudity far too sweeping, citing the example of Michelangelo's David as a henceforth prohibited means of promoting tourism to Florence. On the other hand, the amendment fails to relate to sexual stereotyping or to the prevalence of sexual objectification of women in advertising and the use of women's bodies to advertise products totally unrelated to those bodies. Furthermore, the prohibition on depicting sexual violence fails to relate to equally objectionable violence against women in a non-sexual context.

Stressing the vagueness of both the existing law and the Agudat Israel amendments, the Israel Women's Network has put forward counter-proposals which would not impose gross limitations on freedom of expression or public behavior, but which would prohibit:

1. Pictures with a pronounced sexual content which offends the good taste of the majority of the public;
2. Depiction of sexual debasement or subjection;
3. Depiction which employs images of human nudity for commercial purposes unrelated to the products being advertised.

They would also replace the term "obscenity with "offensive advertising."

Agudat Israel's original proposal has been slightly modified, but the final product remains unclear, virtually impossible to enforce and unsatisfactory not only to the ultra-Orthodox but to the feminists. It will almost certainly prove ineffective in any attempt to prosecute offenders. Whether one sees this as good or bad depends on one's point of view. Certainly, most citizens disapprove of legislation which does much to offend the general public but proves futile in eliminating distasteful and even dangerous phenonema. But the Likud has acceded to Agudat Israel's demands, and the right-wing coalition has been strengthened.

[Alice Shalvi is the chairwoman of the Israel Women's Network. She is a founder and former principal of Pelech Experimental Religious High School for Girls.] [=

61182. Shamsedin, Nadia; New American View. "Israel: Life In The Other Land Of Milk and Honey" (Second In A Series", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.8(7), April 1, 1993. Several Israeli citizens whose homes I visited related a dreary tale of daily life in the Jewish state. Housing is limited and expensive, and home construction is often second-rate. Personal safety is a daily concern for both Israelis and Arabs, because of the recent upsurge in violence and reprisals by both sides. Television is state-owned and heavily censored; the domestic programming is an insult to everybody's intelligence. Israeli-produced consumer goods are marginal in quality, costly and the variety is limited. Health care and sanitation, traffic and road safety—all are far below Western standards. Israel's demands, and the right-wing coalition has been strengthened.

[Clalit] Clalit bureaucrats must resort to offering lavish incentives to keep doctors from transferring to private health care organizations. According to Barry Charnish, an Israeli journalist and author: "The other plans pay their doctors better salaries, so Clalit has been suffering a serious outflow of physicians. To compensate them, the Histradut provides free apartments to select doctors. Clalit owns a thousand apartments in the country which the doctors mostly rent out to subside the mortgages on the homes they actually live in." Members of the Histradut health plan must go to their assigned clinics even when they fall ill in another part of the country. Patients must show up between 7:30
and 8:00 am to sign in and then wait in line—regardless of the urgency of the medical problem—often missing a day’s work. Medical tests are conducted at a Clalit lab, but should the results indicate hospitalization is necessary, the tests will be repeated at the hospital. The patient may not select his own doctor, hospital or surgeon. The patient must purchase prescribed medication from the clinic’s pharmacy. The system is further bogged down by apathetic doctors and nurses. Salaries are based on seniority, not skill or specialization. A heart surgeon may earn what a podiatrist makes—as little as $5 an hour. This has led to widespread practice of “black medicine”—doctors taking bribes under the table to perform surgery on patients too ill to wait their turn. Nurses and doctors often go on strike. During these walk-outs, operations have been canceled and patients sent home before treatment is completed. Soldiers and volunteers have been brought in to care for patients left behind.

Sanitation and hygiene in Israel are also deficient. The government’s standards for drinking water, sewage management and pesticide use fall far below those of developed countries. In an example of the bureaucratic infighting typical of the government, the director general of the ministry charged with environmental protection blames the water commissioner, who “has all the authority to prevent water pollution, and who has done nothing. There have been no regulations, no prosecution of polluters,” says the director general. “What is disturbing is that government officials are among the major violators of environmental policy.”

Illegal dumping along the Mediterranean coast is a problem. Dr. Leah Mushkat conducted an in-depth study of the coastal aquifer. In her findings, she documented pollutants at 3000 times the permissible level. In one drinking well, she found “pesticides, industrial waste and chloro-organic solvents.” Outbreaks of disease have included typhus, amoebic dysentery, meningitis and a polio epidemic which broke out in 1988. According to a Health Ministry report, “The chances of becoming infected with a contagious disease in Israel are 18 times higher than in the United States.” Israelis are burdened by heavy taxation which takes many forms, including income taxes, property taxes, land improvement taxes, excise duties, stamp taxes, municipal taxes, social security taxes and many more. Ezra Sohar, Israeli economist and author of Israel’s Dilemma, states: “Although income tax brings in no more than 25% of the state’s revenue, it severely damages the economy and public morale. Israel’s tax collection apparatus has thousands of employees, and is typified by an absence of professionals, numerous errors, unchecked harassment and damage to the public.” The high cost of owning and driving an automobile in Israel is another problem. The average Israeli must pay $3000 in fees for registration, license, safety inspection and insurance to put a car on the road. Barry Chamish writes in his book The Fall of Israel: “Israelis pay three times the American price for fuel because of high taxes but only 1.5% of the tax money goes to road repair.” Not surprisingly, Israel’s highway safety record is one of the worst in the world. A recent spate of articles in the popular press decry the “carnage” on the nation’s highways. Television in Israel is limited to two channels—both state-owned and censored. Viewers must pay a license fee to own and operate their TVs. Even with a $6-million annual programming budget, the government channels are of low quality, and there is no access to satellite programming. With the intifada now in its sixth year and threatening to grow still more intense, Israelis live in a state of constant anxiety, for which they blame their government for its failure to put down the uprising. Random acts of violence occur frequently, and recently several Israelis have been stabbed to death by Palestinians, who as a group are then subjected to violent reprisals. Israeli Arabs worry that their cars will be burned while parked on the streets of Jerusalem. One young Israeli Arab recounted the terror of having been followed and beaten by a gang of Israeli soldiers. He was left unconscious and bleeding in the street near his home in Jerusalem. More recently, there has been a surge of assault weapon purchases by theocratic state, such disparity in housing is, to say the least, a supreme irony. But then, so is the fact that the Israeli government and its zealots in the United States fail to put down the uprising. The lack of career opportunities for those Soviet immigrants who are highly educated has resulted in bitter disappointment. One Soviet physicist said that 90% of the “world class scientists” arriving in the past three years have left Israel, either to return home or to move on to Europe or America. According to the physicist, those who have left “couldn’t find a way to express themselves; to continue their research work here.” And that’s a tragedy. He also recounted the experience of some Soviet laborers who had not been paid in two and a half months. “Nobody protected their rights to receive their salary. When several workers complained, a representative of the Histadrut, the trade union, came to them and told them, “Look, you have work, and you continue to have work, so don’t make the situation worse. Many people have no work.” They are using those newcomers.” Having waited nine years to make aliyah from the Soviet Union, this man and his family arrived with great expectations. He said that the Soviet government had propagated the idea of a socialist system, instead they now find themselves in a non-competitive Jewish society which “in many ways is much like the feudal system of the Middle Ages.” Because of the corruption of the state system in Israel, of the socialist bureaucracy, I think half of the population is working, and the other half are living like parasites. That’s why the Israeli economy is not competitive.” Releasing the US loan guarantees ostensibly to be used to absorb the Soviet immigrant population, he said: “The Israeli government started crying about the new immigrants. When they get the guarantees, the same second they forget about this part of the Israeli population.” He contrasted this with Jordan’s response to a similar situation, dealing with the 300000 Palestinians who were expelled from Kuwait into Jordan after the Persian Gulf War. “Nobody heard Jordan complaining and asking the United States for loan guarantees for those Palestinians.” Another unhappy fellow is a Soviet filmmaker who has been in Israel nearly six years and produced a film about an incident involving several new immigrants. The movie tells of a group of Soviet engineers, contractors and builders who pooled their efforts and built a housing unit for themselves. After the Soviets built their own housing—at less than half the going rate and of much higher quality—government officials ordered it demolished because it posed a threat to local Israeli contractors. He said, “[housing] is really a crisis. The huge building projects in the last year did not solve the problem because the contractors built very, very low quality [homes] with a very, very high price.” “I made a film about it,” said the filmmaker. “I found who was involved in this corruption. It was not only the Israeli contractors, but the Minister of Housing, banks, and even the Supreme Court took its decision in the interest not of the newcomers, not in the interest of justice, but in the interest of the contractors.” After having first been accepted for programming, the film was eventually blocked from being broadcast on Israel’s state-owned television.

When the filmmaker attempted to retrieve his film, he found that the Israeli censors had destroyed it. In terms of housing, the Jewish state is a land of extremes. While the Soviet immigrants scrounge for apartments and ordinary Israelis make due with inferior homes, wealthy Israelis and rich American Jews live like kings in sumptuous luxury villas and condominiums in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and at seashore resorts. The international edition of the Jerusalem Post and other English-language periodicals advertise these outrageously expensive luxury quarters as vacation and/or retirement homes for American and other well-heeled Jews. Considering that Israel is still a socialist (and theocratic) state, such disparity in housing is, to say the least, a supreme irony. But then, so is the fact that the Israeli government and its zealots in the United States fail to put down the uprising.
guarantees are being used to underwrite stock market purchases in America and to encourage foreign investment projects in the Jewish state. The filmmaker's wife supports their family of five with two clerical jobs, even though she was a scientist in Russia for 16 years. They came to Israel thinking they had left discrimination behind, and are started to find it exists in Israel, where they least expected it. Many Soviet schoolchildren complain about being isolated and insulted by other children and teachers. "A lot of the children don't want to fill out homework here because of the harassment, and they want to go back to Russia." From friends and relatives living in Israel, Jews still in Russia hear how dismal life is in the Jewish state. "Many of the people postponed their coming to Israel, and they are trying any way to go to any other place, and not to Israel. I know people who came to Israel and left and now they are in Canada seeking citizenship." Even under the best of circumstances, making aliyah is not easy. It is especially hard on the few American families that try it, particularly those with teenage children. American teens, according to Israeli experts, seem to have a really bad time acclimating to Israeli society—educationally, culturally and especially socially. They are extremely attached to their roots, more so than even the other English-speaking teens, say the experts. Some will return to the US right after they finish high school. Recently, a new support group called NESTO—New English-Speaking Teen Olim—was established in Jerusalem to help American (and other English-speaking) teenagers adjust to their new life in Israel. Among other problems, there seems to be a lot more friction between Israeli and American teens than between Israelis and other groups of teenage immigrants. (Editor's Note: In Ms. Shamseddin's article on Israeli in our issue of March 15, we got the sabbaths of the Muslims [Friday], the Jews [Saturday] and the Christians [Sunday] mixed up. We apologize for our confusion.)

According to a Health Ministry report, "The chances of becoming infected with a contagious disease in Israel are 18 times higher than in the United States." [6]

61183. Shani, Ariella. "How Iman overcame a weakness in Palestinian society: Kidnapped, threatened and beaten, she refused to collaborate: Part 2", in Challenge, May, 1990, pp. 14-15. When Iman's father went to the Popular Committees and told them what had happened, the entire camp mobilized for action. Members of women's organizations came to encourage her and never left Iman alone for a minute. They stayed with her during the first difficult hours, when she was still overwhelmed, and afterwards when she allowed herself to cry. During the night, when the camp is under the complete control of the residents and when they army does not come near the place, a leaflet of the local branch of the Unified Women's Council was distributed from house to house. In the course of a house-to-house search by members of the local committees, three of the four kidnappers turned themselves in and expressed regret for their actions. They claimed that they had been told they were being recruited to a cell of an organization like the Black Panthers in Nablus. The fourth kidnapper, who had recruited them, a known collaborator, has gone into hiding in Netanya, a city in Israel.

According to the three, they were ordered to kidnap any young woman. Iman was selected because her home is at the edge of the camp, near the fields, thus facilitating the kidnapping, and because the only brother who lives at home sleeps at his place of work, leaving only elderly people, women and children at home. On the night of January 21 loudspeakers in the mosques proclaimed Iman's innocence and virtue, praised her courage and called out slogans condemning the collaborator who had fled. Women ululated and many of the camp residents came to visit Iman as a sign of support. "It was better than a wedding," said Iman. But in fact there is a wedding in the story: a young man from the camp decided to become engaged to Iman. At first she refused because she was afraid that he was asking for her hand out of a sense of obligation. "They didn't leave me alone for a minute so that I could think quietly," she explained. But after several meetings she was won over. It so happened that Iman's fiance had also studied in Ramallah and had seen her there, but at the time he had not thought of marrying her.

On January 24, groups set out from all parts of the camp and joined in the mass engagement procession which passed by Iman's house. She stood in the doorway and greeted the marchers. Wedding music, national songs and greetings were broadcast by loudspeakers. This engagement ceremony differed from all previous ones. It augurs a new stage in Palestinian society's coping with a subject previously considered the Achilles heel of the Intifada - 'woman's honor'.[7]

61184. Sharab, Sama; Yousef, Asma. "Corporal Punishment: A Resort of the Weak", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 8, 1995, p. 12. Corporal punishment is still being used in schools as a corrective to bad behavior. While some teachers consider it to be effective, we feel that in the long run it is a negative practice. It leaves permanent scars on the pupil's psychology and in some cases it is very difficult to cure. Teachers use corporal punishment instead of other more effective methods like guidance, evoking the spirit of healthy competition and the participation of the family in the education process. For most of the teachers the stick is the last resort, despite a Ministry of Education directive banning the practice. Najwa, a female teacher who supports the idea of using light corporal punishment against difficult pupils, said that it was an effective means of producing good behavior. She added that some pupils cannot function without being punished, while others will never need to be punished. Mousa Shana, a parent, said, "Using corporal punishment at schools as a way of treating children is inappropriate. Teachers should treat pupils in a more civilized way. There are a lot of pupils who resort to truancy through fear of corporal punishment. If a pupil does something wrong, his or her parents should be the first to be informed by the teachers. Pupils can be reasoned with by their parents, especially if the parents are educated and sincerely love their child." Another teacher, Suad, echoed these opinions, particularly concerning truancy, and added that teachers should develop a method of positive encouragement for their pupils. "Corporal punishment makes pupils revolt against the system, both school and teachers. It's rare to see it having any positive effect. I know a pupil who never studied because he was always being punished by his teachers. He became unbearable, left the school and ended up wandering the streets." Suad commented. A secondary school pupil, Assem Sharab, added his voice to the condemnation of corporal punishment. "Pupils go to school to learn and not to be physically punished. It's better to be talked into something. Hitting just makes them stubborn. It all depends on the character of the teacher and the pupil. Some teachers use corporal punishment to intimidate children and oblige them to study. I think that this is a weakness in the teacher. If he can't explain the lesson properly, he compensates by forcing pupils to learn by heart." He added that the best method of teaching comes from having a friendly relationship with the teacher. According to psychologist Sami Isshaq, corporal punishment limits the performance and intelligence of students. "Corporal punishment results in making pupils cowards on the one hand and violent on the other. Children have a natural tendency to fear insecurity at home, at school, and on the street. Most pupils who are continuously punished by their parents or teachers tend to isolate themselves from society. In most cases, these children become very violent, and may even develop the potential of committing violent acts in adulthood, he added. Isshaq said that the home as well as school should provide an atmosphere of security for children in order for them to be able to perform in a healthy way. This is the only way that children can have self-esteem and confidence. Therefore corporal punishment is inappropriate both at school and in the home. [8]

61185. Sharoni, Simona. "Gender: Search for a New Feminist Discourse: Part 1", in Challenge, September-October 1993, p. 22. The secret negotiations which led to the formulation of the Gaza and Jericho First plan triggered numerous discussions about exclusion. Yet, while the media dealt extensively with the exclusion of the United States and the exclusion of the Palestinian delegation from the process, the exclusion of women's perspectives remained unnoticed. This last exclusion overlooks the significant struggle of women's peace activism in Israel and the Occupied Territories against the Israeli occupation and for Palestinian independence.

At the same time, the Gaza and Jericho First plan found the
women's peace movement at a turning point. The present crisis presents female peace activists in Israel with a unique opportunity to rethink the prevailing understandings of resistance and explore new venues to address the connections between gender and the politics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Against this backdrop it is particularly important to call attention to the history of women's resistance and to the current challenges facing women in Israel.

The outbreak of the Intifada in December, 1987, represented a crucial juncture in the political involvement of women in Israel. Exclusively female (and largely feminist) peace groups burst onto the scene, initiating activities that had two major goals: to mobilize public opinion in Israel and abroad against the occupation, and to build bridges of solidarity with Palestinian women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Groups such as Women in Black, the Women's Organizations for Women Political Prisoners, Shani- Israeli Women Against the Occupation, Reshet - Israeli Women's Peace Net, and the Women and Peace Coalition provided new frameworks for the political mobilization of women in Israel and for manifold attempts to build alliances with Palestinian women. Women in Black soon became the largest and most prominent group within the Israeli women's peace movement. By summer 1990, there were more than 30 Women in Black vigils at major intersections throughout Israel. Never before had women in Israel organized on such a large scale and around such issues.

In fact, for many Israeli women who had not been politically active previously, the Intifada marked a new opportunity to challenge their traditional roles and to take a stand on crucial political matters such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Intifada created better conditions for cooperation between women on opposite sides of the Israeli-Palestinian divide and triggered an unprecedented number of encounters and interactions between Israeli-Jewish women and Palestinian women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These included dialogue groups, local and international conferences, solidarity visits, joint demonstrations, and cooperation on projects such as family reunification and prisoners' welfare. Long before the 1991 Madrid peace conference, Palestinian and Israeli women took part in a series of international conferences in Jerusalem, Brussels, New York, Italy, Malta, and Geneva.[-]

Since the start of the Intifada, the women's peace movement in Israel is in the midst of a major crisis. Women in Black has decreased in size and influence to about twelve permanent vigils and fourteen sporadic vigils. Encounters with Palestinian women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are almost nonexistent, and the few that do take place include only Palestinians who explicitly support the recent peace overtures. There has been a serious decrease in grassroots solidarity initiatives. It is not surprising that many activist women feel demoralized, helpless, and burnt out.

Since the outbreak of the Intifada there has been a growing consensus on the Israeli left for the need to end the occupation, to negotiate with the PLO, and to establish a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Women's peace groups have for the most part operated within this broad consensus. Yet this consensus did not mobilize against political developments such as the expulsions in January, the closure in March and the Israeli assault in southern Lebanon in July, nor has it thus far elicited critical interpretations of the Gaza and Jericho First plan. That those gross violations of human rights and international law were not met with a loud opposition from groups such as Peace Now came as no surprise given Peace Now's subservience to security arguments and its determination to remain within the national consensus in Israel. The relative silence and helplessness of the women's peace movement has been more alarming.

The current crisis in the women's peace movement was prompted by the formation of the Labor/Meretz coalition government and by the narrowing of political discourse to stands either for or against the peace process. But lament for the good old days of Begin and Shamir when the choice was clear will not change the current reality. The search for new slogans to unite the Israeli left and to galvanize strong opposition to occupation is insufficient. The left is facing a crisis of identity as much as a crisis of direction and political strategy. An examination of the relation between the crisis in the women's peace movement and the overall crisis in the Israeli left should begin with an overview of the women's peace movement in Israel.

Women's exclusion from the Gaza and Jericho First plan was nothing new - for the most part Israeli women have been excluded from the political arena or kept on its margins ever since the proclamation of the state in 1948. It is only in the past two decades that women in Israel began to challenge their exclusion from the public political arena and from discussions of peace and security. The first public attempt by women to articulate unique perspectives on the Arab-Israeli conflict occurred with the establishment of the Women's Party in 1977.[-]

61187. Sharoni, Simona. "Gender: Search for a New Feminist Discourse: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 23. The Women's Party platform questioned the hegemonic discourse of national security in Israel, suggesting that Israeli women's liberation was connected to the liberation and security of Palestinians, both those under occupation and those living as third class citizens in Israel. Most of Israeli society was not attuned to such a radical feminist position. Despite the fact that the Women's Party did not win enough votes to gain even one seat in the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) and disbanded immediately after the elections, many Israeli feminists see it as an important milestone in the history of women's political activism in Israel.

A second attempt to establish a women's party in Israel came almost fifteen years later, before the 1992 elections. This time the connections between the problems facing women in Israel and peace and security issues were downplayed. The platform called for the eradication of all forms of violence and discrimination within Israeli society, for advancing the peace process, and for a plebiscite on the future of the Occupied Territories. Behind these vague formulations lay an attempt to build a broad coalition among women around depoliticized definitions of "women's issues," without explicitly challenging the national consensus on questions of peace and security. It was not until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, in June, 1982, that Israeli women took to the streets, explicitly questioning the national consensus and organizing against war. Two major women's protest groups emerged during that period: Parents Against Silence (PAS), and Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon (WAIL). While both groups demanded an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, one operated from within the Israeli national consensus and the other did not.

Members of PAS, known as Mothers Against Silence, were mothers (and fathers) who were worried about their sons in combat. WAIL, on the other hand, articulated a feminist antimilitarist position, stressing the connections between oppression of women and oppression of Palestinians in Lebanon and the Occupied Territories. The group consisted of activists in the Israeli feminist movement and was clearly outside the national consensus.

While Israeli society and the media were by and large sympathetic toward PAS, they did not tolerate the positions espoused by WAIL. Israeli society was not ready to support a women's group that publicly expressed solidarity with Palestinian women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Feminism was perceived as an extremist ideology. The political mobilization of women against government policies was seen as a threat to the stability of Israeli society, especially at a time of crisis. The threat is twofold: not only do women challenge their socially assigned roles by stepping into the public-political arena, they also threaten the national consensus by taking a position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

An example of the difficulty activist women face in challenging the national consensus was during the Gulf War. Despite attempts by the Israeli government to use the Gulf crisis of 1991 to divert attention from the Intifada, the Israeli women's peace movement continued its activities throughout the crisis until the outbreak of the war. But when the Gulf War started and Iraqi Scud missiles were fired at Tel Aviv, women's voices
of dissent were silenced. Even the Jerusalem vigil of Women in Black, the largest and most persistent vigil, was suspended for three consecutive Fridays.

The reason for this is that Israelis have become accustomed to forgetting their differences and forming a "united front" when confronted with a direct threat from outside. The peace movement quickly adopted pro-war positions and seemed to celebrate its return to the fold. As a result, women found it difficult to challenge the national consensus regarding the Gulf War. The women's peace movement suffers from the contradictions within the Israeli peace camp. Its reluctance to criticize the Rabin government has triggered feelings of frustration and helplessness in many women.[4]

61188. Sharoni, Simona. "Gender: Search for a New Feminist Discourse: Part 4", in Challenge, September-October 1993. p. 23, 33. The crisis of the women's peace movement calls for a critical rethinking not only of strategies of struggle but also of the very basis of the women organizing around questions of peace and security. The history of the women's peace movement in Israel, like the histories of resistance movements around the world, reveals attempts to overlook differences in political ideology and direction in order to mobilize broad segments of the society.

In Israel, the women's peace movement has often suppressed differences: between women who support their sons/husbands who serve in the Occupied Territories and those who are strongly opposed to serving in the Occupied Territories; or between differing concepts of women's longer-term solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Ideological issues such as women's positions on feminism and Zionism have also been suppressed. Women have been reluctant to publicly address the affinity between militarism and sexism and between violence against women in Israel and the violence and oppression of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The ability of women to overcome the crisis of the movement and to emerge as a significant political force depends on the courage to acknowledge and address differences and connections.

The spontaneous large-scale political mobilization of women in Israel during the first years of the Intifada confirms that Israeli women are ready to struggle for a distinct voice within the Israeli peace movement and inside the broader political arena in Israel. It would be a grave mistake to simply interpret the inability of the women's peace movement to confront the unexpected political developments of the past year as a sign of failure.

Political developments such as the deportations and the Gaza and Jericho First plan require a more complex and comprehensive analysis. This does not have to begin with women's support or opposition but rather by exploring the implications of such a development on women's lives on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian divide. Such an exploration has the potential to transform the somewhat elitist character of the women's peace movement in Israel and to enable women to reevaluate their personal experiences with a political understanding.

"Peace is my security" is the new slogan shared by Peace Now and the Labor Party. It is evident from the slogan that peace is defined as the absence of war and security means "national security." To challenge these insular and widespread formulations of "peace" and "security" and expose their gendered underpinnings, women peace activists should search for alternative interpretations of such concepts that will have resonance in the daily lives and struggles of women in the Middle East. Such reevaluations and new political understandings can inspire the search for local feminist discourses in Israel.

[Simona Sharoni holds a PhD in conflict analysis and resolution. Her book Gender and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance is forthcoming from Syracuse University Press, 1994.][4, 12]

61190. Sharoni, Simona. "Inhabiting the Borderlands: Part 2", in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 32. The institutionalization of Israeli Jewish women's roles would not have been possible without the myth of Israel as a nation under siege to justify the "demographic war." Ben Gurion raised the issue of women's fertility to the level of a major criterion for measuring loyalty to the state. Since soldiers' attachment to the land and their readiness to sacrifice their lives for "her" have been depicted as common expressions of love for the homeland, failure to conform to such behavior is interpreted as betrayal. As an Israeli soldier passionately asserted in an interview: "Whoever feels that he (sic) needs to go and plough fields in Australia, like some of my friends do, resembles in my eyes someone who betrays his wife."[7]

61189. Sharoni, Simona. "Inhabiting the Borderlands: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 32. There is no specific Hebrew word for gender. The word min, which translates as "sex," is used to refer both to gender and sex. In order to articulate the interplay of gender and politics in a society where the terms "gender" and "sex" are indistinguishable, one needs to start by calling attention to the differences between sex, which refers biologically to males and females, and gender. Since gender acquires particular meanings in different sociopolitical contexts, it makes perfect sense to explore the social and political meanings assigned to being a Jewish man or woman in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The centrality of the Israeli military as one of the most significant social and political institutions in Israel is often taken for granted. The uncritical ideology of "national security" is invoked to dismiss critiques of the military or to silence voices which condemn the occupation. What remains concealed in most existing critiques is the fact that the rhetoric of "national security" depends on the social construction of gender identities and roles. The Israeli state's doctrine of "national security" depends not only upon men as soldiers and women as caretakers of the home front but also upon women as vulnerable beings in need of protection.

While for Israeli Jewish men military service has become the major key to first class citizenship, women's roles have been ignored or treated merely as the fulfillment of their "natural" national duties. "The Israeli woman is an organic part of the family of the Jewish people and...constitutes a practical symbol of that...[S]he is a wife and a mother in Israel, and therefore it is her nature to be a soldier, a wife of a soldier, a sister of a soldier, a grandmother of a soldier. This is her reserve duty. She is continually in military service," argued Former MP Geula Cohen, a founder of the neo-fascist Tehiya party and an ex-member of the Stern Gang.

In addition to the "reserve duties" listed above, Israeli women have to mediate between Israeli soldiers and their motherland. In Hebrew, the word for motherland is moledet: a feminine noun derived from the verb "to give birth." In Israeli popular culture, the land is referred to as the motherland, and men are portrayed as sons that return home to the warmth, love and support of their beloved mother. A recent study which focuses on the images associated with Israeli Sabra men included an analysis of letters written by Israeli soldiers who were killed in 1948. The researcher, sociologist Oz Almog, points out that while most letters were addressed to the young men's female partners, the most erotic and passionate images in those letter referred to the beloved homeland. In most letters the soldiers stated their readiness to die for the land and asked their loved ones to be proud of them if they did not return from the battlefield. The Israeli narrative of heroic sacrifice is constituted from early childhood through myths such as Masada and becomes the major criterion for measuring loyalty to the state. Since soldiers' attachment to the land and their readiness to sacrifice their lives for "her" have been depicted as common expressions of love for the homeland, failure to conform to such behavior is interpreted as betrayal. As an Israeli soldier passionately asserted in an interview: "Whoever feels that he (sic) needs to go and plough fields in Australia, like some of my friends do, resembles in my eyes someone who betrays his wife."[7]
Israel has never defined its geographical borders, the borders of Israeli collectivity (according to nationality, religion, race, class, gender and sexuality) are clearly marked. Since in "war zones," artificially constructed borders such as those between "us" and "them" and between "battlefield" and "homefront," become rigid markers of collective identity, those who cross them or challenge their rigidity in any way are considered traitors and forced to live on the periphery of Israeli collectivity. Gays and lesbians, Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and Israeli Jewish women who have taken clear stands against the occupation are three examples of "traitors' groups" that are utilized to illustrate the interplay of gender and politics in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. All three challenge the dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity in Israel, although through different practices and from different positions of power and privilege.

Gays and lesbians are invisible in Israel. The Israeli Left and political movement are as homophobic as other sectors of Israeli society. Although many gays and lesbians in Israel engage in progressive politics, for most of them it is still very dangerous to "come out." Despite economic, political and psychological intimidation, since the outbreak of the Intifada, lesbians from a range of backgrounds and political perspectives have been at the forefront of the Israeli women's and peace movements.

Chaya Shalom, founder of the only formal lesbian organization in Israel, Community of Lesbian-feminists (CLAF), draws connections between the gender politics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the fragility of lesbians' lives: "In the only lesbian organization in Israel...because political issues are so controversial and so emotional, in order not to push women out, political issues are hardly discussed. This was an unofficial decision of the organizers who are strongly involved in the women's peace movement. There is so little room or space and so much oppression of lesbians that we have to be realistic in order to keep the little we have, discussions, social events, our own magazine, etc."[6]

61191. Sharoni, Simona. "Inhabiting the Borderlands: Part 3," in Challenge, November-December 1992. p. 33. War resisters too are relegated to the margins. Israeli democracy has refused to recognize "conscientious objection" which would allow soldiers to choose an alternative to military service on political and moral grounds. Although individuals and the movement of Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit), the movement of conscientious objectors, has not acknowledged it, their resistance seems to be perceived by the Israeli public as a rejection of their "duties" as Israeli Jewish men. Some express it bluntly, labeling Yesh Gvul resisters as "flaggers" while others, like combat soldiers affiliated with Peace Now, use a more sophisticated rhetoric based on two central arguments. One stresses that the army is still a necessity in Israel's democracy. According to the second argument, morally concerned Yesh Gvul resisters could serve as "safeguards" for the morality of the Israeli military in the Occupied Territories. Such arguments are saturated with the logic of "shooting and crying" which underlines the possibility of an "enlightened occupation." The two types of reactions share the discontent with the disruptions of Israeli masculinity which are grounded in the uncritical acceptance of the role of the soldier as a signifier of Israeli identity and Jewish survival.

It follows that the denunciations that have been expressed toward Women in Black include the label "lesbians." Unfortunately, Israeli society is still too homophobic for a woman in black to subvert such a remark and assert herself as a proud lesbian if she is one. The interplay of gender and politics is underscored through other terms such as "Arab lovers" or "whores of Arafat" that are also frequently used against women in black. Through the use of this sexually loaded risk population because she happened to be around a man that, like other Israeli men, learned to use his gun to deal with crises and difficult situations, Gilad Shemen, 23, is an ordinary Israeli man. In April, 1989, during his military service in Gaza, he shot and killed 17 year old Amal Mohammad Hasin who was reading a book on her balcony. The Regional Military Court convicted him of carelessness in causing her death but he was released after an appeal. Two years later on June 30, 1991 Gilad Shemen shot and killed 19 year old Einav Rogel from Kibbutz Sha'ar Hagolan. Einav's parents reflected in an interview right after her death on the relationship between their daughter and Gilad. They recalled that Einav supported Gilad during the military trial and tried to convince everybody around her that he was not guilty. The parents admitted, however, that they had mixed feelings because of their left wing political views but decided not to judge Gilad and left it to the courts.

During that entire period Einav did not tell anyone around her that Gilad had been violently abusing her. She was not able to see the connection between the death of Amal Mohammad Hasin and her own life in the shadow of fear and violence that Gilad brought to their relationship. Einav lived in a society that refuses to address linkages. Therefore, she did not know that, like Amal, she too belonged to a high risk population because she happened to be around a man that, like other Israeli men, learned to use his gun to deal with crises and difficult situations.[-]

political context. A few days after the incident he wrote in the Israeli mass circulation Hadashot: "In a country without wars, Einav Rogel and Amal Mohammad Hasin could have been good friends. In such a world Gilad Shemen could have been a good friend of both of them. But in our society, Shemen met both of them with a gun in his hand. This is very normal for an Israeli his age and it is normal that a gun shoots. This is what weapons are for."

Gilad Shemen will probably be sent to a mental health institute and not to jail; other men like him will continue to use violence as a legitimate means of dealing with problems while Israeli society generates indirect ways of dealing with such cases. Any discussion of the link between violence and oppression that is exercised against Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and violence and oppression experienced every day by Israeli women will be prevented. Even when the media finally took note of the tremendous increase in incidents of violence against women, including murder, that occurred since the close of the Gulf War, the reports lacked any reference to the political context of that particular war and its impact on the masculine self-image and national identity of Israeli men.

This was the first time Israeli men were not drafted during wartime. They had to confront their children's fears, their own fears, and the vulnerability and helplessness of being locked in a sealed room. The image of the invincible Israeli soldier ready at all cost to protect women and children was absent; Israeli men became increasingly uncomfortable with the change in their role, many describing their feelings using the word "impotent. " Most reports narrowly explained the murders as originating from stress and conflict within the family without addressing the fact that, for Israeli men, violence is a legitimate means of dealing with problems.

Women's groups active in the struggle against violence against women for the past 20 years called for longer sentences for men who commit violence against women and for the opening of additional shelters for battered women. These demands are not likely to challenge the culture of violence and its practices; there are not enough jails for all the men who commit acts of violence or who are likely to resort to such practices when in crisis, and certainly there are not enough shelters to guarantee our safety.

Violence as a way of coping is not something men are born with; it is learned and reinforced through education and different agents and institutions that shape the experiences of Israeli men. The social construction of manhood in Israel needs to be addressed in its historical context, especially in light of the Holocaust and the creation of the Jewish state. The state of Israel can be seen as a reassertion of manhood, justified by the need to end a history of weakness and suffering by creating an image of an Israeli man who is exceedingly masculine, pragmatic, protective, assertive and emotionally tough. This image of the Israeli man is contrasted with the image of women forced to remain in the conventional setting, caring and concerned with the problems of home and family rather than with the public sphere.

The Zionist ideology of the state made national security a top priority, offering the "new" Israeli men a privileged status and, therefore, legitimizing national, ethnic and gender inequalities. The self-portrayal of Israel as "a nation under siege" surrounded by enemies that threaten to throw the entire population into the sea is being used to this very day to justify Israel's expansionist policies and wars.[6]

61195. Sharoni, Simona. "To Be A Man in the Jewish State: The Sociopolitical Context of Violence and Oppression: Part 4", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 28. Women in Black, among other women's groups in the Women and Peace Coalition, have to confront and challenge sexist and militaristic attitudes not just on the streets but also in the Israeli peace movement. One must address the relationship between power and privilege in order to understand why the Peace Now "men's club" seems to be threatened by a grass-roots initiative of women. It is not easy for these men to come to terms with the fact that many women do not look to them for advice or leadership and are not impressed by the fact that they are high-ranking officers in the army who dare "put their bodies on the line" to demand peace.

61194. Sharoni, Simona. "To Be A Man in the Jewish State: The Sociopolitical Context of Violence and Oppression: Part 3", in Challenge, September-October, 1991. p. 27. Unchallenged Zionist ideology gave rise to the centrality of the army and its practices in all spheres of Israeli life. The army plays a significant role in both the socialization of Israeli men and in the legitimization of the use of violence as a way of coping. It is ironic that despite a rich history of expansionism and the presence of an occupying offensive force in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Israel still insists on calling its army the Israeli Defense Forces. The use of the term "defense" in reference to the Israeli army represents in itself the complex relationship of state ideology defense mechanisms and denial. This type of denial is pervasive in Israel: people are living with a dual set of behaviors, one for the country they would like to have and one for the country they really have.

The image of the brutal occupier who shoots Palestinian children and brings the violence home to family and friends does not fit the national image of the "new" Israeli man whose role is to defend the image of the country he would like to have. Since the Intifada began in December 1987, Israelis were confronted with pictures and stories that challenged their ideal notion of the Jewish state. Most Israelis didn't like what they saw. Instead of challenging the unjust structure of the occupation that obscured the ideal image of their state, they learned to deny their feelings through various defense mechanisms.

Although the Intifada did not break the silence and denial of Israeli society in general, it served as a turning point in the political awareness of women in Israel. Women began to see, feel and understand more clearly the interconnectedness of militarism and sexism. The message started to reach home: the violent patterns of behavior that were used by the Israeli army against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were part of a widely-spread culture of violence and oppression.

The murders of Amal Muhammad Hasin and Einav Rogel by Gilad Shemen are but one symptom of the strong link between militarism and sexism; sexual abuse and violence used against women political prisoners is another symptom of this sick relationship. 36 year old Fatma Abu-Bakra from Gaza was arrested in November 1986, and accused of possession and distribution of weapons. Fatma describes the sexual abuse and humiliation she suffered during interrogation by Israeli Security Services. One man touched her face and breast, while another showed her a picture of a naked man, telling her that the picture was of himself. He then took off his clothes to show her his "weapon."

The Women's Organizations for Women Political Prisoners in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have received increasing numbers of reports of sexual violence committed by Israeli security forces against Palestinian women in the occupied territories. Such incidents occur not only during interrogation, but also in connection with street patrols and the suppression of demonstrations. Similar reports have been made concerning Palestinian women who live in Israel when arrested or detained.

Women in Black groups throughout Israel have become favorite targets for verbal and physical violence that is almost always laced with sexual innuendoes. Israeli men find it difficult to understand what would motivate women to protest weekly for almost four years against the occupation. The only motives they can think of, "whores of Arafat" or "Arab lovers" reflect on the culture of militarism and sexism within which they are produced. The more "sophisticated" men in such crowds argue that Women in Black are driven by sexual frustration and volunteer their "weapon" (penis in Hebrew) to cure their protest disease. (They are not sophisticated enough, however, to realize that if women across the country are indeed driven by sexual frustration, Israeli men have nothing to be proud of and, as the biblical saying suggests, "they should beat their weapons into plowshares")[6]
and rejecting the state's definitions of their sexual and national identity.
Kobi Niv, an Israeli journalist and feminist, is one of those men. In his recent book entitled Feminist, a compilation of his weekly columns in the Israeli daily "Hadashot," he articulates his viewpoint: "For those of you who don't know, you better know that in addition to being for equal rights for women, I am also for equal rights for Israeli-Arabs and for the right of Palestinians to a Palestinian state. And why I am telling you this? Because in my opinion you cannot ask for equal rights for yourself and be against equal rights for others." Israels are not encouraged to recognize such connections since the separation of one set of inequalities from another reduces the possible threat to the unchallenged regimes of power and privilege. But connections do exist even if it is risky to point them out. The murder of Amal Mohammad Hasin is directly linked to the murder of Einar Rogel; the sexual violence experienced by Palestinian women in the occupied territories is practiced by the very same men that spout degrading remarks during Women in Black vigils.

The other connection is the Israeli men who carry out violent practices with blessings from the state. The intention of this article is not to paint a picture of Israeli men as the enemy to direct your struggle against but rather to create space for discussion. Such a discussion requires men's responsibility, power and willingness to recognize their privileges and engage in a process of unlearning them. Women and men must confront a culture of violence and oppression and its effects in the occupied territories and Israel as part of the larger struggle to end the occupation.

Simona Sharoni is currently completing her Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Her dissertation explores feminist interpretations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[=]

61196. Sharoni, Simona. Conflict Resolution Through Feminist Lenses: Theorizing The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict From The Perspectives Of Women Peace Activists In Israel (Palestinian). George Mason University. Dissertation. 348pp. AAC 9325903. [Advisor: Rubenstein, Richard E.] This dissertation raises questions concerning a number of central theoretical assumptions that inform conventional conflict resolution scholarship on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By introducing a wide range of feminist scholarship and by looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspectives of women peace activists in Israel, the dissertation seeks to move beyond dominant understandings of this particular conflict and its possible resolution to expand the range of topics and concerns for conflict resolution theory, research and practice. The first chapter outlines a research strategy and research methods grounded in the contention that knowledge is socially constructed, partial and context-dependent and that research, particularly conflict research, should be understood as itself a political intervention. The second chapter examines some of the central assumptions that underlie conventional conflict resolution scholarship on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and calls for alternative frameworks for conflict resolution that have emerged in the context of the encounters between Israeli-Jewish women in Israel and Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The final chapter discusses the potential contribution of the dissertation to the analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and offers new directions for the study and practice of conflict resolution. These new directions include a more serious consideration of the role of gender in conflict resolution and a tentative agenda for the study and practice of conflict resolution "from below." [Reprinted with permission of Dissertation Abstracts.][=]

61197. Sharoni, Simona. Conflict Resolution Through Feminist Lenses: Theorizing The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict From The Perspectives Of Women Peace Activists In Israel. George Mason University. Dissertation. 348pp. AAC 9325903. [Advisor: Rubenstein, Richard E.] This dissertation raises questions concerning a number of central theoretical assumptions that inform conventional conflict resolution scholarship on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By introducing a wide range of feminist scholarship and by looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspectives of women peace activists in Israel, the dissertation seeks to move beyond dominant understandings of this particular conflict and its possible resolution to expand the range of topics and concerns for conflict resolution theory, research and practice. The first chapter outlines a research strategy and research methods grounded in the contention that knowledge is socially constructed, partial and context-dependent and that research, particularly conflict research, should be understood as itself a political intervention. The second chapter examines some of the central assumptions that underlie conventional conflict resolution scholarship on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and calls for alternative frameworks for conflict resolution that have emerged in the context of the encounters between Israeli-Jewish women in Israel and Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The final chapter discusses the potential contribution of the dissertation to the analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and offers new directions for the study and practice of conflict resolution. These new directions include a more serious consideration of the role of gender in conflict resolution and a tentative agenda for the study and practice of conflict resolution "from below." [Reprinted with permission of Dissertation Abstracts.][=]
61199. Shawa, Rawya. "Palestine and People: Erez Blues," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 13, 1995, p. 14. I know I give the reader a headache by always writing about borders and crossing points, while at the same time we’re working through an agreement which promises peace. “Give her a permit and stop harping on it,” the dean of the Economic Department in one of the colleges commented dryly. The closure of Erez, a collective punishment meted out on the pretext of Israeli security, is but one in the series of accumulative humiliations Palestinians must suffer whenever they travel. And I will keep harping on it. I wished that a video camera had been there to follow our progress as we passed through the checkpoint to record the difficulties people face going in and out of the Strip. I stood there contemplating the foreigners’ cars or the cars of countrymen from neighboring Arab states passing through the crossing point happily. With great appreciation, I watched the cars of the United Nations, the UNDP and the diplomats helping us, alleviating the humiliation that has become a part of our daily lives. I arrived at the checkpoint carrying a suitcase. The drive made a great effort to transfer the suitcase to another driver on the other side of the checkpoint, but the soldiers stopped him. We waited at the checkpoint while the soldier shouted at me for refusing to walk carrying my heavy suitcase. A United Nations’ car carrying people who had just been visiting Gaza drew near me. The expressions on the faces of the passengers showed concern. The Norwegian Consul, whose country had organized the peace deal, welcomed me and gave me a lift. Though I had needed three cars to get out of Gaza, my departure could be considered to have been reasonably civilized: at least I had been spared the long trek down the workers’ road.

When I returned once more, I wished cameras had been there to record the behavior of the Israeli soldiers competing with each other to humiliate Palestinians. A soldier came up to me, saying, “We have to search you.” My reply was weary: “Here we go again. Not for the first time nor the last time. I would understand it more if I was going to the promised land, but it’s Gaza I’m going to.” This is the new law. Stand over there where you will be body searched,” the soldier ordered. We screamed at each other and threw insults of varying degrees of politeness—and I did what I was told because he had a gun. The officer who was supposed to search me strolled up eating a falafel sandwich—it’s an Israeli staple too. I told this man that they didn’t have the right to search me, I was going back home. He raised his voice, and we were surrounded suddenly by more guns. I was taken to some women soldiers who let me go once they were satisfied that I wasn’t loaded down with explosives. I left them cursing the day we had ever signed a peace agreement with the Israelis. [=]

61200. Shehadeh, Hussein. "Sugar and Lemon," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 23, 1994, p. 13. [Hussein Shehadeh, Ph.D. is a Palestinian-born journalist and lecturer who specializes in Islam and the Arab World.] I stood in the little airport at Kalandia, north of Jerusalem, on 7/10/1961, holding my grandfather's hand. In an extremely calm voice pointing at the heavens, he said, “Brother dear, if you feel lonely in that strange land, just look at the sky over Glastonbury, a small village in southwest England, and tell yourself the sky continues all the way around with the privacy of the individual. It occurred to me after a while that it was an Israeli staple too. I told this man that they didn’t have the right to search me, I was going back home. He raised his voice, and we were surrounded suddenly by more guns. I was taken to some women soldiers who let me go once they were satisfied that I wasn’t loaded down with explosives. I left them cursing the day we had ever signed a peace agreement with the Israelis. [=]
child needs an education or the need of a new car, they can always turn to rich relatives. Social institutions are an entirely new phenomenon in the Palestinian world. The extended family has always taken care of the handicapped and the orphans. It would be shameful to leave them to others. Palestinians and other Arabs generally do not understand how Westerners can put their elderly into nursing homes, and believe it is hypocritical to even call them "homes." But there are many other circumstances that make it difficult to imagine democracy in the Western sense of the word in the Arab World. A prerequisite of democracy is that one brother can vote against another, or a son against his father. This is incompatible with the patriarchal way of thinking in the Middle East. We have recently seen how President Yasser Arafat set limits on criticism by closing opposition newspapers and blacklisting reputable journalists in the autonomous area. During the period that Erling Olsen, a Danish Social Democrat, was housing minister, his house needed repairing. To save money, and because he wanted to, he did some work over a couple of weekends. It would be unthinkable for any Palestinian leader or minister to do anything of the kind. Why take bread out of the mouths of artisans. "One can just as well give the dough to the town baker, although he takes half of the finished bread himself."

That's respect for the tradesman for you. I remember an episode from just after my arrival in Denmark. I was sitting in a train opposite a married couple. During the journey, the wife looked at her watch. It was twelve a.m., so she took out her packed lunch. This fascinated me, as a man who was born into a home with no alarm clock, rather a goat that wakes you by licking your face in the morning. One day the goat didn't turn up, but my father did. With a kick in the backside, he told me to get up and slaughter the animals to be sold in the shop that day. He was unable to do it himself. He was nagis, unclean according to the Koran. He had made love with my mother the previous evening to prepare for a successful night of lovemaking. The smell and sight of a jelly-like substance, a mixture of sugar and lemon used to remove pubic hair for that extra bit of enjoyment, filled the house. Anyway, I heard them during the night. We all slept in the same room. Nine months later, my mother gyrated round the living room praying to God for relief from her labor pains, while I danced on the muck heap outside, thinking of nothing but the chicken soup that was always served after the birth of a child-- without a thought for my mother's pain. When confronted in Denmark with women who want to give birth in the natural way, without the technological trappings, it seems absurd that they should choose pain. They explained to me that in that way they would establish bonds of intimacy with their children. For them it was an intellectual hobbyhorse--for my mother, torture. [=]

61201. Shiyouchi, Nasser. "Palestinian Protesters Clash With Settlers; Arafat Wants Peace Accords Honors;" in Seattle Times, December 1, 1996, p. A12. As Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu daily states his revulsion with the peace process, rising tensions have led to a new round of clashes between Palestinians and Jewish settlers; the settlers are always accompanied by Jewish soldiers in the clashes. In one recent clash, Palestinian witnesses in Hebron state that gangs of heavily armed Jews attacked Palestinians; many Palestinians were injured and nine were arrested, but Israeli-American militant Jews had attacked Palestinians. The fight started when Palestinians attacked little Jewish girls, none of whom were injured. Yasser Arafat notes that the Israelis "are not trying not to implement accurately and honestly what had been agreed upon" and stated he would seek international arbitration. Yesterday, Palestinians marched in Hebron to demand the release of thousands of Palestinian political prisoners from the Israeli concentration camps. Few of the 5000 Palestinians political prisoners have even been accused of a crime. In Bethlehem, Israeli troops used chemical weapons to break up peaceful Palestinian marches. [TXT]

61202. Shpiegel, Erat. "Women in Black Will Not Be Intimidated: Part 4: Persistence is power: A bereaved mother speaks. ," in Challenge, July, 1990, p. 12. When her own privsate peace campaign at the time of the Israel-Lebanon war. Until then I was one of the silent majority, with the attitude that no matter what I thought or felt, there was nothing I could do to change anything apart from exercising my right to vote every four years. With the Lebanon war, my attitude changed. My son Yo'av participated in that war. I had many talks with him about the war, I became involved. I started to closely examine what I heard, saw and read in the media. I started to suspect that I and thousands like me were being brainwashed, were being manipulated. My son Yo'av was killed in that war. He is and thousands young people like him on both sides were deprived of their lives. My son's death politicized and radicalized me. For he had died for nothing... his dying revealed to me war's tragic wastefulness and evil futility. I became an ardent protagonist of peace. The intifada would have never broken out if Israel's leaders had been sincere in their desire for peace; if they had been prepared to meet with the Palestinians, to talk with them; if they had recognized that rebellion is a natural response of a people under occupation. As a devoted Zionist, I am convinced that in the final analysis both occupier and occupied can only suffer from occupation. I need peace in order to live in my country. I need cooperation with people in the neighboring states in order to live in prosperity. This, in a nutshell, is what Women in Black want when they say "No to Occupation". True, for each one of us these simple words have various connotations, but in essence they express our longing for freedom and peace; they express our message that as women we succor life, not destroy it; that we are determined and committed to create a world free from war in which our children may flourish and thrive until old age. This basic instinct for preservation of life is identical for Palestinian women, Israeli women for ALL women everywhere. My friends often ask how I can bear the hostility, curses and splits from passers-by. True, I sometimes ask myself what the point of it is; there are so few of us; how long will it take before there are enough of us to actually change things. Yet there is no way that I can or will stop my protest. Because I know that if I do, life will have no meaning for me. I also know that our very persistence is powerful and that knowledge is a source of encouragement for me. I look at the women who stand together with me, Friday after Friday, in the cold of winter, in the heat of the summer, and I am proud that we find the strength to be true to our consciences and ourselves. If I am ever asked "Where were you in these dark days", I shall be able to reply: "In the streets, protesting." The greatest achievement of Women in Black it seems to me is that our name and message have become an integral part of the Israeli scene and cannot be ignored. I believe that we influenced Peace Now to change. Previously it confined its demand to Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, and did not mention the Occupied Territories. Today it can no longer ignore the issue and has to take a stand. There can be no discussion on women's rights and violence towards women in the family, without including the rights of Palestinian women in the Occupied Territories and violence against Women in Black. Violence against us is mounting and intensifying from week to week. Anyone who does not agree with us or what we stand for feels free to abuse us. For two years they have tried to make us move away from our site. My personal reaction is to persist and not surrender, to declare that I will stay here, come what may. After the murder of Palestinian workers in Rishon LeZion, it was very special for me to participate in the vigil, and I believe that many felt as I did. An unprecedented large number of women took part in the vigil that Friday, as though to make a public statement that we are here to stay. It is important for the world to know that all Israelis are not followers of Shamir, that there are others Israelis also. The day after the massacre in Rishon, I went to the hospital to visit the Palestinian workers who had been wounded, to express my grief and anger. I am also involved in Women for Coexistence, a movement comprising Arab and Jewish women from Israel. We hold house meetings with Palestinian women from the Occupied Territories at our homes. The meetings are informal and are intended to accommodate women who find it difficult to go out into the streets to
demonstrate.

I believe that if the protests for peace do not multiply and intensify, the present situation will seriously deteriorate. I have a feeling that the recently formed Israeli government is leading us towards a dreadful confrontation, to a war that will not stop at Israel's borders. I don't know how this affects others, but for me, it makes me want to shout louder, and louder still. [...] 61203. Shusheh, Khayriyyeh Abu. "Bring Back My Children", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, August 25, 1995. p. 14. We see that the Israeli and international media pay a lot of attention to missing Jewish children or soldiers, and the families of these people are always shown on television crying and screaming. The Israelis do not rest until the missing person is found. On the other hand, the international media do not show any interest when the same happens to the Palestinians. Perhaps as a result, Palestinian people who suffered from the Israeli wars are still paying the price. In the 1967 Six Day War, Israeli losses in killed, wounded or missing people totaled about 5515 persons, and the Arab losses totaled 17967 persons. People still suffer from those days. Al-Bo family are still waiting to find their lost loved ones. This is one of the families which has suffered since 1967. They do not know whether their sons are alive or not, and they are tormented by the thought that having been separated from them by the Jews they have not been able to return to their family. If they were Jewish, the media would not have been silent, nor the Israeli government, nor any other government for that matter. This is the family of Abu Khaled Al-Bo, from the village of Abu Dis on the outskirts of Jerusalem. They have waited in vain for their children - but how can they find them when they do not have anybody from the media, the government or other organizations helping them? Ahmad Muhammed Al-Bo, 63, finally decided to try again to tell their story and have it broadcast in the media. Before 1967, Ahmad used to trade in cattle and sheep between Jordan, Iraq and Palestine. He remembers that the war started on 6/5/1967 on a Monday, which is the legal and official day in the annals of history and according to Ahmad Alami's book "The 1967 War," which says that the shooting started at about 11 in the evening. On that day, Ahmad was in the Friday Market in Jerusalem and he returned home to Abu Dis in the evening. The war had started and by Wednesday, it had already taken its toll. Ahmad would not have emigrated to Jordan where if not for his brother-in-law and wife who came from Al-Shariya in Jerusalem to convince him to leave with his family of five. His children were Khaled, 6.5 years, Khalil, 5, Muhammed, 4, Walid, 2, and his wife was pregnant with the fifth.

Two months later, on 8/2/1967, Ahmad and his family, including his father-in-law and brother-in-law, went to the Jordan River (Al-Shariya) in a car. As they were crossing, Imm-Khaled said that it was as if they were seeking for death, without a premonition of the separation. Abu Khaled had told his family to lie on the ground if they heard any shooting. This is what happened. But Abu Khaled crossed the river, unaware that they had done so, and when he looked around, he did not find his family. He returned to Jerusalem to seek them at home, but in vain. Then he went back to Jericho to find them there, but could not. He then went to the Israeli civil administrator to ask about them. The Israeli told Ahmad that at night the Israeli soldiers shoot at any moving object, and they were not responsible for the loss of his wife and children missing. Abu Khaled returned to the bridge and found a Jordanian soldier on the other side who said that he saw an Israeli ambulance come and pick up a mother and her children. At that point, Ahmad thought that his children might have been sent to Israeli families or Kibbutz's, and his wife must have been wounded and died, or she would not have kept quiet all this time. Abu Khaled did not keep quiet. He sent telegrams and letters to Moshe Dayan and the Red Cross, as well as the radio stations, but to no avail. A year after the tragedy he gave up his search. He married his cousin with whom he had four boys and three girls. One of the boys got married and had a boy, making him a grandfather. But Abu Khaled refuses to be called Abu Ahmad after his eldest son by his cousin, and prefers to be called Abu Khaled, as he is known in his village. Even his wife is sometimes called Imm Khaled because of her love for his children and to Abu Khaled. She has felt his pain all these years. She said that not a single day passes where Abu Khaled does not think about his missing family. He loves one of his children, Yahya, a lot, because he looks like his eldest son Khaled, who should be about 35 now. Abu Khaled's family are looking forward to meeting their missing siblings. One of the daughters, Khulud, last year went around the house to look for pictures of her siblings, and found one. She showed them to her current siblings, and said that they were really pretty boys.

I had a very strange feeling of hope, optimism and love for that family as well as sadness and pain when I spoke to them - especially because they still think that the missing children are alive. Where are Abu Khaled's children? Are they alive? If they were killed, where are their remains? A lot of questions remain, and not only concerning the Abu Khaled family, but many other Palestinian families as well who went through the same thing. As for the Israelis, we see them demanding the remains of their loved ones wherever they are. They want to bury them close to where they can visit them and maintain their dignity. There is no dignity for the Palestinian dead, missing or even the imprisoned. Those who die when in prison are put in refrigerators until their terms end! [...] 61204. Shweiki, Fawzi. "Martyr Buried in Yatta After 18 Years", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995. p. 2. A huge crowd from Yatta, near Hebron, participated in the funeral of Ismail Hushiyeh on 11/29/1995. The martyr, known among the residents of Yatta as "Wafa," was born in 1951 in the village. He was recruited by Al-Saequah in 1968 and was persecuted by the Israeli army in 1969 after conducting a number of military attacks in the region. He was appointed a senior officer in the Fatah and the Palestinian Revolution forces in Hebron. For a time, Hushiyeh was considered wanted man number one by the Israeli army. Hushiyeh was killed during a clash that occurred on 7/20/1977 in the Halfur area, also near Hebron. According to family members, his body was abducted by the Israeli army and kept in a refrigerator for two years before he was finally buried in a cemetery inside the Green Line. The family received his remains on 11/29/1995 from the Israeli authorities at the Gilo checkpoint. The family said that they received a bag full of bones and soil with a sticker, stating the martyr's name and the date of his death. Head of the Yatta Municipal Council Mohammed Yunis said during the funeral that the Yatta Stadium will be renamed in memorial to the fallen man. Henceforth, the stadium will be known as the Wafa Stadium. Yunis also called on the PNA Ministry of Education to rename the Yatta High School after Hushiyeh. The funeral gradually transformed into a celebration of Hushiyeh's martyrdom. Women let out shrill cries of mourning and celebration, accompanied by popular dance. Jamal Shweiki, special envoy of President Yasser Arafat and Fatah regional treasurer, attended the funeral. Shweiki participated in the burial of Hushiyeh, whose remains were wrapped in a Palestinian flag. [...] 61205. Siegel, Judy. "Balding Men May Get Fringe Benefit from Drug", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 17, 1994. p. 5. A US developed drug for swollen prostates will be tested at Ichilov Hospital as 1 of 15 centers world-wide. The drug may have the side effect of growing hair on bald men.


61207. Siegel, Judy. "Briefs: Microsurgery Gives Childless Couple a Baby [Hadassah University Hospital doctors removed sperm from a man missing a 'spermatic cord', and fertilized his wife, through microsurgery.]", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, October 22, 1994. p. 4.[TXT]

61208. Siegel, Judy. "CT Scans Replacing Autopsies", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 17, 1994. p. 5. Hadassah University Hospital has begun using computer tomography scans in the hopes of gaining support for those that oppose autopsies for halachic
reasons. In other work by the hospital is fetal diagnosis of Gaucher's or Tay Sachs that can be treated with in utero bone marrow transplants.


61210. Siegel, Judy. "Committee: Legalize Surrogate Motherhood", in the Jerusalem Post International Edition, August 6, 1994. p. 5. A 126 page report was released last week by a committee of experts appointed 3 years ago by the previous ministers of justice and health recommending the legalization of surrogate motherhood. The committee agreed that the practice is too common in Israel to be ignored by the law, even though they said they did not want to encourage couples to use surrogate mothers.

The current ministers of Health and Justice, David Libai and Ephraim Sneh, respectively, say the report will require serious consideration from the public and the cabinet. In-vitro fertilization, which is a common practice in Israel, does not, the committee members say, help couples wanting children where the woman lacks a uterus or cannot carry her own baby due to health reasons. In surrogacy, the baby can be a product of the ova from the surrogate mother or the commissioning mother, and of sperm from either a donor or the commissioning father.

The committee's majority recommended that a committee of experts be appointed to supervise all IVF and surrogacy matters, comprising equally of men and women and also including clergy. This body only could authorize surrogacy, and only before fertilization took place. The law would only permit Israeli residents to be involved in such procedures, and only if the pregnancies were carried out completely in Israel.

Compensation could be provided to the surrogate mother for pregnancy delivery, time and any suffering or loss of income costs during pregnancy, but no other payments would be allowed. A woman could only be a surrogate mother once unless the same couple asked for another baby, and then, the limit would be two.

The commissioning couple then, in the presence of a judge or a welfare official, would receive the baby and become the legal parents without having to go through adoption procedures. There would be no legal connection between surrogate mother and child, but, if the surrogate mother decided to break the contract the commissioning couple could not force her to give up the baby. The surrogate mother would have first option to take the child if the couple refuse to take it. No limits on age or status were recommended in the report on either the surrogate mother or the commissioning couple.

One dissenting member of the committee recommended that the surrogate be only an unmarried woman without any children under the age of 18. [TXT]


61212. Simpson, Glenn R.; Rogers, David. "White House, FBI Spar Over China Warning", in Wall Street Journal, March 11, 1997. p. A24. The Clinton Administration and the FBI continue their confrontation over why the President was allegedly not told of FBI reports that Chinese agents of the Ministry of State Security were seeking to bribe Congressmen and members of the Executive branch. Two NSC staffers state they were told to keep the FBI warnings secret and to tell no one; FBI staffers state they placed no restrictions on the dissemination of their reports on the NSC staffers. Pres. Clinton has ordered an inquiry as to why he was not informed he and his staff were being bribed by the Chinese: the investigation will be conducted by White House Counsel Charles Ruff [whose job is to protect the President] and NSC National security Adviser [and former AIPAC Israeli lobbyist] Samuel Berger [who may actually be investigating himself]; Berger and his predecessor [and former AIPAC Israeli lobbyist] Anthony Lake state in Berger's self-investigation that they did not know of the FBI warning; Berger appears to be satisfied with the interrogation he conducted of himself. The FBI also brought to senators, including Sen. Diane Feinstein, long seen as an advocate of Chinese interests, of the Chinese plan to bribe them. As this scandal continues to unfold, state owned China Resources (Holdings) Ltd. has announced that it will increase its cross-shareholdings in a Lippo Group unit [PT Lippo Karawaci]. Separately, Hillary Clinton defended her aide Margaret Williams for illegally accepting a $50000 campaign contribution inside the White House by Johnny Chung, apparently just by saying it was OK. Hillary also could not explain why she had repeatedly authorized Chung's access to the White House, observing she had no real idea who exactly she had authorized to visit the White House or how many times such visits were authorized for anyone in particular, since any particular visitor with a $50000 check seems too trivial to notice; noting: "I didn't keep track of who was waved into the White House." [TXT]
The government is considering bans on Sabbath traffic on selected roads, and slowing Biblical archeological research. Transportation Minister Yitzhak Levy of the National Religious Party has already ordered the closing of certain roads for ten hours each Sabbath. Rabbi Andrew Sacks, director of the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel, the umbrella organization of Conservative Jews, terms the rise of the Orthox 'capitulation to religious fundamentalism and religious coercion'. American Conservative and Reform, have demanded that Netanyahu not give into Orthodox demands or face a backlash that will affect United States political and financial support for Israel. [TXT]

61215. Skvy, Michael. "Soaring To Loft Profits on The Wings of Peace", in Money, November 1993, pp. 54-56. The Israeli economy, only 1% of that of the US, is very tiny and an Israeli boom will have no impact on the US economy. However, American investors can benefit by concentrating on the 60 Israeli stocks that trade in the US. However, the Israeli market has already run up 12% since the first rumors of peace: if the peace accord falls apart Israeli share prices could slip. Three Israeli stocks are recommended: PEC Israel Economic Corp. (founded in 1926 as the Palestine Economic Corp.), now has $675 million in assets and almost no debt; PEC also has stakes in 14 other Israeli companies, acting in effect as a small mutual fund (including Tevel Israel International Communications Co., a cable TV operator; Tambour Ltd., paint manufacturer; Tefron Ltd., lingerie producer; and Scitex Corp Ltd., computer graphics). Price rise in next year could be 40% to $45 a share.

TEVA Pharmaceutical Co Ltd.: 1993 revenues of $500 million producing generic drugs, with most sales through Leemcon Inc. of Pennsylvania. US earnings are seen growing 25% over next five years. Price per share could rise 25% to $37.50 in 12 months.

ECI Telecom Ltd.: annual sales of $200 million, producing high-tech telecommunications equipment. In 8/1993, receives $60 million contract for multiplexers from Deutsche Bundespost for telecommunications modernization in eastern Germany. In 1H93, profit rose 39% over year earlier. Share price could rise 35% to $70 in next year. [TXT]

61216. Smith, Gerald K. "Blockade on Jericho Ends," in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, September 1, 1995, p. 1. The Israeli authorities ended the blockade of Jericho at four a.m. 8/30/1995. The siege of Jericho, in effect since 8/23/1995, provoked a riot 8/28/1995, by Palestinians. Three Israeli policemen were lightly injured. Palestinians hurled stones at them and burned an Israeli flag. The army used tear gas grenades to quell the demonstration. The precise reasons for the Israeli closure of Jericho remains murky. It was thought to be related to Israeli requests for the extradition of Abdul Majid Dardin and Rashed Khatib. The Hamas activists, thought to be linked to the 8/21/1995 Ramat Eshkol bombing, were apprehended by the Palestinian National Authority, speedily tried and sentenced to lengthy prison terms by the State Security Court in Jericho prior to the Israeli request of the Jericho. However, Israeli says that the closure was imposed for other reasons. An Israeli television analyst speculated that the closure was imposed to prevent Muhyi Addin Sharif, a suspect in the Ramat Gan and Jerusalem bus attacks, from leaving the Jericho area. Many Palestinians from Jerusalem who work in Jericho were unable to return home. On 8/28/1995 travelers from the Gaza Strip packed in some thirty buses fainted in the heat at the Allenby Bridge crossing while waiting inside buses for over fourteen hours. Palestinian officials had been trying for over a week to facilitate travel for many of these people. After accusations that some Israeli officials were deliberately sabotaging Palestinians trying to return to work or school in the Arab World or return from vacations with their families, Israeli officials promised to resolve the problem. After waiting at the Erez Junction for as long as twenty-four hours, Palestinians were instructed to leave through Nahal Oz. From there they had proceeded to Allenby. The Palestinian National Authority Ministry of Health sent three ambulances, a medical team, and a truck carrying water to offer first aid to the exhausted travelers. Zeid Abu Shawish, head of the Jericho Hospital said that the hospital's medical technicians daily attended to people at the crossing and checkpoint suffering with severe diarrhea, dizziness and dehydration.

The Israelis refused to admit medicine and blood unless they were transferred to another vehicle, delaying delivery for hours. On 8/27/1995, Saeb Erekat, Palestinian National Authority Municipal Affairs Minister called on the United States, European countries, South Africa, and Egypt to intervene and alluded to medicine and food supply shortages. Palestinians suspended the talks in Eilat for a short while 8/28/1995 to protest the inability of Jibril Rajoub to travel from Jericho. Israel issued Rajoub a permit and talks resumed in the afternoon. The Israeli authorities decided to ease the closure, and allow Palestinians to pass to Jordan, although they refused to permit Jericho citizens to enter Israel. On 8/28/1995, children, women, and men over fifty-three were permitted to enter Israel. On 8/29/1995, they allowed men over thirty-five years of age to pass. [=]

61217. Snitow, Virginia; US-Israel Women-to-Women. Letter: "Rabbis Must Affirm Justice For Women", in New York Times, July 22, 1995. p. 14. The 7/11/1995 news article on the decision by Orthodox Jewish judges that Sarah Leah Goldstein was free to marry anyone she chooses does a yeoman job of explaining a religious dilemma that for many readers must remain unexplainable. It reports a father's claim of biblical right to betroth his 15-year-old daughter to a man whose identity he would not reveal and so use her as a weapon in a divorce battle against his wife. When observant women learned, with disbelief and dread, that a medieval right was being revived that would condemn their young daughters to a life of spinsterhood, a shock wave rocked the Jewish community. There men are evil men, say the rabbis, dangerous perveters of biblical law. The rabbis are faced with a religious dilemma, but their public utterances reveal no urgency. The matter is worthy of consideration, they say; time is needed to explore proposals; communal anxiety is unwarranted. There is no urgency here, yet time is of the essence. Lives are wasting. Can such injustice be religiously acceptable to a people for whom the idea of justice defines their very being? Our 20th century rabbis have to deal with a new religious problem that is bigger than Israel Goldstein and his misguided daughter. Examination and reinterpretation of old laws and traditions have arrived with the communications blitz. They can be observed in unexpected places–like Brazil, where a tradition of Muslim honor-kilings [sic: Brazil is not Muslim] of way-ward wives or daughters has been banned. Honor-killing is now called murder. New reality may seep into cloistered lives, but the oppression of women is not yet on the world agenda. Protest is needed, protest fueled by anger, to take one small step for womankind. [Virginia Snitow, founder and honorary chairman, US-Israel Women-to-Women.] [=]

61218. Sobar, Joseph; New American View. "Washington-Wonderland: Is Bush Finished?", in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America, Vol.7(16). August 15, 1992. At first they were talking about whether Dan Quayle should be dropped. His clumsy handling of the question of his daughter having an abortion set him up for yet another round of talk about whether he should go. It's a dilemma for George Bush, because though Quayle may be a political liability, Bush will look very desperate if he drops him, for the good of party and foreswearing a second term, for the good of party.
to the speechwriter. But the picture for Bush isn’t black, just awfully, awfully gray. He has reached bottom, where he remains with an abysmal steadiness; it isn’t likely to get any worse. People may not like Bush much, but they know how to cope with him. For Clinton they would have to devise a whole new set of antibush fortunes. For the other hand, can still get much worse. He has a big lead in the polls, but it’s soft and already starting to shrink. His chief appeal is that people are sick of the incumbent. But there is still time to get sick of the challenger.

Gennifer Flowers is about to appear in a porn magazine that has reportedly paid her half a million dollars. This could create a very bad taste, especially after Clinton’s efforts to paint himself as a family man and his Scripture-quoting in his nomination acceptance speech. The scent of money may bring other floozies out into the open to tell their stories. Clinton’s campaign is reported to have a “bimbo squad” whose sole task is to head off other Gennifers. This can only mean they know there is a danger in that area. Clinton is very smart, but he has also behaved recklessly at times. For a man of such focused ambition, he has taken terrific risks. Scandals could erupt in three areas of danger: himself, his wife, and other women. A few months ago Hillary Clinton told one interviewer that it was unfair that “the other Gennifer”—Bush’s rumored mistress—was getting no press attention. If Mrs. Clinton talks that way again, it will backfire. Nobody has proved that “the other Gennifer” has ever done anything improper. She is said to be a portly, middle-aged woman, not a femme fatale and not, therefore, the stuff of scandal. Ronald Reagan is the only presidential candidate since Dwight Eisenhower who didn’t win by default. This year’s election will be won by the less disgusting man. Bush seems to have reached his limit, but there may be worse to come about Clinton. The reason even a rehashed sexual scandal could hurt Clinton is that sexual immorality is near the philosophical core of the Democratic Party. It’s a party that, with its talk of “non-traditional families,” comes perilously close to obliterating the distinction between a family and an orgy. Abortion on demand is its sacrament. Jesse Jackson’s speech at the convention contained an amazingly offensive discussion (I won’t even paraphrase it here) of the Holy Family; it caused no media comment. Placards calling for gay and lesbian rights were everywhere. Clinton pledged bottomless funding for AIDS research and an end to the ban on homosexuality in the military. And of course the party is still committed to the welfare state and a “non-judgmental” approach to illegitimacy. The Democrats’ ideal of society is a system where sexual conduct is severed from family responsibility, and taxpayers are forced to bear the consequences. This is a point the Republicans could bear down on by denying, e.g., the right of homosexuals to adopt children. What could Clinton say to that? Does he believe in equal rights for homosexuals, or not? Renewed sexual scandal about Clinton would be something more than the reminder of a fall from grace, past and repented. It would take special significance as an intimation of a man who takes the family lightly, and whose wife has actually compared the family to slavery. If the Bush campaign doesn’t exploit Hillary Clinton’s radical pronouncements, it’s hopeless. We are moving into the phase of the campaign in which the candidates get maximum exposure but with maximum control of the formats in which they are exposed. The voters, supposedly the sovereigns of the process, get little opportunity to challenge them or even ask them direct questions. The unusual strategy of the candidates in this phase is to be as uninteresting as possible, relying heavily on carefully prepared applause lines. The only break in the boredom usually comes in the debates, when the candidates are pitted against each other in a format where something has to give. Nobody expects either candidate to say anything interesting, except inadvertently. Presidential elections, as I say, are won by default. This is a truth of contemporary politics that may yet save Bush from the defeat he has earned, [=]

61219. Socialists Workers Party: Working Class Alternatives To The Parties of War, Racism and Depression: Part 1: Introduction: New York: Brochure. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (Post Office Box 2652, New York, NY 10009; tel: 212-328-1504), July 1996. The Socialist Workers candidates for local, statewide, and federal office invite all who want to fight the reactionary policies of the parties of war, racism, and economic depression—the Democrats and Republicans and other “third” parties that accept capitalism—to join in campaigning with us in 1996. The socialist candidates provide a working class voice in this campaign. We advocate working people chart a political course independent of the two major capitalist parties. We need to rely on our own collective power, our unions, and actions in the streets to advance our interests as a class. Our campaign stands with the struggles of the oppressed and exploited against the increasingly brutal assault by the wealthy minority the world over. We wholeheartedly and unconditionally support the right of Cuba to defend its sovereignty and socialism. We back the actions of the oppressed in this country, and stand shoulder to shoulder with all those who are fighting to lift up their conditions of life and labor. We invite all those who want to be a part of this campaign to attend the July 6-9 international active workers and socialist educational conference that will be held in Oberlin, Ohio. There, young people and workers from around the world will discuss how to build a revolutionary movement and learn to take power out of the hands of the wealthy minority, to establish a government of workers and farmers, and open the fight for socialism. Our opponents in this election—William Clinton, Robert Dole, Ross Perot, Ralph Nader, and others—acting in the interests of the wealthy minority, have stepped up their bipartisan assault against working people worldwide. They continue their war preparations in response to the increasing world disorder, using threats or military force against countries like Cuba, Liberia, and China. The economic crisis and regime’s brutal assault on Lebanon. Tens of thousands of troops are stationed in Yugoslavia, in a drive to overturn the nationalized property relations and restore capitalism. Both the Democrats and Republicans refuse to respond to the devastating drought across the lower Midwest in which thousands of farmers face loosing their land. As the employers press forward their anti-labor assault, the policies of these parties reinforce the devastating effects of the capitalist economic crisis on our class. Our campaign takes on the whole framework of how those who rule this country present world politics. The bourgeois politicians attempt to blame working people—those who create all the wealth—for the problems and breakdowns in society. Part and parcel of this assault is what ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan has dubbed the cultural war—the propaganda offensive against abortion rights, to bring back prayer in the schools, to introduce “order and discipline,” and to promote “family values” as the answer to the social crisis created by capitalism. Under the guise of “fighting crime,” Clinton recently put forward measures for a nationwide curfew for teenage youth. Legislation institutionalizing discrimination against gays by barring same-sex marriages is being prepared by the leadership of both parties. New anti-immigrant laws are being drawn up that seek to enforce the second-class status of this layer of working people worldwide. They continue their war preparations in the guise of “fighting crime.” Ronald Reagan is the only presidential candidate since Dwight Eisenhower who didn’t win by default. This year’s election will be won by the less disgusting man. Bush seems to have reached his limit, but there may be worse to come about Clinton. The reason even a rehashed sexual scandal could hurt Clinton is that sexual immorality is near the philosophical core of the Democratic Party. It’s a party that, with its talk of “non-traditional families,” comes perilously close to obliterating the distinction between a family and an orgy. Abortion on demand is its sacrament. Jesse Jackson’s speech at the convention contained an amazingly offensive discussion (I won’t even paraphrase it here) of the Holy Family; it caused no media comment. Placards calling for gay and lesbian rights were everywhere. Clinton pledged bottomless funding for AIDS research and an end to the ban on homosexuality in the military. And of course the party is still committed to the welfare state and a “non-judgmental” approach to illegitimacy. 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Patrick Buchanan's ultrarightist immigrant bashing by saying, "My name's Jose. I'm here to stay!" Substantial actions in defense of Black rights have taken place over the past year, including those against police brutality, for ending the death penalty against Mumia Abu-Jamal, and in defense of affirmative action. In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union workers and working farmers are resisting the effects of the capitalist market system. Despite initial euphoria by the imperialists, capitalism has not been restored in any of these countries and many of millions of people defend the social relations conquered with the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. With the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes, working people there can now more easily join with the struggles of workers in other parts of the world. The British rulers have been unable to stem the fight for Irish freedom. Nor have their counterparts in Canada rolled back the battle for independence of Quebec. The Palestinian and Lebanese people, in face of continued aggression by Tel Aviv, refuse to accept anything short of self-determination as their right. From Europe to South America to South Africa and Asia, working people continue to fight back in sometimes explosive and unexpected ways.

61221. Socialist Workers Party. Working Class Alternatives To The Parties of War, Racism and Depression: Part 3: Internationalism, Not Nationalism. New York: Brochure. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (Post Office Box 2652, New York, NY 10009; tel: 212-328-1504), July 1996. Depression conditions, social crises, and political instability push to the fore inter-imperialist conflicts between Washington and its competitors in Europe and Japan, and within Europe itself. Harsher nationalism and chauvinistic appeals are the stock in trade of these politicians as they attempt to bring their respective populations behind the "national" interests, be they trading policies or war moves. Underpinning this crisis are deflationary pressures spurred by the declining industrial rate of profit. In a world where billions live without basic necessities, capitalism has created a crisis of overproduction: too many goods are produced for the wealthy owners of capital to make a profit. This is the fuel for trade wars and conflicts between the imperialist powers; it is behind the competition for new markets; and it propels "downsizing" and other cost-cutting measures. The U.S. government will more and more use its military power and economic might to gain advantage over its rivals, moves that will lead only to sharper conflicts in the future. The socialist campaign calls on the Clinton administration, one of the most war-mongering yet, to get its warships, bombers, submarines, troops, and hit squads out of every corner of the globe. The conditions also breed ultrarightist and insipid fascist currents, such as that of Patrick Buchanan, which seek to assemble a cadre that will fight in the streets to defeat future working-class struggles. They appeal to the resentments, fears, and uncertainties of layers of the population to advance their reactionary notions. They say openly and take to the logical conclusion what more "respectable" politicians say behind closed doors.

61222. Socialist Workers Party. Working Class Alternatives To The Parties of War, Racism and Depression: Part 4: Defend the Cuban Revolution. New York: Brochure. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (Post Office Box 2652, New York, NY 10009; tel: 212-328-1504), July 1996. The example of the fight for sovereignty, independence, and socialism that Washington seeks to wipe off the face of the earth is that of revolutionary Cuba. Working people in Cuba are defending their revolution in face of U.S. threats, while continuing to stand at the head of the fight for socialism. We oppose the misnamed "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996"—also referred to as the Helms-Burton law signed by Clinton. It reinforces the 36-year economic embargo of Cuba and further restricts travel to the island. Such laws are a blow against to the ability of workers and youth to learn for ourselves about the Cuban revolution. The U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange, a brigade of young people that will visit Cuba in July at the invitation of revolutionary youth organizations in that country, is something every young person can join and help build as a way to strike a blow against these moves by Washington. A centerpiece of the government assault is the shipping away at the social wage entitlements such as Social Security, unemployment compensation, workers compensation, and Medicare and Medicaid that have been established through struggles of working people. The attacks on welfare are motivated by the same goal: shifting more of the wealth produced by working people into the pockets of the wealthy class of empylers, bankers, and coupon clippers. The socialist campaign demands cradle-to-grave coverage and expansion of Social Security, Medicare, and a living wage for those out of work. We oppose all steps to take away the meager benefits workers receive through AFDC and other welfare programs.

61223. Socialist Workers Party. Working Class Alternatives To The Parties of War, Racism and Depression: Part 5: Defend the Cuban Revolution. New York: Brochure. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (Post Office Box 2652, New York, NY 10009; tel: 212-328-1504), July 1996. Our campaign is part of this larger working class resistance and the preparation for bigger and sharper battles in the future. We put forward a program based on the interests of the vast majority, one that can unify working people in face of the nationalist framework of the Democrats, Republicans, reform and Green party candidates that pits workers in this country against their allies abroad. This program begins with the working class as an international class. We start not with national boundaries but with the recognition that society is divided: there is a class that owns the wealth and runs society, and a class that works and produces the wealth but has no say in how society is run. Working people can unite on a world scale to fight for protection from the ravages of the universal crisis of the market system. Unemployment is the greatest single scourge of capitalism: competition for jobs is the greatest division sapping the fighting capacities of the working class throughout the world—both within and between countries. Unemployment, even in advanced capitalist countries such as Germany, has risen to the highest level since the Great Depression, and barely goes down in periods of "recovery." Instead of competing more and more among ourselves, we must join together and demand, "Jobs for ALL!" This can be done by a series of measures, such as shortening the work week with no cut in pay and enacting a massive public works program to repair roads, and build schools, hospitals and housing. In a period of economic crises workers' wages can also be devastated by sufficient monetary inflations, or surges, such as happened in Mexico at the end of 1995 with the devaluation of the peso. We demand cost of living allowances (COLA) be instituted to protect wages, pensions and social security payments. Affirmative action—creating a more level playing field in hiring, housing, and education—is the only way to organize a united fight against the downward spiral of wages, working conditions, and the standard of living. Affirmative action is necessary to defend us all. The employers profit from the oppression of Blacks, Latinos, and women, and use these divisions within the working class as a way to keep us from waging a united struggle for political power. One strong affirmative action measure would be to raise the minimum wage to union scale. One of the chief targets of the ruling rich and their politicians is immigrant workers. They try to dehumanize this layer of the working class as part of justifying lower pay, intolerable working conditions, and victimization of millions who labor for a living. The labor movement needs to join with immigrants who are organizing unions, marling in the streets to defend their rights, and standing up to reactionary proposals from the bipartisan majority in Congress. We encourage participation in the national 10/12/1996 action in Washington DC to demand: "Equal rights for immigrants!" The human toll capitalism is taking on Africa, Asia and Latin America is unbearable for hundreds of millions. By every measure--infant mortality, caloric intake, real wages, ecological disasters--working people in the Third World are suffering some of the most severe blows of the crisis. This is accelerated by the onerous debts these countries owe to the imperialist banks and the attempts by the wealthy rulers to unload the burden of enormous interest payments on their toilers. A worldwide fight for cancellation of the Third World debt is vital. In their drive to resolve the crisis of the profit system, the rulers will attempt to impose fascism and drag humanity into another world war. The wealthy minority will more and more come into head-on
confrontation with working people and our allies who will battle to establish a government of workers and farmers—a government that for the first time represents the overwhelming majority of humanity. Such a revolution will join with the fighting people of Cuba and their leadership to open the struggle for a socialist world. We especially appeal to workers, young socialists, and all youth repelled by the future capitalism offers. [\textsuperscript{-}]

61224. Soladay, Salwa, “My Experience With the Proposition W Campaign”, in Israel & Palastina-Zeitschrift dur Dialog, Number 24. 1991. I was one of two Arab-Americans from the San Francisco Bay Area who went to the California Democratic Party convention in Palm Springs in 4/1988, to try to amend the Party platform to include a plank supporting Palestinian statehood in the West Bank and Gaza. The hierarchy of the Democrat Party, whose direction on this issue is determined by the pro-Israel Lobby, used a number of underhanded maneuvers to make sure that nothing was said at the convention about Palestinians, the Intifada or the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. At the same time the newspapers and the night television news were showing numerous instances of Israeli atrocities against Palestinian civilians. The Israeli actions were funded by United States taxpayers—a by-product of our foreign policy. Frustrated and frustrated, we returned to San Francisco and decided to bypass the legislators and go directly to the voters by placing the question of a Palestinian state side by side with Israel as an initiative on the San Francisco ball In a political campaign, we believed that no one could stop from exposing the billions of tax dollars Americans pay for an occupation that, according to polls, a majority of them don’t want, and why Congress is willing to support virtually every Israeli policy and action, even when harmful to US interests, irrespective of domestic as well as international opinion to the contrary. The initiative got off to a very slow start for several reasons (1) We, who started it were considered marginal because were outside the Palestinian-American community. (2) The Arab-American community was already overburdened with responsibilities brought on by the Intifada. (3) The language of the initiative caused division because it asked that US foreign policy support a two-state solution. This was before the Palestine National Council declared its independence, implicitly recognizing Israel, and many in the Arab-American community thought support of a two-state solution was a betrayal of the Palestinian cause. The initiative was perceived as the reaction of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), which is largely Lebanese-American and historically, has had little participation from the Palestinian community which makes up 959 of San Francisco’s Arab population. For all of those reasons, we, initially, had no involvement from the local Palestinian-American social organizations. Perhaps, most important, the Arab-American community did not have a history of experience in grass-roots organization either in their country of origin or in the US and therefore did not understand how to participate in the “system.” Many were first generation immigrants, who usually do not participate in politics. Our plan was to first enlist the Arab-American community in the signature-gathering drive. We had to get 9400 signatures of San Francisco-registered voters to become a ballot measure. With the help of the Independent Grocers’ Association, mainly comprised of Palestinian Americans, we obtained 18900 signatures. We were confident that more of the Arab-American community would join the campaign after the signature drive was successful and culminated in an actual ballot measure We planned to enlist non-Arab-American peace groups in San Francisco to support the measure. One of the most effective organizations to support Proposition W was the progressive Harvey Milk Gay and Lesbian Club, named for the slain supervisor who had been 8 leader of the city’s gay and lesbian community. It put “vote yes on Proposition W” on its campaign slate cards which they sent to approximately 50000 San Francisco voters informing them of the club’s position on all ballot measures and candidates. We felt that by asking for endorsements and help from progressive peace organizations we would be able to enlist support. However, as soon as it became known that we were going to go forward with this initiative, we were “invited” to meet with the Middle East Peace Network (MEPN). The “principals” to which each organization had to agree to support as a condition of membership in the MEPN was that there be a two-state solution, that Israel should recognize the PLO, and that there should be an international peace conference under the auspices of the UN with the permanent members of the UN Security Council as participants. This group championed “two state solution” and “international peace conference” at every opportunity. Although we didn’t know it at the time, this network of organizations was primarily controlled by Jewish-Americans and others closely aligned with them. The only condition to which we agreed was that this matter was to be presented to the voters, not to the politicians. When we told these groups “we were just waiting” for something like our initiative “to come along to support.” We learned, that unlike support groups in other struggles, these “peace activists” only gave “conditional” support.

The tendency of most groups within the MEPN was to minimize human rights violations of Palestinians and insist on coupling the call for “Palestinian self-determination and statehood” with the “right of Israel to exist” and “security for Israel,” as i one would never say “end apartheid,” without coupling it with a call for the “security for Afrikaners.” At that time we had no idea that the chair of the America Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the chair of MEPN, the representative from New Jewish Agenda (NJA), the representative of the International Jewish Peace Union (UJP), members of MEPN, and our paid permanent staff all agree Israel was not to be criticized. Since we didn’t have a large number of Arab-Americans involved at the outset, the “support” from these groups led to the formation of a campaign committee in which a majority vote came from the combination of their representatives and the people the brought to the campaign. As a result, they were able to provide “damage control” from within the campaign (literally controlling the damage Prop. W might do to Israel’s image). In this capacity, they determined the political content of the literature and speeches on behalf of Prop. W, eliminating an direct criticism of Israel from the campaign. They manipulated the few Arab Americans actively working or Prop. W through three methods. The first was by convincing them that the “only way we could win” was by saying nothing critical of Israel. The second was by quickly placing their people in the only full-time paid staff positions and arranging the campaign structure so that staff made the day to day decisions. The third was by neutralizing anyone opposed to their censorship by a “divide and conquer” strategy that isolated the threat. After the measure was accepted on the ballot, the chairman of the MEPN brought in a professional campaign manager to “organize” the campaign of few Arab-Americans participating in making decisions that the primary goal of the campaign was not to win, but rather, “to build an organization for the future;” that to achieve the secondary goal of winning was to say nothing critical of Israelis, “don’t even mention” the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the umbrella organization for the eighty plus pro-Israel political action groups which provide major funding for key members of Congress, or the pro-Israel lobby, itself. When asked, campaign spokespersons were to give no specific reasons why all the legislators opposed us, except, “they are behind the opinion polls.” His presentation culminated in two points, “Security for Israel and Justice for Palestinians.” He insisted nothing else should be discussed in the campaign. Whatever questions were asked of our speakers, whatever the opposition said or had in its literature, the campaign “must not be diverted” from the two points. He was adamant that absolutely nothing should be said about Israeli violence, the Intifada, or the question of US aid to Israel which was funding the occupation and its daily brutality. He explained that in the anti-nuclear arms initiative campaigns nothing had been said about the billions of dollars spent by the arms industry, or that they were the real opposition to the campaign. He inferred it had been the same in all initiative campaigns that won. He made it clear that facts, any facts, were too complicated to be understood in a campaign. We were to keep repeating “Security for Israel (this was to be said first) and Justice for Palestinians.” While I was arguing against this censorship one of the paid staff angrily blurted out: “Anyone who says the pro-Israel Lobby controls Congress on this issue is anti-Semitic!” Other methods of manipulation were used. Before the campaign raised money to hire staff or even discussed the kind that was needed, the MEPN chairperson said, “Isn’t it great (the representative of AFSC) has found two full-time paid staff persons for us.” This was done without even discussing the matter with Arab-Americans and without
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Israel-Palestine

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The first person we were introduced to was a "political writer." We were informed the second was the representative from New Jewish Agenda (NJA), who shortly before, had been brought to the campaign by the MEPN chair, who introduced her by saying, "Isn't it wonderful, I've gotten New Jewish Agenda to support us on this representative will be their volunteer. Later in the campaign the only Arab-American hired as staff and given minimal duties was "critical to the campaign guidelines," and told that speakers had to "stay within the guidelines." These "guide lines" were an instrument for censorship. Although the professional campaign manager brought in by the MEPN chair was ultimately not hired (due to my continued opposition) the "damage control" clique controlled the political content through their insistence that "all campaigns have guideline you can't have people talking about just anything they think is important on the issue." Therefore no one could speak unless he or she "agreed to be bound by the guidelines." I remember a priest, who early in the campaign, had been asked to speak at an event. He hadn't been at any of the meeting and was not considered a "trouble maker." He spoke out passionately against Israeli brutality, greatly moving his listeners. He was not asked to speak again. It was a tragic irony that others like him who wanted to speak out in the same way, were stopped, "educated" and even intimidated by certain Arab-Americans who had been taken in by those running the campaign. A further subterfuge was the repeated "explanation," in conjunction with the "guidelines" that there was a "high road" and a "low road" in campaigning. The "high road" we were told meant one only said "positive" things, even about your opponent. The "high road" meant you did not criticize Israel or its support by the US. They equated the "high road" with "goodness" and "winning."

On the other hand, speaking negatively about Israel, i.e., taking the "low road," meant one was unreasonable, egocentric, unable to work within an organization and brought tight lips, squinted eyes and an Inquisition-like condemnation from the campaign hierarchy. People quickly learned which "road" they were expected to take. Inexperienced and insecure, the few Arab-Americans who became involved at the leadership level accepted the distortion that to say "no more aid" was "positive" campaigning when opposing apartheid and supporting human rights in El Salvador, and "negative" campaigning when supporting Palestinian human rights. Sometimes a wonderful, uncorrupted person who offered verbal support to civil rights but gave in to the white mentality. A second reason was that without the experience of grassroots organizing, either in their homeland or in the United States, they didn't understand the question of "political principles." They didn't understand the need to stand up to the risks involved in speaking the truth. It all reminded me of the term 'Oreo' during the civil rights movement. 'Oreo' was a derogatory name used to describe a black person who offered verbal support to civil rights but gave in to the white establishment at every turn. 'Oreo' is a cookie that is made of two pieces of dark chocolate with white icing in the middle. Calling a person an 'Oreo' meant that although black he or she acted in the interest of the whites. "Damage control" tactics cannot be tolerated. Pictures of the Intifada made an opening in the US media and North Americans want and need to hear the truth about the tragedies they saw on television and read about in newspapers. If they are not clearly told what they can do to change US foreign policy, nothing will be done. The Intifada made an opening yet Arab-Americans kept silent during the campaign. That opening is rapidly closing as propaganda is redoubled to make the US opening yet Arab-Americans kept silent during the campaign. That opening is rapidly closing as propaganda is redoubled to make the US

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61225. Soviet Women's Committee. Soviet Women's Committee: Part 2: What Foreign Guests Have To Say. Tashkent: Soviet Women's Committee, 1976. Women from other countries are accorded a warm welcome at the Soviet Women's Committee. At get-togethers views are exchanged on the status of women and children, and problems of peace and security are discussed. The guests and the hosts outline ways of further cooperation between women's organizations. At parting guests and hosts usually exchange souvenirs. Hundreds of them, badges, paper cranes, figurines made from wood, ivory, stone, cut glass, metal, etc.- are kept in the Committee museum. They bring back memories of numerous friends far away. The Committee keeps in touch with national and international women's organizations in more than 120 countries. These include the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the International Federation of Women in Legal Careers, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the International Council of Women, the World Young Women's Christian Association, the International Federation of University Women, the All-Africa Women's Organization, the All-Arab Women's Federation, the Union of Palestinian Women, and another regional and national organizations. Representatives of these organizations have visited the USSR many times at the invitation of the Soviet Women's Committee and also received delegations of Soviet women in their countries. The Committee arranges for its guests to travel round the Soviet Union, visit the Union republics
and major cities of the country, and study the working conditions of women at plants and factories and state and collective farms, the service facilities available to working women, the health services and the system of pre-school and school education and instruction. Guests are always eager to see the ancient Russian cities and the hero cities of the Great Patriotic War, the new towns and cities in Siberia, the former virgin-land areas and the transformed lands of the Hungry Steppes in Ukraine. Here are comments made by some of the guests. Professor of Law Elizabeth Odio of Costa Rica University said: “I was in the Soviet Union that I learned for the first time about a political and socio-economic system that had realized human rights in practice.” The following statement was made by the head of a delegation from the Democratic Women’s Union of Finland, Eva Kaisa Laakkonen: “During our visit to the Soviet Union we saw for ourselves the high position of women in Soviet society. Women have equal rights with men and do the important work of managing plants and factories and institutions.”

Agness Willis, a worker from New York, said: “This and other statements by foreign guests have been retranslated from the Russian.”

“In your country we have seen that working women have every opportunity to improve their qualifications, be promoted at work and take part in public affairs. I was very much surprised when I saw that many leading posts in the Soviet trade unions were held by women. In our country, men usually fill the key positions. In the United States we have become used to the fact that workers are distrustful of each other because of the fear of competition. Wherever we went in the Soviet Union we saw that in their relationships people were always motivated by feelings of collectivism and mutual assistance. This visit has given me new energy and optimism.” Dorothy Steffens, a member of the American delegation to the conference on women’s role in the struggle for peace, security, international cooperation and social justice, organized by the Soviet Women’s Committee, made the following statement: “In your country we have seen with our own eyes what socialist democracy is — all the people take part in governing the state. We have been deeply impressed by the vast opportunities for the comprehensive development of the individual that Soviet society allows. The children’s sanatorium ‘Solnyshko’ near Leningrad is a dream come true. You have already realized the idea of the harmonious development of the child’s personality, for which we are striving in our country.”

Subhat Sawardiak, editor of the magazine Women of Thailand, wrote in her letter: “When I talked with women in the Soviet Union one of the things I liked particularly was the saying ‘There is no bird that can fly with one wing’ — a nation, in other words, cannot develop without the participation of women. Thai people say, ‘The hands that rock the cradle rule the world.’ These words remind me of the talented Soviet women.”

Personal contacts are naturally the best way of finding a common tongue and coming to know each other better. But it is only one form of cooperation.

The Committee also corresponds with women’s organizations and individuals, and exchanges books, photo-exhibitions, magazine articles, reference material and information. Together with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions it publishes its own magazine, Soviet Woman, which tells how Soviet women live, work, and bring up their children, how they spend their holidays and what interests they have. This illustrated magazine which publishes fiction and articles dealing with social and political questions comes out in an edition of more than a million and a half, in 12 languages: Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Hungarian, Chinese, Korean, Hindi, Japanese, Bengali, and Arabic, and is on sale in many countries. Also, there are women’s magazines published in the languages of the constituent Soviet republics.

Rabotnitsa (“The Working Woman”) is another popular women’s magazine which comes out in an edition of 13 million. It is one of the oldest magazines in the country, set up in 1914, before the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution, to defend the interests of working women. After the Revolution the magazine conducted a large-scale campaign to explain to millions of women the policy of the Soviet State, drew them into productive work and encouraged them to take part in running state and public affairs. Today Rabotnitsa has articles on Soviet women’s contribution to the building of new society and about life of women in other countries. Women enjoy this magazine because it not only keeps them informed on international events but also gives much space to discussions of specific problems of medicine, teaching and law. The magazine Krestyanka (“The Peasant Woman”) is extremely popular with women in rural areas; its circulation is about 2 million. It is widely read because it covers many aspects of the life and work of women both at home and abroad. [=] 61226. Soviet Women’s Committee. Soviet Women’s Committee: Part 4: Down With War. Tashkent: Soviet Women’s Committee, 1976. Today the Women’s International Democratic Federation unites 120 national women’s organizations in 103 countries and is one of the largest international public organizations. The Federation has the right to send representatives to the sessions of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, and conferences of the UNESCO, the International Labour Organization and other specialized agencies, to submit its proposals and work for their implementation. The Soviet Women’s Committee is one of the active members of the Federation throughout its history. It sponsored the resolution qualifying war propaganda as socially dangerous and demanding the criminal prosecution of persons disseminating such propagandas. Soviet women have always supported the struggle for general and complete disarmament, for a ban on nuclear weapons tests and for peaceful negotiations as the means of settling all controversial issues. At the beginning of the 1950s thousands of Soviet women collected signatures to the Stockholm Appeal Against the Bomb issued by the World Peace Council. On behalf of millions of Soviet women the Committee called on the women of the world to join, regardless of their political views and religious beliefs, all champions of peace, all the people and nations fighting for peace in demanding the liquidation of all stockpiles of atomic weapons and an immediate stop to their manufacture. A World Congress of Women was held in Moscow in 1963 on the initiative of the Women’s International Democratic Federation. Nearly 2000 delegates from 180 women’s organizations in 113 countries were present; such an attendance was unprecedented in the history of the international women’s movement. A short time before the Congress the Soviet cosmonauts Valeri Bykovsky and Valentina Tereshkova, the world’s first woman-cosmonaut, had completed their joint flight.

The Congress of Women accorded Valentina Tereshkova a warm and enthusiastic reception. In her address Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women’s International Democratic Federation, expressed the feelings of all the delegates in the hall. She said: “We are all thrilled by this feat, not only the technological feat, but by the courage and composure of Valentina Tereshkova and her determination to carry out her task and make a contribution to the cause of universal progress.”

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Thank you, Valentina. . . Thank you for your courage, for having seen from high above that there are no barriers between continents and countries and that there is but one planet, belonging to and loved by all its inhabitants.”

The Moscow Congress adopted an Appeal to women, to mothers in all countries and continents: “We wish to contribute to the building of a lasting peace. We do not want war to be a means of deciding conflicts between states: we are convinced that conflicts should be settled by negotiations. We wish to work for the establishment of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems all over the world, for the achievement of total and general disarmament and the rigorous control of thermonuclear disarmament in particular. We appeal to: to act without rest and without respite to bring about the cessation of nuclear tests; to support the creation of atom-free zones; to struggle for the removal of all bases and the withdrawal of military troops on foreign soil . . . The cause of disarmament and peace is inseparable from the cause of the people’s struggle for their national independence. . . . We support the women who struggle and suffer under the hard conditions of fascism.” The Moscow Congress served to step up the women’s movement for their rights and the happiness of their children in many countries. On their return the delegates reported to various women’s organizations, political parties and trade unions, working women and housewives about the Congress and about life in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Women’s Committee took an active part in the
preparations and holding of the World Congress of Women in Helsinki in 1969. That Congress also debated major international issues such as guarantees of peace and collective security in Europe and general disarmament. During the preparations for the Congress republican, territorial, regional and city meetings of women were held in the Soviet Union. Reports on the preparations for the Congress were made. Solidarity campaigns were launched across the country to support women in countries fighting for national independence and to raise funds for the holding of the Helsinki Congress. In Helsinki the Soviet delegation supported the idea of calling a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Women’s Committee is still doing much to ensure European security. Soviet women acclaimed the decision of the World Peace Council to hold the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow. It was held in October 1973 in Moscow and was afterwards aptly termed the "General Assembly of the Peoples." The delegates, representing 143 countries, drew up a detailed programme of joint action directed towards building a firm foundation for a peaceful future for mankind. Women from all parts of the USSR sent in letters and telegrams greeting the Congress and wishing it every success. A message from mothers in the Ukrainian town of Drogbych said: “We, mothers of Drogbych, convey our greetings to the Congress delegates, the envos of peace and friendship from all parts of the world, who have gathered in our peace-loving country. We have lived through the war and we have known the bitter losses, seen the fright and tears of parentless children and understand the anguish of those living in countries where blood is still being shed. Our hearts are full of wrath: we condemn the atrocities and violence committed by the reactionary forces of Chile and the Israeli aggression against the peoples of Arab countries. We join our voice in the support for all the nations fighting for national independence, social justice and the happiness of the coming generation.” Addressing Soviet women after the Congress, Chairman of the Soviet Women’s Committee, Valentina Nikolayeva Tereshkova, said: “Many women today have come to realize even more strongly the urgent necessity of participating in the public effort to settle problems of war and peace, and the effectiveness of international solidarity. The Congress has had special appeal to women because they regard disarmament as vital seeing in it a prospect of releasing vast sums of money that could be used for peaceful purposes, for the solution of pressing social and economic issues.”


Be’er: There is no simple answer to this question. One has to ask what would have happened if BTselem didn’t exist, if the situation would be worse. There are different philosophies regarding how to work with people who are living under military occupation. We all agree that it is impossible to solve the human rights problem in the Territories without a political solution. But some leftist feel that BTselem’s work strengthens the status quo because we deal with the symptoms and not with the principle problem, which is a political one. We aim to prevent human rights violations, knowing that as long as occupation exists we will not be able to reach our goal. But ending occupation is a political goal. BTselem was founded in order to prevent or reduce human rights violations in the Territories - not to provide a political solution.

Being aware of our limitations, I am sure that BTselem’s work is reducing injustice. Today, every soldier is aware that if he violates the law, a watchdog exists that can make a fuss and take him to court. In Gaza, several soldiers are now being tried as a result of testimony that an increasingly pervasive and central role in Israeli society. To what extent has this contributed to the recent open-fire regulations, for example. It’s very problematic. The openfire regulations are kept secret. The army doesn’t provide us with the actual documents regarding the regulations, which leaves us afraid that it may be permitted to shoot a person without warning. This is very dangerous and will bring a lot of unnecessary deaths. Take the example of the thirteen year-old boy who was killed by the army by mistake because he was carrying a plastic gun. I know of at least two more cases of people who were killed while carrying plastic guns.[=]


Eran: One of our field workers goes to the site and interviews as many eye-witnesses as she finds. We don’t solicit the testimonies of people who were not present at the time of the incident. The field worker also makes a sketch of the place, the location of the victim, the army, etc. After examining the material, we send a letter to the military, including a report of the testimonies we have received, and we ask for an investigation. We try to get the wheels rolling. Concerning killings of children, we always follow the case until the file is closed. The problem is that it takes the army a very long time to give us an answer. There have been more than 200 Palestinian children killed in the Intifada, and we’re still waiting for a response on about 50 of them. There is a lot of work involved. It could take them a month if they really worked on it, but they don’t. They just put it aside. A few months ago I sent a letter to the IDF spokesperson’s office asking for updates on all the cases that are still open. I still haven’t got an answer.

Q: How can you explain the sharp increase in the number of fatalities, particularly of children, at the hands of the IDF?

Be’er: The army is aware that there have been many abnormal incidents in the last few weeks of the closure, like unprovoked beatings and destruction of property. We have tens of such testimonies. The Commander of the Southern Region [Gaza] is aware that there are problems, especially with the Golani soldiers. I don’t have a shadow of a doubt that the beatings and damage to property that are occurring under the closure are not the result of orders from above but come from soldiers or low-level commanders in the area. There is a general atmosphere of lenience with regard to open-fire regulations, bolstered by statements from the Prime Minister. Perhaps this contributes to a general atmosphere in which soldiers feel that it is legitimate to damage people’s property not because of their actions but because they are Arabs. BTselem is acting against such things and will continue to do so.

Eran: The situation in the territories has become more tense in general, but the army has done nothing to prevent it. Soldiers are given conflicting orders. It’s not clear what they’re supposed to do. Not enough is done to end disturbances by using water and tear gas rather than gunfire.[=]


Q: Since the outbreak of the Intifada, the military has taken on an increasingly pervasive and central role in Israeli society. What extent has this contributed to the recent escalation of male violence against women in this country?

A: We have seen a very disturbing increase in the actual number of murders in the last two years, murders in Jewish families or relationships in which a woman is killed by her “significant other.” The average number of such cases had been about four or five a year, but in 1990 that figure increased to 27, then to 40 in 1991, and already in the
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first four months of 1992 we've seen fourteen. There are many explanations as to why this is happening. First, I think it is directly linked with the decision of then-Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in the winter of 1988 to permit beatings by police and army personnel. This legitimized the use of force towards any opposition: not only the enemy but the "other" - the potential enemy. Not only was it permissible to use violence against women and children on the side of the enemy women and children were at that time at the forefront of the Intifada - but it also became impossible to say to these men, to the soldiers, that it was forbidden in their own homes.

Further, the actual conditions for men both in the army and in reserve duty are very bad. They are under constant pressure, and they are often under attack. There is clearly a war going on in the territories, and I think living in that state of tension is very, very costly as far as peace of mind is concerned. One may come home wanting peace and quiet, yet feeling very tense - so it is very easy for the home environment to trigger an excessively violent response. Most of these men claim - and I believe them - that they didn't mean to kill the woman involved, they just hit her harder than usual. If you link this up with the acceptance within many ethnic groups of this kind of violence, then you have a number of complex factors working together.

In my opinion, the major turning point in the escalation of violence was the Gulf War. The war was probably more traumatic than any other for the Israeli man of military age (under 55), because it was the first one where Israel was involved but in which the reserves were not called upon to participate. Not only were they not called, but for the first three days - and then whenever there was a siren - they were closeted in very close quarters, often with large extended families. This feeling of helplessness compounded their general frustrations with the war. Here, I think, you had a sort of buildup of environmental circumstances which simply led to an explosion of violent feelings against whoever happened to be at hand. And in this case the people at hand were wives and children.

Q: What other social policies might be responsible for this rise in domestic violence?

A: Our economic situation is very bad. We have increased unemployment, especially among new immigrants. Incidentally, a disproportionate percentage of the murders were committed by new immigrants: mainly Russians, but some Ethiopians. The frustration that these people are experiencing is really tragic. And there the military factor is not involved. There was one very sad case of a man who killed his thirty-something wife in front of his children and then went straight to the police station to turn himself in. He said he couldn't bear seeing her go out to work every day while he stayed at home. I found the pathos of that statement very moving. With the Ethiopians, I think one can lay a great deal of blame on the totally incorrect, insensitive immigration policies.

So we've got a number of factors operating. We have to see the whole phenomenon in a very wide social context - of breakdowns in the economy, in social services, in health services, and in the absorption process. Practically everything in what should be the framework of society has broken down in the last few years. Add general tension to all that, and the whole thing becomes a very sad and unhealthy situation.\[=\]


A: The real feminists are not reluctant to make that connection, but I think that there are very few real feminists in Israel. I tend to distinguish between what I call egalitarianism and feminism. I think that a great many women in Israel have woken up and become what I call egalitarians - that is, demanding equal opportunities, rights, status, etc. But this isn't feminism. I think the feminists are those who are developing theories about the structures of society. They have always linked the inferior status of women to the difference in military experience between men and women, which exists from the moment they are both conscripted. Other women don't necessarily make that connection. There are women who are very active in Likud and Gush Emunim. They don't call themselves feminists, but they certainly feel very empowered. I don't know to what extent the Palestinian women who are in the front lines of the Intifada would call themselves feminists. I don't think they would. I think they would say they were performing their national duty alongside the men.\[=\]

During the past few years, much of the real strength and endurance of the Peace Movement has come from women's organizations. What can you say about the role of these organizations?

A: Persistence has certainly been the primary characteristic of the Women in Black. The consistency of their very mode of action - simply being in the same place at the same time, week after week - is a statement: we are not going to give up. It is a limited statement, but an important one. I think the women's peace movements, though on so small a scale, work on such a personal level that they are very important. One learns by simply sitting and talking to the "other," to the "enemy." It's a process of mutual education. Personally, I derive a great deal of satisfaction from participating in these groups, and I find them extraordinarily illuminating. Many women I know say that their first experience in a dialogue encounter was a turning-point both in their own lives and in the way they perceived the situation, and I wish more people would do that. On both sides, I think it's a useful mode of response to the situation.

But that's not the way we were going to get peace, unless the leaders of all sides get together. And there are no women leaders. I think that at this time this is the main reason why we should try to involve women in mainstream politics, in decision making and in the act of determining policy. I think the country and the world would look very different if there were more women involved in the upper echelons.

Q: Do you feel it is better to struggle separately for feminism and an end to the occupation?

A: I think that one has to see the connection. But I don't think that working on the peace issue is going to help us on the internal issues, of achieving equality, of feminism - just as it isn't going to help Palestinian women. I know at least one leading Palestinian who has basically dropped out of political activities because she said she was not getting a clear message from the Palestinian men that once the struggle was over they would really let women enter into the process of government on an equal basis. And as long as she didn't get that promise, she wasn't going to put herself on the line for other things. Even Hanan Ashrawi - who is one of the people most likely to get a government post and who may end up being the token woman - has hinted that she knows she doesn't really represent the Palestinian cause because she is highly educated, Christian, and a woman. To hear that coming from an official spokeswoman for the Palestinian cause is very illuminating.

There is a connection between the increased chauvinism of the Israeli male and both his role in the occupation process and his attitudes towards women and their status. But I don't think this means that by working on the feminist issue I will affect the military one, or that by dealing with the military issue I will really change women's status. The two are doubtlessly connected, and we must perceive the connection. But I think it would be very naive to think that by concentrating on the one we would also automatically deal with the other. I think the two things have to be dealt with separately.\[=\]

61231. Stein, Rebecca. "Domestic Occupation: Interview with Alice Shalvi: Part 3," in Challenge, September-October, 1992, p. 27. Q: What issues or events have catalyzed the Israeli women's movement in recent years?

A: Paradoxically, I think the Gulf War had a very salutary impact on the women. One the one hand, Israel had a lengthy school closure and there was a general expectation that if anyone had to stay home to look after the children it would be the mothers. But on the other hand, there was the employers' clear expectation that the women would get back to work just as quickly as would the men, and that they would be threatened with dismissal if they didn't. This was a big eye-opener. I
think one can compare it to the impact of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings in the United States. It served as that one critical incident which suddenly opens women's eyes to where they really are in society. If we had an election right after the war, and had there been some group or leader who appealed to women at that point, I think we would have seen women marching on the Knesset. But there wasn't a way of harnessing all that tremendous anger and potential power and doing something useful with it. However, I think that moment has also found expression through women's very assertive behavior in the election campaign. We have never had women demanding places on the lists so aggressively as in this campaign. Especially in Likud, which has the furthest to go in the equal treatment of women. If elections had been held in November, as they were supposed to, we would have seen a real increase in women's representation.

Q: What are your hopes for the future of feminism in Israel?
A: “Feminism” is a pejorative word here. The average Israeli is far behind the times - though this is true in the United States as well. Most Israelis think a feminist is someone who hates men, who is anti-family, who may be a lesbian - a bra burning fanatic...the stereotypes of the feminist are incredible. Therefore you don’t talk about feminism, instead, you talk about equality.

To go back to my initial distinction between egalitarianism and feminism: I would like to have egalitarianism succeed in Israel. I would like to have a society where we do have total equality of opportunity, equality of reward, of status. I am one of those feminists who believes that there is a very great distinction between men and women. Equality for women also means a comparable degree of freedom and openness for men to live as they would like to live. I think that if we work more on the legal, educational, social aspects in order to establish that equality, than we will have brought the feminist philosophy into effect as a byproduct.[=]

61232. Stein, Rebecca. “One Day In Gaza Under Closure: Nothing Left to Lose: Part 3”, in Challenge, May-June 1993. p. 9. Many details of the incident remain unclear as witnesses to the killing have not yet come forward. According to claims from the Ghara family on the basis of second-hand testimony from workers in the area, the soldiers had been playing a game in the street, betting as to who would shoot Eaida first. The family’s story has not been corroborated. Neighbors have, however, attested to the presence of the soldiers in the area and the sound of a single shot. Unlike many of the fatal shootings of children in the last few months, there were no demonstrations or provocations in the neighborhood at the time of Ra’ida’s death which might have resulted in a stray bullet. The army has provided no explanation and simply announced the opening of an internal investigation.

In the month of March alone, eight Palestinian children under the age of sixteen were killed by the Israeli army in the Occupied Territories. According to reports from the Israeli human rights organization B’Tselem, the deaths of Palestinian children at the hands of the Israeli army increased by 180 percent in the first six months of the Rabin administration, accounting for 22 percent of all army killings during that time.

Leaving the Ghara home, we meet the children of the Shami family who live next door. Their father Mohammed is “wanted” by the army. Just yesterday, one of the young Shami sons tells us, soldiers came to look for their father. When they told the army that he wasn’t home, a soldier slapped his 11 year old sister and severely beat their mother. She is still recovering in Shifa hospital. His sister stands frightened in the road, barely able to meet our glances or tell us her name.

And just last week in Bani Suheila, we learn later, a soldier demanded that a boy kiss a passing school-girl. When the boy refused, he was beaten.[=]


The refugee camp of Dir al-Balah is cramped, with little room for passage between its low cement buildings. Yet, Aisha maneuvers the Fiat quickly through the narrow streets. We are paying a visit to the family of Ayman Nasser who died on April 2 in the custody of the Israeli General Security Services (Shin Bet) while under military detention.

Sitting on mattresses in a sparse cement room of their home, Ayman’s father, Said Nasser, is reluctant to tell the story of his son. He points to the picture of Ayman, framed, in a corner of the room. “He died, and I can’t bring him back.” Slowly, smoking as he talks, his stoicism gives way to emotion.

Twenty-two year old Ayman Nasser had been “wanted” by the Israeli authorities since early 1990. On March 20 this year, Ayman and three other Palestinians were captured by Israeli soldiers after their hiding place was attacked with smoke bombs. Suffering from severe smoke inhalation, they were carried, unconscious, from the site. Soldiers then beat them on a nearby beach, according to accounts from eyewitnesses, and took the men to Ashkelon prison where they were admitted for interrogation. Ayman was brought back to the site of his capture by the Shin Bet three days later for purposes of an army investigation, and residents noticed his physical weakness, his difficulty in walking, and his temporary collapse. Later that day, Ayman was admitted to the intensive care unit of Sarchai hospital, exhibiting extreme respiratory distress. He died on his eighth day in the hospital, the third incident of death-in-detention since the beginning of the Intifada.

“They called me into army headquarters for questioning, on April 2,” his father tells us. “They didn’t tell me that he had died.” Soldiers asked Said Nasser about his children, about his work, and about the condition of his son prior to arrest. After the conversation, the army told him that Ayman was dead. “I was simply in a state of shock.”

Testimony from Said Nasser that Ayman was healthy before his arrest concurs with the assessment of the pathologist, Dr. Jorgen Dalgaard. According to Dalgaard’s investigations, Ayman’s death was the result of the rupture of pre-existing blisters in his lungs, induced by smoke inhalation and mistreatment during interrogations. Yet, as the pathologist reported, such blisters are a relatively common condition, usually with no serious repercussions; had he been afforded medical treatment following his capture, rather than being taken immediately for interrogation, it is likely that his life could have been saved.

“First the army demanded that Ayman be buried in a separate camp,” his father says, “outside Dir al-Balah. But he grew up here and this was his home, and I refused.” Finally the army agreed. They further attempted to restrict the funeral to five people but were persuaded to accept twelve after insistence of the family. Ayman was buried at 3 am in Dir al-Balah, under curfew, with the army present.[=]


The novel campaign, which took over a month to prepare, began in April. Four lectures were held in Birzeit University, one in Hebron, and one in the Ramallah village of Kuf N’ma.

The main goal of the campaign is to give information to the public about the protection of archaeological sites, said Campaign Coordinator Wafa Ali. “Many people have no knowledge about the laws concerning preservation of archaeological sites.”

“Unfortunately due to the closure, we can only get people from the same area to go to the sites. For example, a Bethlehem site can only be seen by Bethlehem residents,” she explained.

Children have not been exempted from the campaign. “We are putting archaeological articles in a children’s magazine [Ghadeer], so children can also be knowledgeable about preservation,” noted Ali.
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There are no concrete plans about what will be done after the campaign is over. "There are some ideas," Ali said, "But we can’t do anything without the funding." [=]


The closure has entered its third month and Palestinians in the occupied territories are still not allowed to enter Jerusalem without a permit. Barriers and roadblocks are becoming permanent features of the entrances to Jerusalem.

"Jerusalem residents are prohibited from expanding naturally," according to Anita Vitullo, director of research at PHRIC. "The Israelis are minimizing the number of Palestinians in Jerusalem. Not many people know that Jerusalem is still under occupation." [=

"Israel's erection of military roadblocks preventing West Bank Palestinians from entering Jerusalem effectively draw new borders and demonstrates Israel's intention to permanently annex the occupied territories," noted PHRIC in the 6/5/93 statement.

Israel has used many tactics--such as violating human rights and turning a deaf ear to UN resolutions--to make sure that Jewish colonies are built on as much Arab land as possible. According to PHRIC, 150,000 Israeli settlers live in East Jerusalem; over half of these settlers moved since the Intifada. "About 40% of the Arab-owned lands of Jerusalem (7,000 acres) were confiscated to build more settlements.

"Palestinians are left with 9% of their land for building," but getting an Israeli building permit is questionable. Jerusalemites also have a difficult time conferring Jerusalem residency status on their immediate family. "Except through family reunification, which is usually denied. Female Palestinians from Jerusalem cannot apply for residency for their spouses or children," stated PHRIC.

PHRIC noted that since the beginning of the Intifada, 48 Jerusalemites were killed--11 of them children. 51 homes and a church were demolished "for being built without a municipality-issued permit; dozens of houses were seized from their Palestinian owners on other legal pretexts," commented the human rights group. [=


Since the siege was imposed by the Israeli authorities 3/31/93, the Palestinian economy has been devastated because merchants in the northern region of the West Bank can no longer trade with the southern region.

"Most services like hospitals, colleges, NGOs, and consulates, which also play a big role in the economy, are centered in Jerusalem," explained Atef Alawnah, associate professor in economics at Al-Quds Open University. These institutions are now inaccessible to West Bank residents lacking the necessary permit.

"Since the closure, merchants in Jerusalem have faced a 60% decline in sales," said Alawnah. Prices of agricultural and poultry products have also risen drastically, he said. "In April, a kilo of chicken was worth 2.7 shekels [$1]. In May, the kilo went up to 5.5 shekels [$2]."

According to the economist, since the siege, 10,000 people from outside Jerusalem enter the city daily, and each person has to waste two days to get an entry permit. "So 20,000 work days are lost every three months just for a permit."

Assuming that 5000 people are stopped at the checkpoint for a period of 15 minutes "the amount of time lost would be 225,000 minutes, or 3750 working hours per day."

Also speaking at the seminar was Yusuf Dajani, Assistant Secretary General of the Council for Higher Education. he told the small audience that Al-Quds Open University has 1776 students from the West Bank--70% of whom need a permit to get to campus every day. At Ibrahimien College on the Mount of Olives, about one-third of the students are not able to attend, and only 9 of the 43 teachers are able to work, he added.

Nada Tweir, president of the Federation of Palestinian Women's Action Committee, discussed the unique problems of Hizma village residents.

"Hizma residents have been having a very difficult time trying to get into the village because the entrance to the village is located near a settlement. The residents need a permit to get into the village."

"Another problem Hizma residents are facing is the 28-mile journey to Ramallah using the Jericho route instead of the 8-mile route on the Jerusalem road." [=]

61237. TJT Staff. "Education and Health: Ministry Puts Faith in Parent Councils - Truancy Affected by Depressed Economy", in Biladi: The Jerusalem Times; October 20, 1995, p. 12. School truancy has become a particularly serious problem in the Gaza Strip. The PNA Ministry of Education has reported that, in the southern part of the Strip, the rate has reached 3.12 percent. UNRWA has issued figures for Gaza as a whole showing a truancy rate of 1.21 percent in elementary classes, 3.62 percent at the preparatory level and 5.6 percent at girls schools. The Ministry has outlined a number of causes contributing to the rise in truancy. First on the list has to be the depressed economic situation, which forces families to accept that their children will undertake casual work rather than attending school. The list of contributory factors continues with the increase in the size of families, poverty and early marriage, transportation difficulties and the increasing failure rates of students. Saber Quteh, Head of the Psychological Research Department at the Gaza Center of Mental Health, explained, "Palestinian children live in unnatural circumstances. Every single Palestinian kid has faced some shocking experience, and seventy percent have witnessed between four and five such experiences. The level of violence they have faced is very high." Quteh added that this led to a severing of trust between children and parents. Children realized that their parents couldn't protect them, so why should they expect them to show a strong commitment to school?" The climate of violence, intensified by family disputes or divorce, all militated against a child's motivation to attend school.

The Ministry of Education is anxiously considering how the problem of truancy can be eradicated. Fathi Bal'awi, PNA Deputy Minister of Education, said the ministry is doing its best to encourage non-tuition paying students to attend school regularly. One constructive line of approach was the establishment of parents' committees. These would work in cooperation with the Ministry to find out the causes of the problem, and, since it was perceived as being part of the child/parent relationship, would provide a direct line of approach which it was hoped would be more effective than punishment. Already, the beneficial effect of parents' committees is being felt. According to Siham Rashid, Principal of Ibrahimien College on Mount of Olives, 70% of whom need a permit to get to campus every day.

At Ibrahimien College on the Mount of Olives, about one-third of the students are not able to attend, and only 9 of the 43 teachers are able to work, he added.

Nada Tweir, president of the Federation of Palestinian Women's Action Committee, discussed the unique problems of Hizma village residents.

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"Another problem Hizma residents are facing is the 28-mile journey to Ramallah using the Jericho route instead of the 8-mile route on the Jerusalem road." [=]
police as having linkages with ‘terrorism’; oddly, no mention is made of the US having any evidence of its own against the groups targeted—all evidence is on Israeli produced. One such group, the Islamic Culture & Science Society, runs a school, kindergarten, orphanage and health clinic in the Gaza Strip. Its leader, Sheik Jamil Hamami notes he has been falsely arrested by the Israelis, but denies any link with Hamas. Hamami calls the Clinton Administration decision ‘more of a political decision than a practical one and is designed to appease the government of Israel’. He notes that funds for the social services come from the Holy Land Foundation for Relief & Development in Richardson, Texas, and the World Islamic League in Jedda, Saudi Arabia. ‘Israel is expelled by the US action. Israeli security sources [secret police] gave the US information on 180 bank accounts linked to terror groups’: the US government immediately followed Israeli orders to close the accounts and closed 150 so far. Israeli adviser on terrorism Yigal Carmon stated that terrorists can find work in charities or can borrow cars, food, money, documents or a place to hide, and therefore all such resources must be stripped from the impoverished Palestinians by intensified repression.

The Clinton’s action, praised by Arafat who seeks to weaken any opposition to his failing regime, is seen creating an intense backlash against the US and its Israeli masters among the Palestinians victimized yet again. [Note: during the occupation, activities such as providing health care, teaching children to read, providing food to the impoverished, and care of orphans have been labelled by Israeli Army as terrorist activities; possession of school books by children has also been classed as terrorism; similarly, Israeli Army tear gas attacks on kindergartens, followed by beatings of the children, has been justified as ‘defense against terrorism.’\[TXT\]]

61239. Taweel, Hussein. "May 1st: Syndicates Discuss Workers Issues", in Biladi-Jerusalem Times Palestinian Weekly (Occupied Territories), May 6, 1994, p. 10 The first time I met him was when he asked for help from workers union. An Israeli employer had handed him three checks totaling $3,000, which he cashed at a moneychanger in his town. The problem started when the bank would not cash the checks for lack of funds.

The case of Fawzi Yousef, 38, a Palestinian from Burhan near Kamallah, who worked in Israel for many years, is one example of the many problems Palestinian laborers are facing in their dealings with Israeli business owners. “The fact is I have been unemployed for some months now has negatively affected my wife and six children’s standard of living and has jeopardized our survival.”

He called on Palestinian labor unions to encourage Palestinian employers in the occupied territories to provide work opportunities for the thousands of unemployed.

Shaher Sa‘ad, secretary general of the workers’ union in the West Bank, charged the Israeli government with the responsibility of increasing unemployment among the Palestinians.

He hoped that this year’s Labor Day would be the turning point in implementing the economic plan recently prepared by the PLO to contain the rise in unemployment through new projects. “Losses to the Palestinian economy have reached $64 million during the last 180 days because of the siege imposed on us,” he said.

On the occasion of Labor Day, Sa‘ad recalled the martyrdom of Palestinian laborers and said, we will not forget the workers of the Rishon Letzion massacre when seven Palestinian workers were shot and killed by an Israeli citizen on 5/20/1990, while waiting in the street to go to work.

The secretary general said he expects work to begin on a new minimum wage law to be completed during 6/1994. “This law will put an end to the abuse and the bargaining that goes on between employers and laborers. It will also include a law for working women.”

Nabil Izza, a member of the union, said that the Israeli authorities policy is aimed at starving the Palestinian people and added that this is a crime against those who refuse to concede their national rights.

He affirmed that the mission of the Palestinian unions should be to unite the workers and provide means to alleviate their dilemma and that of their families.

Another member of the union, Imad Sharif, said the unions should commit themselves to assisting workers through all means possible. He also talked about the importance of rebuilding the union’s structure and to democratically renew the laws to suit the current circumstances. “Our main concern is that the Palestinian unions will not be a political tool in the hands of the [Israeli] authorities. I suggest we initiate legislating laws in the interest of the Palestinian workers immediately,” he added.

Amina Rimawi, a member of the union’s executive committee, said that something must be done to solve the problems of workers who are employed in our institutions without legal contracts and to protect them from being thrown out at any time by their employers.

She added, “I call on all the Palestinians to join and support the workers’ unions in their fight against injustice and to alleviate he heavy burdens the Palestinian workers endure.”

It is also essential to emphasize women’s issues and their role in organizing the Palestinian society, said Rimawi. “We must protect working women from atrocities and injustices, and we must help them in developing their energy and skills so that they can have equal rights in all aspects of life.”

61240. Taylor, Charles W.; Strategic Studies Institute; Army War College. "World Population: World Population and the New Order of Nations: Part 1", in A World 2010: A New Order of Nations. Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 1992, pp. 29-35. Global population will continue to increase. [This study uses demographic data projected 15 or more years that have been extracted from the 1991 World Population Data Sheet by Carl Haub, Mary Madiros Kent, and Machiko Yanagishita, Washington: Population Reference Bureau Inc., April 1991, and other official international population projections. The world’s total population of circa 7.2 billion for the year 2010 is from this data sheet. The numbers are relative and are not crucial to the analysis of this study. They are used merely to establish a probable view of the world and its new order of nations in 2010 when trends of the latter half of the 20th century continue into the next century. (See Leon Bouvier. “Projections: Always Right, Always Wrong.” Intercom, Population Reference Bureau Inc., November/December 1983, pp. 8-9, for a discussion on numbers used in projections.) Projected estimates (see Table 4) indicate that by the year 2010 the world’s population will be about 7.2 billion, up 33% over 1991. By 2025, the world’s population can be expected to be about 8.6 billion, an increase of 75% over 1986. The largest increase will be in the less developed or preindustrial countries were the total fertility rate (TFR) [Haub and others, 1991 World Population Data Sheet. Total Fertility Rate (TFR): The average number of children a woman will have if current age-specific birth rates will remain constant throughout here child bearing years (roughly ages 15-49). Depending upon mortality levels, a TFR of 2.1 to 2.5 is considered “replacement” level. At this level, a population will eventually stop growing.] is about 4.2 children. The least increase will be in the more developed countries where the TFR is about 1.9, well below the TFR replacement level of 2.1 to 2.5, where population eventually stops growing, assuming no net migration. Movement of people across international borders by 2010, however, will have increased significantly. –[1]-

61241. Taylor, Charles W.; Strategic Studies Institute; Army War College. "World Population: World Population and the New Order of Nations: Part 2", in A World 2010: A New Order of Nations. Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 1992, pp. 29-35. The date displayed in Table 4 indicate that by 2010, the world’s population will reach about 7.2 billion and the less developed countries, in the traditional grouping, will represent more than three-quarters of the total population. When the nations are regrouped into the new order, previously described, the preindustrial countries by the year 2010 will represent about one third of the world’s population. The population of the postindustrial countries will represent about 16% of the world’s population. The postindustrial countries will include a new nation that was created after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Union

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of Social Democratic Republics, USDR (as defined in Chapter 2). It will be marginally a postindustrial country. In the other new order classifications, the industrial countries will represent the largest group, about 47% and will include another new coalition of the former Soviet Union, the Union of Sovereign Republics (USR). The advanced industrial countries will only account for about 1.5%; the transitioning industrial countries, about 5%; and the preindustrial countries, about 30%. Table 5 shows world population estimates arranged in the new order of nations for 1996, 1991, 2010, and 2025.

Demographic data projections by the year 2020 indicate the following significant likely trends: (a) Life expectancy in most countries will continue to increase. [Bouvier, “Planet Earth,”] projects the overall average of life expectancy at birth will be 70 years in the year 2034, pp. 21 and 25.] In the postindustrial and advanced industrial countries, life expectancy could reach 80 years or older in 2010 in comparison to about 70-75 in the transitioning industrials, 65-70 in the industrials, and 55-60 in the preindustrials (all estimated). (b) Generally, physical well-being will improve. This almost certainly will expand the number of people available for the work force, those in need of services and sustainment, and those requiring living space. Within most nations in 2010 that are achieving a level of zero population growth or those with declining population, increasing numbers of older people (age 64-75+ years) will be either an economic welfare burden on societies or, as possible and prudently planned, an economic benefit because they will be absorbed into the work force. (c) For many nations, the median population age could approach 45-50 in the year 2034 and uses West Germany as an example (although he believes that East and West Germany will be united before or early in the 21st century); also, that the declining number of youth will increasingly require the nation’s reliance on intelligent robots or on immigration of youth from those countries having surplus populations, p. 26.] this would be especially true for the postindustrial and certainly true for the advanced industrial countries. In 2010, the postindustrial and advanced industrial countries could expect to have a shortage of youth at the age of military recruits. [= 61242. Taylor, Charles W.; Strategic Studies Institute; Army War College. “World Population: World Population and the New Order of Nations: Part 3”, in A World 2010: A New Order of Nations. Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 1992 pp. 29-35. By 2010, most countries will have the potential to provide a relatively better quality of life for their people than they could provide in the past. That is, most people will believe they are better off or richer than their neighbor. Thus, migration from the less affluent countries to the more affluent, across contiguous borders as well as to the more remote advanced countries, likely will continue—regardless of restrictions or other means to control or regulate migration. The postindustrial countries of the US, Europe, and Union of Social Democratic Republics can expect significant cultural changes by the year 2010. These changes will come about due to past migration patterns and immigration policies existing over the last 3-4 decades (ca. 1970-2010):Events in the 1980s and 1990s where restriction on the movements of people were lifted by governments also have been instrumental in effecting cultural changes, e.g., the wave of movement in 1989 of East Germans to West Germany before unification, or the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel from the former Soviet Union once freedom was given to the Soviet people.

Population and demographic trends could be significant factors in effecting a new order of nations as well as causing a devolution of power internationally. the postindustrial US will have achieved zero population growth, if not decline, barring a continuation of legal and illegal immigration, during the late 1990s to the early years of the new century. [See Bouvier. Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America, 1991, pp. 45-56.] A decline in the number of available youth (ages 10-19 years) to the turn of the century can be expected; an increase in its population ages 40-69 years; an average population age approaching 40 years; and a life expectancy at birth approaching 85 years of age or older, will be continuing trends. [= 61244. Tov-El, Moshe. “Israeli Scene: Soldier as Victim of Intifada [Story from the 6/25/93 Moshe Tov-El, the Hadashot Weekend Supplement, originally titled ‘The Sucker’], Part 1”, in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 5, 1993. p. 11. None of this would have happened if 2nd Lt. Oren Bari, 24, had simply carried out the instructions of the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Lior, to shoot at the legs of the children who throw stones at IDF soldiers in Gaza. He would not have gotten himself mixed up in a military trial. He would have stayed in the army, advanced in rank, and been given command over his Nahal [youth cadet corps] squadron, which he had wanted so much.

But Bari is a "leftist, a bleeding heart," from Kibbutz Ma'ain Banuch, who in spite of the instructions of the battalion commander, tried not to injure the stone throwing children. Instead of shooting at their legs, he preferred to scare them by shooting two rubber bullets at a nearby wall. Somehow, at the same time. Rami Abdul Latif, 12, from Sheikh Radwan [neighborhood in Gaza City] was hit in the head and later died in the hospital. For whatever reason, the death was attributed to Bari's shooting.

For 22 months (since the incident) Bari has been fighting to prove his innocence. It was only last Sunday that he allowed himself a little smile. The judges of the Central Region Military Court accepted his claim that he had not shot at the child and did not find any casual relationship between his shooting and the child's death. In their ruling, the judges remarked that the case should have ended in a disciplinary court
only and gave Bari a 20-day suspended sentence. "I now know," said 2nd Lt. Bari, "after all that I have been through, that I was naive to believe that the system would defend me. Now I know that I was a sucker. Gaza is a place which devours the people who live there. There is no way I can avoid it. I have a problem with the territories."

In 9/91, just one month before he was supposed to have been promoted in rank, his squadron was assigned to patrol in Gaza. Those were the days of daily mass demonstrations in the territories. The Intifada was almost three years old. Gaza was boiling over. It was a difficult month for the paratrooper squadron positioned at a military post on Nasser City in Gaza. Not a day went by without the Shabab throwing stones at the soldiers who were manning the position. [–

61245. Tov-El, Moshe. "Israeli Scene: Soldier as Victim of Intifada [Story from the 6/25/93 Moshe Tov-El, the Hadashot Weekend Supplement, originally titled 'The Sucker'], Part 4", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Supplement, originally titled 'The Sucker'], Part 3", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 5, 1993. p. 11. 2nd Lt. Bari was commander of the patrolling division. "The children would throw stones and curse at us," he relates. "Sometimes the stones would reach the entrance of the encampment. We responded according to the policy of not going after them very seriously. Actually, we didn't exactly know what to do with them. Morale in the unit was very low. Two officers had already been wounded by stone throwers. Every time we were attacked by stones we would retreat into the tent and wait until nightfall when we would arrest the inciters [sic]." [–

61246. Tov-El, Moshe. "Israeli Scene: Soldier as Victim of Intifada [Story from the 6/25/93 Moshe Tov-El, the Hadashot Weekend Supplement, originally titled 'The Sucker'], Part 2", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 5, 1993. p. 11. "One day," recounts Bari, "the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Lior, had a meeting with all of the officers of the unit and said to them: 'From now on, no more retreating from the children. We don't have any place left to retreat. In a life-threatening situation, any officer who has prior admission to use rubber bullets is now authorized to shoot at stone throwers without my prior permission.'"

The battalion commander stressed that the regulations pertain only to shooting at the legs - below the knees - excluding children under the age of 16, and stone throwers who are less than 70 meters away. The officers were quite satisfied with the new instructions. "We thought that he had decided to take control of the situation. No one realized where it was likely to lead," said Bari. [–

61247. Tov-El, Moshe. "Israeli Scene: Soldier as Victim of Intifada [Story from the 6/25/93 Moshe Tov-El, the Hadashot Weekend Supplement, originally titled 'The Sucker'], Part 4", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 5, 1993. p. 11. 2nd Lt. Bari put on his dress uniform in preparation for his first weekend leave after two weeks in Gaza. Suddenly he heard gunshots. He came out of the tent-camp towards the military post with his weapon in hand. 2nd Lt. A. had already arrived wearing civilian clothing. A soldier on patrol was also stationed at the military post. It turned out that a few dozen children from Sheikh Radwan who were on their way to school crossed the Rimal neighborhood and deviated from their normal pathway in order to get closer to the military position and throw stones at the soldiers. When Bari reached the military post there was a temporary lull, and 2nd Lt. A. decided to leave the area. Bari stayed with his weapon, in case they should be attacked again. [–

61248. Tov-El, Moshe. "Israeli Scene: Soldier as Victim of Intifada [Story from the 6/25/93 Moshe Tov-El, the Hadashot Weekend Supplement, originally titled 'The Sucker'], Part 5", in Al-Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), July 5, 1993. p. 11. 2nd Lt. Bari reached the military post with his weapon in hand. 2nd Lt. A. had already arrived wearing civilian clothing. A soldier on patrol was also stationed at the military post. It turned out that a few dozen children from Sheikh Radwan who were on their way to school crossed the Rimal neighborhood and deviated from their normal pathway in order to get closer to the military position and throw stones at the soldiers. When Bari reached the military post there was a temporary lull, and 2nd Lt. A. decided to leave the area. Bari stayed with his weapon, in case they should be attacked again. [–

After they realized that this was just a trick, they began to throw stones at us again. I decided to shoot. Near me, about 20 meters away, stood a small child throwing stones. I ignored him. About 20 meters away there was another youth standing; he seemed to be older. I aimed my rifle at the wall that was next to him, thinking that if I hit the wall, it would shock him and he would run away. I shot two rubber bullets. The children dispersed. I reported to the deputy commander of the company that I had opened fire. I stated that I had not seen any wounded, and left for home.

No sooner had he changed out of his uniform then the telephone rang in the room on his kibbutz began to ring. The deputy commander of the company was on the other end of the line. "A youth has been wounded," he said. "Come back immediately! We're conducting an investigation today!"

Bari, bewildered, realizing that his sabbath would be wasted, tried to convince them: "Can't they do the investigation over the phone?" He still didn't realize what kind of trouble he was in.

Disappointed, he put his dress uniform back on and, leaving his kibbutz just north of Gaza, arrived back at the military post at 8:30 that evening. The investigation was conducted in the command tent, with the participation of Brig. Gen. Yom-Tov Samiah, the brigade commander, the battalion commander and other officers. Notes were taken by an officer with the rank of major. Even before they entered the tent the battalion commander asked Bari, "Why did you shoot?"

Bari: "From the very beginning I had quite a strange feeling. Later I realized that I wasn't taking part in the investigation, they were simply interrogating me as a suspect in the shooting of the youth. The atmosphere was very tense. The officers were very austere. I got the impression that they were going to treat the event very severely.

I started to feel that I was being given a death sentence," says Bari. After thinking for a few minutes he recalls what he said. "Who determined that the youth was injured by my fire?" he asked the investigators. "I am a marksman. If I had wanted to shoot him I would have done it, and I would have seen that I hit him. He could have been shot in a completely different area. No one did a check of the shooting incidents. Who knows how he was injured?"

A few minutes after the conclusion of the first investigation, the battalion commander informed 2nd Lt. Bari of Brig Gen. Samiah's decision to relieve him of his position as commander of the patrolling division in his sector.

The injured child was taken to Tel Hashomer Hospital and died on Saturday, two days later. At that point the Military Investigating Police got involved in the investigation and the investigators came to the tent-camp. Bari claims that the battalion and brigade commanders put pressure on him to confess that he made a mistake by shooting at the child and then they would work towards having his demotion canceled. "I didn't want to admit to something that I didn't do, so the dismissal remained in force," he said.

Following the investigation, Bari's personal weapon was confiscated. Meanwhile, the battalion commander also changed his version of the story. The battalion commander told the MIP investigators that Bari had not acted in accordance with his directives and should not have shot at the child. Bari was caught in an embarrassing situation. "I didn't know what to tell my soldiers. How should I explain to them why I

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Dan Rostenkowski's (D-Ill.) powerful Ways and Means Committee. It was a big shock. I felt like I was going to get it for no wrong doing of my own. I decided to fight.

The testimonies did not provide unequivocal evidence that could be used as a basis against Bari. The ballistic expert claimed that it was difficult to determine if the plastic bullet which wounded the child was fired from the rifle of the accused. In her statement, the blood expert could not determine whether or not the blood found on the spot where, according to the Palestinians, the wounded child fell was indeed the blood of the child. Also, from the autopsy report it was impossible to determine beyond doubt that the accused was the one who caused the death of the child.

The panel of three judges in the military court, headed by Brig. Gen. Mordechai Levi, was impressed by Bari's personality. "We were convinced that he was the 'salt of the earth,'" they said, and gave him a very light sentence, the accepted amount for a disciplinary court: 20 days suspended sentence. But they only did that after they recommended him for a promotion and to have the testimony of the battalion commander transferred to the Military General Prosecutor in order to investigate his behavior and the legality of the order which he gave.

"I was educated to give my all, the maximum. That's the rule which I was brought by. The lesson I learnt from this is to try not to think so much," Bari said. [–]

61249. Traficant, James: New American View. "On The Hill," in New American View-News and Informed Commentary on the Pro-Israeli Lobby in America. Vol.7(24). December 15, 1992. Speaking of circuses, Congress was in town last week for a short session to pick its leaders and committees, and to attend to several other procedural matters, like showing the freshman around the campus. As usual, the House was more fun to watch than the stodgy, self-satisfied Senate. But there were some interesting things going on in the upper house's ring, too. Sen. Bob "(I was drunk when I mauled her)" Packwood (R-Ore.) did his dammedest to dodge sexual harassment charges by the couple of dozen women he has molested over the years—and the inevitable Ethics Committee review of his indiscretions. Neither the pro-abortion crowd nor the Jewish pro-Israeli lobby—his two biggest constituencies—came to his rescue. Slippery Bob is going to have to wiggle out of this one on his own. It's lonesome. Elsewhere in the Senate, the talk was about moving the ladies' room closer to the floor, now that there are six female members, and guessing assignments for the plum Cabinet assignments of Treasury, State and Defense. The white males of the world's greatest deliberative body are traditionally little interested in the Attorney General's job. This year even less so, because some woman somewhere has a lock on it, according to reports from Little Rock. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas) won the Treasury post. He will be replaced as chairman of the powerful Finance Committee by Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.). Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) is one of the contenders, along with Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), for Secretary of Defense. Sen. Richard Bradley (D-N.J.) is a longshot candidate, with Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), for Secretary of State. Veteran Hill watchers, however, think Bentsen will be the only selection made by Clinton from the Senate. Over in the House, the boys expect to do a lot better. Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.) has already won the job at the Office of Management and Budget. Aspin and Hamilton are in the running for Defense and State. Liberal Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Oklahoma) seems to have the inside track for Director of the CIA, and black Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.) is favored to get the pick for Secretary of Agriculture.

Meanwhile, the House Democratic leadership has bowed to the freshmen of military judges, military prosecution, and then some kind of defense. The chairman got even for remarks the Ohio representative made on the floor of the House in a heated debate over the status of the economy last term—when Traficant said that both Rostenkowski and his counterpart in the Senate, Bentso, should resign their committee chairmanships because they were incompetent. A recent Gallup poll of the nation's lawmakers shows that the new president will have his hands full with the 103rd Congress. While Democrats believe that jobs, health care and the federal deficit are the top three issues, Republicans see the deficit, jobs and health care as the major problems. There also is wide disparity over how to go about resolving these issues. In addition, the Republicans consider the line-item veto, taxes, trade, crime and defense as the other important matters.

The Democrats view education, term limits, trade, welfare and crime as the remaining major issues. Perhaps more important for the taxpayer, the survey found that the legislators believe the most effective ways of complaining to Congress are: a personal letter from a constituent or the head of a home district group; face-to-face meetings with local groups and business leaders; and telephone calls from constituents. Three out of four members of Congress say that they call back letter writers "often" or "sometimes." The Russian government will have to reform its secrecy laws in order to gain another year of most-favored-nation trading status, if Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) has anything to do with it. Frank, who visited Russia earlier this month, is angry that there are more than 100 Jewish refuseniks still forbidden to leave the former Soviet Union because Russian authorities claim they possess secret knowledge which could endanger the national security if passed on to unfriendly governments. The congressman's trip to Russia was organized by the International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission, which has sought Frank's help in revoking the Russian law against sodomy. Improving human rights for Russia's gay community "is somewhat similar to greater freedoms for Jews," the congressman told a Jewish journalist in Moscow. [–]

61250. Travis, J. "Cancer Gene Screening Possible for Jews", in Science News, September 30, 1995. p. 215. Ashkenazi Jews, some 80% of all Jews worldwide, and essentially all Jews in the United States, have a 0.9% chance of carrying a specific mutation in a gene linked to breast cancer a US-Israeli study finds. The mutation in the BRCA1 gene is widespread in that inbred population. Some controversy has arisen due to the high incidence of breast cancer in Long Island; long argued by some as caused by heavy pesticides use there, an editorial in Nature Genetics argues that the high breast cancer rate could be rather the product of the Ashkenazi population there.

61251. Tzemel, Lea: Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. "Women Inside and Out: No Court, No Trial, No Jury: Israel/Palestine: Part 01", in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, n. 14, Fall 1984. p. 24. A million Palestinians are currently living under Occupation. The "Defense Regulation," a hold-over from the British Mandate, governs the Occupied Territories (the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and until it was formally annexed to Israel, the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem). Palestinians depend totally on the discretion of the military governor for their daily needs, such as obtaining a driver's license, opening an enterprise or a library, or leaving town. People are tried daily in the military courts on various offenses.

The military court, appointed by the military governor, consists of military judges, military prosecution, and then some kind of defense. There are no appeals on the decisions of the court and punishments are very high. The military governor also has administrative power to punish without a trial, by confiscating land and destroying houses, both of which have been occurring more frequently. This collective punishment is part of the "Defense Regulation." It applies also to Palestinians living in Israel.

A lawyer cannot be involved in a case in its major and most important stage, interrogation. In a security case, the security services...
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can sign an order preventing the lawyer any contact with a client during the first 15 days for Jews and 18 days for Palestinians, but this can be extended to a month or longer. Only after the client has signed a confession, can the lawyer see her/him. The interrogation, which often includes torture, is aimed at extracting a confession which is then used as the main and often the only, evidence.

Palestinian prisoners are not accorded the rights of Prisoners of War because the Israeli government has never recognized them as such. Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, during wartime, when one country occupies another, the civilians living in that territory are protected. The Occupying Power can take and hold some of the population as internees if they are suspected of being a security risk. But they are then granted by the Convention a whole spectrum of rights: for full civil capacity, for frequent family visits, to see a lawyer, to read books, to receive medical care, not to be held in a war area, etc. All of these things have been denied to both the male and female Palestinian prisoners, [including the women prisoners at Neve Tirzeh, all of whom have been charged with crimes that "threaten the security of the state."]

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61252. Tucker, Cynthia. "Oklahoma City Bombing Makes Americans, Like Israelis, Victims of Terrorism", in NewsHour, April 18, 1996. Tucker argues that the Oklahoma City bombing makes Americans the victims of terrorists. This draws Americans closer to [Jewish] Israelis, who have long been victims of terrorism. She notes she is encouraged by the increasing pressure in America to silence inappropriate dissent: she sees free speech as encouraging people on the fringe to be terrorists and welcomes the growing intolerance among Americans for those who do not share the ‘mainstream’ belief system. [Tucker is associated with the Atlanta Constitution.] [This program comes on the day after the Cana massacre in southern Lebanon.] [TXT]

61253. Turin, Ornat. "Women's Scant Media Exposure During War Reflects Social Marginality: Off the Air", in Challenge, July-August 1991. p. 26. My colleagues and I at the Institute of Family and Communication were recently asked to respond to, write about and interpret interpretations of the absence of women from the media during the Gulf war. This request left me confused: What can one write about women during that period? They simply were not there! Women disappeared from the screen and the airwaves, both as interviewers and interviewees. They were not among the stream of experts - strategists, tacticians, rearmers and worriers - and their appearance as sociologists, sociologists and psychologists was negligible. It would seem that women were the only sector of the media population privileged enough to have been allowed to seek refuge during the air-raid sirens. How else can one explain the fact that during all 39 dashes to the sealed room, not one woman was present on the radio or television to help put the public at ease? A strange situation, to put it mildly. Even during the chaotic days of the war, one could already hear explanations of the scant appearance of veteran women broadcasters. There were those who said public officials wished to avoid causing offense to the ultra-Orthodox community, which was compelled to listen to the broadcasts - a community for which "a woman's voice is her sex." Another explanation had to do with the degree of authority carried by the deep, assertive voice of a man, as opposed to that of a woman. The latter pretext serves television decision-makers in days of peace and calm too; women hardly ever have the honor of opening the evening news on television. Nevertheless, the disappearance of 51% of the population from the media is no trivial matter, and deserves thorough discussion. One should try to understand this phenomenon against the background of women's status in the media and in Israeli society in general. I do not wish to belaeguer the already aware and convinced reader with the justice of our cause, but it is worth recalling: Not one of the 20 government ministers is a woman, only eight of the 120 members of the Knesset are women, and the average income of men is 30% higher than that of women, even after intervening variables are controlled. The image of women in the media reflects this social order. As is usually the case with crisis situations, the Gulf war merely accentuated and brought into focus the essence of the situation.

The concept of fixing the status of a subject pertains to one of the media's indirect effects: raising the social status of individuals who appear in it. This is one reason the media has refrained from covering events such as speeches by Arafat or public appearances by the late Rabbi Meir Kahane. A common feeling among us viewers is that "if he's on television, he must be an important man." Accordingly, much research in the field of mass communications is devoted to trying to understand the dynamics of the appearance of various minority groups in the media - Blacks, Hispanics, the elderly, those labelled as invisible, groups that have disappeared from the media repertoire. It is customary to ascribe their absence to their perceived, though imaginary, social marginality. Women are not a minority. Yet when discussing women in the context of the Israeli media, I can think of no better word to describe their status than "marginal." The clearest feeling the media conveys about them is insignificance. When the war became a kind of routine, a new genre of chauvinistic jokes blossomed in the electronic and print media. The jokes were mostly at the expense of mothers-in-law. In one program, comedian Motti Giladi compared his mother-in-law to a serpent, saying that the gas mask only improved her looks and that the real suffering of the war consisted in having to sit in the sealed room with her. Another female figure who starred in the jokes was the woman who, with a kind of female silliness, carries on with her daily chores (washing laundry and dishes, watering plants) while the bombs whistle down around her. Grotesque female characters also started appearing on the variety show for teenagers, "Zehu Zeh" ("That's It"), the regular cast of which does not include a woman. I can remember two such characters from during the war, when the show was very popular: an intimidating female general from the Civil Guard, and an elderly Polish woman, the famous Zusha, who goes out hunting for Iraqi spies. Humor, as we know, is not just a laughing matter. Researchers in the field of humor study the rise of joke genres such as these to explore their subject matter and contexts, the social code reflected in them, and how they relate to reality. Humor is a mechanism for releasing aggressive impulses. My personal opinion is that what accumulated during the war is now being released in severe acts of violence perpetrated against women in recent weeks. And not a sound is heard. Note: Ornat Turin is coordinator of the Institute of Family and Communication, under the auspices of the Israel Women's Network. (Translation: Yehudit Cohen) [=]

61254. Twair, Pat; Twair, Samir; American Education Trust. "Children's Cartoon " Zehu Ze" and the Climate of Fear in the Israeli Media", in Middle East Report on Middle East Affairs (American Education Trust, Box 53062, Washington DC 20009), April/May 1993. pp. 67, 79. The Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the National Association of Arab Americans has kicked off a series of informal breakfasts with Southern California congressmen.

Representative Xavier Becerra was the first guest at a 3/13/93 traditional Arabic breakfast mezzeh served at the Eagle Rock home of Occidental College Professor Brice Harris and Carolyn Harris.

Representative Becerra, elected in November to the newly apportioned 30th congressional district in Los Angeles, described his 1991 visit to the Galilee school directed by Father Elias Chacour, a Palestinian Melkite (Roman Catholic) priest who has written two books like "Like Israelis, Victims of Terrorism," in NewsHour, April 18, 1996. Tucker argues that the Oklahoma City bombing makes Americans the victims of terrorists. This draws Americans closer to [Jewish] Israelis, who have long been victims of terrorism. She notes she is encouraged by the increasing pressure in America to silence inappropriate dissent: she sees free speech as encouraging people on the fringe to be terrorists and welcomes the growing intolerance among Americans for those who do not share the ‘mainstream’ belief system. [Tucker is associated with the Atlanta Constitution.] [This program comes on the day after the Cana massacre in southern Lebanon.]
He stressed that it costs $4185 to educate a child annually as opposed to $33000 to maintain a person in prison for one year. So why hot invest in educating youth rather than in locking them up after they commit a crime, he asked. 

More than 35 NAAA members were on hand for the event. In response to a query as to how they can have their voices heard, Becerra cited an example.  

"It was nearly a done deal a few years ago that a prison was going to be constructed in East Los Angeles," he said. "Then a group of community leaders, chiefly mothers, launched a protest. They named themselves "Mothers of East Los Angeles" and they forced through a bill to stop the prison. No more than 40-50 women were able to defeat the designs of City Hall and the governor of California. So go everywhere, be heard everywhere and let everyone know you're present," he advised.  

[Pat and Samir Twair are free-lance writers based in Los Angeles.]  

61255. Tyler, John. "A Woman's Place", in Bilad-Jerusalem Times, January 27, 1995, p. 5. Activists and educators from the Galilean village of Majd al-Krum, along with members of Hanitzotz/A-Sharara Publishing House, announced the publication of a new book, The Additional Factor, on the situation of Arab education in Israel and the success of the two-year-old Mothers’ School at a press conference in Jerusalem's Beit Agron on 1/25/1995. Speaking at the press conference, that took place in front of a school, Lahav said not seeing the education in Israel is not only discrimination in budgets, but "the crisis stems from the fact that there is no future for Arab citizens of Israel." Even if he or she attains a BA degree, she continued, the only work available is in construction or other low-paid, labor-intensive sectors. Lahav summarized the book as having two parts: the first section gives a detailed, critical picture of Arab education in Israel, including its infrastructure, content and results. According to Lahav, this section also deals with national policy toward the Arab school system. The destructive results of this policy, Lahav said, are visible in the low level of achievement, and the alienation and frustration of both teachers and students. The author described the second section as documenting the unique experience of the Mothers’ School project in Majd al-Krum. Started two years ago by the Baqa Center, the project involves mothers who as girls dropped out of the education system and now want to advance their children's achievement in school. This part of the book includes background material on the situation of education in the village, and interviews with teachers and mothers at the Mothers’ School. In her presentation at the press conference, Lahav stressed that nothing has changed in the policy toward Arab education under the Labor-Meretz government, contrary to promises and expectations. Siham Kiwan, a mother of six and former student at the Mothers’ School, told those assembled at Beit Agron how she was forced to leave school after 9th grade since there was no high school in the village at the time. Her father would not let her go to school in another town. She had not been pleased with her children's performance in school, so when she was approached by a village woman working at the Baqa Center, Siham was immediately interested in joining the Mothers’ School.  

"The Mothers’ School opened a whole new world for me, not only from my studies, but the trips we went on with the school, the activities, and meeting other people," Siham said that she finished the three-month course in mathematics and Arabic, and is now teaching the results in the better grades her children bring home. She has taken a more active interest in their studies, and is better able to tutor them at home. Samia Nasser, head of the Baqa Center’s Education Committee and herself a teacher specializing in instructing children who have difficulties, said that the Mothers’ School project has recently branched out - now mothers who completed the courses are tutoring children from the school, as well as their own offspring. The book itself provides the reader with an impressively detailed analysis of the insidious nature of national education policy. A clear impetus for publication was the dismal failure of Labor and Meretz ministers to follow through even on their most basic assurance - equalizing budgets. Lahav writes, "Minister of Education Amnon Rubinstein declared in early 1994 that within three years he would bring about complete equality between the Jewish and Arab educational systems." But, she continues, even if the budgets themselves were equalized, "it would not redress the deep discrepancies which developed over 47 years of systematic discrimination." Lahav shows how last year's budget has no meaningful changes concerning Arab education. The following are the references to Arab schools in the Ministry of Education report for 1993-1994. Arab schools got 226 newly built classrooms, just 15.5% of a total 1452 classrooms built in 1994. Arab pupils make up to 20% of pupils in elementary schools nationwide. The shortage of classrooms in Arab schools in 1993 amounted to 1200. All third grade classes in Israel received budgets this year for more hours in school each day. Schools in the Arab sector also got additional hours for the fourth grade, raising the average hours per day in Arab schools to 6.2, compared with 5.7 for Jewish schools.  

Yet, Arab children in Israel attend five days a week, while Jewish children go for six days each week. Hence, Jewish pupils have class 34.2 hours weekly, while Arab pupils have 31 hours. Furthermore, and almost $30000 in new hours added to the entire system for the school year 1994-95, 25000 were allocated to enhancement and enrichment programs - not one of these hours went to an Arab school. The Arab high school student is not included in the new program called "second chance." Designated for schools in development cities and poor neighborhoods, this program provides tutoring for teenagers who only lack three exams to graduate. In spite of such documented discrimination, Lahav says that the crisis in Arab education lies in budgets only. She writes that "the heart of the problem is the traditional policy of the Israeli government toward the Arabs in Israel. All the changes implemented have been cosmetic." In her view, the budget for Arab education is not intended to deal with the catastrophic problems facing Arab education today. Some examples of the depths of the crisis: Dropout. The State Controller's Report for 1992 indicates a dropout rate of 55%. Mathematics: National aptitude tests conducted in 1991 show that in math, 75% of 8-year-old Arab children failed, while only 30% of 8-year-old Jewish children failed. Matriculation: In 1991, only 13.7% of 12th grade Arab students passed their final exams, while 42.3% of Jewish students passed (State Controller's Report 1992). It is not enough to open a new classroom and equip it with modern gadgets. Arab students must see opportunities to become productive members of society, in any field. But the Education Committee thought they could start in their own homes and work from the bottom up, rather than waiting for a sea change in Israeli politics. The Mothers’ School is their answer. Mothers are the “additional factor” necessary to jumpstart improvement in Arab education. According to Lahav, the success in Majd al-Krum has inspired those involved to reach out to the rest of the Arab community in Israel and show them an example of how to improve the system themselves. Lahav and the mothers and teachers in this Galilean village hope to see schools for mothers springing up all over the region, giving mothers the chance to help their society, their children, and themselves. [-]  

61256. Tyler, John. "Prisoner Release: Great Expectations: Part 1", in Challenge, November-December 1993. p. 12. When the Palestinian negotiating team in Taba announced that all women, young boys, elderly, and severely ill Palestinian political prisoners would be released, expectations in the Occupied Territories rose precipitously. There is hardly an issue which has such overwhelming national significance. In the past few years, the percentage of Arab prisoners who have completed three exams to graduate. In spite of such documented discrimination, Lahav says that the crisis in Arab education lies in budgets only. She writes that "the heart of the problem is the traditional policy of the Israeli government toward the Arabs in Israel. All the changes implemented have been cosmetic." In her view, the budget for Arab education is not intended to deal with the catastrophic problems facing Arab education today. Some examples of the depths of the crisis: Dropout. The State Controller's Report for 1992 indicates a dropout rate of 55%. Mathematics: National aptitude tests conducted in 1991 show that in math, 75% of 8-year-old Arab children failed, while only 30% of 8-year-old Jewish children failed. Matriculation: In 1991, only 13.7% of 12th grade Arab students passed their final exams, while 42.3% of Jewish students passed (State Controller's Report 1992). It is not enough to open a new classroom and equip it with modern gadgets. Arab students must see opportunities to become productive members of society, in any field. But the Education Committee thought they could start in their own homes and work from the bottom up, rather than waiting for a sea change in Israeli politics. The Mothers’ School is their answer. Mothers are the “additional factor” necessary to jumpstart improvement in Arab education. According to Lahav, the success in Majd al-Krum has inspired those involved to reach out to the rest of the Arab community in Israel and show them an example of how to improve the system themselves. Lahav and the mothers and teachers in this Galilean village hope to see schools for mothers springing up all over the region, giving mothers the chance to help their society, their children, and themselves. [-]  

Women in the Middle East and North Africa  
Israel-Palestine  
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rather than military courts, are waiting for an amnesty from President
to the conditions in prison, everyone suffers from rheumatism, infections
and skin diseases. Among the most difficult medical conditions are:
spinal cord injuries, diabetes, high-blood pressure and rheumatism.
Mariam Manasra, 19, sentenced to 12 years, lost a kidney as a
result of IDF gunfire. Her remaining kidney does not function well and
she suffers from kidney stones. She also has difficulty walking due to a
bullet wound in her leg.

Suad Jo’beh, 18, suffers from a bullet still lodged in her leg.
Abir Swiss, 23, is paralyzed in one arm.
She has served one-and-a-half years of a five-year sentence.
The military prosecutor is currently working to lengthen her sentence.

Rula Abu Daku, 25, is serving a life sentence. She suffers from
spine problems, a uterine tumor which has yet to be diagnosed as
malignant or benign, and respiratory problems resulting from a broken
nose.

Hudud Sharbati, 16, has an abdominal hernia and internal
bleeding.[=]

61258. Tyler, John. “Prisoner Release: Great Expectations: Part 3”, in
Challenge, November-December 1993. p. 13. After the signing, all the
speculation about a mass prisoner release gave the prison authorities
one more weapon in their arsenal. One day the prisoners would be told
that no one would be released, and the next day that everyone was to be
released. Amneh likened it to psychological warfare.

When the time finally came, each of the 12 women were
separately told to pack their things, but were not told why. They were
handed a small room for hours, and then loaded into a van which
proceeded to drive from the prison, which is north of Tel Aviv, to Nablus,
from Nablus to Tulkarm, from Tulkarm to Jenin, from Jenin back inside
Israel to the coast, and then to Ramallah. None of the women were
allowed to communicate with their families who may have been waiting
outside the prison gates, so their families had to follow the prison van.
In Nablus the bus was stoned. Amneh recalls how she and
those released with her were speculating about what would happen to
them traveling in a military vehicle through the West Bank. No one could
tell from the outside that Palestinians were in the bus.

It was 11 pm when they were finally set free near the Ramallah
prison. Amneh was fortunate because her husband lives nearby, and had
heard that two women were being released. He waited with the hope
that his wife would be one of them. The other woman had no one waiting for
her, and since the Red Cross was not notified, she was left in the street
without the means to get home. The women released were:

1. Amneh Rimawi
2. Khulud Nijem
3. Nasreen Sheikh
4. Na’ama al-Hilu
5. Sa’adiya Fathi
6. Afaq Salam
7. Khulud Adwan
8. Wajihah Karabseh
9. Abr Abu Rob
10. Suna Dweikat
11. Tahani Amer
12. Inman Yagi.[=]

61259. UN; Department of Technical Cooperation for Development.
“Chapter I: Recommendations, Resolutions and Decisions Adopted By
The Conference: B. Recommendations for the Further Implementation of
the World Population Plan of Action: III. Recommendations for Action: D.
Mexico City 8/6-14/1984. New York: UN; Department of Technical
Population Plan of Action makes a number of recommendations in
regard to population distribution and internal migration that are of
continuing relevance(paragraphs 44-50). The Plan recommends that
population distribution policies should be integrated with economic and
social policies. In formulating and implementing migration policies,
Governments are urged to avoid infringing the right of freedom of
movement and residence within States, to promote more equitable
regional development, to locate services and industry so as to promote
interpersonal equity as well as efficiency, to promote networks of small
and medium-sized cities, and to improve economic and social
conditions in rural areas through balanced agricultural development.
In addition, the Plan recommends that migrants should be provided with
information on economic and social conditions in urban areas, that
employment creation, systems of land tenure and the provision of basic
services should be improved in rural areas and that Governments
should share experiences relevant to their policies. The area of
population distribution and internal migration is still one of great concern
to many Governments. The following recommendations indicate the
means for the further implementation of the Plan of Action.

Recommendation 36 [While joining the consensus
the delegation of the United States of America stated that: “The United States
delегation strongly protested the inclusion of this issue, believing it
politically divisive and extraneous to the work of the Conference. The
United States also challenged the competence of the Conference to
interpret one of the most critical international instruments governing the rules of war, the Geneva Convention.

Population distribution policies must be consistent with such international instruments as the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949), wherein article 49 prohibits individual or mass forcible transfers from an occupied territory and forbids the occupier from transferring parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. Furthermore, the establishment of settlements in territories occupied by force is illegal and condemned by the international community.

Recommendation 37: Governments are urged to base policies aimed at influencing population distribution on a comprehensive evaluation of costs and benefits to individuals, families, different socio-economic groups, communities, regions and the country as a whole. Population distribution goals (e.g., target growth rates for primate cities or rural population retention goals) should be pursued to the extent that they help to achieve broader societal goals, such as raising per capita incomes, increasing efficiency, making the distribution of income more equitable, protecting the environment and improving the quality of life. In doing so, Governments should ensure that the rights of indigenous and other groups are recognized.

Recommendation 38: Governments are urged, in formulating population distribution policies, to take into account the policy implications of various forms of population mobility (e.g., circular, seasonal, rural-rural, and urban-urban, as well as rural-urban), to consider the direction, duration and characteristics of these movements and the interrelationships between territorial mobility and levels and characteristics of fertility and mortality.

Recommendation 39: Governments are urged to review their socio-economic policies in order to minimize any adverse spatial consequences, as well as to improve the integration of population factors in territorial and sectoral planning, particularly in the sectors concerned with human settlements.

Recommendation 40: Governments wishing to minimize undesired migration should implement population distribution policies through incentives, rather than migration controls, which are difficult to enforce and may infringe human rights.

Recommendation 41: Governments which have adopted, or intend to adopt, a comprehensive urbanization policy, should seek to integrate such policies into the overall development planning process, with the aim of achieving, inter alia, a reduction in current high migration to capital cities and other large urban centres, the development of medium-sized towns and a reduction of rural-urban and regional inequalities. Developed countries and the international community should extend the necessary assistance to the efforts of developing countries in this direction.

Recommendation 42: Governments should support programmes of assistance, information and community action in support of internal migrants and should consider establishing networks of labour exchanges that could allow potential migrants to have adequate information about social conditions and about the availability of employment in receiving areas.

Recommendation 43: Rural development programmes should be primarily directed towards increasing rural production and efficiency, raising rural incomes and improving social conditions and rural welfare, particularly for small peasant producers and rural women. Governments should therefore improve the accessibility of basic social services and amenities to scattered populations, regularize land ownership, facilitate access to credit, new technology and other needed inputs, and adopt pricing policies geared to the needs of smallholders. Appropriate measures must be taken to carry out agrarian reform as one of the important factors which increase agricultural production and promote the development of rural areas.

Recommendation 44: Governments should adopt effective policies to assist women migrants, especially those who are agricultural workers, as well as women, children and the elderly left behind unsupported in rural areas. Governments are also urged to pay special attention to the difficulties of adaptation encountered in urban areas by migrant women of rural origin and to take appropriate measures to overcome these difficulties.

61260. UNCHR. Human Rights and Refugees: Part 01: Introduction. Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 20. World Campaign for Human Rights. Geneva: UNCHR, June 1993. The problem of the world's refugees and internally displaced is among the most complicated issues before the world community today. Much discussion is taking place at the United Nations and other international gatherings. It continues to seem that more effective ways to protect and assist these particularly vulnerable groups. While some call for increased levels of cooperation and coordination among relief agencies, others point to gaps in international legislation and appeal for further standard-setting in this area. Everyone, however, agrees that the problem is both multidimensional and global. Any approach or solution would therefore have to be comprehensive and to address all aspects of the issue, from the causes of mass exodus to the elaboration of responses necessary to cover the range of refugee situations from emergencies to repatriation. In this debate some facts remain beyond dispute. The first is that while some mass displacements may be preventable, none are voluntary. No one likes or chooses to be a refugee. Being a refugee means more than being an alien. It means living in exile and depending on others for such basic needs as food, clothing and shelter. Information on the number of the world's refugees, their geographical distribution, and the causes of their exodus is generally available. Seen from a chronological perspective, this information suggests that the refugee problem has undergone drastic quantitative and qualitative changes in the past five decades. Since its creation, the United Nations has worked to protect refugees around the world. In 1951, the year in which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established, there were an estimated 1 million refugees within UNHCR's mandate. Today that number has grown to an estimated 17.5 million refugees, an additional 2.5 million refugees cared for by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and more than 5 million internally displaced persons. In 1951 most of the refugees were European. The majority of today's refugees are from Africa and Asia. Current refugee movements, unlike those of the past, increasingly take the form of mass exoduses rather than individual flights. 80% of today's refugees are women and children.

The causes of exodus have also multiplied and now include natural or ecological disasters and extreme poverty. As a result, many of today's refugees do not fit the definition contained in the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. This refers to victims of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. The United Nations system has also been very concerned by the rise in the number of mass internal displacements in recent years. The "internally displaced" are persons who are forced to flee their homes but remain within the territory of their own country. [Analytical report of the Secretary-General on internally-displaced persons, document E/CN.4/1992/23, p. 4.] Since they remain inside their own countries, these persons are excluded from the present system of refugee protection. Most of the internally displaced populations are in developing countries and are composed largely of women and children. In some countries, the internally displaced make up more than 10% of the population. The refugee situation has become a classic example of the interdependence of the international community. It fully demonstrates how the problems of one country can have immediate consequences for other countries. It is also an example of the interdependence between issues. There is a clear relationship between the refugee problem and the issue of human rights. Violations of human rights are not only among the major causes of mass exoduses but also rule out the option of voluntary repatriation for as long as they persist. Violations of rights of minorities and ethnic conflicts are increasingly at the source of both mass exoduses and internal displacements. Disregard for the minimum rights of refugees and internally displaced persons is another dimension of the relationship between the two issues. The process of seeking asylum, a growing number of people are faced with restrictive measures which deny them access to safe territories. In some instances asylum-seekers and refugees are detained.
or forcibly returned to areas where their lives, liberty and security are threatened. Some are attacked by armed groups, or recruited into armed forces and forced to fight for one side or the other in civil conflicts. Asylum-seekers and refugees are also victims of racist aggression. Refugees have rights which should be respected prior to, during, and after the process of seeking asylum. Respect for human rights is a necessary condition for both preventing and resolving today’s refugee flows toward the occupied territories. Concerning the United Nations, the refugees, Sadako Ogata, “[t]he refugee issue must be put to all governments and peoples as a test of their commitment to human rights”.

61261. UNCHR, Human Rights and Refugees: Part 21: Violation of Human Rights and Refugees: Violations of the Rights To Life, Liberty and Security. Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 20. World Campaign for Human Rights. Geneva: UNCHR, June 1993. In some places refugees are regularly subjected to attacks and abuse. Many have died in military or armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements. Young males and minors are frequently recruited into armed or guerrilla bands and forced to fight in civil wars. Attacks on refugee camps have been condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in numerous resolutions. The Commission on Human Rights has also been concerned with specific cases, such as attacks on Palestinian refugees in Lebanonese camps and attacks on the Thai-Cambodian border. Refugee women and children are a particularly vulnerable group. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) makes a specific provision for giving “appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance” (art. 22) to the refugee child. Women make up a large proportion of the world’s refugee population. They are very frequently subjected to physical and sexual abuse in countries of refuge.

61262. Vilner, Meir. Two Years Since the June 1967 War: Part 10: The Appearance of Professor Talmon. Pamphlet. New York: Jefferson Book Store, April 6, 1969. Now, as two years have passed since the war, as the isolation of the official Israeli policy in the international arena is growing, as the four-power talks are progressing, as the resistance to the occupation is intensified in the occupied territories, there are more personalities in Israel who raise their voices against the Government’s policy. One of them is the well-known historian, Professor Ya’akov Talmon. In an “open letter to the Minister Israel Galili”, published in the “Ma’ariv” on 16/5/69, Prof. Talmon exposes the political and moral abyss to which the people of Israel is being lead by the ultra-chauvinist policy of the Government. Professor Talmon angrily revolts against the speech of the Minister, Israel Galili in the Conference of the Kibbutz Hameuchad [which previously belonged to the Ahdut Ha’avoda Party collaborators failed. But all this has not changed up till now the policy of the Government. The Defense Minister, Moshe Dayan, declares precisely in these days that “there is no commitment at all that our war will be a defensive one...the Arabs know that we can in one breakthrough reach Damascus and Amman.” (”Yediot Ahronot” - 13/5/69) Such aggressive and rigid line brings in its wake an intensification of armament in a measure which makes even the expenditures of the June War seem insignificant. In Israel itself the Government intensifies the persecutions of fighters for peace and opponents of the occupation, particularly of leaders and activists of the Communist Party of Israel and the Young Communist League, and particularly in the Arab districts. In the occupied territories oppression is growing and with it the resistance to the occupation. The experience of the two years has proved that the brutal oppression, the mass arrests and the tortures in prison, the demolishing of houses, the collective punishments imposed on towns and entire districts, the economic policy directed towards the “encouragement of emigration” -- all these have not brought the Arab people in the occupied territories to reconciling themselves to the occupation, but to rally in an even [more] intense mass struggle against the occupation. This is expressed in strikes, mass demonstrations and other forms. All efforts to find serious collaborators failed. But all this has not changed uptill now the policy of the Government, in spite of the contradictions within itself. It seems that very rarely in history have governments acted so devoid of any sense of reality, as does now the ”Government of National Unity” of Golda Meir-Dayan-Begin.

61264. Vilner, Meir. Two Years Since the June 1967 War: Part 8: The Opposition To The Government's Policy Is Expanding. Pamphlet. New York: Jefferson Book Store, April 6, 1969. The contradictions within the Israeli society are becoming more acute. Side by side with the aggravation of the official political line following the setting up of the Golda Meir Government and the increasing influence of the extreme right of Gahal on the governmental policy, there is a continued and more distinct process of opposition to the Government’s policy. The widening of the opposition to the Government’s policy is both direct and indirect and is expressed by: (1) More numerous public appearances of personalities and public circles against the obdurate line of the Government. (2) A greater number of expressions of popular opposition to the continuation of the present situation of incessant bloodshed and of the shameful status quo of a people of occupants [occupation]. (3) A sharpening of the class struggle, which the Government and the majority in the leadership of the Histadrut unsuccessfully try to break under the demagogical pretexets of ‘security’ and ‘national unity’. (4) More attention is being paid by the Israeli public to the policy of our Communist Party of
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61265. WAO; Women Against the Occupation; Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. *Women Inside and Out: No Court, No Trial, No Jury: Israel/Palestine: Part 02*, in *Connections: An International Women's Quarterly*, n. 14, Fall 1984. pp. 24-25. [The following was written by Women Against the Occupation [WAO], an Israeli feminist group formed in 6/1982 as "Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon" in direct response to the Israeli invasion. WAO continues to oppose all forms of occupation perpetrated by Israel and to expose the links between militarism and the subjugation of women. Recently they have been demonstrating with Palestinian women regarding the treatment of women political prisoners in Israel. Also included is an update from Democratic Palestine, n. 3, a monthly of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 5/1984.]

Neve Tirzeh prison was built by the British prior to 1948. In 1971 the Israeli authorities decided to convert it to a model prison. Located near Ramleh on the West Bank, it is a kind of women's annex to the huge men's prison there. It houses both prisoners indicted under common law, the majority being Israeli, and those detained under "security" provisions who have long sentences, the vast majority being Palestinian. It is overcrowded; six women often occupy a cell measuring 2 meters by 3 meters.

On 11/4/1983, 100 Palestinian and Jewish women held a sit-in at the International Red Cross office in East Jerusalem. Although thousands of Palestinians are imprisoned by the Israeli authorities, both in Southern Lebanon and in Israel, the sit-in was aimed specifically on the fate of 32 women in the Neve Tirzeh prison. Since then some have been released.

When the women refused to cook meals for their guards, seeing this as a humiliating and degrading demand [they didn't refuse to do other work], their already poor situation rapidly deteriorated. Since 5/1983 they have been locked in their cells 24 hours a day. All reading and writing materials have been denied and family visits, which used to be once every two weeks, have now been cut to once every two months. Even this restriction is arbitrary. One mother has not been allowed to see her daughter in four months and was told to come back in another two.

At the sit-in, one of the women's lawyers reported on a new, more horrifying development. On 10/31/1983, the women noticed that the guards were removing books from the library that their families had brought them. The prisoners started shouting and banging on their cell doors, demanding their books be put back. In response, a special unit of the prison authorities was called in and started spraying [what was believed to be] tear gas into the small, crowded cells. The women ran to the windows and broke the glass in order to breathe. The guards then started beating them with clubs and spraying even more gas. They fell to the ground choking, barely able to breathe, unable to help one another.

The cells were thick with gas. It clung to the walls and floor, to their clothes, to their bodies. When they washed their clothes to rinse out the gas, they weren't allowed to hang them outside their cells to dry. Guards who entered the cells for a search, threw the wet clothes on the floor, contaminating them once again.

Despite the fact that one doctor and three paramedics were present, the prisoners were denied any treatment for three days. Even then the care was minimal, consisting of Vaseline for their burns and Tylenol for pain.

On 3/6/1984, the women declared a hunger strike in anticipation of International Women's Day. The prison administration tried to get the women to send a delegation in hopes of getting them to end the strike. The women, however, had been boycotting any contact with the authorities since the gassing and thus refused. Instead, they demanded the return of their library. When this demand was fulfilled, the women sent a delegation to talk with the prison governor who agreed that the women would not be forced to do unreasonable kitchen duty or to serve or clean up after the guards and police. At the same time, the prisoners' rights to newspapers, books and radios were recognized and restored.

The victory of the women political prisoners in Neve Tirzeh, who attained all their demands in this round, points to two elements which are the key to victories in prison strikes generally. First, the organization and determination of the prisoners themselves, and second, broad, active popular support from the community outside the prison.

[Women Against the Occupation also sent us this article and interview which illustrate the broad definition of imprisonment as practiced by the Israeli authorities.]

Town Arrest Under Israeli Occupation: Although many people associate town and house arrest with "banning" as practiced by South Africa, they are unaware that the State of Israel has been using this tactic on hundreds of Palestinians since its inception in 1948.

A holdover from the British Mandate Emergency Regulations, town arrests are a means to limit political activity on a supraregional level. There is no court, no trial and no jury, hence the person has little recourse.

In the Occupied Territories the military governor of the area decides when a person is a "danger to the security of the state" and confines her/him to their town during the day and to their home from sundown to sunup. Within the Green Line (Israel's pre-1967 borders) the person is called before a judge, but any resemblance to justice stops there. The Shin Bet, Israel's FBI, passes on information to the judge while the person accused is not allowed to hear the charges on the grounds that it would violate security. Not knowing the charges, the person is obviously powerless to defend her/himself.

Town arrests are usually imposed for six months at a time with an ever present option for renewal at the end of the sentence. So far the maximum amount served has been seven years. It is often given to political prisoners upon completion of their prison term to inhibit any political activity. Since the whole concept of town arrest transcends the law, the fact that there is an Israeli law which forbids punishing a person more than once for the same crime is irrelevant.

Needless to say, daily life under town arrest is virtually unbearable. The person must report to the local police station between one to three times a day. In addition, the police often barge into the person's house in the middle of the night to check up on them. The detainee is thus under constant surveillance. Work or study often becomes impossible especially if the person comes from a small village with limited resources. In 1/1984 there were over 70 people under town arrest.

Amal Labadi is a 26 year old Palestinian woman who was under town arrest in her village on the West Bank until 1/1984. She was freed with no explanation given by the military authorities. At the time of this interview, she had not yet been freed.

"In my case, town arrest prevents me from conducting my activities. I've been active all my life. Now I'm a member of the higher committee of the Women's Work Committee of the West Bank and Gaza. This committee works to build a Palestinian women's movement in the Occupied Territories and urges women to take part in all levels of society--socially, politically and economically."

"I must have daily contact with women in the refugee camps, cities and villages in order to persuade them to go out of their houses, to raise their consciousnesses. So, because of town arrest, I can't talk with women on simple social issues such as how to take care of their children and their own health. By teaching women first aid, to read and write, I'm jeopardizing Israel's security."

"Besides these activities, I'm treasurer of the Union of Public Institution Workers which organizes workers from three villages, including mine. I must travel between these villages for my union work, meeting with workers, etc."

"On the personal level, I'm now seven months pregnant. My doctor is in Jerusalem and I need to see him every week, but I must ask permission to travel there from the military commander. This situation threatens my life and the life of my child. I was sick with a cold last week but was refused permission to see my doctor. I'm among the few who have a phone in the village so at least I could phone him. When the time comes for me to deliver my child, I must ask for permission from the army to go to the hospital. I won't have my baby at home with no doctor or nurse in the village. I'll go to the hospital, and if they want to arrest me..."
and my baby afterward, let them!

"Besides this, my husband is imprisoned in Gaza. I asked permission to visit him but this was turned down yesterday. He has ten more months to serve, and I probably won't be able to see him. I used to visit my mother in Ramleh five times a week since she is 65 years old and ill. I'm the only one who can visit her regularly, and her doctor said she is unable to take care of herself, but my request to be permitted to visit her was not even answered. Of course, that is a political issue because the security situation has been disrupted. I can't visit friends or family or be present at family occasions."

"One of the reasons I believe I'm under town arrest was because of my relations with Women Against Occupation. Apparently, when both peoples meet to discuss common issues this endangers security. But this will not stop us. If I can't travel to peace-seeking Israelis, they come to me."


61266. Wadie Abu Nassar. "Opinion: Closing in on the Municipal Elections of the Arab Sector in Israel", in Al-Fajr-Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), June 29, 1993, p. 5. [Municipal elections take place in Israel in 11/93.] The recent statement of Ibrahim Nimir Hussein, mayor of Shafa Amr and head of the Arab Monitoring Committee, about the withdrawal of his decision to retire was due to the "many pressures on him, mainly from Israeli President Ezer Weizman and Palestinian President Yasser Arafat." This statement was expected by Hussein's political opponents, who called his retirement statement "political trick in order to prove his importance to the Arab sector in Israel."

On the other hand, some other people claim that the statement came during a very sensitive period in the political life of the Arabs in Israel. This was illustrated by the direct confrontation between Islamic Movement supporters and supporters of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), which includes the Islamic Movement in the Party, during the Land Day ceremonies held in Shafa Amr in 3/93. Moreover, this confrontation continued through mutual attacks in the newspapers of these two political movements, Al-Ittihad (of the Communists) and Sawt al-Haq wal-Hurriyah (of the Muslims). This incident shows the need for a leader capable of acting as a mediator among the various active political blocs in the Arab sector. Despite his drawbacks, Hussein - known as a "neutral" personality - would be a positive force, particularly with the coming municipal elections in 11/93. A number of significant and important factors will be affecting the upcoming elections. Firstly, in the Arab cities and villages that include citizens from varying religious backgrounds, religion will play a prominent role in the voting, particularly with the less-educated voters. For example, in Kuf Yassif, an Arab village near Akka, the influence of religion will be less than in Shafa Amr, mainly due to the comparatively higher percentage of well-educated voters in Kuf Yassif. However, in most Arab villages and cities, the family element is the most powerful factor. In most Arab villages whose residents are all of the same religion, such as Dalait al-Carmel (Druze), and Fassouta and Milília (Christians), family plays an important role in the voting patterns of the community.

In the majority of such towns, the results of the elections are easily predictable. One only has to be aware of the deals made among the different families and count the number of potential voters on each side. For example, if two large families with 1000 potential voters make a deal among themselves to vote against a coalition of three families which has only 800 potential voters, the first two families will be sure to capture the local council. Many times, these family agreements lead to an ineffective local council whose head must give jobs and material support to the coalition instead of working for the collective interest of the village's residents. On a number of occasions, this has increased problems inside the Arab villages that sometimes culminate in physical attacks. Some Arab citizens, mainly in the larger cities, organize a local committee for peace in an attempt to avoid the use of religion as an excuse for political advancement, and to avoid creating a family coalition and because of the interference of the big political movements attempting to capture the important town and city municipalities. This has also led to intense confrontations that have caused substantial damage to the image of the entire Arab population inside Israel. The best example is the recent confrontation between the Communists and Islamists in Shafa Amr. Since the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the Islamic Movement in Israel has developed a systematic program to involve itself in different aspects of Arab community life in Israel. The main avenue has been through concrete projects, such as supporting poor families, offering scholarships, building community centers or other religious and cultural associations. The movement made enormous gains in many Arab cities and villages in the last municipal elections (1989) and managed to keep the Arab secular political movements in check, mainly the Communist Party, which many Islamists claim the Israeli authorities support indirectly. According to the Islamic Movement, such funding is "to create an alternative leadership to the Arab population in Israel." The last Land Day confrontation in 3/93 was not the chief incident in the confrontation between the Islamic Movement and the DFPE, however, but it was the first violent one. The dispute between these two groups started around 15 years ago, when the Islamic Movement began its work in an organized manner in the Arab sector, primarily in the Triangle Zone.

Donations collected from many Muslims, in addition to many donations which were received from what appeared to be some external sources (which the Islamic Movement's leaders try to deny) help the movement to contribute to the support of many members of the community. This was accomplished through student scholarships, community centers for youth and adults, as well as centers for the handicapped and elderly. It also contributed to many mosques, which have been used by the Islamic Movement as centers to distribute its ideological and political opinions. This matter was under control until the failure of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, most importantly the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which was the main supporter of the Israeli Communist Party. Until this time, the Israeli Communist Party received many donations from the socialist regimes, which helped it to establish community centers and clubs in addition to providing scholarships to students and a powerful Arab press which has considerable influence among the Arabs in Israel. Since 1989, there has been a large decrease in the organization and power of the secular stream among the Arabs in Israel, headed by the Communist Party. At the same time, an Islamist (not Islamic) period developed in the Middle East which supports Islamic fundamentalist movements. These events made the Islamic Movement in Israel even more powerful. The Communists started to look for other ways to promote their ideologies other than social activities due to their new budget problems. Their main issues are the Intifada and political activities inside the "green line." Tawfiq Zayad - mayor of Nazareth and DFPE Knesset member - claimed that men and women, Christians and Muslims should be brought together during the last Land Day ceremonies. This was an attempt by the Communist Party to win the support of women and non-Islamists from the Islamic Movement, which has a different position on women's liberation. This claim was supported by many individuals from the two groups, and now there are some rumors about attempts to organize a non-Islamist bloc in the Arab cities and villages.

The only sure issue is that the Land Day confrontation caused a clear division in the Arab sector and forced the Communist-Islamist conflict into a dangerous stage which could lead to violent explosions during the municipal elections. This is the time for people like Hussein, despite what we think of him, to work as mediators in order to prevent further violent conflicts which may cause additional problems for the
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Arab population. It can be concluded that, in addition to the secular-fundamental conflict in the Arab sector, there is a problem which is no less important. That is the lack of a non-violent political culture among the Arabs in Israel with real respect for democratic rules - which must distinguish the elections. [=]

61287. Weinbach, Mendel. "Voice of Israel: A Tale of Two Cities--And Their Problems With Reform Judaism", in Jewish Press (New York), June 14, 1996, p. 27. An attempt by Reform Jews in Jerusalem tried to organize a minyan for prayers at the Kotel in contravention of a government order barring Reform services at the Kotel. An angry mob of orthodox surrounded the Reform and forced the police to remove them. In Tel Aviv, Reform Jews held a minyan in their Reform Temple of Beth Daniel. Prominent in the service were non-Jews falsely converted by Reform Rabbis. Even worse, blatant sex equality was displayed by allowing men and women to sit together. Mrs Rabin disgraced herself by endorsing Reform: Haredi leaders denounced this 'cheap exploitation of widowhood to hurt the large community of observant Jews in Israel'. This incidents demonstrate the illegitimacy of the Reform movement. [TEXT]

61268. Weinblatt, Nurit. The Meaning Of Leisure In The Lives Of Elderly Spousal Caregivers. Temple University. Dissertation. 253pp. AAC 9422691. [Advisor: Shank, John] The care of elderly persons in the home by family members, especially spouses, is quite common, yet much remains to be learned about the caregiving experience. The goal of this study was to deepen the understanding of the caregiver's life where well-being is threatened. This study focused on the meaning of leisure in the lives of elderly spousal caregivers, since leisure is assumed to be a significant component of an individual's overall well-being. This study utilized qualitative methodology based on grounded theory, and involved multiple interviews with 10 elderly spousal caregivers living in Israel. An attempt was made to understand the personal feelings and perspectives generated by the caregiving role in the context of daily activities, social lives, and conjugal relationships. The findings indicated that, despite apparent differences in the lives of these couples prior to the need for caregiving, their lives were now remarkably similar. The caregivers were completely engulfed by their roles; their lives revolved around the responsibilities and burdens associated with caregiving. There was virtually no perceived "free" time to pursue activities that they had found in their earlier lives to be meaningful, either individually or as a couple. If the caregivers engaged in any leisure activities, they were done in isolation and only to the extent that these activities helped them to be more effective caregivers by providing momentary relief or escape. Caregiving can be understood sociologically as an experience of totality. The lives of these caregivers were transformed from compartmentalization, where components of daily life, such as work, family, and leisure, can be isolated and invested with varying degrees of attention and energy, to lives that are characterized by the predominance of a singular, totally engulfing preoccupation. In a state of totality, specific life domains are distorted and compromised. While this existence was described by caregivers as that of being "imprisoned," the phenomenon of choosing and accepting these conditions reflected an existence of benefits as well as burdens embedded in the caregiving experience. [Reprinted with permission of Dissertation Abstracts.] [=]

61289. Weinstein, Natalie. "Religious Pluralists In Israel On Defensive. Activist Says", in Jewish Transcript (Seattle), November 22, 1996, pp. A11, A13. Israel activist Avinoam Armoni, director of the New Israel Fund and chair of a 'new coalition designed to fight Orthodoxy', Mate Chofesh ('Freedom Front'). The coalition was built to fight not Likud but the emergence of the three religious parties (Shas, National Religious Party, United Torah Judaism Party) in coalition with Likud under the slogan: 'Judaism Without Coercion'. Armoni argues that the 'silent majority' in Israel is not Orthodox, but has done little to oppose the growing power and activism of the Orthodox. Mate Chofesh includes representatives from Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist and secular humanist movements, Labor, Tsomet and Meretz parties; feminists, civil rights groups, kibbutz, immigrant and archeology groups; and grassroots groups like Pub Goers of Jerusalem. Armoni identifies major points of confrontation with the Orthodox as:

(1) weekly demonstrations by Orthodox demanding the closing of Bar Ilan Street in Jerusalem on the Shabbat;
(2) physical and verbal attacks on 'immodestly' dressed women at the Education Ministry by Modesty Patrols;
(3) requirements that modestly dressed women where black shawls when they enter the Supershul Ltd. grocery chain;
(4) the Orthodox are seeking to limit legal conversions to Judaism to conversions performed by the Orthodox;
(5) orthodoxy are calling for privatization of Channel 1 after comedian Gil Kopatch's satire on the Torah; and,
(6) outlawing archeology by making grave excavations a crime punishable by three years in prison. [TEXT]

61270. Wheeler, Tim. "The Other Israel: Hava Keller, Champion of Palestinian Women", in Peoples Weekly World (CPUSA), August 2, 1997, pp. 2, 12. Keller emigrated to Palestine in 1941 and was a soldier during the 1948 conquest. She observes, "The plight of the Palestinians is not the same as the Holocaust but it is bad enough." She is now the leader of the Committee for Women Politics Prisoners and has spent ten years in building solidarity with Palestinian women.

61271. Wheelwright, Julie. "Mosaic: Maintaining a Balance; Lea Tsemel Is an Israeli Jew With Palestinian Sympathies; The Combination Can Be Explosive, Especially When Held By A Practising Lawyer; In A Society That Has Been Abused For 25 Years, Women's Rights Have Taken A Particularly High Toll", in Middle East, May 1993, pp. 48-49. When 415 Palestinians were deported in 12/1992, their defense lawyer Lea Tsemel was once again forced to defend herself as an Israeli Jew who was defending the civil and legal rights of the despised Palestinians. Tsemel, as always, defended herself by arguing that people have a 'right to fight for their liberty'. Tsemel also believes that Palestinians have a right to political autonomy in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. At the Amnesty International conference in London, Tsemel, founder of the Israeli Feminist Organization in 1971, stated that her quest for human rights included the fight for the rights of women, since the Israeli occupation with militarism has distorted the condition of women in Israel. For example, she noted that the major basis for an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians that a delegation could cite was their active participation in the military. Women are under intense pressure to produce more children than Palestinian women: this is especially intense among the Jewish settlers, where women often have as many as 12 children. Israel has anti-abortion legislation and in the 1980s the Eifir Committee for the encouraging of Higher Birth Rates demanded that Jewish women produce children to replace the Jews killed by the Nazis. The patriarchal structure of Palestinians society presents challenges to Tsemel because often Palestinian are extremely sexist. She has drawn the line at defending Palestinian rapists: she observes that only the survival of patriarchal society has kept Palestinian women from falling into prostitution in Israeli cities. Tsemel has been very active in defending the 'knife women'; Palestinian women who spontaneously attack Israeli soldiers with kitchen knives: often these women, under intense pressure due to the contradiction between struggling to support their family and their desire for freedom, can only resolve their anguish by undertaking acts that place them in prison. Tsemel notes that the prominent role of Hanan Ashrawi in the Palestinian peace delegation has helped erode patriarchy among Palestinians. [TEXT]
study the social situation of contemporary women, but also to explain women’s roles in the more distant past. Indeed, the writing of history always contributes to the defense or criticism of the dominant order. In this way, historians’ neglect has further enforced in the minds of their descendents the marginal existence of women in past centuries.

Girls who attended school after WWII certainly never heard of Lilo Herrmann in their history classes. Herrmann was a young woman and mother who, in 1938, was one of the first killed because of her brave and steadfast resistance to fascism. Nor did they hear of Hanne Martens, an actress and anti-fascist, whose skull was crushed by an SS man when she refused to be hanged naked. Nor of Martha Gillesen, who was shot in the head by SS officers, after she, with the rest of her resistance group, was tied up with barbed wire and given an injection in the tongue, so that she could not scream. Nor of Kaete Larch, tortured to death, when she would not betray others in the resistance. Nor of the resistance fighter Johanna Kirschnecer, who was sentenced in half an hour and condemned to death in 6/1944.

We could list thousands of women’s names: those who resisted and were sentenced and condemned in the so-called people’s court; or who were gassed, shot, abused to death, experimented on, or starved to death in concentration camps, or who died doing hard labor. Only the memories of the abuse and other horrors endured and a thorough mourning for the terrible suffering of so many innocent people will protect later generations from similar experiences.

What did Nazi ideology have to say about women? Reading national socialist writings, what stands out most clearly is an unbelievable contempt for women. In 1921, just two years after women got the vote, the Nazi party voted unanimously in their first general meeting that “a woman can not be accepted to the party leadership!” In fact, a woman was never nominated by the NSDAP to serve in local or provincial parliaments, or in the Reichstag. Joseph Goebbels, the State Minister for People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda, explained the political disenfranchisement of women in the following way during his speech at the opening of the exhibit "Woman" in Berlin:

The National Socialist movement is the only party that keeps women out of direct involvement in daily politics.... We have not kept her out of parliamentary-democratic intrigues because of any disrespect toward women. It is not because we see in her something less worthy, but rather that we see in her and her mission something quite different from the vocation which men have...Her first and foremost, and most appropriate place is in the family, and the most wonderful duty which she can take on is to give her country and her people children, children which carry on the success of the race and assure the immortality of the nation.

Another Nazi leader, party member number two and president of the Reich's Tourist Bureau Hermann Esser, instructed women in the following way: “Women belong at home in the kitchen and the bedroom, they belong at home and should be raising their children.” And Adolf Hitler, who was Fuehrer of the German nation for twelve years, announced: What a man contributes in hero’s courage on the battlefield, a woman contributes in her eternally patient sacrifice, in her eternally patient suffering. Every child that she brings into the world is a battle which she undergoes for the existence of her people.

So it is not surprising that women who had no children were seen as “duds in population politics.” Families with fewer than four children had not fulfilled their “duty to the people’s preservation rate,” and a woman who had many children received a “mother’s cross.” These are the symptoms of the boundlessly controlling behavior of the Nazis toward women. Why wasn’t National Socialism widely rejected by women? The German women's movement had been active for twenty years; by that time there was a tradition of collective struggle for women's rights. Since many women had lost fathers, sons, or brothers and were alone, they were forced to live very difficult, independent lives.

Of course, women were not a homogenous group that acted and thought alike. Taking a close look at the many different ways in which women acted during the Third Reich, I generally differentiate four groups. First, there were women who sooner or later resisted the Nazis and their terrible deeds. Many had to pay with their lives. They are, however, unknown—the heroines of history.

Then there were their adversaries: women who allowed themselves to be the tools of other people’s torture and who for their part abused and beat people, and killed them in terrible ways. These women were most often dumb, young, arrogant and lured by the relatively good standard of living provided by the party. Since they often came from broken, authoritarian families, they often misused the power that they had over defenseless victims.

Between these two groups of women, there were the ignorant and those who just went along with things. Of course these groups were also heterogeneous. In each group there were women from every social class.

Among the ignorant women I count those who were totally apolitical (they usually remained apolitical after the war; they did not learn anything). These were the women who only thought about keeping their families alive; it didn’t matter what happened to their neighbors. Even today, the “complete mastery of potatoes and their characteristics” is praised in German society, “the art of gourmet potato dumplings” is admired, and pages are devoted to the potato, and thus the “triumph of survival” is celebrated. When concentration camps are mentioned, it’s in a pithy aside: The Americans “posted horrible pictures of concentration camps on the walls.” Even today, such ignorance sends chills up your spine.

The “fellow travellers” included the so-called leaders of Nazi women’s organizations, such as the blond-haired woman, leader of the Reich’s women and eleven-time mother, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, and also the women who voted for Hitler and fit in in one way or another. However, people’s belief that women helped Hitler to power has no basis in fact.

In the presidential election of 1932 51.6% of women voted for Hindenburg, 28.5% for Hitler. In the second vote, 56% were for Hindenburg and 33.6% for Hitler. In both votes the number of men’s votes was about 2% greater than women’s. Many voted conservatively, so that the misogynist Center Party got a large percentage of women’s votes, but not the Nazis.

We should not forget that women had just been granted the active and passive vote, and thus were not practiced in political matters. They were not able to recognize their own interests and to represent them politically. Even for those who had started leaving the home hearth, there hadn’t been enough time to overcome their dependent intellectual, social and economic status in the family or in their professions. In the first years of Nazi rule, they were driven back to their traditional domain, the family, and thus shut out of all social activities. Next the eradication of unemployment became women’s burden, as many were fired from their posts and jobs. Married women who worked were denounced as “double earners.”

Only a few women recognized that being shut out of the workplace and restricted to the home, with loans available only to those families where the mother didn’t work, and the awarding of privileges to families with many children would serve only one purpose: the strengthening of “national manpower,” in other words, the “production of human material.” In 1932 there was an average of 59 births per 1000 women, but by 1938 it was already 81 births. The slogan was: “Give the Fuehrer children.”

The so-called, “Fountain of life” (Lebensborn), an organization founded in 1935 by the national leader of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, was concerned with this “strengthened propagation.” There, “racially worthy” girls were at the service of SS men for the procreation of Aryan children; here anti-Semitism and racism were bound up in the most intricate way. The administrator of these breeding institutions said, in all openness, that “Thanks to the ‘Fountain of Life’, we’ll have 600 more regiments in thirty years.”

There are reasons why so many women were blind to the dangers of the misogynist and racist ideology of the Nazis. For one thing, National Socialism was not so different from the attitude, opinion and posture of the conservatives, the German nationalists and the populists of the Weimar Republic, who were also often misogynist. For hundreds
of years, the German people had been accustomed to state elitism and authoritarian behavior. This is also one of the reasons why there was no violent wave of protest from women collectively when the countless women’s unions were dissolved, or forced to dissolve themselves, or when the decision that only 10% of students at the university could be female was announced, or when women were forbidden to take up influential positions, such as that of judge or administrator.

In western history, the struggle for women’s equality and recognition is very young. At that moment when the women’s movement could have developed on a broader level, it was destroyed. The refined strategy of strengthening and praising women in their traditionally dictated roles of caring housewife and mother had a very strong effect on the unenlightened. Never before had women been so directly addressed; never before had their reproductive function received so much recognition. Surely we should try to understand what drove the "fellow travellers" and the ignorant women to accept the degrading roles assigned to them by men.

What came out of the ignorance and willing sacrifice of these women is only a part of our history. The other part is often hidden from us.

Immediately after the war, numerous books were published by women who told how the war affected them, of their terrible suffering, but also of their bravery and the courage of antifascist women. The books quickly sold and only a few of them got a second printing. Yet these books relate the horrifying details, without which our knowledge of the murder of millions of people would be very superficial. Nanda Herbermann, for example, describes in her book The Blessed Abyss (which has been out of print for years) what she experienced in an imprisonment that came about for no obvious reason:

In complete darkness, I felt a stool which had been screwed into the floor. I heard the groaning and whimpering of the poor souls who were next to me, above and below, languishing in cell after cell in solitary confinement. Some of them had lost their sanity. No wonder! They raged and beat on the doors of their cells, sang crazy songs all through the night. Still others sang distorted old church songs in desperate voices, like animals, until one of the wardens came and beat them terribly—they even sometimes locked dogs in the cells, so that the trained animals could attack the victims. Among those detained were some out of whom dogs had bitten huge pieces of flesh: some had lost half an ear, others a piece of their nose, or their hand or whatever. Still others in the cell block were found covered with blood hard as ice. In this house of death, it was always bitterly cold. There I sat, barefoot in the darkness freezing in my deepest soul.

The horror that we read in these lines should not make us turn away helplessly. Rather, the knowledge of the suppressed crimes and the unspeakable suffering should give us the conviction, the anger and courage we need in the fight against Nazism, which even now survives in our democracy and threatens us. The danger of being mere objects of political processes still exists. The scorn and mockery of pacifism, for example, has a tradition. ("To be a pacifist shows a lack of character and disposition," said Adolf Hitler in 1923.)

In a world where they make the stationing of neutron bombs mean the stationing of "terror and the "spiral of atomic retribution," women resistance fighters can be role models. With clear consciences, the women resistance fighters of the Third Reich set themselves against an ideology that did not value human life; they fought bravely and confidently for the old revolutionary goals: equality, justice and above all, humanity. For this they were tortured and for the most part murdered. But our memories of them and their courageous deeds can help us to prevent similar events in whatever form they take—from ever being repeated in the future.

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against Jews. Following its standard operating procedure in spreading false rumors, the ADL phoned every interested Jewish journalist and sympathetic reporter in the Washington press corps, alleging rampant antisemitism on Widnall’s part. This writer got the call from Mike Lieberman of the ADL’s Washington office. “The Air Force secretary nominee Sheila Widnall is an antisemite,” he said with conviction. When asked for supporting evidence, he promised press accounts to prove the allegations beyond any doubt. The newspaper stories Lieberman provided proved only that yet another half-baked character assassination by the ADL was in the making. The so-called smoking gun was an article from the July 25 Boston Herald. Unlike Lieberman’s bald assertion, the Herald article explained that Widnall’s husband belonged to the Eastern Yacht Club near Boston and that she frequently went sailing with him. The club had a reputation as “a place where Jews and other minorities are not welcome as members.” Herald staffer Jules Crittenden told New American View that the story had been prompted by the ADL, but had been published only because a similar story had appeared in Defense Week, a respected Washington-based journal. The Defense Week article by Tony Capaccio said Widnall’s yacht club is “generally recognized in the Jewish community to practice restrictive membership policies against Jews, an official of the Anti-Defamation League has told Defense Week.” Sally Greenberg, Eastern states civil rights counsel for the ADL, was identified as the major source of the information. Citing the Eastern Yacht Club’s (EYC) by-laws, which state “no Jewish member shall be enrolled,” Greenberg wrote a letter on July 28 to Widnall accusing her of “insensitivity.” Greenberg demanded that “as nominee for Secretary of the Air Force, you take steps to disassociate yourself from the club.” Predictably, the letter was circulated to the press, the Pentagon, and most importantly, among the members of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The timing was perfect. The press storm broke just days before Widnall’s confirmation hearings. Unbeknownst to the general public, the ADL had taken unscrupulous advantage of White House rules preventing nominees from talking to the press before confirmation. Clinton spokesman Don Steinberg confirmed the policy, but refused to comment on the allegations against Widnall. Assistant Director for Presidential Personnel for National Security Appointments Ryan Conroy also could not comment, but snorted with disgust at the allegations and pointed to the “convenience” of their timing. Meanwhile, Senate offices were deluged with calls from angry Jews, and the little friends of Israel in the upper house were working overtime. Saul Singer, whose boss Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.) recently migrated from the Armed Services Committee to another committee, was back at his old desk, lobbying his old friends on behalf of Israel. As an expert on Jewish issues, it was Singer’s task to convince Armed Services Committee staffers whose senators would soon decide the fate of Ms. Widnall. Singer, whose wife works for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, was not subtle in his condemnation of Widnall. He was able to convince Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) to take the lead in accusing Widnall of antisemitism. Assured by Singer that the charges would stick, Levin attacked—and was slammed to the mat when Singer’s iron-clad guarantees of antisemitism were proven false. “Apparently the club has a reputation of discriminating,” said Levin. “It is important, I believe, for that to be probed.” Widnall countered by saying that her husband was the club member, and that the second highest ranking club officer is a Jew. And she noted that there were some other Jewish members. “I can only say that given my record as a champion of diversity,” Widnall said, “it really does sadden me that such issues are brought up.” With noticeable embarrassment, Levin noted that the allegations had been made by the ADL, and quickly backed off, saying, “Women have a right to be treated on their accounts and not through their spouses. She assures me she knows that the next commodore is Jewish, so they don’t have a ‘no Jewish member policy.’” Dr. Widnall’s nomination was unanimously approved by the committee. The ADL’s clumsy attempt to smear Ms. Widnall as an antisemite caused some defense journalists to dig deeper into the matter. There had to be other reasons why the league’s fact finders would launch such an obviously high-risk operation, especially now when the ADL is rapidly gaining a reputation for the non-Jewish press, at least—as a highly unscrupulous source of information. A high-ranking Air Force officer attached to the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) in the Pentagon provided a lead. It was common knowledge in his circles, he said, that because of the partisan nature of political appointments, all of the likely Democratic candidates for the Air Force secretary’s job were caught in a Catch-22. In the Democratic Party, power brokers, all candidates had to be on record, or at least give the perception, as being against Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Widnall met this qualification, and she had a paper trail to prove it. This is what made the friends of Israel so uncomfortable. A PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Widnall has worked closely with the Air Force since the 1970s. She served on the Air Force Academy’s board of visitors, several years as chairwoman. She has also been president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and has served on several advisory committees to the Air Force. It was Widnall’s recent term as an adviser to the Air Force Materiel Command (AFMC) at the strategic Wright-Patterson Air Force Base that got her into trouble with the pro-Israeli crowd. The BMDO officer explained that her “offensive antisemitic” remarks came in an advisory report to AFMC. The thrust of Widnall’s recommendations were that the $250-million SDI Brilliant Eyes program be dropped. In the report, she included several critical references to the US-funded Israeli Arrow antiballistic missile program. Widnall said: “Weapons [needing] to be reviewed include the Patriot multi-node missile, the Extended Range Interceptor (ERINT), the Ground-Based Radar (GBR) that situates missile plant, and the Theater High Altitude Air Defense missile [THAAD, the American version of the Arrow], the Israeli Arrow missile, upgrades to the Aegis/SPY radar and upgrades to the Standard Missile-2.” And she was highly critical of the BMDO’s oversight of the Arrow program. “Why, after an investment of more than $300 million in R&D does it still require a decade to deploy one functional radar, a handful of interceptor missiles and appropriate battle management and communications systems?” she asked of the still unfinished Arrow. Widnall further angered Israel’s friends at a subsequent meeting, says a BMDO source who was present. When asked to elaborate on her critique of the Arrow program, Widnall said, “It’s time for them [the Israelis] to start putting away some of those toys and start becoming an engineering organization that has a couple of aims in life.” Asked why the Air Force didn’t take preemptive action to blunt the ADL’s false accusations, the officer pointed out that the Air Force itself was none too thrilled about Dr. Widnall as the first woman secretary and as a Clinton appointment. “Besides, the ADL calling someone an ‘antisemite’ isn’t news,” he said. “But for the Air Force to acknowledge the charge is news.” (Seth Williams is the pseudonym of a Washington-based journalist who reports on scientific and technological developments for defense industry publications.)

The ADL’s character assassins attempted to paint secretary of the Air Force nominee Sheila Widnall as an antisemite because of her opposition to Israel’s US-funded Arrow missile program.

Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) was suckered in by the ADL. ADL officials planted phony stories about Dr. Widnall in the press, while Senate staffers loyal to Israel spread false rumors on the Hill. All were exposed as liars. [=]

61275. Wilson, Amrit. Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Israel-Palestine

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In 1990, the EPLF had surrounded Massawa, which came under air raids by the Ethiopian air force even as Ethiopian army forces held much of the city. The air raids centered on the shantytowns that
surrounded the city, striking at the city’s poorest people with napalm. The revolutionary forces continued to struggle against Ethiopian forces even after much of the country was destroyed, but while the Ethiopian forces continued to fight (much to the dismay of foreign peace activists). However, even as the war continued, EPLF forces continued to seek defectors from the Ethiopian forces, even winning over Israelli-trained ‘anti-guerilla commandos’ [Einsatzgruppe; death squads]. The EPLF stress on the strength that can be found in ethnic diversity, and the strength that can be found in collective action, is an important lesson to be learned from Palestinian history.

In 19/93, the EPLF held its first Organizational Congress where a political program was articulated: (1) to establish a peoples democratic state; (2) to build an independent, self-reliant and planned economy; (3) to develop culture, education, technology and public health; (4) to safeguard social rights; (5) to ensure the quality and consolidate the unity of nationalities; (6) to build a strong peoples army; (7) to respect freedom of religion and faith; (8) to provide humane treatment for POWs and to encourage the desertion of Eritrean soldiers serving the army; (9) to protect rights of Eritreans living abroad; (10) to respect the rights of foreigners residing in Eritrea; and (11) to pursue a common policy of peace and non-alignment. This period saw the same of the war continuing to grow: the Red Star Campaign of the Dergue in 2/1982 established three fronts for a climatic final battle: within months, the Dergue campaign failed at a cost of 40000 Ethiopian soldiers dead. Starting another offensive in 10/1982, even bringing the most powerful Ethiopian mechanized division from the Ogaden, Ethiopian forces were beaten again with losses of 20000. These defeats led to the collapse of the Ethiopian regime: as the battles were raging in Eritrea, Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) forces were moving on Addis Ababa.

61276. Wolf, Denise. “Crossing the ‘Green Line’: An American Living in the Occupied West Bank”, in Al-Fajr-Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (New York), June 28, 1993. p. 6. [Denise Wolf recently received a Bachelor’s degree in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. After having lived in Nablus from 11/92 to 5/93, she returned to the United States to begin higher education in international law and international relations.] American friends and family warned me against living in the occupied West Bank: “Its dangerous. Teach English somewhere else. You’ll be killed.” Even an often at the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem expressed concern for my welfare. I arrived in the West Bank, a young woman venturing alone in the heart of a foreign culture under military occupation is unusual. Yet, I wanted to discover the things that classroom lectures and books could never offer, as well as somehow helping the suffering people of the stateless Palestinian nation. In the end, I listened to my own judgement and followed my own heartbeat. Tear gas seeped through the windows of my English class as I lectured about the separation of religion from state. Accordingly, I was welcomed to my new home, Nablus, also known as Jebel al-Nar (Mountain of Fire), due to the prevalence of nationalist activities. That was over six months ago, before Ramadan 1413, before the deportation of 413 Palestinians to south Lebanon, before the eighth, ninth and tenth rounds of the discouragingly slow peace talks, and before the closure of the West Bank. (This term is a misnomer. “West Bank” perpetuates its link to Jordan, thus committing a disservice to Palestinians asserting their independence. Maybe Palestine Bank is better.) At 18, when I first met a Palestinian, I could not even locate Israel or the West Bank on a map, nor did I care to. Unfortunately, such ignorance and apathy regarding this controversial corner of the world is typical of most Americans. Coupled with an irrational, unfounded fear of the PLO, which had been pounded into my head as some illegitimate, terrorist organization, my first encounter with a Palestinian was somewhat frightful. But Mr. Tarazi, the former PLO representative to the United Nations, greeted me warmly when I asked him to autograph his photo on the front page of the New York Times. Now my treasured photo with a signature scribbled in both English and Arabic represents the spark of my quest to look beyond the anti-Palestinian sentiments that surrounded me and delve deeper into the issues that create a mapmaker’s nightmare.

Even with my background in Palestinian politics and history, I was not prepared for the daily practices of Palestinian life. Before my arrival in the West Bank, I had never seen a donkey, nor a water jug beside a toilet. I had never met anyone who married their cousin, nor someone who supported Saddam Hussein. I had neither known a family with more than four children, nor tasted falafel. I had never talked with anyone who had been imprisoned nor had I ever seen a soldier on active duty. The first time I heard the Islamic call to prayer, I assumed it was some inconsiderate individual blasting his/her stereo. The unfamiliar Islamic dress, the Islamic call to prayer, the unfamiliar daily nightmares. My students in the West Bank often conveyed a sense of deep complex question, “Which is better, here or America?” I can only respond that we all love our homeland - a response that Palestinians appreciate all too well.

My English students were housewives, engineers, businesspeople, schoolchildren and laborers from remote villages, nearby refugee camps and some of the most affluent families in Nablus. Such diversity enabled me to discover the complex sides of Palestinian life invisible to the typical visitor. In retrospect, it was my students who were my teachers. I taught them grammar and writing skills; in return, they shared their innermost fears, highest hopes, nightly dreams and daily nightmares. My students in the West Bank often conveyed a sense of hope, and the more so when explaining their incomplete homework: “The IDF came to our house in the middle of the night and arrested my brother,” or, “My cousin was just released from prison, and we had a party,” or, “I had to appear at the Civil Administration for questioning,” and finally, “There was no electricity in my village.” Because Palestinian students are emotionally and physically affected by the political climate, English lessons are unavoidably intertwined with politics. After introducing new grammar rules or vocabulary, the students would prepare appropriate sentences. Their responses were indicative of what weighs heavily on their minds. When practicing verbs to express dislike, one 16-year-old student said, “If we attend the peace talks, we will have our independence soon.” Provided that their grammar was correct, I could only respond that we all love our homeland - a response that Palestinians appreciate all too well.

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fighter Iz ad-Din al-Qassam, and Abdul Qader Hussein, a Palestinian leader in the 1948 war. A discussion on the prospects for democracy in the West Bank culminated in campaign speeches and class elections. Both of my classes elected a female to be the next mayor of Nablus despite the protests of several males who claimed this went against Islam. Another time, the students divided into small discussion groups to answer the question: What message would you send the American people about the treatment of their natural resources? I have seen violence toward “Stop double standards in U.S. foreign policy.” Others said: “Keep away from drugs,” and “Please come visit our country, you are most welcome.” After I had my students read Amnesty International’s newsletter, they sent letters to both the presidents of South Africa and Colombia. Fourteen-year-old Rasha began her letter: To His Excellency De Klerk: I’m a Palestinian girl. Because of this, I don’t like to take the rights from the people because of their color. . . . Black people in your country are not equal to white people, I don’t understand why? Please give them their rights, their freedom, and their right to representation.” An excerpt from Ittisam’s letter read: “Dear President of Colombia: As a Palestinian, I know what it feels like to have land taken away from me. Please stop taking land from the indigenous Indians of Colombia.” For Show and Tell, Hilmi brought in an old map of Palestine and showed where his family had owned lands before they were lost in 1948. Wadah demonstrated his talent for Arabic calligraphy. Ruba danced debka and Khaled played Beethoven and Fairuz on his piano. Yasmin presented a copy of Salman Rushdie’s Satanic Verses and stated she would read it to understand the language of her enemy. Lastly, Ahmad brought in a card he had been given by his best friend before he was shot and killed by the Israeli army. When I first arrived in Nablus, I was hesitant to vocalize my political views. I was advised not to admit that I support Israel’s right to exist, even though I condemn its occupation of the West Bank. However, silence is virtually impossible in a place where even toddlers respond “Fatah!” or “Democratiya! [DFLP]” when asked which political party they like. Over time, I realized that most Palestinians agreed when I said that the only alternative to a two-state solution is a stalemate. Add to this refugees from 1948 and 1967, who nostalgically told me about their villages, olive groves, and orange trees of historic Palestine - none of which have a trace in modern Israeli. Financial compensation instead of formal return will never alleviate their pain. Yet, in some ways, my presence has been adjusted to this new reality, however bitter. Palestinians name their children Yaffa and Haifa and other places in pre-1948 Palestine. I even met one child named Filistin (Palestine) and another named Tahreer (Liberation). In the words of a father from Balata refugee camp outside Nablus, “If we can’t have the lands, we can at least have the memories.” Most Palestinians, young and old, male and female, have had at least one confrontation with Israeli soldiers. Any military occupation is inhumane by definition. Yet, I have seen Israeli soldiers doing an inhuman thing as humanely as possible. I will not blame individual soldiers for their presence - that is due to unyielding governments and an imperfect world. On the other hand, I have seen individual soldiers using excessive, unnecessary force that is intolerable by any standards. I, too, have had my share of confrontations, one while wearing a kuffiyeh (which is a political statement, not a fashion statement, in the West Bank) when traveling via taxi to a friend’s village north of Jenin. Perhaps the soldier at the checkpoint outside Jenin did not care for my black-and-white checkeradexcessivity, so he asked to see my identity card. When I handed him my American passport, he asked me in English if I was a tourist and when I would be leaving Israel. I said, “I’m leaving Palestine at the end of the month.” (After all, I am leaving via Allenby Bridge, not Tel Aviv airport.) The soldier became noticeably annoyed and then asked me if I lived in Shekhem (the ancient Biblical and current Hebrew name for Nablus). I said, “No, I live in Nablus.” Because of my responses, I was forced to exit the car with the four Palestinian passengers and stand in a line as a soldier with an M-16 rifle questioned us. As a foreigner, I am relatively immune to the potential dangers and clashes with the army. However, a Palestinian could not have walked away unharmed if he/she had said what I did. Overall, Nablus is the safest place I have lived in the past six years. For someone who used to carry mace when walking home in West Philadelphia, I was utterly amazed that my wallet was untouched after forgetting it for three days in a public office. I often wonder why people confidently claim that Western cities are more “civilized” than places like Nablus. I feel that a place where a woman can walk without the fear of being mugged or raped is in many ways more civilized. Palestinians highly value education, which they see as a key to economic mobility and advancement of their national aims. I have learned much about to "Stop double standards in U.S. foreign policy." Others said: “Keep away from drugs,” and “Please come visit our country, you are most welcome.” After I had my students read Amnesty International’s newsletter, they sent letters to both the presidents of South Africa and Colombia. Fourteen-year-old Rasha began her letter: To His Excellency De Klerk: I’m a Palestinian girl. 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All Palestinians need to wake up and recognize that approximately half of their population is suppressed from self-imposed occupation. Only when both Palestinian men and women admit that females lack power, opportunities and equality can the West Bank realize its full potential. Palestinian men became defensive when I pointed out inequalities in their society, while women silently and subtly nodded in agreement. Why are there only three female lawyers in Nablus? Why are there no female representatives to An-Najah University’s 11-member Student Council? Why is the illiteracy rate for Palestinian females 30%, and for Palestinian males 11%? Why do photographs of fathers and sons dominate wall space in countless Palestinian homes, while the pictures of mothers and daughters are kept hidden away? Why do many Palestinian parents adopt the name of their oldest son? Mothers become Um Ahmad or fathers become Abu Muhammad even if the eldest child is female. Traditions in Palestinian society do not necessarily include women’s inferiority; rather, they oppose heterosexual relations outside a familial or marital context. The fact is that there are merits to segregating males and females in various settings, but if separate, then it must be equal. In general, I have seen “separate but unequal” in the West Bank, and the females are the victims. The epitome of “separate but unequal” is the qahwah (coffee shop) and the village playground. Countless qahwahs dot Nablus, yet they remain out of bounds to half the population. Men can relax, talk with friends and sip tea in a qahwah, while a similar place for women has yet to be opened. Separate but unequal!

At playgrounds, especially in villages, I strained my eyes but could never see one little girl running about, or a teenage girl playing basketball or volleyball. The social codes forbid a girl to enter the playground. Only little boys, shabab, and men are allowed. Usually, there is only one playground per village. Traditional courtship for marriage—whereby a man and his family visit the family of the girl that the man is interested in—is still prevalent in Palestinian society. It is not unusual for the girl to have never talked with the young man prior to this meeting. He is interested in her because of her physical attributes, her family relations or information about her that he learned through hearsay. Women have confessed to me that they feel like a piece of furniture patiently waiting for a man to choose her. Of course, she has the right to refuse him, and many do. But she and her family are unable to initiate the matchmaking process. Despite my criticisms, I have high hopes for the West Bank. I have met numerous men and women who recognize these shortfalls and strive to improve them. It is important to mention that by comparison to women in other parts of the Arab world, Palestinian women are generally more educated and liberated. I am leaving the West Bank with several souvenirs: A Palestinian flag, a book of Naji Ali’s cartoons, an olive tree pendant with Palestine engraved on it, posters of Abu Ammar, the recipe for my favorite Palestinian dish (Makluba), and a beautifully embroidered traditional scarf made by a Haja near Ramallah. It is no secret that the Palestinians’ plight is often misrepresented and severely under-represented in the United States. So, when I return to America, I plan in some capacity to further spread the Palestinians’ message. It is the least I can do for the people who have permanently touched my life.”

61277. Women Against Occupation; Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. “Israel: Women Against the Occupation: Women’s Wombs Are Mobilized to Produce More Soldiers and To Solve the Demographic Problem: Part 02”; in Connexions. Women Organizing Against Violence. An International Women’s Quarterly, n. 11, December 1, 1984, pp. 9-10. [The following is compiled from a statement published by Women Against Occupation in 1983 and from an article especially written for Connexions in 10/83.]

In 6/82, the group Women Against Occupation [originally called Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon] was formed in Israel as a direct response to the war in Lebanon. With its massive destruction of a structure, particularly the role delegated to women. First, women are used as alibis for war, “it is waged for our protection and for the security of our families.” Later, we are expected to be grateful and nurturing toward those who risked their lives on our behalf. Yet, the hypocrisy of the vanquishing army toward women is clear: to its own women it projects a sentimental glorification of the home and family, to enemy women there is overt hatred and an attempt to destroy these same institutions.

The recent debate in Israel over abortion and the new tax law, which will give more aid to large Jewish families, expose the...
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reactionary way in which a militaristic society views women. Several months ago a $50 surcharge was imposed on all Israeli citizens leaving the country. The added revenue is to be allocated to all families with four or more children in which the father has either served in the army or has been exempt from military service due to religious reasons. More recently the government changed a law, which gave a sum of money to every mother at every birth enabling poor families to buy needed equipment, clothing, etc. for the child, to a law giving subsidies only to women bearing their fourth child, and again only to those belonging to families meeting the above-mentioned stipulations. In short, these laws apply to Jews only.

Hand in hand with increased aid to large families is a restrictive abortion law. IN 1979 a clause in the abortion law enabling women to abort on socio-economic grounds was repealed, making abortion illegal (but not free of charge) only in cases of incest, rape, religious reason, severe physical damage to the mother or child, and other extreme cases.

It is not a coincidence that the issue of abortion comes up in the midst of war. Dr. Haim Sadan, advisor to the Minister of Health, said in an interview that “abortion has resulted in the loss of 20 [army] divisionism and the anti-war movement and we participated in the Fifth National Feminist Conference in Haifa, where our workshops on the war and on Arab women were the most heavily attended. At this point our group is predominantly Jewish, although Palestinian women have participated in our various activities. Recently, we have been making contact with Palestinian women outside of our group in Arab villages and on the West Bank. We have begun to visit Palestinian women who have been imprisoned for being politically active. We feel this is a first step toward closer communication with Palestinian women.

In the above statement, we have raised a few points which we believe can throw some light on the correlation between the permanent state of war which exists in our region and the oppression of Jewish and Palestinian women. We believe that ending this state of war by establishing an independent Palestinian state and guaranteeing all Palestinian human and democratic rights is a major issue in our struggle for women's emancipation.

Further reading: “Israeli Response to War: An Israeli Feminist Account”, in American Friends Service Committee Women's Newsletter, Volume 4, Number 1, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PH 19102. [Reprinted with permission of People’s Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]

61279. Women Against Occupation; Peoples Translation Service [trans.]. "Media: Getting to Women: Palestinian Political Prisoners: Israel and the Occupied Territories", in Connexions. An International Women's Quarterly, number 16, Spring 1985, p. 30. Dear Sisters: The Palestinian political prisoners in Neve Tirza women's prison are once again under brutal sanctions by prison authorities. Prisoners are [currently] locked in their cells 23 hours a day, family visits are allowed once every two months. In short, the prisoners are back to the same situation as in 1983-84 when these conditions lasted 9 months. [See "No Court, No Trial, No Jury," Connexions n. 14, Fall 1984 for explanation of those events.]

A sit-in was held in the International Red Cross on 1/21/1985 by the prisoners' mothers and women's organisations demanding that the Red Cross intervene. More actions are planned. We call on women's movements, democratic and human rights organisations, lawyers and civil rights groups to join in the support of the Neve Tirza women. We urge you to stage demonstrations and pickets at Israeli embassies and make the situation in Neve Tirza known to the public. Send letters of protest to: Minister of Interior, Itzhak Perets, The Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel and Minister of Police, Haim Bar-Lev, The Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel. Send messages of support to the prisoners through W.A.O. In solidarity, Women Against Occupation PO Box 2760 Tel Aviv, Israel. [Reprinted with permission of People's Translation Service, P.O. Box 14431, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]

61280. Women in Black. "German Women: The Many Roads To Peace", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. [At the editor's request, 3 members of Munich Women in Black agreed to share with us their personal journey to peace. We express gratitude for their openness.]

Dear Editor, My parents, who had converted to Catholicism in 1933, hated Hitler and his policy, although they were politically not involved. My father, a German scholar and a writer, and my mother, a painter, were always socially engaged and had many Jewish friends, who sometimes stayed in our flat when they feared arrest. They never talked to me about these things in the terrible 12 years - I was born in 1930 - but I felt the atmosphere, which formed my feeling and thinking. We lost our home in an air-raid over Berlin in 11/1943, but we survived the war. Before liberation day, my father was taken away by Russian soldiers and died, probably in a prisoner-of-war camp; he was lucky not
to have been called up to serve in the Volkssturm [assault troops] to defend the Nazi-Deutschland in the last months of war. So the basis for my pacifism was laid, although wasn't active in politics until the German government decided to locate Pershings and Cruise missiles in West Germany in the early 1980s. Since then, have kept myself informed politically, made the acquaintance of politically-minded women and feminists, read many books, and took part in civil disobedience actions against nuclear armament. For 4 years participated in a weekly vigil for people who are punished for nonviolent resistance to armament. Although the "cold war" is over, the development of high tech weapons continues, the number of bloody conflicts increases, and nationalist ideology is spreading. In Germany, especially, racist violence and the policies of our government - responding to racism by eliminating the right of asylum are driving me to action. Since the Gulf War, I continue my vigils in Munich with 4 other women as "Women in Black". I stand, first, to mourn, but also to discuss with people the possibility of non-violent ways to end the war in ex-Yugoslavia, the psycho-social reasons for nationalism and anti-Semitism, and the need for peaceful cooperation throughout the world. I can't do much, but I think that if many little steps are taken by many people in many places around the world there can be hope again for a better "wo/mankind", which will overcome the patriarchal hierarchical system on our earth. Love and Shalom! Mechthild Schreiber.

Dear Frau Editor, Why do demonstrate? I'll relate two stories: igrew up in a village in northern Germany, 6 km. from the border with Holland. A third of my parent's house belonged to two Jewish women. Even today remember my mother saying about one, "What a noble woman". One-quarter of our town was Jewish. In 1945 was 9 years old and my memories and impressions are confused. Only after was 40 did consciously ask my mother about the fate of those 2 Jewish women. She said that during the war, she and my father would leave food in the outhouse for them. Across from us lived the commander of the town who told my mother that he would not hesitate to shoot down even women. At some point the two Jewish women gave up. They sold my parents their part of the house very cheaply and went to live with their brother in Osnaabruck. From there, they were transported to a concentration camp and the gas chambers. Now another story. Not long ago, the film "Shoah" was shown on German TV. When it was over, my husband said, "We had no idea this was going on". [I was so angry with him for not telling me about the gas Chambers, that I gave him the cup of tea I was holding. At that period we were in family therapy, and my therapist suggested that I ask my mother specifically about things I might have seen during the war. I did and, in a hesitant voice, she replied, "But I told the nursemaid to cover your eyes with her hands when there were terrible things." A short time later I spoke to my sister who is 3 years younger than I and she said, "How can you not remember what happened in the train station - the trains with the Jews! But, actually, your eyes were always covered." What I had seen through Raskob. [=] 61281. Women in Black. "Internships For Young Women", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993.

Women in Black - and you, and many women and men all over the world - believe and hope despite many sorrowful experiences that fairness, humanity, and a cooperative life style will have a chance in our world. Sometimes wish for us all, and especially for our leaders, that we might possess that tiny bit of rationality which enables us to count up to ten and realize what's the bottom line after war and violence, and what is the result of peaceful, neighborly cooperation. If I ever return to Israel, I will be happy to meet some of you and to take part in your vigil, still am full of marvelous and nourishing experiences from 6 years ago when tried to regenerate my health at the Dead Sea. Jewish men and women - in spite of my cautiously saying that came from Germany - were so warmhearted toward me that this experience has become one of the most important in my life. If ever some of you should be in Germany, hope you will let us know so we can meet and get to know each other personally. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans. Germany is in a difficult situation right now because racist feelings are surging up among a small but dreadfully hostile minority of Germans.

61282. Women in Black. "Soldiers Bring Violence To The Vigil: A Report From tel Aviv: The Latest In a series of Complaints About Assaults On Vigils", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. For months, the Tel Aviv vigil of Women in Black has been harassed by passers-by and organized counterdemonstrators. Galit Mas-Eider reports that soldiers have even pointed their guns at the women while passing by in cars and buses. On a Friday last June, the threats turned into assault, as three male and two female soldiers jumped out of a car passing the vigil and attacked the women, tearing their signs and hitting them, while yelling and cursing. Afterwards, the soldiers drove off. Women in Black managed to record the license plate numbers and filed a complaint with the Tel Aviv police. Commander Gabi Leseit of the Tel Aviv police.
Aviv Police Department responded to a complaint about the incident from Knneset Member Tamar Gojansky. as follows: "Permit me to express my repugnance for the intolerance and crude behavior of the citizens/soldiers in this incident. All the suspects (3 males and 2 females - all soldiers) were apprehended, interrogated, and charged. The file is being given priority and has been transferred to the criminal division... assure you that the rights [of the women to demonstrate] and their security is of paramount concern to us." Galit reports that notwithstanding the "paramount concern" of Commander Leset, the police regularly quit the vigil at 1:45 p.m., leaving unprotected the Women in Black of Tel Aviv for the final quarter hour. [=]

61283. Women in Black. "Stop The Killing of Children", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. Most Women in Black vigils in Israel joined a national campaign in July and August to stop the killing of children by Israeli soldiers in the territories. Since the beginning of the intifada, 232 Palestinian children under the age of 16 have been killed by Israeli security forces. The campaign was launched by B Tselel - the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. [=]

61284. Women in Black. "Where Are You, International Women In Black?", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. We would like to publish the locations of the many Women in Black vigils throughout the world. If you participate in a Women in Black vigil (not just a peace dialogue or organization), please write to us and let us know: 1. Where you hold your vigil. 2. How often you stand on the vigil. 3. What you are protesting - the Israeli occupation or another issue. 4. Who the women are who come to the vigil (i.e., Palestinian, Israeli, other)? 5. Name of the organization (if different). 6. Name and address of a contact person. You are also invited to write to us about your local vigil for publication in this newsletter. Send all responses to Women in Black, P.O. Box 6360, Jerusalem, Israel 91062. [=]

61285. Women in Black. "Who's Who In This Issue", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. Annelise Butterweck (wrote in issue number 5) participates in Women in Black in Cologne "because of my special interest in the Middle East conflict, stimulated by my Hebrew studies in Jerusalem in 1967-1968. There learned the problems of both nations, Israeli and Palestinian, and feel involved as a German in the painful 'triangle' (as Mohammed Abu Ziad put it). With all my heart, wish for a real peace in justice for both."

Yocheed Gonen has been on the Haifa vigil of Women in Black since its inception. She is active in the Movement of Democratic Women in Israel and in Na'am (working women).

Jolie Kosovske, a pianist from Boston, was a member of the vigilis in Jerusalem and in Kibbutz Ketura, and is now living in the United States. [We couldn't reach her for more information.]

Hedwig Raskob (56) is a Munich psychotherapist of the school of Victor E. Frankl concerned especially with theory and practice of conflict solving. She is engaged in peacework. "No war, no weapons! Nowhere, never! It is possible!" are her slogans.

Illith Rosenblum is a (West) Jerusalem native who lives at present in New York City.

Maya Rosenfeld is doing her doctorate and teaching sociology and anthropology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She has stood regularly in the Jerusalem Women in Black vigil since 1/1988, and has been active in various left-wing organizations against the occupation.

Luisemarie Scharadin is a 57 year old druggist and housewife from Munich.

Chaya Shalom, of Sephardic origin and fifth generation in Jerusalem, is an activist for peace, women's, and lesbian rights. She has participated in the Jerusalem vigil since its inception. Chaya is an initiator and participant in feminist projects, and focusses recently on writing poetry of protest and love of women.

Mechthild Schreiber, born 1930 in Berlin, spent many years as housewife, wife, and mother of four. Because of overkill in the arms race, she began to be active in the peace movement and in issues of violence in the patriarchal system, which brought her to problems of feminism and racism.

Simona Sharoni, a Jewish Israeli feminist and peace activist, has recently completed her Ph.D. in conflict analysis and resolution. Her book, Feminist Interpretations of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is forthcoming (1994) from Syracuse University Press. [=]

61286. Women in Black. "Women Victims of Mass Rape", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. News reports from human rights organizations show that thousands of women in the former Yugoslavia have been victims of systematic rape and torture. You can make a donation to the Center for Women War Victims in Zagreb, Croatia. Make checks payable to MADRE and mail them to 121 West 27th Street - Room 301, New York, NY 10001. All contributions will be forwarded. [=]

61287. Women in Black. "Women, Leadership, and Change", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. A year course (Thursdays only) on "Women, Leadership and Change" will be starting at Beit Berl College in the fall. The course is open to Israeli Jews and Palestinians with a B.A. degree or equivalent. For information, write to Beit Berl College, Beit Berl, 44905; or call Erella Shadmi (02) 718-597. [=]

61288. Women in Black; Gonen, Yocheved. "A Good Day On The Haifa Vigil", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. Standing on the vigil on those hot and humid days of July, doubt begins to gnaw: How many more years will we have to stand? Does this repetitive weekly vigil have any value? Are we having an impact on anyone? Does this vigil help the struggle against the occupation? In our Haifa vigil, we repeatedly ask ourselves if we should take a break during the burning summer days, July and August, but again and again we decide that the vigil is the minimal contribution we can make to the effort against the occupation, an occupation which claims daily victims and loss of lives even on the Israeli side. The women of the Haifa vigil were not willing to give up raising our voice in protest and opposing the tragedy caused by the occupation. And just today, as the sun is beating down mercilessly, to our delight, there are signs of agreement and support from the drivers passing by. A young man stops to say, "Good show!" and to tell us that he works for peace through education. Two soldiers, sweaty in their heavy belts and weapons, flash us a thumbs-up signal. When a car stops beside the vigil, we recoil against the curse word that is sure to come. (Why is there never any substantive argument or polite reasoning among those who oppose peace.) Once someone threw a raw egg at us, and it was joyfully lapped up by Ruthie's dogs who keep us company throughout the world. If you participate in a Women in Black vigil (not 61288. Women in Black. "Where Are You, International Women In Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. News reports from human rights organizations show that thousands of women in the former Yugoslavia have been victims of systematic rape and torture. You can make a donation to the Center for Women War Victims in Zagreb, Croatia. Make checks payable to MADRE and mail them to 121 West 27th Street - Room 301, New York, NY 10001. All contributions will be forwarded. [=]
inhabitants, and for the religious streams with a more progressive lifestyle. Clearly misinformed, her response suggested that Reform Judaism supports "adultery," though she quickly exchanged that word for "cohabitation before marriage . . . [thus a sin in the guidelines of a Holy City]."

Somehow this led me to inquire about the fate of homosexuals in a city governed by a council of orthodox religious leaders. How would the law treat homosexuals "cohabiting" if the religious court, for example, won't legalize gay marriages. She responded, "Homosexuals should not have marriages, nor children, because their offspring will be unhappy, and besides, I've never met any homosexuals who were happy." Where, you may wonder, is there relevance in this story to Women in Black? As stand on Fridays, am fully aware of the group's diversity. Not only are some of us more left politically on the "Palestinian question", but we vary religiously, socio-economically, in age, and sexual orientation. I commend this woman for her activity for the peace process. But am offended as a Reform Jewish lesbian that would not be included in this vision of Peace Work for which she advocates. Perhaps she should look around one Friday between 1:00 and 2:00, and know with whom she stands. And then, may we begin to work together towards a City of Peace, Yerushalayim. [*]

61290. Women in Black; Rosenblum, Illith. "Research About the Vigil: (2) Like So Many Casandras", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. Another Dissenting Voice: It is striking that the research report by Tamar Rappaport and Sarit Hellman does not mention the continuous Israeli military occupation of territories since the 1967 war as the one valid reason for the vigil of Women in Black. They characterize the message "End the Occupation" as "a sign to hide behind", and conclude that "Women in Black have stood for 5 years with varied and even contradictory political interpretations, when all [sic] they have in common is 'End the Occupation'." Sadly and ironically, Rappaport and Hellman reflect what see as Israeli denial of the fact of occupation. They imply that "ideological discourse" or a variety of political interpretations would constitute real politics, not the "sole" slogan of Women in Black, said to serve as "a kind of mask in a Greek play". I would turn this analysis on its head and argue that occupation is the fundamental issue that has faced Israeli society for the past 26 years, and that Women in Black are unique in addressing this issue in Israel. Although Rappaport and Hellman refer to "significant social and political changes," one fact has not changed: the Israeli military occupation still continues. All other issues that are thrown into the public arena are smoke screens. There is an all-out denial of the occupation by a majority of Israelis. "What occupation?" is a common question heard from passers-by of the vigil. It is against this thick denial that Women in Black stand alone and, like so many Casandras, speak out the truth to the public for one hour every week. I would like to suggest that "The very basis for the survival of the vigil" is the need to speak the truth in the face of denial; that the political-social changes have not been "significant" when the occupation continues; that, although researchers have exhausted the topic, it is the continuous occupation in its deadly routine of violence that is "the very basis for the survival of the vigil". [*]

61291. Women in Black; Rosenfeld, Maya. "Research About the Vigil: (1) When Rite Is Wrong: Flaws In The Theory", in Women in Black-National Newsletter. Fall 1993. The research about the vigil which was reported in Issue number 5 evoked many reactions from Women in Black. Two dissenting opinions reached us in writing: (1) The conclusions drawn by Tamar Rappaport and Sarit Hellman in their researchabout Women in Black were disappointing, but not entirely unexpected. Rappaport and Hellman ask: How is it possible that the vigil which appears to be weak, undisciplined, frozen, etc. does not entirely disintegrate, but shows stability and perseverance? In their answer, they use a known tactic in social research: Since something must be holding the vigil together, if it isn't power, then it must be weakness, the kind of weakness that permits survival. The source of the weakness, they explain, is not in the individuals who compose the vigil; on the contrary, this is actually the locus of power of the vigil, because these are women with a "wealth of personal resources", i.e., they are professional and educated women with a history of social-political activism. But these "resources" are a source of personal power only, they claim. Rappaport and Hellman locate the weakness-which-became-power in the lack of a common ideology: the fact that Women in Black are not united around a joint political approach. If they had one, perhaps they would break out of their minimalistic consensus of the black hand with three words on it. But, according to the researchers, the lack of common ideology is also not the cause of the vigil's "survival". It is a "personal" interpretation of each woman's protest. Indeed, any change in this situation would pose a threat to the participants. Two comments so far: First, what is characteristic of a Woman in Black is not a "wealth of personal resources" - which is common to a great many women in Israel but the non-conformist link between her "resources" and left-wing political activity. This link is reflected in the personal histories of most women on the vigil, which Rappaport and Hellman toss aside with the claim that these histories are irrelevant in explaining the social phenomenon. I don't agree. Although personal characteristics of women education, income, marital status, etc. - in isolation tell us nothing about "revolutionary potential", when these data are connected to the history of the women-as veteran political activists of the Israeli left and feminist circles, another picture emerges. This picture reveals a good deal about the source of strength and the perserverance of these women, and now we are talking about real power, not power with weakness at its core. Second, I am offended by the assumption of these researchers that the vigil continues because a shared ideology is lacking. Their analysis suggests that women are getting some kind of compensation for their weekly vigil in the burning sun or the freezing hail in the form of partaking in a "ritual": participating in a ceremony that recurs every 7 days. Over the years, they claim, the women refuse to give up their hour of personal rites, and thus they transform the lack of ideology into an asset. Their bottom line is that every Woman in Black comes to the vigil for a personal encounter with herself and her interpretation, and to enjoy the endorsement of additional black hands which supply the scenery for her personal rite. This approach is offensive, even if my analysis has over-simplified it, because it minimizes the value of the participants, the content of their activity, and their motivations. Although the "ritual" explanation is tempting because of its esthetic simplicity, it is fundamentally flawed. Since there are 7 days in a week, 4 weeks in a month, 12 months in a year, and 4 seasons - all cyclic much of our activity as human beings is also cyclic. But not every activity that is repeated -even those following agreed-upon rules and using a given set of symbols - is a ritualized ceremony.

We attend the vigil for the purpose of expressing criticism of our political reality, not because we have a convenient opportunity to experience our personal interpretation under the guise of collective action. The phenomenon of personal interpretations of the political reality is common even to activists in political organizations with a well-formed ideology. It could not be otherwise: To some extent, every participant "individualizes" the protest. This does not change a political protest into a ritual, nor does it transform it into a collection of personal interpretations. Nevertheless, and here is the central issue: What explains the fact that the vigil is not growing or expanding its activities? First, object to presenting this question in an abstract, timeless manner, as do Rappaport and Hellman. This question has come up in concrete ways several times over the past five and a half years. This is a question that must be examined over the course of time and events. recall that in the first 2-3 years of the intifada [the Palestinian uprising], several opportunities arose to expand our activities (and the number of participants fluctuated before it stabilized), because participants at that time were willing to respond to ongoing events. Many joined dialogues with Palestinian women, or attended solidarity visits or took part in demonstrations on other days of the week. The potential of Women in Black was not fully realized because other organizations were then active, such as End the Occupation, Year 21, Yesh Gvul, Shani, and occasionally Peace Now. Many women saw their participation in the vigil as a kind of supplement to their other political activities, a supplement that was supposed to operate on the basis of the broadest common denominator, and therefore less of a commitment. How did it
come about that most other organizations disbanded, while Women in Black, the "supplement", continues to function? This is actually an achievement to the credit of those who stand in the plaza, and not a weakness, as Rappaport and Hellman suggest. But let's not overstate the success, as it is juxtaposed with failure. The phenomenon of Women in Black - both its success and its failure - cannot be examined internally, as Rappaport and Hellman attempt to do, but only in the wider political context. The absence of any mention of the intifada in this research report is glaring, since this is an attempt to explain a phenomenon which was born with the intifada and runs parallel to it. This is a serious lapse in the analysis, and indicates the dissociation of the research from the circumstances surrounding the subject under study.

Women in Black have been saying "end the occupation" for many years, but it was the intifada that brought them, like many protest groups, into the streets. Just as the oppression, the killing, and detention camps have been the government's response to the intifada, Women in Black are the counter-response. This protest - as a parallel and positive reaction to the intifada and a negative reaction to government policies - also included, in my opinion, a common perception that the intifada must culminate in a solution to the Palestinian problem. In other words, our vigil has always had another layer of meaning beyond "end the occupation", and that is the statement that a new situation exists, that the struggle of the Palestinians must lead to real progress for them, and that we stand on the vigil as a public reminder to the citizens and the government, until such change comes about, have not been standing on the vigil with "my interpretation was reading a book on her balcony. The Regional Israeli Military Court convicted him of carelessness, but he was eventually released after an appeal. Two years later, on 6/30/1981, the same man shot and killed 17-year-old Amal Muhhammad Hasin, who was reading a book on her balcony. The Regional Israeli Military Court convicted him of carelessness, but he was eventually released after an appeal. Two years later, on 6/30/1981, the same man shot and killed 17-year-old Amal Muhhammad Hasin, who was reading a book on her balcony. The Regional Israeli Military Court convicted him of carelessness, but he was eventually released after an appeal. Two years later, on 6/30/1981, the same man shot and killed 17-year-old Amal Muhhammad Hasin, who was reading a book on her balcony. The Regional Israeli Military Court convicted him of carelessness, but he was eventually released after an appeal. Two years later, on 6/30/1981, the same man shot and killed 17-year-old Amal Muhhammad Hasin, who was reading a book on her balcony. 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Palestinian, Jewish, and Israeli women’s efforts to draw links between gender and politics... Dominate representations of Israeli women are rooted in the myth that gender equality prevails in a country that once had a woman prime minister (Golda Meir) and where military service is mandatory for women. But the reality in Israel is that the ideology of “national security” has been used to institutionalize inequalities based on gender, race, and class. According to official accounts, as least 70% of Israeli women who serve in the military are trained to occupy traditional women’s roles. Most young women serve two years as clerks or typists, folding parachutes, working in base kitchens, or serving in the entertainment troops; the By making national remainders are loaned out to security a top state other government ministries priority Israeli men to cover shortages (working as teachers, policewomen, are afforded a nurse’s aids, and so forth), privileged status in The “gesture” of loaning women to civil service institutions serves to strengthen the ties between “battlefield” and “home front”, while reinforcing the centrality of the Israeli military in all spheres of Israeli society. Women who serve, a grandmother of a soldier. This is her reserve duty. She is considerably in military service.” It is in this context that former Knesset member Marsha Freedman–an outspoken feminist in the Israeli parliament–argued that women’s liberation in Israel is considered a threat to “national security.” But increasing numbers of Jewish Israeli women are insisting that feminism and peace activism represent a threat to “national security” only as defined by militarized men. Alternative formulations of “peace” and “security” have emerged from women’s own struggles and experiences. Far from endangering Israel or the Jewish people, such women are creating different visions for peace-building that make real, lasting security truly viable. But whether or not Israeli women move from the margins to the center of political decision-making, depends on their ability to forge new coalitions that challenge not only the rhetoric of “national security”, but the myth of gender equality in Israel. Such challenges have the potential to transcend conventional understandings of politics in general and feminism in particular.

[Excerpted from Ms., January/February 1993, pp. 18-22.]

61294. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners: WOFP. “Hasharon Prison (Tel-Mond)”, Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFP) Newsletter. [PO Box 31811, Tel Aviv Tel Fax 972-3-5286050] January-February 1994. The massacre in Hebron on February 25, shocked the prisoners deeply. In order to express their sorrow and feelings Or solidarity with the victims and their families the women went on a three days long hunger strike, during which they sent back their meals and didn’t leave their cells. In the December Newsletter we wrote hopefully that the prison authorities were apparently taking the prisoners’ health problems more seriously. Sadly, we were wrong. The prison authorities have reverted to their previous policy: in case of illness the prisoner is sent or examination to a hospital. Then, when there are inquiries, especially from abroad, the answer received is quite impressive: a doctor, or a professor, in this or that hospital, has examined him. What they don’t write in these impressive reports is that there is no follow-up whatsoever after the examination; nothing is done. For example, we wrote in the December Newsletter that Abeer Swais, whose hand is almost paralyzed, needs physiotherapy, according to the medical recommendation. Nothing is being done about it, but if anybody asks, the convenient answer is that she underwent hospital examination. The same is true for other prisoners. For example, a supporter who wrote to the Israeli Embassy in London, asking about Khamsia Mehanna, who is completely blind in one eye and partially blind in the other, was sent an imposing list of Khamisa’s visits in hospitals, with the reassuring comment: the prisoner is sent or examination to a hospital. Then, when there are inquiries, especially from abroad, the answer received is quite impressive: a doctor, or a professor, in this or that hospital, has examined him. What they don’t write in these impressive reports is that there is no follow-up whatsoever after the examination; nothing is done. For example, we wrote in the December Newsletter that Abeer Swais, whose hand is almost paralyzed, needs physiotherapy, according to the medical recommendation. Nothing is being done about it, but if anybody asks, the convenient answer is that she underwent hospital examination. The same is true for other prisoners. For example, a supporter who wrote to the Israeli Embassy in London, asking about Khamsia Mehanna, who is completely blind in one eye and partially blind in the other, was sent an imposing list of Khamisa’s visits in hospitals, with the reassuring conclusion: “her health is satisfactory.” Khamsia receives no treatment. Sabreen Eli-Najar (17) suffers from a very serious liver ailment. It was discovered during examining in “Meir” hospital in Kfar Saba. She needs treatment urgently, but as yet nothing has been done in the matter. Care of the teeth is very problematic: apart from the fact that only “first aid” is provided for the prisoners, the dentist is not given suitable opportunities for his work, and fillings fall out after a short time. The criminal prisoners are allowed to pay for better quality dental supplies. The political prisoners have no such rights. Among the political prisoners are nearly always to be found one or two mentally disturbed patients. WOFP, correspondence with Jewish and Arab NGOs in the occupied territories, February 1 994.

Women in the Middle East and North Africa

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women who behave strangely and sometimes wildly, are often noisy, and disturb the life of the prisoners in Hasharon. The women’s wing is very crowded. After the Oslo agreement it looked as if most of the prisoners would be released soon. The prison authorities thought so too, and put all the women in the meantime in one wing. This “meantime” is already half a year long, only a small number of prisoners have been released and others have been added, so the overcrowding causes the prisoners severe discomfort. The food the women receive is poor, after having improved slightly for several weeks.

It happens that the soup is again “garnished” with dead insects, and the vegetables are rotten. Even the portions of bread are insufficient. According to the regulations the prisoners are to receive some fruit daily, but quite often there is no fruit for the women, even when the criminal prisoners receive their due. In February the women received a much smaller amount of laundry powder and other cleaning materials than usual. When they complained, they received some small addition and were advised to buy anything they lack in the canteen. Generally, the canteen is the prison authorities solution for all that the prisoners lack. Recently the canteen begun to sell also items like flour or rice, especially for those who remain hungry after taking the meals. But the prisoners have no money to supplement their needs from the canteen: the criminal prisoners are allowed to work and earn money so they can satisfy their needs. For political prisoners there is no gainful employment. Some years ago, when they were still in Neve Tirza Prison, the political prisoners were offered work producing items for the military. They refused and ever since, they have been completely dependent on financial help from outside, which is not forthcoming from their families, since they themselves are in very dire straits. The fast of Ramadan started this year in the middle of February. Most of the prisoners observe this fast and abstain from eating from sunrise till sundown. According to the regulations, the prisoners should receive at the evening meal the amount of food due them at the midday meal and at the evening meal both. The women asked to receive the food a bit earlier, so they could prepare it a bit and make it more palatable. The authorities agreed, but in fact the food arrives not earlier but later than usual, the amount is by no means sufficient for two meals, and the quality is especially bad. In comparison, whenever there are Jewish holidays, the criminal prisoners receive plentiful quantities of special, traditional food. The women prisoners see this discrimination as a clear example of disrespect towards the Moslem tradition. There are only two concessions for the Ramadan on the part of the prison authorities: the families are allowed to bring some traditional sweets on their visits, and at the end of Ramadan the families’ visit will be longer. The washing machine has been out of order already for more than two months. Until now, no technician has been brought to repair it. Also, the windows need fixing, and most of them cannot be closed. The cold and damp in the cells have an adverse influence on the prisoners’ health. Hanin, Omaima El-Aagha’s five-month-old baby, received the proper vaccinations, but the prison supplies her with milk substitutes only. The additional baby food she needs has to be brought from outside. Omaima’s husband is still not allowed to visit her, because he was imprisoned for sixteen months in 1973. Omaima’s sixteen-year-old son, Muhammed, was arrested during his visit to prison on February 4. He was eating an orange when his name was called, and, in a hurry, he slipped the fruit knife into his pocket. During the body search that all visitors undergo it took two hours, and all that time the soldiers beat Tamam, and knocked her head on the sides of the car. On February 24 she was transferred to Hasharon, and instead she was placed in ordinary detention.

Fatmeh Samarat (48) from Ein Duk Refugee Camp near Jericho was arrested on February 11. A WOFPP lawyer met her on February 18 and February 22. At the end of February a lawyer who was asked to see her was informed that an order forbidding her to see a lawyer had been served. [For those who would like to support our work, donations may be made to: WOFPP, Account 260643 Bank Hapoalim, Branch 532, 3 Daniel Frisch St., Tel-Aviv.] [7]

61296. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners: WOFPP. “Released”. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP) Newsletter: [PO Box 31811, Tel Aviv Tel Fax 972-3-5286050], January-February 1994. Smaher Faheedat (17) from An’nata, arrested on 10/8/1993, was released on January 13. Her release was due to a technical mistake in her detention order. She is still awaiting trial.

Soomaiah Shqirat, arrested on October 26, was released on February 15, two months before her term for administrative reasons.

After the Hebron massacre there was a promise of the Israeli Government to make some “trust building” gestures toward the Palestinian population. In fact all the Occupied Territories were put under closure, and most of the towns under curfew, and the daily lists of the killed and wounded are reminiscent of the early days of the Intifada. The only “trust building” gesture so far has been the release Of nine hundred prisoners who were waiting to be released at the end of the Ramadan anyway as in previous years, as a sort of “holiday gift”. These prisoners, most of them near the end of their terms, were released about ten days earlier, on the first and third of March. Among those released were two women:

Malkiyeh Zuhud (47) mother of four from Gaza, arrested on 11/12/1992 and sentenced to 27 months in prison, was released on March 1.

Sabreen El-Najjar, (17) from Rafah Refugee Camp, the Gaza Strip, arrested on 9/3/1993 and sentenced to one year, was released on March 1. [For those who would like to support our work, donations may be made to: WOFPP, Account 260643 Bank Hapoalim, Branch 532, 3 Daniel Frisch St., Tel-Aviv.] [7]

61297. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners: WOFPP. “The Russian Compound (Moscovibeh)”. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP) Newsletter: [PO Box 31811, Tel Aviv Tel Fax 972-3-5286050], January-February 1994. Tamam Labatil (22) from Kufr Annzah near Jenin, was arrested on January 10. The soldiers brought her home and searched the house, then took her in a car to the Russian Compound in Jerusalem. It is a half hour drive, but this time the drier took too long, and all that time the soldiers beat Tamam, and knocked her head on the sides of the car. On February 24 she was transferred to Hasharon. [For those who would like to support our work, donations may be made to: WOFPP, Account 260643 Bank Hapoalim, Branch 532, 3 Daniel Frisch St., Tel-Aviv.] [7]

61298. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners: WOFPP. “Trails”. Women’s Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP) Newsletter: [PO Box 31811, Tel Aviv Tel Fax 972-3-5286050], January-February 1994. Abeer El-Sanawi (20) from El-Azaria, Jerusalem region, was arrested on 4/9/1993, and was released on bail the same day. On 1/18/1994 Abeer was sentenced in the District Court in Jerusalem to 15 months in prison.

Soomaiah Shqirat (38), from A-Thur, Jerusalem, arrested on
no national health authority. Nor do they have access to mental health come and lead a discussion on a topic related to “Women and Mental

boasted a rich variety of mental health specialists as course lecturers. Follow-up programme: On completion of the course, other and discuss often sensitive issues.

The Women's Studies Centre (WSC), in cooperation with the Palestinian Counseling Centre (PCC), held a ten-day counseling course for a dozen women from local organizations who work with and offer counseling services to women on participants and all course activities were designed to develop a secure environment in which women could learn about themselves and each other and discuss often sensitive issues.

Course aims: It was this great need for training in the mental health field which prompted WSC to hold a counseling course for women. The course was designed for women from local institutions who offered counseling services in their daily work. It aimed to: provide these women with basic counseling tools; sensitize them to problems specific to women i.e. depression, low self-esteem, etc.; strengthen their abilities to cope with the grievances and problems relayed to them; and address issues around counseling ethics and professional responsibilities to clients (i.e. confidentiality, a counselor’s legal responsibilities).

Course participants: Participants to the course represented a rich diversity of personal, geographic, political and professional backgrounds. We had women health and family planning educators from the Gaza Strip, field advisers to women’s cooperatives in the Jordan Valley, and women counselors working in different organizations around the West Bank. Each participant brought with her a wealth of experience; this variety of experience allowed for unique exchanges and dialogues.

Course programme: The course focused on the development of self-awareness and communication skills, and a review of primary counseling techniques (i.e. active listening, interpretation, analyzing, reframing, etc.). Participants first learned to use these techniques to identify and understand personal issues and then worked to apply these same techniques in a counseling situation. A team of mental health specialists introduced women to various techniques and then encouraged them to experiment with them in practical sessions. Additionally, sessions on group dynamics, lectures, videos, readings and discussions were planned to explore the needs and difficulties specific to women when they are being counseled. Issues included sexuality, incest, domestic violence both physical and emotional, and depression. During the discussions, women participants were encouraged to be sensitive and to listen to the various messages a client might be giving. Ethics were stressed throughout the course, particularly regarding issues of confidentiality. Women were exposed to the damaging effects which breaking confidentiality might have, especially for the client whose trust would be violated and whose life could be endangered should such disclosures reach the wrong people. The course also introduced participants to local institutions which might be useful when clients require referrals to medical services, psychological testing, human rights information or legal aid. The group made a day trip to Gaza to visit two local organizations: the Gaa Community Mental Health Centre where they heard about the Centre’s work and programmes with women in the Gaza Strip. The participants’ responses to the course were overwhelming. We attribute much of that success to the participatory learning approach upon which the course was based. The course was designed to encourage participants’ active involvement in all aspects of the course from informal lectures and discussions, to group dynamics sessions and practical sessions. The focus on women’s personal experiences provided an accessible entry point for all participants and all course activities were designed to develop a secure environment in which women could learn about themselves and each other and discuss often sensitive issues.

Follow-up programme: On completion of the course, participants initiated their own ongoing educational programme. Each month, the group meets and invites a local mental health professional to come and lead a discussion on a topic related to “Women and Mental Health.” Recently with the support of the Centre, the group decided to


-WSC director travels to Italy for a seminar on gender issues.

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-Celebration party for WSC staff and women’s committee members who completed a three-month English course held at the WSC and conducted by AmidEast.

-WSC project worker conducts video training course at Women’s Affairs Centre in Gaza.

1/1993: Seminar on ‘The Role of Dreams in Counselling’ led by Dr. Vivica Hazboun.

WSC director and several staff members participate in series of UNDP-facilitated workshops on women and production, women and legal aid. The group made a day trip to Gaza to visit two local organizations: the Gaa Community Mental Health Centre where they heard about the Centre’s work and programmes with women in the Gaza Strip. The participants’ responses to the course were overwhelming. We attribute much of that success to the participatory learning approach upon which the course was based. The course was designed to encourage participants’ active involvement in all aspects of the course from informal lectures and discussions, to group dynamics sessions and practical sessions. The focus on women’s personal experiences provided an accessible entry point for all participants and all course activities were designed to develop a secure environment in which women could learn about themselves and each other and discuss often sensitive issues.

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October 26, 1993, was sentenced on 1/31/1994 to six months in prison.

Omaima Aghah (34), mother Or nine from Khan Younis, arrested on 6/9/1993 was sentenced on 1/31/1994 to five years in prison. [For those who would like to support our work, donations may be made to: WOFPP, Account 260643 Bank Hapoalim, Branch 532, 3 Daniel Frisch St., Tel-Aviv.] [=]
open up their meetings to other women interested in mental health and start a series of public mental health lectures. Topics have included women and depression, dreams, how mental health problems affect a woman's physical health, and more recently, feminist support in counseling. The monthly forum has also served as an important support network for women counselors who until the course had worked largely in isolation. The monthly meetings are open to all interested women whose professions involve them in counseling on a regular basis. [6]

61301. Womens Studies Center. "Indian Film Maker Begins Video Training", in Womens Studies Center Newsletter [Post Office Box 19591, East Jerusalem]. Februari 1993. Over the past six months the Woman's Studies Centre has sponsored a series of two-week courses in video film making. The courses are being conducted by Indian film maker Mahnoor Yar Khan who is attached to the WSC as a project worker for a one-year period. Each course involves a hands-on introduction into shot taking, camera movement, basic lighting, research, story and script writing filming, and editing as well as training in how to work out a budget and proposal to raise funding for the production of a film. During the course, participants work in teams of three to produce a short film. The subjects of films has ranged from cane weaving to the effects of the Intifada on women's lives. Throughout the courses women have been engaged in lively discussions on how the medium of film can be used to address women's issues for research and documentation . Twelve women have completed courses conducted in Jerusalem (hosted by the Centre for Popular Arts) and Gaza (hosted by the Women's Affairs Centre). An additional course is to be held at the Women's Affairs Centre in Nablus next month. The Centre has also exploited the presence of Mahnoor to purchase video equipment and launch plans to develop an audio-visual section in our library. In addition, we are now organizing a film club with the aim of hosting films and discussions exploring issues of women and development on a monthly basis. [7]

61302. Womens Studies Center. "Overview", in Womens Studies Center Newsletter [Post Office Box 19591, East Jerusalem]. February 1993. Dear Friends, While it has been a trying winter for all of us in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in many ways, particularly with the mass expulsion in December, we have managed to forge ahead with work here at the Centre. Some of our most exciting activities have occurred in our educational outreach work, including a ten-day intensive course on woman-centred approaches to counseling and a series of training courses in video making conducted by a visiting project worker from India. These projects, described in further detail within this newsletter, have made clear to us the great need for a wide variety of educational programmes for women within our community. Indeed, during recent internal workshops, the staff has decided to place added emphasis on our educational outreach work; within the next several months we hope to employ someone to focus specifically on coordinating our community education programmes, a task which up until now has been shared between several staff members. Another major focus of our energies during the past six months has been a series of internal workshops in which all staff members have participated in critiquing and developing strategies for improving the Centre's work on a variety of levels. We have worked, for example, to clarify individual and collective roles within the Centre, to find a definition of commitment to our work which takes into account the needs and goals of the Centre while supporting rather than exploiting individual staff members. We have also worked to design clearer, more effective and just organizational structures and work conditions for the Centre. Workshops were also used to explore and develop decision-making processes appropriate to our vision of a society encouraging full and equal participation of all members. Correspondingly, we have practiced our facilitating, negotiating and leadership skills and worked at better expressing ourselves and listening more effectively. We have sharpened our evaluating skills and created a system for an ongoing collective evaluation of our work both as individuals and as a group. While this process has been time consuming and often emotionally draining, particularly given the Centre's continued financial difficulties, we have stretched ourselves in new and exciting ways and experienced the thrill which comes with putting ideals into practice. Moreover, the entire process has strengthened our commitments to each other and to the Centre's work, providing us with the confidence of strong foundations upon which to build. It is within this context that we are able -- despite the disorders and confusion caused by continued troubles here and in so many parts of the world -- to look forward to 1993 and beyond with high hopes. We hope that the New Year has found you with abundant reason to look forward with similar optimism. With best wishes, The WSC Staff. Jerusalem. [8]

61303. Womens Studies Center. "Upcoming Activities", in Womens Studies Center Newsletter [Post Office Box 19591, East Jerusalem]. Februari 1993. Completion of preliminary study on the phenomenon of dropouts in the Ramallah area carried out in cooperation with UNICEF. "Ramadan Evening", including an auction, bingo and traditional amadan sweets, to raise funds for Al-Mar'a magazine. Second Annual Women's festival in the Occupied Palestinian Territories to be held 13-26 May in Jerusalem, Nablus and Gaza in coordination with Women's Affairs Centres (Nablus and Gaza) and the Womens Studies Committee of Bisan Centre (Ramallah). [9]

61304. Women's Work Committee (Palestine); WWC. "Palestinian Women in Israeli Prisons", in Newsletter [Women's Work Committee (Palestine)], No. 5. April 1985. International Women's Day, 3/8/1984, marked a particularly important achievement for Palestinian women under occupation, and in particular for Palestinian women in Israeli prisons. On that day, prison authorities in Neve Tirza prison near Ramle finally agreed to Palestinian women prisoners' demands that they not be forced to cook and serve prison guards, thus ending a 15-month strike by women prisoners there. The strike had been not only exceptionally long, but extremely harsh. Prison guards had tear-gassed women inside their cells in a widely-reported incident authorities had also tried to break the strike by locking women in their cells for 24 hours a day, and forbidding them family visits and access to books and newspapers. Women in Neve Tirza had launched several hunger strikes in the 15-month period; the last finally led to their victory. As we celebrate International Women's Day 1985, however, women in Neve Tirza have once again been forced to go on strike to protest against inhuman prison conditions. After women prisoners marked a Palestinian anniversary in 12/1984, prison authorities retaliated by removing all books and newspapers from the women, and placed 14 women in solitary confinement. Prisoners were on strike for much of January and support sit-ins were held at the International Red Cross offices in Jerusalem. On 12 February, women began a hunger strike to protest against the new restrictions and to demand an end to work in defence-related industries and an increase in visits and educational activities among prisoners.

Prison conditions, however, are only one aspect of the problem of Palestinian women prisoners. Even more basic is the issue of why these women are imprisoned in the first place. Siham Barghouti, a WWC Executive Committee member, was released in 4/1984 from Neve Tirza prison after serving a two-and-a-half year prison sentence. What was her "crime"? Siham was stopped by soldiers when she was outside the city of Bireh, at a time when she was restricted to that city by a town arrest order. Town arrest orders are imposed without any judicial proceedings on individuals in the occupied territories for six-month periods and can be renewed indefinitely. No reason other than the general rubric of 'security' is given for the order and the individual has no chance to defend him or herself in court. These orders are thus a convenient way to restrict individuals who have not broken any military regulation, but whose activities or ideas are disapproved of by the military authorities. Over 100 individuals in the West Bank and Gaza are currently under such restrictions. Now entering her fifth year of town arrest is Zahera Kamal, another member of the WWC Executive Committee. Her last order slightly eased the--terms of her restriction, thanks, it can be assumed, to growing international concern over her
case. Amnesty International adopted Zahera as ‘Prisoner of the Month’ in 1984, and a number of women and human rights organizations around the world have been active in combating Zahera’s town arrest, the longest town arrest to date of a woman in the occupied territories. International and local protest also played a part in lifting the town arrest of Amal Wahdan, on 2/12/1984. Amal, also on the WWC Executive Committee, is the first case of a town arrest order being lifted before it was fully served. Amal attributes this success to publicity and protest, and especially noted the activity of the Israeli organization, Women Against the Occupation.

The widespread detention and imprisonment of males in the West Bank and Gaza inevitably both affects and propels women to act. Women’s sit-ins at the International Red Cross in Jerusalem to protest against conditions at such infamous prisons as Nafha and Jneid have become familiar sights. In addition, the WWC and other women’s organizations in the occupied territories have active programs to support prisoners’ families whose economic and social situation is often extremely difficult while the main breadwinner is in prison. The series of travel restrictions and bans imposed by the military authorities also seriously affect women in the occupied territories. These range from collective bans where all inhabitants of a targeted village or town are barred from travel for a certain period of time, as a collective punishment, to individual bans on travel for persons the military government opposes. Many activists in the WWC, for example, have been refused permission to travel abroad. Other active women are also targeted: Samiha Khalil, the head of the Ramallah-based charitable society Inash El Usra, has, on a number of occasions, been denied permission to attend conferences abroad that were important for the development of the society.

The woman prisoner is perhaps the most dramatic example of the denial of freedom to Palestinian-women under occupation. In addition, however, a web of restrictions and regulations constantly remind Palestinian women that they live, not under their own government and representatives, but at the mercy of a foreign military occupation. [=]

61305. Womens Work Committee (Palestine); WWC. “Palestinian Women in Israeli Prisons: Interview with Siham Barghouti”, in Newsletter (Womens Work Committee (Palestine)), No. 5. April 1985. [Early in 1982, Israeli soldiers stopped Siham Barghouti on the road between the towns of Bireh and Nablus on the occupied West Bank. By being there, she was committing a ‘crime’ for, since 6/1980, she had been under town arrest in Bireh. For being outside this town, Siham served two-and-a-half years in prison, from 2/1982-8/1984. She was a student in the street, there’s a revolution in our souls. So Palestinian women in Israeli prisons make it look like a showplace.]

Some people have asked me what I’d done to be under town arrest. What I’d done was to speak of our national rights as Palestinians and that we want an independent government. Every Palestinian wants that - it’s not a crime. And I was active in the Women’s Work Committees. As for breaking the town arrest, it’s my right to go anywhere in my country. When I was arrested, I shared the experience of thousands of our people. First you’re interrogated - often in the Moscobiye prison in Jerusalem. It is cold there; you’re not allowed a change of clothes, the food is disgusting. They pour hot or cold water over you, maybe keep a bag over your head for days at a time. They put you alone in a cell, won’t let you see your lawyer or the Red Cross until they finish with you . . . and that can take weeks.

After the interrogation, they put you in prison. Neve Tirza is a tough place, but the West Bank prisons make it look like a showplace. There at least we got milk every two weeks on the West Bank never. West Bank prisons are in bad condition, and in winter they’re very cold. There are no heat in the room. They get stomach problems, back problems; after a few years, their health is permanently damaged just from the living conditions - especially the teenagers, who need good food to grow. But I found that to be arrested and live in prison is a very rich experience, because you get to know your enemy face to face, and you get to know how Palestinian women can struggle. You learn that women can take an important part in the whole resistance to the occupation. Because of the things they have learned, women who have been prisoners can take the whole Palestinian women’s movement forward.

Women’s organizations in the occupied territories have active programs to support prisoners’ families whose economic and social situation is often extremely difficult while the main breadwinner is in prison. The series of travel restrictions and bans imposed by the military authorities also seriously affect women in the occupied territories. These range from collective bans where all inhabitants of a targeted village or town are barred from travel for a certain period of time, as a collective punishment, to individual bans on travel for persons the military government opposes. Many activists in the WWC, for example, have been refused permission to travel abroad. Other active women are also targeted: Samiha Khalil, the head of the Ramallah-based charitable society Inash El Usra, has, on a number of occasions, been denied permission to attend conferences abroad that were important for the development of the society.

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61306. Yaqeen, Tahseen. “The Magic of Storytelling: Butterfly in Search of a Friend”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995. p. 13. When Abeer Haddad addresses children, she deals with them directly. She needs to know how Palestinian women can struggle. You learn that women can take an important part in the whole resistance to the occupation. Because of the things they have learned, women who have been prisoners can take the whole Palestinian women’s movement forward.

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The dilemma by placing one hand on the dress and the other on the hat. Haddad makes the children feel as though they were in the story by putting the puppet on her head and making the sounds of the blowing wind. For her third story, Haddad paints her hands, one yellow and the other blue. The yellow hand is the yellow dot, searching for her blue dot friend. The two dots play together and create a new color: green. When the dots go home, the yellow dot is green and her parents refuse to believe that the green dot is their daughter. The green dot cries and tries to persuade her parents that she is indeed their child. With a hand move that represents a kiss, the parents accept. Both parents accept to be changed to green. Then the songs begin. The fourth story is a simple story about Leon Leoni, which describes the connection between people and their surroundings, the cause and effect. The story explains that a person does not live alone, but also with the environment and other people. The story of the dots also identifies the powerful forces of change, tolerance and acceptance. Each of the tales carries with it a message of understanding, compromise and change.

Abeer Haddad was born in Nassra, Palestine. She lived in Jaffa and wrote her master’s thesis on Palestinian theater during the wars of 1967 and 1973. When asked why she relates her work in classical Arabic, she replied that it would be easier for children to read her stories. She added that she uses puppets to enhance the personalities of her characters. Haddad performs for children from five to ten years of age, despite the fact that her degree allows her to perform for older people. She explained that after her first son reached the age of nine she began to think of ways to address the ideas and questions of children. Haddad uses stories with an educational background for these reasons. Haddad has a beautiful singing voice and has been recorded on TV. She has also performed in the cinema and done educational recordings. She is currently working on a child development center. When asked what guides her, she said, “To be oneself is always best.”

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61307. Yellen-Kohn, Gigi. “Senator Patty Murray Delivers Uplift Message to CJF: ‘I Always Look At A Room Like This With So Many Women, and Think—Wouldn’t It Be Wonderful If The US Senate Looked Like This?’”, in Jewish Transcript (Seattle), November 22, 1996. p. A5. On the eve of Sen. Patty Murray’s first trip to Israel, she was hosted by Microsoft at its Redmond Campus, with 300 women delegates to the Council of Jewish Federations Women’s Department. Murray replaced the previously scheduled speaker, Zionist activist Evelyn Lieberman, White House Deputy Chief of Staff. Addressing the Zionists’ ladies’ auxiliary to the CJF, Murray (‘the mom in tennis shoes’) stated: “I always look at a room like this, with so many women, and think, ‘wouldn’t it be wonderful if the US Senate looked like this?’ Can you imagine what we’d get done and what we would work on? It would be so exciting. Every day on the floor, instead of bickering and fighting, we’d sit down and we’d make sure that our kids got a good education, that there was health care for everybody, that our parents were taken care of, that our communities were safe, and we’d get the job done. Right?” The women from the Jewish communal service organizations from all over America enthusiastically agreed with Sen. Murray that the Jewish community would be better off if the United Senate was entirely composed of Jewish women. Sen. Murray boasted to the group that she serves on the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee, which, she noted, is “the one which determines foreign aid dollars, and has a very key role in our support for Israel... And I will tell you how I would see that. I think the message of money is a critical issue for the dollars we receive for airspace. A large group of Christian pilgrims were gathered at the Seventh Station of the Cross, where the market street meets the Via Dolorosa. I was trying to negotiate the logjam when someone grabbed a hand move “contagious and dangerous diseases,” an addendum to the Public Health Order that has been in effect since 1940.

According to Section 20 of the above Order, the executive director to the Health Ministry has ordered people that are categorized as possible carriers of the virus—and so far, only female prostitutes have been categorized that way by the law—to have periodic free examinations in an authorized laboratory. By it is found that the person has the antibodies, the doctor must send a letter to the person’s home explaining the activities that they’re not allowed to do. The subject of the test may not do anything against the doctor’s instructions. So it says in the Public Health Order.

“'Wouldn’t it be wonderful if the US Senate looked like this?' Can you imagine what we’d get done and what we would work on? It would be so exciting. Every day on the floor, instead of bickering and fighting, we’d sit down and we’d make sure that our kids got a good education, that there was health care for everybody, that our parents were taken care of, that our communities were safe, and we’d get the job done. Right?”

And he continues, “Under public pressure, under political pressure, and maybe as an hysterical reaction to this mysterious and indeed scary disease, the authorities in charge of public health wanted to prove that they were doing something, and that something was in that sector and are where it’s easiest to do something. And the question that it raises of how productive it is left unanswered. And indeed, also on a practical level, a lot of questions are left open: how can you monitor the Order? Prostitutes in Israel are not registered and they don’t need work permits, and they have no supervision. How are they going to enforce the Order? Like in other areas, here too, they picked on the group that is least protected and accused of bad morals anyway. [Reprinted with permission of People’s Translation Service, P.O. Box 1443, Berkeley, Ca 94712; Tel: (510) 549-3505. Subscription rates are US$17/year; Canada and Mexico US$20/year; Overseas US$20 surface, US$35 airmail; institutional US$30.]”

61309. Young, Stuart. "A Question of Color", in Challenge, January-March, 1991. p. 21. It was a typical Monday morning in Jerusalem's Old City, and Souq Khan al-Zeit was bustling with people. Peasant women with their sacks of vegetables laid out around them, hawkers with their barrows, and shopkeepers with their tawdry tourist wares were all vying for airspace. A large group of Christian pilgrims were gathered at the Seventh Station of the Cross, where the market street meets the Via Dolorosa. I was trying to negotiate the logjam when someone grabbed my arm from behind and spun me around. I was facing a tall Israeli border guard with an arrogant demeanor. Before I had a chance to react, he shoved his walkie-talkie into my groin and demanded something of me. After I politely replied, despite my shock, that I do not speak Hebrew, his face became more cruel. He gave me a stunning blow across the side of my face and shouted at me again. Immediately I realized, 'He must think I'm Palestinian.' Soldiers had harassed me before because of my dark skin, but never with such ferocity. I was completely taken by surprise, and very frightened. He smashed me across the head several times, with long, generous blows that left me punch-drunk and reeling. I had enough sense not to dodge then he would..."
use his boots on me, or worse. He had an M-16 rifle I could not argue with. He went to smash his walkie-talkie into my mouth, but I ducked and the walkie-talkie went flying. Suddenly calm, he with his two companions took me up a side street, away from the foreign pilgrims. I told him again, carefully, that I do not speak Hebrew. He yanked me against a wall and began to rain down blows on my head and shoulders, splitting in my face and head-buttling me. His face was twisted with rage and I could hear the screaming unintelligible words at me. I am no masochist, but in all my panic I knew that if I succeeded in knocking him down, I could be dead.

From his look I felt that he would not hesitate to shoot me, or perhaps his companions would. My head was ringing and I was getting desperate. As luck would have it, a brave English pilgrim intervened. After a lot of pleading he managed to convince the border guard that I was speaking English with an English accent, and am in fact English. The soldier looked confused and not the least bit apologetic. He gave me a false name and number, and he and his friends swiftly disappeared down the street, joking with each other. Whenever I look back on the incident, I get a sick feeling. In retrospect, I should not have been surprised. As a non-white visitor to this land, I have been treated, to a variety of experiences which European-looking travelers would never have known. Arrogant and intimidating behavior from soldiers and police is the norm. I have grown up with racism in Britain, but what I have felt here is far worse. Other black travellers speak of similar aggressive treatment from Israeli soldiers and police, treatment that seems designed either to provoke a response or inflict cowing humiliation. The president of the British Black Lawyers Association was arrested at a demonstration and subjected to a degrading four-hour interrogation by police, who demanded to know from where he had stolen his passport. During last winter's "1990: Time for Peace march, police severely beat a black Italian member of the European Parliament, leaving the white Italians around her unharmed. Michelle, a black American lawyer, was reported being sexually harassed while walking alone at dusk along one of Ramallah's main streets. She said two soldiers jumped out of a military jeep, stopped her and began shouting obscenities at her in Arabic. One of the soldier circled her menacingly, threatening to rape her. When she spoke to them in English, they demanded that she admit that she was an Arab. These incidents are only the tip of the iceberg. To be treated like a boy or an idiot, or to be arrogantly dismissed, is routine anti-semitism, and on the other hand, that anti-zionist struggles and struggles against anti-semitism complement each other? I am not neutral in this debate--I accept the second argument. But I also accept that certain arguments from the first are valid as well. My position is that the struggles against zionism, anti-semitism and racism are complementary, rather than competing, as has been assumed all too often in this debate. I see these assumptions not as accidental, but as a direct result of certain political perspectives, mainly inspired by zionism, which have dominated parts of the debate. In order to counterpose them, I will analyse the relationship between antizionism and zionism, anti-semitism and racism, and their relation to solidarly with international struggles against imperialism.

This has not been an easy article to write, and I know I am going to touch various sensitive points for lots of people. This debate has by now touched most of my sensitive points. It seems to me, however that the solution chosen by most of its participants so far, i.e., to relate only to parts of the issues which are closest to them, is not going to bring us any further.

This is written for Spare Rib—a feminist magazine, rather than for a general left-wing journal. This has become by now also a specific feminist debate although it has been going on in the socialist movement in one way or another since the beginning of the century, and in its latest form since 1967. I think that the way it has been conducted within the women's movement has illuminated several problems which are endemic to the feminist perspective and which we, as feminists should confront. My conclusion will look at the implications this debate has had for basic feminist assumptions concerning "sisterhood" and "the personal is political."

Zionism and Anti-semitism: How is it possible for the two factions to claim vehemently, with apparently the same degree of conviction, that, on the one hand, anti-zionist attacks are only a cover for anti-semitism, and on the other hand, that anti-zionist struggles and struggles against anti-semitism complement each other? I am not neutral in this debate--I accept the second argument. But I also accept that certain arguments from the first are valid as well. In order to clarify what seems to be a contradiction, we need to look at zionism and its relation to anti-semitism. I have no space here to go into a detailed history, but will present some generalisations that can act as a starting point.

Zionism has presented itself as a "modern, alternative" way of being Jewish to the traditional, orthodox, religious way. The Jews, according to zionist ideology, constitute a nation (in the Western European sense of the term) rather than a religious community. But zionism needed the Jewish religious tradition to justify its claim to represent the Jewish people as a whole—as well as claiming Palestine as the land of Israel. (This inseparability became much more obvious after 1967 when religion was used to legitimate settlement of the West Bank.) So, Israeli legislation had to perpetuate in various ways sexist and racist medieval Jewish laws.

All wings of the zionist movement have had as their main goal the establishment and promotion of the Jewish state in Palestine, which according to Jewish tradition is the Jewish homeland. This was done by settling in Palestine in a process which dispossessed and excluded the indigenous Palestinians from the new society.

It is important to emphasise that the zionist movement (in all its wings) did not want to establish a state for Jews who lived in Palestine, or even for those who would settle there, but the Jewish state which would symbolically and politically represent Jews all over the world. For this reason, Israel could never be, in principle, a democratic state because of the decision to give rights to all Jews regardless of their citizenship, while non-Jewish citizens of Israel were not given the same

61310. Yudelman, Michal. “400000 Children Said Below Poverty Line”, in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 31, 1994, p. 5. Of the country’s 1.9 million children 400000 are living in poverty, 28% are new immigrants, according to the National Council for Children. Child abuse, sexual abuse and suicide rates are rising. The figures were after 1967 when religion was used to legitimate settlement of the West Bank. The soldier looked confused and not the least bit apologetic. He gave me inspired by zionism, which have dominated parts of the debate. In order to counterpose them, I will analyse the relationship between antizionism and zionism, anti-semitism and racism, and their relation to solidarly with international struggles against imperialism.

61311. Yudelman, Michal; Izenberg, Dan. "Reports Claim Israel Has 200000 Battered Women", in Jerusalem Post International Weekly, December 3, 1994, p. 5. A Histadrut committee report shows 200000 settling in Palestine in a process which dispossessed and excluded the Jewish people as a whole—as well as claiming Palestine as the land of Israel. (This inseparability became much more obvious after 1967 when religion was used to legitimate settlement of the West Bank.) So, Israeli legislation had to perpetuate in various ways sexist and racist medieval Jewish laws.
rights. There are, nevertheless, zionists who are subjectively democrats or socialists, and in the history of zionism there were voices protesting against some of the unavoidable implications of zionism in the hope that they were avoidable. But all along, zionism, both as a political movement and as an ideological one, has operated basically in the way I've described.

The zionist movement arose as a reaction to the crisis affecting Eastern European Jewry in the 19th century. The onset of industrialisation jeopardised the economic role and way of life of those Jews that constituted a middle-caste between the landed nobility and the peasantry. Industrialisation also disrupted and dispossessed the traditional peasantry who, encouraged by the ruling class, directed their frustrations in the form of riots and pogroms against the Jews, the most vulnerable link in the hierarchy of the old feudal order. These conflicts were fueled by Christian anti-semitic tradition and gained some modern reinforcements, the most famous being the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a book that supposedly proved that Jews were conspiring to take over the world.

In Western Europe, the arrival of Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, with their different culture and appearance, reawakened the issue of anti-semitism which to a great extent had been dormant since the small number of Western European Jews had become integrated into the new bourgeoisie. Anti-semitism in Western Europe, however, was based much more on biological “theories” and paved the way for Nazi racial ideology.

Zionism, therefore, was in part a direct reaction to post-industrial European anti-semitic ideologies. Like many other reactions, it shares some of the major assumptions of that which it opposes. Zionist founder Theodore Herzl saw anti-semitism as part of human nature, beyond the realm of history, unchangeable. As a result of that first assumption, zionists saw the solution of the “Jewish problem” as dependent on Jews changing, rather than anti-semites. The zionist movement wanted to “normalise” the Jewish people (“And we shall be like all the other Goyim [non-Jewish peoples]”). From this point of view, zionism is an attempt at collective assimilation.

This “normalisation” involved the exodus of the Jews from the countries where they lived to a different territory. Thus, ironically, both anti-semites and zionists end up rejecting the membership of Jews in the societies where they live. Because of these common assumptions, many anti-semites, especially after WWII and the Holocaust, when open anti-semitism was no longer acceptable, became ardent zionists. One example of this is some of the Christian fundamentalist sentiment in the United States. In that view, not only are the Israelis so much “nicer” than the traditional Jews, they are also physically removed from the West.

I want to clarify immediately that I do not mean that all, or even the majority, of non-Jews who support zionism and Israel are anti-semites under cover. In fact, it’s quite the opposite. Most supporters of Israel have seen it (mistakenly) as adequate compensation to Jews for the horrors of the Holocaust, and that Israel is the way to solve the “Jewish problem.” And of course, individuals as well as nation-states (like the superpowers also support Israel, but for very different, politically expedient, reasons.

Just as support of zionism in itself is not a sign that a certain person or state is anti- or pro-Jewish, neither is opposition to zionism. The Eastern European Left, for instance, objected to zionism at the outset because it did not offer a strategy to fight anti-semitism in their societies, nor did it offer a realistic solution to the majority of Jews, only to a select group who could afford to migrate to Palestine. Zionism was also blamed for dividing the working class ideologically and politically. Later, when the zionist state had become a reality, the main objection to its development was ideological and political.

On the other hand, opposition to zionism has been used as a hypocritical substitute for anti-semitism by those who do not like Jews in any form, those whose “Laurence of Arabia” romanticism connected them to the Arab world, and those for whom Israel is just one more state of Wogs [originally an acronym for Western oriental Gentleman, a term coined by whites to refer to Indians who threatened their class privilege. Today, “Wog” is a derogatory reference to any non-white person]. In the ‘50s and ‘60s there were also indications that European anti-semitic literature was being used in Arab propaganda as well, for example, cartoons of Eastern European orthodox Jews from the ‘30s were used to symbolise Israel.

What differentiates anti-semitic propaganda from other forms of racism is that it accuses Jews of a conspiracy to “take over” the world. Thus, when the influence of zionism is exaggerated by fearful antisemites, anti-zionism is used in an antisemitic way. For example, “zionists” are seen to dominate the world press, to be responsible for virtually every reactionary victory anywhere in the world, or when contemporary Britain is described as a country where “all industrial life is in the grip of Zionist merchants, bankers and international capitalists.”

The most confusing thing is that now, in the eyes of world Jewry, any opposition to zionism is seen as anti-semitism. Since the Nazi Holocaust and establishment of Israel, the zionist movement has transformed itself from a minority movement in the Jewish community into the dominant one. For the majority of Jews, Israel has become their “post-factum” homeland. To send money to Israel has become an easy way of being Jewish, especially for non-religious Jews. Israel’s existence has become an emotional “insurance policy”, a refuge in case of disaster. And because Israel’s existence is a direct product of the zionist movement, many Jews feel irrationally threatened if somebody objects to it as the Jewish state, and calls for it to become a state which represents all of its citizens—even if this call comes from those who genuinely and clearly oppose anti-semitism and all other discrimination.

A natural reaction which is directed to me often by Jews and non-Jews alike is: so you don’t equate being Jewish to being zionist nor to being religious—what does it then mean to you to be a Jew? There are many ways to be a Jew. The way which is closest to me is the one which is related by Isaac Deutscher in his essay “What is to be a Jew?” “Religion? I am an atheist. Jewish nationalism? I am an internationalist. In neither sense am I, therefore, a Jew. I am, however, a Jew...because I feel the Jewish tragedy as my own tragedy...because I should like to do all I can to assume the real, not spurious, security and self-respect of the Jews.”

Anti-semitism as Racism: For me, one of the most upsetting elements in this debate has been a statement by one of the Spare Rib women of colour who defined the whole debate as a “white women’s issue.” The implication is that Jewish women, and probably even Palestinian women cannot suffer from racism, as they are not Black. This is not an isolated response. It expresses a widely-held belief, not only among Black people but the British Left in general, that only Black people can be the victims of racism—i.e., the definition of racism can be determined, not by the ideology itself, but by the skin colour of its victims. For me this is an unacceptable position although, of course, skin colour has a most important and specific role to play in contemporary British racism...

I want to make it clear—racism in general and racism against Blacks in particular (in its legal, economic, political and interpersonal forms), is one of the most important political issues in contemporary Britain. My objection to identifying Black people as the only victims of racism is not to deny their experience as the primary victims of British racism today, but to expand the basis for common anti-racist struggles.

Racist language always includes some kind of biological determination. Once you are identified as a member of a certain group—and this membership is usually determined by being born into it—you are ascribed with a set of condemnable characteristics. Skin colour is used very often to “identify” such membership. But the definition of the colour is social and historical, not biological—this is why Turks are considered white in Britain and Black in Germany; why Asians are considered Black in Britain but not in Africa. Moreover, victims of racism can be targeted in ways other than skin colour—it can be an accent, a way of dress or a more subtle mannerism. But most importantly, skin colour and other “characteristics” are not really important in themselves; they are just the
movement has always been, to a certain degree at least, exclusive, i.e., there is no valid criterion from which to judge between the different socialism/universalism. Likewise, the message of the Black Power problems. If done uncritically, it can develop extreme relativisation--been, therefore, nationalism rather than, or in addition to, consciousness-raising in groups. However, it is not without its exploit the people. A primary force in anti-imperialist mobilization has feminist philosophy for examining "the personal is political" and for Asians, Jews) who have come from the outside to colonise and/or Taking personal experience into account is an organic part of perceive not only as exploiters, but as foreigner (White Europeans, reaction to that. Conflicting ethnic groups). Imperialist from the developed countries are which they have no personal stake. My writing of this article is in independence for the national group (mostly composed of several transcend their own perspective, and enter dimensions of the debate in imperialism). In fact, very often the economic dimension is relatively been the way each faction has clung to the medium of personal experience as the justification of their position, without being able to discrimination can be found on the legal or economic levels (although the 1905 Alien Act was mostly directed against Eastern European Jewish refugees). Economically, the majority of British Jews are of the middle class. The social and economic positions from which they are excluded (e.g., the high echelons of the aristocracy and the Church of England) are not very different from those suffered by Catholics. However, this is by no means the full extent of exclusions that Jews suffer in Britain, as Jews well know. The history of anti-semitism has left its past victims and their children and all Jews hypersensitive to every hint of racism toward them.

On the interpersonal level, the traditional leftist one-dimensional view of racism (i.e., that it exists only in an economic context) has created another gap. In this society where only one culture dominates and is perceived as natural, it is struggle to make a truly pluralist cultural system. Most personal accounts of anti-semitism by Jewish feminists relate to the sort of "liberal anti-semitism" which negates and denies their experience. The "Black is Beautiful" struggle was also launched in this context. As the middle class is traditionally much more closely controlled by the dominant culture than the poor and working classes, such cultural struggles have less chance of overall success. But they are still valid struggles.

Anti-semitism, Anti-racism and Anti-imperialism: One more central dimension has to be added to this analysis. That is, the way the anti-zionist struggle has been linked in the current debate to anti-imperialist struggles, and the way the latter are linked to anti-racist struggles.

The Black Power Movement, and the Black feminist movement after it, has received a lot of inspiration from the anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World! general and Africa in particular. Struggle for independence and liberation have not been only economic (which was the level a which Marxists originally defined imperialism), in fact, very often the economic dimension is relatively marginal. Often the main issue is to establish political and territorial independence for the national group (mostly composed of several conflicting ethnic groups). Imperialist from the developed countries are perceive not only as exploiters, but as foreigner (White Europeans, Asians, Jews) who have come from the outside to colonise and/or exploit the people. A primary force ID anti-imperialist mobilization has been, therefore, nationalism rather than, or in addition to, socialism/universalism. Like wise, the message of the Black Power Movement has always been, to a certain degree at least, exclusive, i.e., redefining the boundaries of the ethnic group in powerful terms rather than fighting to abolish them altogether. This has been a very effective strategy for Black people in their anti-racist struggles, but it poses problems of solidarity when they see people outside the boundaries of the group also claiming to be victims (rather than only practitioners) of racism, as is the case with Jews or Asian [Indian] Africans.

Another question is that of the nature of international solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles. All too often, anyone identified as "anti-imperialist" is treated automatically as having progressive politics. A somewhat extreme example occurred at the 1983 International Women's Day Conference in London when a raging debate broke out as to whether or not Iran's Khomeini is a genuine anti-imperialist. The assumption was that if he is, then he is a "goodie." Well, I claim that Khomeini is genuinely anti-West and anti-imperialist, but in a very reactionary way.

International solidarity with liberation struggles should not stop us from being critical when, all too often, they operate class, ethnic and sexual oppression under anti-imperialist labels. Too many progressive forces in the Third World fall victim to the non-critical support of "national front" organizations by the international left.

These general points have specific importance when related to the debate concerning zionism, because zionism, for most of its history, succeeded in getting international support from the labour movement because it presented itself as a national liberation movement. To see zionism as a national liberation movement for Jews all over the world is stretching the point. Only a minority of Jews live in Israel, and some argue that zionism has only succeeded in establishing a large armed ghetto instead of smaller non-armed ones, for which the human, political and economic price to the Jews themselves, not to mention the Palestinians, is absolutely unjustifiable.

The role Israel has played in relation to the Palestinians--i.e., dispossessor, occupier, exploiter and even exterminator--does not make it automatically the representative or even the puppet of imperialism in the area. It has been a political movement with its own goals. Objectively, its goals do put it in a united front most of the time with the imperial power dominant in the area at the time. Establishing the exclusive Jewish state meant dispossessing and excluding the Palestinians, thus setting up a situation of inherent confrontation, for which Israel needs constant backing from external imperialists. For the imperialists, an ally like Israel is very useful, as the alliance does not depend on a specific regime or small elite but is secure as long as Israel is zionist.

The Anti-semitism, Anti-zionism, Anti-racism and Feminism Debate: Well, at this point, readers might ask what an article like this is doing in a feminist magazine! In marked contrast to most of the contributions on this subject which have appeared in Spare Rib, I haven't specifically related it to women's struggles or experiences. Does this put my arguments beyond the pale of a feminist debate?

My answer, of course, is no. Racism, zionism anti-semitism and anti-imperialism are ideologies and movements which have deeply affected the lives of women in Britain, either directly or as part of solidarity activity which involved them emotionally. Anyone present in any of the feminist forums on these questions could not but be struck by the intensity with which they have been debated, shouted, quarreled about. One of the most striking features of these debates, however, besides the fact that they made many women very upset, has been their deadlock.

In my opinion, one of the major factors contributing to this has been the way each faction has clung to the medium of personal experience as the justification of their position, without being able to transcend their own perspective, and enter dimensions of the debate in which they have no personal stake. My writing of this article is in reaction to that.

Taking personal experience into account is an organic part of feminist philosophy. For examining "the personal is political" and for consciousness-raising in groups. However, it is not without its problems. If done uncritically, it can develop extreme relativisation--there is no valid criterion from which to judge between the different perspectives developed by women who have undergone different
personal experiences. This is, of course, totally opposite to the original intention of using personal experience in consciousness-raising, to induce general truths about the condition of women.

It can work in consciousness-raising groups, because women there usually come from similar class and ethnic backgrounds. But it cannot work when women come not only from different, but also conflicting groups and classes. The fact that this is not clear to many participants in the Zionism debate is because of another, even more basic, automatic (though it should not be) assumption of the feminist movement concerning the notion of “sisterhood.” This notion assumes that all women have, or would have (if they did not have false consciousness), the same political interests since their basic position in society is the same. Again, this is very problematic. There exist real divisions and relations of oppression and exploitation among women, and notions of automatic sisterhood are at best misleading.

Recognizing the internal divisions among women and the complexity of the issues involved does not necessarily have to paralyze us politically. We can use analytic and ideological language as a bridge between the personal and the political without forgetting the insights that analysis of personal experience has given us.

The most important insight the feminist movement has brought to the Left is the recognition that such complexities are inherent to most situations. (The exploited male workers go home and oppress their wives.) We cannot forget this. It is crucial in any struggle against women’s oppression and against workers’ exploitation, against Palestinian oppression and against anti-Semitism, to express solidarity with liberation struggles in the Third World without losing a critical perspective and be active on a local level without losing international and historical perspectives.

I know it is easier said than done. So what?


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61313. Zahaika, Muhammed. “Arts and Culture: ‘Jericho in the Year Zero’”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 2, 1994. p. 12. Palestinian producer, Francois Abu Salem, has been spending many hours in the Palestinian National Theater in East Jerusalem lately, with his actor colleagues, performing “Jericho in the Year Zero.” Abu Salem has played an essential role in establishing the Palestinian National Theater. After traveling for several years, he came back to his homeland, accompanied by new actors and with new ideas for plays that discuss the latest Palestinian political developments. The play “Jericho in the Year Zero” written and produced by Abu Salem with the help of Francine Gaspar, a French actress of Palestinian origin, was first performed at the Palestinian National Theater in September. After appearing in drama festivals in Lille, France, and Acre, the play returned to the Palestinian National Theater in September. After appearing in drama festivals in Lille, France, and Acre, the play returned to the Palestinian National Theater in September. After appearing in drama festivals in Lille, France, and Acre, the play returned to Jerusalem 11/24-27/1994 and will go on to Ramallah, Gaza and Nazareth in December. The play tells the story of a 24-year-old Palestinian, Islam, who is released after nine years in prison. It is about Betty, a foreign tourist, on vacation in the region, who finds herself in Jericho near Aqbat Jaber refugee camp. She meets an old guide who ask her if she wants any help and offers her a place to live. She later meets Islam, the guide’s grandson. When Islam disappears, Betty follows him. The Hakawati Troupe have returned to Jerusalem after a long absence. The eight actors, four of whom are women, are a combination of veterans and new faces, all working hard to make the play a success. Actor Amer Khalil believes the play has come at the right time because it deals with real-life situations. What distinguishes this play is that it takes its theme from Palestinian life, yet focuses on the contradictory feelings of the individual. It portrays the Palestinians’ search for a just and comprehensive peace at a time when they are nostalgic about their tragic history. The title of the play refers to the dissatisfaction with the new reality. It calls for a new start to the formation of a Palestinian homeland, after so much sacrifice and pain. After all, building is much more difficult than destroying. [—]

61314. Zahaikah, Muhammed. “Palestinian Women Break into TV”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, November 4, 1994. p. 12. With all the efforts to create a new Palestinian identity in some parts of the occupied territories and to establish a Palestinian infrastructure for this identity, some Palestinians are actively seeking work at the various new institutions. Palestinian women are also aiming to prove they are capable of sharing in the building of the Palestinian entity. The Palestinian Broadcasting Corp. is one institution where women see great opportunities. Shireen Khaldy, 20, is currently taking a training course to be a broadcaster for Palestinian television, organized by the Jerusalem Institute for Film and Television Production at the Palestinian National Theater. She decided to enroll in the course after gaining approval to be a broadcaster from the judging committee at the institute. Her first appearance in front of the camera, she says, was met with a mixture of fear and tension. However, without these feelings and without putting more effort she believes she will not succeed. Majda Thabet, 29, who is being trained in editing skills and TV reporting, says her choice of profession was purely incidental. Her previous work in a Gazan new agency helped her considerably to find the job. Majda has had relevant experience, found through her contacts with foreign and local journalists. The most important insight the feminist movement has brought to the Left is the recognition that such complexities are inherent to most situations. (The exploited male workers go home and oppress their wives.) We cannot forget this. It is crucial in any struggle against women’s oppression and against workers’ exploitation, against Palestinian oppression and against anti-Semitism, to express solidarity with liberation struggles in the Third World without losing a critical perspective and be active on a local level without losing international and historical perspectives.

I know it is easier said than done. So what?


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Alia Jabali, 25, would like to be head of a studio. She says that this profession is exhausting and difficult, since it needs comprehensive supervision of every detail. Heading a studio means that she would have to supervise the equipment, create direct contacts with producers and with the control room, and be responsible for everything inside the studio. Alia describes the training course as beneficial, since it focuses on the scientific aspects of the profession. “In the beginning I made many mistakes but I am trying to improve and do my best.” She adds that she was not fully satisfied with what she had learned until the course helped deepen her knowledge. Shireen wishes to continue working in this field, and is sure she will succeed. She offered to work voluntarily in the training courses on how to use the camera, filming practices, studios, lights and handling of the control room.

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Women in the Middle East and North Africa
Israel-Palestine

Forward by the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, MA, MP, and an afterword by Israel Abrams, reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge. [MR. ARTHUR DAVIS, in whose memory has been founded the series of Lectures devoted to the fostering of Hebraic thought and learning, of which this is the first, was born in 1846 and died on the first day of Passover, 1906. His childhood was spent in the town of Derby, where there was then no Synagogue or Jewish minister to conduct Hebrew. Spontaneously he developed a strong Jewish consciousness, and an enthusiasm for the Hebrew language, which led him to become one of its greatest scholars in this, or any other, country. He was able to put his learning to good use. He observed the wise maxim of Leonardo da Vinci, “Avoid studies of which the result dies with the worker.” He was not one of those learned men, of whom there are many examples—a recent and conspicuous instance was the late Lord Acton—whose minds are so choked with the accumulations of the knowledge they have absorbed that they can produce little or nothing. His output, though not prolific, was substantial. In middle life he wrote a volume on “The Hebrew Accents of the Twenty-one Books of the Bible,” which has become a classical authority on that somewhat recondite subject. It was he who originated and planned the new edition of the Festival Prayer Book in six volumes, and he wrote most of the prose translations. When he died, though only two volumes out of the six had been published, he left the whole of the text complete. To Mr. Herbert M. Adler, who had been his collaborator from the beginning, fell the finishing of the great editorial task. Not least of his services lay in the fact that he had transmitted much of his knowledge to his two daughters’ who have wisely continued his tradition of Hebrew scholarship and culture.

Arthur Davis’s life work, then, was that of a student and interpreter of Hebrew. It is a profoundly interesting fact that, in our age, movements have been set on foot in more than one direction for the revival of languages which were dead or dying. We see before our eyes Welsh and Irish in process of being saved from extinction, with the hope perhaps of restoring their ancient glories in poetry and prose. Such movements show that our time is not so utilitarian and materialistic as is often supposed. A similar reviving process is affecting Hebrew. For centuries it has been preserved as a ritual language, sheltered within the walls of the Synagogue; often not fully understood, and never spoken, by the members of the congregations. Now it is becoming in Palestine once more a living and spoken language.

Hebrew is one example among many of a language outliving for purposes of ritual its use in ordinary speech. A ritual is regarded as a sacred thing, unchanging, and usually unchangeable, except as the result of some great religious upheaval. The language in which it is framed continues fixed, amid the slowly developing conditions of the workaday world. Often, indeed, the use of an ancient language, which has gradually fallen into disuse among the people, is deliberately maintained for the air of mystery and of awe which is conveyed by its use, and which has something of the same effect upon the intellect as the “dim religious light” of a cathedral has upon the emotions. Further, it reserves to the priesthood a kind of esoteric knowledge, which gives them an additional authority that they would desire to maintain. So we find that in the days of Marcus Aurelius an ancient Salian liturgy was used in the Roman temples which had become almost unintelligible to the worshippers.

The ritual of the religion of Isis in Greece was, at the same period, conducted in an unknown tongue. In the present age Church Slavonic, the ecclesiastical language of the orthodox Slavs, is only just intelligible to the peasantry of Russia and the neighboring Slav countries. The Buddhists of China conduct their services in Sanskrit, which neither the monks nor the people understand, and the services of the Buddhists in Japan are either in Sanskrit or in ancient Chinese. I believe it is a fact that in Abyssinia, again, the liturgy is in a language called Geez, which is no longer in use as a living tongue and is not understood. But we need not go to earlier centuries or to distant countries for examples. In any Roman Catholic church in London to-day you will find the services conducted in a language which, if understood at all by the general body of the congregation, has been learnt by them only for the purposes of the liturgy.

Of all these ritual languages which have outlived their current use and have been preserved for religious purposes alone, Hebrew is, so far as I am aware, the only one which has ever shown signs of renewing its old vitality—like the roses of Jericho which appear to be dead and shrivelled but which, when placed in water, recover their vitality and their bloom. We may join in hoping that again in Palestine Hebrew may recover something of its old supremacy in the field of morals and of intellect.

To render this possible the work of scholars such as Arthur Davis has contributed. To him this was a labour of love, and for love. He would receive no payment for any of his religious work or writings. Part of the profits that accrued from the publication of his edition of “The Service of the Synagogue” has been devoted to the formation of a fund from which will be defrayed the expenses—after the first—of a series of annual lectures on subjects of Jewish interest, to be delivered by men of various schools of thought. We are fortunate that the initial lecture is to be delivered today by the most distinguished of living Jewish men of letters. Arthur Davis was a man of much elevation and charm of character. He took an active part in the work of communal, and particularly educational, organizations. He was one of those men—not mere among Jews, though the rest of the world does not always recognize it—who are philanthropic in spirit, practical in action, modest, self-sacrificing, devoted to a fine family life, having in them much of the student and something even of the saint. It is fitting that his memory should be kept alive. [HERBERT SAMUEL] [Note: The Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture was founded in 1917, under the auspices of the Jewish Historical Society of England, by his collaborators in the translation of “The Service of the Synagogue,” with the object of fostering Hebraic thought and learning in honor of an unworliday scholar. The lecture is to be given annually in the anniversary week of his death, and the lectorship is to be open to men or women of any race or creed, who are to have absolute liberty in the treatment of their subject.]
remaining; only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves with the spoil of the cities." David, who is promised of God that his seed shall be enthroned for ever, slew surrendered Moabites in cold blood, and Judas Maccabaeus, the other warrior hero of the race, when the neutral city of Ephron refused his army passage, took the city, slew every male in it, and passed across its burning ruins and bleeding bodies. The prophet Isaiah pictures the wealth of nations—the phrase is his, not Adam Smith's, but turning to Zion by argosy and caravans. For that nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish.... Aliens shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee. Thou shalt suck the milk of nations. "The Lord said unto me," says the second Psalm, "Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of Me and I will give the nations for shine inheritance.... Thou shall break them with a rod of iron."

Nor are such ideas discarded by the synagogue of to-day. Every Saturday night the orthodox Jew repeats the prayer for material prosperity and the promise of ultimate glory. "Thou shalt lend unto many nations but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations but they shall not rule over thee." "Our Father, our King," he prays at the New Year, "avenge before our eyes the blood of Thy servants that has been spilt." And at the Passover Seder Service he still repeats the Psalmist's appeal to God to pour out His wrath on the heathen who have consumed Jacob and laid waste his dwelling "Pursue them in anger and destroy them from under the heavens of the Lord!" [=]

61317. Zangwill, Israel. Chosen Peoples: The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic: Part 03. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1918. MUCH of course, be adduced to mitigate the seeming ferocity or egotism of these passages. It would be indeed strange if Prussia, which Napoleon wittily described as "hatched from a cannon-ball," should be found really resembling Judaea, whose national greeting was " Peace "; whose prophet Ezekiel proclaimed in words of flame and thunder God's judgment upon the great military empires of antiquity; whose medieval poet Kalir has left in our New Year liturgy what might be almost a contemporary picture of a brazen autocracy that planned in secret, performed in daring. And, as a matter of fact, some of these passages are torn from their context. The pictures of Messianic prosperity, for example, are invariably set in an ethical framework: the all-dominant Israel is also to be all-righteous. The blood that is to be avenged is the blood of martyrs "who went through fire and water for the sanctification of Thy name."

But let us take these passages at their nakedest. Let us ignore-as completely as Jesus did—that the legal penalty of " eye for eye " had been commuted into a money penalty by the majority of great Pharisic lawyers. Is not that very maxim today the clamped mode of Christian multitudes? " Destroy them from under the heavens of the Lord." When this is the imprecation of a Verhaeren or a Masterlinck over Belgium and not of a medieval Jew over the desolated home of Jacob, is it not felt as a righteous cry of the heart? Nay, only the other Sunday an Englishwoman in a country drawing-room assured me she would like to kill every German—man or woman—with her own hand! And here we see the absurdity of judging the Bible outside its historic conditions, or by standards not comparative. Said James Hinton, "The Bible needs interpreting by Nature even as Nature by it." And it is by this canon that we must interpret the concept of a Chosen People, and so much else in our Scriptures. It is Life alone that can give us the clue to the Bible. This is the only "Guide to the Perplexed," and Maimonides but made confusion worse confounded when by allegations of allegory and other devices of the apologist he laboured to reconcile the Bible with Aristotle. Equally futile was the effort of Manasseh ben Israel to reconcile it with itself. The Baraitha of Rabbi Ishmael that when two texts are discrepant a third text must be found to reconcile them is but a temptation to that distorted dialectic known as Pilpul. The only true "Conciliator" is history, the only real reconciler human nature. An allegorizing rationalism like Rambam's leads nowhere—or rather everywhere. The same method that softened the Oriental amorosity of "The Song of Solomon" into an allegory of God's love for Israel became, in the hands of Christianity, an allegory of Christ's love for His Church. But if Reason cannot always—as Bachya imagined—on firm tradition, it can explain it historically. It can disentangle the lower strands from the higher in that motley collection of national literature which, extending over many generations of authorship, streaked with strayed fragments of Aramaic, varying from the idyll of Ruth to the apocalyptic dreams of Daniel, and deprived by Job and Ecclesiastes of even a rambling epical unity, is naturally oblivious to criticism when put forward as one uniform Book, still more when put forward as uniformly divine. For my part I am more interested in the legend that produced the Synagogue that selected and canonized so marvellous a literature, than dismayed because occasionally amid the organ-music of its Miltons and Wordsworths there is heard the primeval saga-note of heroic savagery. [=]
junction of Israel's glory with God's, if we remember that the most inspired of mortals, those whose life is consecrated to an art, a social reform, a political redemption, are rarely able to separate the success of their mission from their own individual success or at least individual importance. Even Jesus looked forward to his twelve legions of angels and his seat at the right hand of Power. But in no other nation known to history has the balance of motives been cast so overwhelmingly on the side of ideals. An epoch related by itself is a magnificent introduction to the more famous episode in which he figures. When he brought the Roman enmity with Caesar's effigies to Jerusalem, the Jews so yearned with their petitions to remove this defiling defacement that at last he surrounded the petitioners with soldiers and menaced them with immediate death unless they ceased to pester and went home. "But they threw themselves upon the ground and laid their necks bare and said they would take their deaths very willingly rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed." And Pilate, touched, removed the effigies. Such a story explains at once how the Jews could produce Jesus and why they could not worship him.

"God's witnesses; "a light of the nations," "a suffering servant," "a kingdom of priests"--the Old Testament metaphors for Israel's mission are as numerous as they are noble. And the lyrics in which they occur are unparalleled in literature for their fusion of ethical passion with poetical beauty. Take, for example, the forty-second chapter of Isaiah. (I quote as in gratitude bound the accurate Jewish version of the Bible we owe to America.)

Behold My servant whom I uphold; Mine elect in whom My soul delighteth; I have put My spirit upon him. He shall make the right to go forth to the nations: He shall not fail or be bruised; Till he have set the right on the earth. And the isles shall wait for his teaching. Thus saith God the LORD, He that created the heavens, and stretched them; He that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it. He that giveth bread unto the people upon it And spirit to them that walk therein: I the LORD have called thee in righteousness And have taken hold of thy hand, And kept thee, and set thee for a covenant of the people For a light of the nations; To open the blind eyes, To bring out the prisoners from the dungeon And them that sit in darkness out of the prisonhouse.

Never was ideal less tribal: it is still the dynamic impulse of all civilization. "Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." "Nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall there be any more war." Nor does this mission march always with the pageantry of external triumph. "Despised and forsaken of men," Isaiah paints Israel. "Yet he bore the sin of many. And made intercession for the transgressors... with his stripes we were healed."

Happily all that is best in Christendom recognizes, with Kuenen and Matthew Arnold, the grandeur of the Third Testament ideal. But that this ideal penetrated equally to our everyday life is less understood of the world. "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who hast chosen Israel from all peoples and given him the Law." Here is no choice of a favourite but of a servant, and when it is added that "from Zion shall the Law go forth" it is obvious what that servant's task is to be. "With everlasting love hast Thou loved the house of Israel," says the Evening Prayer. But in what does this love consist? Is it that we have been pampered, coddled? The contrary. "A Law, and commandments, statutes and judgments hast Thou taught us." Before these were thundered from Sinai, the historian of the Exodus records, Israel was explicitly informed that only by obedience to them could he enjoy peculiar favour. "Now therefore, if ye will hearken unto My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be Mine own treasure from among all peoples; for all the earth is Mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." A chosen people is really a choosing people. Not idly does Talmudical legend assert that the Law was offered first to all other nations and only--Israel accepted the yoke.

How far the discipline of the Law actually produced the Chosen People postulated in its conformation is a subtle question for pragmatists. Mr. Lucien Wolf once urged that "the yoke of the Torah" had fashioned a racial aristocracy possessing marked biological advantages over average humanity, as well as sociological superiorities of temperament and family life. And indeed the statistics of Jewish vitality and brain-power, and even of artistic faculty, are amazing enough to invite investigation from all eugenists, biologists, and statesmen. But whether this general superiority--a superiority not inconsistent with grave failings and drawbacks--is due to the rigorous selection of a tragic history, or whether it is, as Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu maintains, the heritage of a civilization older by thousands of years than that of Europe; whether the Torah made the greatness of the people, or the people--precisely because of its greatness made the Torah; whether we have a case of natural election or artificial election to study, it is not in any self-sufficient superiority or aim thereat that the essence of Judaism lies, but in an apostolic altruism. The old Hebrew writers indeed--when one considers the impress the Bible was destined to make on the faith, art, and imagination of the world--might well be credited with the intuition of genius in attributing to themselves that quality would have the ground not only of intuition but of history. Nevertheless that election is, even by Jewish orthodoxy, conceived as designed solely for world-service, for that spiritual mission for which Israel when fashioned was exiled and scattered like windborne seeds, and of the consummation of which his ultimate redemption and glory will be but the symbol it is with Alenu that every service ends--the prayer for the coming of the Kingdom of God, "when Thou wilt remove the abominations from the earth, and the idols will be utterly cut off, when the world will be perfected under the Kingdom of the Almighty and all the children of flesh will call upon Thy name, when Thou will turn unto Thysel all the wicked of the earth.... In that day the Lord shall be One and His name One." Israel disappears altogether in this diurnal aspiration. [ ]

61319. Zangwill, Israel. Chosen Peoples: The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic: Part 05. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1918. ISRAEL disappears, too, in whole books of the Old Testament. What has the problem of Job, the wisdom of Proverbs, or the pessimism of Ecclesiastes to do with the Jew specifically? The Psalter would scarcely have had so universal an appeal had it been essentially rooted in a race. In the magnificent cosmic poem of Psalm ciii--hail Whitman, half St. Francis--not only his fellowman but all creation comes under the benediction of the Hebrew poet's mood. "The high hills are for the wild goats; the rocks are a refuge for the conies. ... The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their food from God ... man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour until the evening." Even in a more primitive Hebrew poet the same cosmic universalism reveals itself. To the bard of Genesis the rainbow betokens not merely a covenant between God and man but a "covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth."

That the myth of the tribalism of the Jewish God should persist in face of such passages can only be explained by the fact that He shares in the unpopularity of His people. Mr. Wells, for example, in his finely felt but intellectually incoherent book, _God the Invisible King_, dismisses Him as a "malignant and partisan Deity," jealous and pettily stringent. At most one is entitled to say with Mr. Israel Abrahams in his profound little book on "Judaism" that "God in the early literature a tribal, non-moral Deity, was in the later literature a righteous ruler, who, with Amos and Hosea, loved and demanded righteousness in man," and that there was an expansion from a national to a universal Ruler. But if "by early literature" anybody understands simply Genesis, if he imagines that the evolutionary movement in Judaism proceeds regularly from Abraham to Israel, he is grossly in error. No doubt all early gods are tribal, all early religions connected with the hearth and ancestor worship, but the God of Israel is already in Genesis, and the tribal God has to be exhumed from practically all parts of the Bible. But even in the crudities of Genesis or Judges that have escaped editorship I cannot find Mr. Wells's "malignant" Deity--He is really "the invisible King." The very first time Jehovah appears in His tribal aspect (Genesis xi.) His promise to bless Abraham ends with the assurance--and it almost invariably accompanies all the repetitions of the promise--"And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Nay, as I pointed out in my essay on "The Gods of Germany," the very first words of the Bible, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," strike a magnificent
note of universalism, which is sustained in the derivation of all humanity from Adam, and again from Noah, with one original language. Nor is this a modern gloss, for the Talmud already deduces the interpretation. Racine's "Esther" in the noble lines lauded by Voltaire might be almost re-embarking Milton's: "Ce Dieu, maître absolu de la terre et des cieux, N'est point tel que l'erreur le figure à vos yeux: L'Eternel est son nom, le monde est son ouvrage; Il entend les soupirs de l'humile qu'on outrage, Juge tous les morsels avec d'égales lotis, Et du haut de son bon interroge les rois. "He hears the sighs of the outraged lowly"—there is the true Hebrew note, the note denounced of Nietzsche.

"Is this notorious" tribal God "the God of the Mesopotamian sheik whose seed was so invidiously chosen? Well, but of this God Abraham asks—in what I must continue to Recall the epochal sentence in the Bible—"Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Abraham, in fact, forbids God down as in some divine Dutch auction—Sodom is not to be destroyed if it holds fifty, forty-five, forty, thirty, twenty, nay ten righteous men. Compare this ethical development of the God of Judaism with that of Pope Gregory XIII. in the sixteenth century, some thirty-one centuries later: "Civilitas ista posses esse desest quando in ea plures sunt hereticorum" ("A city may be destroyed when it harbours a number of heretics"). And this claim of man to criticize God Jehovah freely concedes. Thus the God of Abraham is no God of a tribe, but, like the God of the Rabbi who protested against the Bath-Kol, the God of Reason and Love. As clearly as for the nineteenth-century Jew any superiority save of the social-centre Martinist, and "the seat of authority in Religion" has passed to the human conscience. God Himself appeals to it in that inversion of the Sodom story, the story of Jonah, whose teaching is far greater and more wonderful than its fish. And this Abrahamic tradition of free thought is continued by Moses, who boldly comes between Jehovah and the people He designs to destroy, "Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, saying, For evil did He bring them forth to slay them in the mountains . . . ? Turn from Thy fierce, wrath and repent of this evil against Thy people." Moses goes on to remind Him of the covenant, "And the Lord repented of the evil which He said He would do unto His people." In the same chapter, the people having made a golden calf, Moses offers his life for their sin; the Old Testament here, as in so many places, anticipating the so-called New, but rejecting the notion of vicarious atonement so drastically that the attempt of dogmatic Christianity to base itself on the Old Testament can only be described as textblind. And the great answer of Jehovah to Moses's questioning—"I AM THAT I AM"—yields already the profound metaphysical Deity of Maimonides, that "invisible King" whom the ambiguous New Year liturgist celebrates as: "Highest divinity, Dynast of endlessness, Timeless resplendency, Worshipped eternally, Lord of Infinity!"

And the fact that Moses himself was married to an Egyptian woman and that "a mixed multitude" went up with the Jews out of Egypt shows that the narrow tribalism of Ezra and Nehemiah, with the regrettable rejection of the Samaritans, was but a temporary political necessity, while the subsequent admission into the canon of the book of "Ruth," with its moral of the descent of the Messiah himself from a Moabite woman, is an index that universalism was still unconquered. We have, in fact, the recurring clash of centripetal and centrifugal forces, brooding itself with an Oriental exuberance of legendary fantasy, poetic and puerile, takes on in places an intimacy, sometimes touching in its tender mysticism, sometimes almost grotesque in its crude reminder to God of His own glory and reputation are bound-up with His people's, and that He must not go too far in His chastisements lest the heathen mock. Reversed, this apprehension produced the concept of the Talmudic scale of values. There is, in fact, through our post-biblical literature almost a note of apology for the assumption of the Divine mission: perhaps it is as much the offspring of worldly prudence as of spiritual progress. The Talmud observed that the Law was only given to Israel because he was so peculiarly fierce he needed curbing. Abraham Ibn Daud at the beginning of the twelfth century urged that God had to reveal Himself to some nation to show that He did not hold Himself aloof from the universe, leaving its rule to the stars: it is the very argument as to the need for Christ employed by Mr. Balfour in his "Foundations of Belief." Crescas, in the fourteenth century, declared—like an earlier Buckle—that the excellence of the Jew sprang merely from the excellence of Palestine. Mr. Abelson, in his recent valuable book on Jewish mysticism, alleges that when Rabbi Akiba called the Jews "Sons of God" he meant only that all other nations were idolaters. But in reality Akiba meant what he said—what indeed had been said throughout the Bible from Deuteronomy downwards. In the words of Hosea: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, lend out of Egypt I called My son.

No evidence of the universalism of Israel's mission can away with the fact that it was still his mission, the mission of a Chosen People. And this conviction, permeating and penetrating his whole literature and broidering itself with an Oriental exuberance of legendary fantasy, poetic and puerile, takes on in places an intimacy, sometimes touching in its tender mysticism, sometimes almost grotesque in its crude reminder to God of His own glory and reputation are bound-up with His people's, and that He must not go too far in His chastisements lest the heathen mock. Reversed, this apprehension produced the concept of the Chilul Hashem, "the profanation of the Name." Israel, in his turn, was in honour bound not to lower the reputation of the Deity, who had chosen him out. On the contrary, he was to promote the Kiddush Hashem, "the Sanctification of the Name." Thus the doctrine of election made not for arrogance but for a sense of Noblesse oblige. As the "Hymn of Glory" recited at New Year says in a more poetic sense: "His glory is on me and mine on Him." "He loves His people," says the hymn, "and inhabits their praises." Indeed, according to Schechter, the ancient Rabbits actually conceived God as existing only through Israel's continuous testimony and ceasing were Israel-per impossible—to disappear. It is a Judaism not without affinity to the Christian, and Mr. Wells's "A Chassidic Rabbi" quoted by Mr. Wassilevsky, teaches in the same spirit that God and Israel, like

Hebrew text as complete unless accompanied by the Aramaic version popularity ascribed to the proselyte Onkelos. The disagreeable references to proselytes in Rabbinic literature, the difficulties thrown in their way, and the grotesque conception of their status towards their former fathers, the fact, established by Rashi in his learned work, "The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans," that there was a carefully planned effort of propaganda. Does not indeed Jesus tell the Pharisees: "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte?" Do not Juvenal and Horace complain of this Judaising? Were not the Idumeans proselytised almost by force? "The Sabbath and the Jewish fasts," says Lecky, doubtless following Josephus, "became familiar facts in all the great cities." And Josephus himself in that answer to Apion, which Judaism has strangely failed to rank as one of its greatest documents, declares in noble language: "There ought to be but one Temple for one God . . . and this Temple common to all men, because He is the common God of all men."

It would be a very tough tribal God that could survive worshippers of this temper. An ancient Midrash taught that in the Temple there were seventy sacrifices offered for the seventy nations. For the medieval and rationalistic Maimonides the election of Israel scarcely exists—even the Messiah is only to be a righteous Conqueror, whose success will be the test of his genuineness. And Spinoza—though he, of course, is outside the development of the Synagogue proper—refuses to define a non-idolater as a Jew, and ranked a actually conceived God as existing only through Israel's continuous testimony and ceasing were Israel-per impossible—to disappear.
Father and Son, are each incomplete without the other. In another passage of Hosea—a passage recited at the everyday winding of phylacteries—the imagery is of wedded lovers. “I will betroth thee unto Me for ever, Yea I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in judgment and in loving-kindness and in mercy.”

But it is in the glowing, poetic soul of Jehuda Ha-Levi that this election of Israel, like the passion for Palestine, finds its supreme and uncompromising expression. “Israel,” he declares, “is the maker, the author, the “Cuzari” in a famous dictum, “is among the nations like the heart among the limbs.” Do not imagine he referred to the heart as a pump, feeding the veins of the nations—Harvey was still five centuries in the future—he meant the heart as the centre of feeling and the symbol of the spirit. And examining the question why Israel had been thus chosen, he declares plumply that it is as little worthy of consideration as why the animals had not been created men. This, is, of course, the only answer. The wind of creation and inspiration bloweth where it listeth. As Tennyson said in a similar connection: “And if it is so, so is it, you know. And if it be so, so be it!”

61320. Zangwill, Israel. Chosen Peoples: The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic: Part 06. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1918. BUT although, as with all other manifestations of genius, Science cannot tell us why the Jewish race was so endowed spiritually, it can show us by parallel cases that there is nothing unique in considering yourself a Chosen People—indeed the accusation with which we began reminds us. And it can show us that a nation’s assignment of a mission to itself is not a sudden growth. “Unlike any other nation,” says the learned and saintly leader of Reform Judaism, Dr. Kohler, in his article on “Chosen People” in the Jewish Encyclopedia, “the Jewish people began their career conscious of their life-purpose and world-duty as the priests and teachers of a universal religious truth.” This is indeed a strange statement, and only on the theory that its author was expounding the biblical connection, and not his own, can it be reconciled with the general doctrine of progress and evolution in Hebrew thought. It would seem to accept the Sinaic Covenant as a literal episode, and even to synchronize the Mission with it. But an investigation of the history of other Chosen Peoples will, I fear, dissipate any notion that the Sinaic Covenant was other than a symbolic summary of the national genius for religion, a sublime legend retrospectively created. And the mission of every other nation must have been evolved still later. “The conception or feeling of a mission grew up and was developed by slow degrees,” says Mr. Montefiore, and this sounds much nearer the truth. For, as I said, history is the sole clue to the Bible—history, which according to Bacon, is “philosophy teaching by example.” And the more modern the history is, and the nearer in time, the better we can understand it. We have before our very eyes the moving spectacle of the newest of nations setting herself through a President Prophet the noblest mission ever formulated outside the Bible. Through another great prophet—sprung like Amos from the people—through Abraham Lincoln, America had already swept away slavery, I do not know exactly when she began to call herself “God’s own country,” but her National Anthem, “My Country, ’tis of thee,” dating from 1832, fixes the date when America, soon after the War of Secession, which ended in 1814, consciously felt herself as a Holy Land; far as visitors like Dickens felt her from the perfection implied in her soaring Spread-Eagle rhetoric. The Pilgrim Fathers went to America merely for their own freedom of religious worship; they were actually intolerant to others. From a sectarian patriotism developed what I have called “The Melting Pot,” with its high universal mission, first at home and now over the world at large.

The stages of growth are still more clearly marked in English history. That national self-consciousness which to-day gives itself the mission of defending the liberties of mankind, and which stands in the breach un daunted and indomitable, began with that mere insular patriotism which finds such moving expression in the paean of Shakespeare: “This happy breed of men, this little world, This precious stone set in the silver sea, This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England, This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land.”

This sense of itself had been born only in the thirteenth century, and at first the growing consciousness of national power, though it soon developed an assurance of special protection—“the favour of the love of Heaven,” wrote Milton in his “Areopagitica,” “we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us”—was tempered by that humility still to be seen in the liturgy of its Church, which ascribes its victories not to the might of the English arm, but to the favour of God. But one hundred and twenty-five years after Shakespeare, the nation which the Elizabethans called “Our Sion,” and whose mission, according to Milton, had been to sound forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe, had sunk to the swaggering militarism that found expression in “Rule, Britannia.”

“When Britain first at Heaven’s command; Arose from out the azure main, This was the charter of the land, And guardian angels sung this strain: Rule, Britannia, rule the waves; Britons never will be slaves. The nations not so blest as thee; Must in their turn to tyrants fall; While thou shalt flourish, great and free, The dread and envy of them all. To thee belongs the rural reign, Thy cities shall—with commerce shine: All shine shall be the subject main; And every shore it circles, shine.”

It is the true expression of its period—a period which Sir John Seeley in his “Expansion of England” characterizes as the period of the struggle with France for the possession of India and the New World; there were no less than seven wars with France, for France had replaced Spain in that great competition of the five western maritime States of Europe for Transatlantic trade and colonies, in which Seeley sums up the bulk of two centuries of European history. Well may Mr. Chesterton point to the sinking of the Armada as the date when an Old Testament sense of being “answered in stormy orades of air and sea” lowered Englishmen into a Chosen People. Shakespeare saw the sea serving England in the modest offices of a mutt: it was now to be the high-road of Empire. The Armada was shattered in 1508. In 1600 the East India Company is formed to trade all over the world. In 1606 is founded the British colony of Virginia and in 1620 New England. It helps us to understand the dual and conflicting energies stimulated in the atmosphere of celestial protection, if we recall that it was in 1604 that was initiated the great Elizabethan translation of the Bible.

In Cromwell, that typical Englishman, these two strands of impulse are seen united. Ever conceiving himself the servant of God, he seized Jamaica in a time of profound peace and in defiance of treaty. Was not Catholic Spain the enemy of God? Delenda est Carthago is his feeling towards the rival Holland. Miracles attend his battles. “The Lord by his Providence put a cloud over the Moon, thereby giving us the opportunity to draw off those horse.” Yet this elect of God ruthlessly massacres surrendered Irish garrisons. “Sir,” he writes with almost childish naivete, “God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot.” We do not need Carlyle’s warning that he was not a hypocrite. Does not Marvell, lamenting his death, record in words curiously like Bismarck’s that his deceased hero: “The soldier taught that inward mai} to wear, And fearing God, how they should nothing fear?” The fact is that great and masterful souls identify themselves with the universe. And so do great and masterful nations. It is a dangerous tendency.

At the death of Queen Anne England stood at the top of the nations. But it was a greatness tainted by the slave-trade abroad, and poverty, ignorance, and gin-drinking at home. We recapture the passage of Hosea—a passage recited at the everyday winding of the peals of the joy-bells and the flare of the bonfires by which the mob shot.” We do not need Carlyle’s warning that he was not a hypocrite. Does not Marvell, lamenting his death, record in words curiously like Bismarck’s that his deceased hero: “The soldier taught that inward mai} to wear, And fearing God, how they should nothing fear?” The fact is that great and masterful souls identify themselves with the universe. And so do great and masterful nations. It is a dangerous tendency.

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The Lord our God Most High. He hath made the deep as dry, He hath smote for us a pathway to the ends of all the earth." But it is only as the instruments of His purpose, and that purpose is characteristically practical. "Keep ye the law--be swift in all obedience, Clear the land of evil, drive the road and budge the ford, Make ye sure to each his own, That he reap where he hath sown; By the peace among our peoples let men know we serve the Lord."

And it is a true picture of British activities. Even thus has England on the whole ruled the territories into which adventure or economic motives drew her. The very Ambassador from Germany, Prince Lichnowsky, agrees with Rhodes that the salvation of mankind lies in British imperialism. But note how the less spiritual factors are ignored, how the prophet presents his people as a nation of pioneer martyrs, how the mission, finally become conscious of itself, gilds with backward rays the whole path of national advance, as the trail of light from the stern of a vessel gives the illusion that it has come by a shining ethical end; it is the revival on a greater scale of the medieval city commune, which sucked its vigorous life from the veins of its citizens. Even so Prussia, by welding its subservient citizens into one gigantic machine of aggression, has given a new reading to the Gospel. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Nietzsche, who, though he strove to upset the old Hebrew values, saw clearly through the real Prussian peril, defined such a State as that "in which the slow suicide of all is called Life," and "a welcome service unto all preachers of death"--a cold, ill-smelling, monstrous idol. Nor is this the only affinity between Prussia and Japan. "We are," boasts a Japanese writer, "a people of the present and the Tangible, of the Broad Daylight and the Plainly Visible."

But Germany was not always thus. "High deeds, O Germans, are to come from you," wrote Wordsworth in his "Sonnets dedicated to Liberty," and it throws light upon the nature of Missions to recall that when she lay at the feet of Napoleon after Jena, the mission proclaimed for her by Fichte was one of peace and righteousness--to penetrate the life of human religion and he denounced the dreams of universal monarchy which would destroy national individuality. Calling on his people as "the consecrated and inspired ones of a Divine world-plan," "To you," he says, "out of all other modern nations the germs of human perfection are especially committed. It is yours to found an empire of mind and reason--to destroy the dominion of rude physical power as the ruler of the world." And throwing this mission backwards, he sees in what the outer world calls the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Goths and Huns the proof that the Germans have always stemmed the tide of tyrant domination. But Fichte belonged to the generation of Kant and Beethoven. Hegel, coming a little later, though as non-nationalist as Goethe, and a welcomer of the Napoleonic invasion, yet prophesied that if the Germans were once forced to cast off their inertia, they, "by preserving in their contact with outward things the intensity of their inner life, will perchance surpass their teachers and in curiously prophetic language he called for a hero" to realize by blood and iron the political regeneration of Germany."

If it is suggested that to explain the Bible by men and nations under its spell is to reason in a circle, the answer is that the Biblical vocabulary merely provides a medium of expression for a universal tendency. Claudian, addressing the Emperor Theodosius, wrote: "O nimium dilecte deo, cui militat aether." The Egyptian god Ammon, in the great battle epic of Rameses II, assured the monarch: "Lo, I am with thee, my sign that I shall manifest myself among the nations." And the great cherubim of Ezekiel, "are the glory of the living God."

Hamlet is nations. Even this ideal has a perverted nobility; as Pol Arcas, a modern Greek writer, says: "If the devil knew he had horns the cherubim would
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offer him their place." And though it was only in the swelled head of the conqueror that the brutal philosophy of the Will-to-Power germinated, it was not so much the "blood and iron" of Junkerdom that perverted Prussia--Junkerdom still lives simply--as the gross industrial prosperity that followed on the victory of 1870. A modern German author describes his countrymen--it is true he has turned Mohammedan, probably out of disgust--as tragically degenerated and turned into a gold-greedy, pleasure-seeking, title-hungry pack. This industrial transistor, this demagogic nor is the civilization that followed the struggle for America by the scramble for Africa entirely blameless. Germany, federated too late for the first melee and smarting under centuries of humiliation--did not Louis XIV insolently seize Strassburg?--is avenging on our century the sins of the seventeenth.

So far from Germanism being synonymous with Judaism, its analogies are to be sought within the five maritime countries which preceded Germany, albeit less efficiently, in the path of militarism. It is the same alliance as prevailed everywhere between the traders and the armies and navies, and the Kaiser's crime consists mainly in turning back the movement of the world which through the Hague Conferences was approaching brotherhood, or at least a mitigation of the horrors of war. His blasphemies are no less archaic. He repeats Oliver Cromwell, but with less simplicity, while his artistic aspiration complicates the Puritan with the Cavalier. "From childhood," he is quoted as saying, "I have been under the influence of five men--Alexander, Julius Caesar, Theodoric II, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon." No great man moulds himself thus on others. It is but a theatrical greatness. But anyhow none of these names are Jewish, and not thus were "the Kings of Jerusalem" even 6000 years ago." Our Kings had the dull duty of copying out and studying the Torah, and the Rabbis reminded monarchy that the Torah demands forty-eight qualifications, whereas royalty only thirty, and that the crown of a good name is the best of all. Compare the German National Anthem "Heil dir im Siegeskranz" with the noble prayer for the Jewish King in the seventy-second psalm, if you wish to understand the difference between Judaism and Germanism. This King, too, is to conquer his enemies, but he is also to redeem the needy from oppression and violence, and precious will their blood be in his sight." [=]

61322. Zangwill, Israel. Chosen Peoples: The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic: Part 08. London; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1918. IF I were asked to sum up in a word the essential difference between Judaism and Germanism, it would be the word "Recessional." While the prophets and historians of Germany monotonously glorify their nation, the Jewish writers as monotonously rebuke theirs. "You only have I known among all the families of the earth," says the message through Amos. "Therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." The Bible, as I have said before, is an anti-Semitic book. "Israel is the villain, not the hero, of his own story." Alone among epics, it is out for truth, not high heroic. To flout the Pharisees was not reserved for Jesus. "Behold, ye fast for strife and contention," said Isaiah, "and to smite with the fist of wickedness." While some German writers, not content with the great men Germany has so abundantly produced, vaunt that all others, from Jesus to Dante, from Montaigne to Michael Angelo, are of Teuton the Aeneid told the all-invading Roman putting of course the contemporary ideal backwards as all missions are--and into the prophetic mouth of Jove: "Hae tibi Brunt artis, pacisque imponere morem, Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." It was for similarly exalted purposes that blood, Jewish literature unflinchingly exposes the flaws even of a Moses and a David. It is this passion for veracity unknown among other peoples--is even Washington's story told without gloss?--that gives false colour to the legend of Israel's ancient savagery. "The title of a nation to its territory," says Seeley, "is generally to be sought in primitive times and would be found, if it could be recovered, to rest upon violence and massacre." The dispossession of the Red Indian by America, of the Maori by New Zealand, is almost within living memory. But in national legends this universal process is sophisticated. "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento," Israel was to occupy Palestine, yet with what unique denigration the Bible turns upon him: "Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thy heart cost thou go to possess this land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God clothe them out from before thee."

In English literature this note of "Recessional" was sounded long before Kipling. Milton, though he claimed that "God's manner" was to reveal himself "first to His English-men," added that they "mark not the methods of His counsel and are unworthy." "Is India free," wrote Cowper, "or do we grind her still?" "Secure from actual warfare," sang Coleridge, "we have loved to swell the war-whoop." For Wordsworth England was simply the least evil of the nations. And Mr. Chesterton has just written a "History of England" in the very spirit of a Micah flagellating the classes "who loved fields and seized them." But if in Germany a voice of criticism breaks the chorus of self-adoration, it is usually from a Jew like Maximilian Harden, for Jews, as Ambassador Gerard testifies, represent almost the only real culture in Germany. I have been at pains to examine the literature of the German Synagogue, which if Germanism were Judaism, ought to show a double dose of original sin. But so far from finding any swagger of a Chosen People, whether Jewish or German, I find--in its most popular work--Lazarus's "Soziale Ethik im Judentum"--published as late as 11/1913 by the League of German Jews--a grave indictment of militarism. For the venerable philosopher, while justly explaining the glamour of the army by its subordination of the individual to the communal weal, yet pointed out emphatically that what unites individuals separate nations. "The work of justice shall be peace," he quotes from Isaiah. I am far from supposing that the old Germany of Goethe and Schiller and Lessing is not still latent--indeed, we know that one Professor suggested at a recent Nietzsche anniversary that the Germans should try to rise not to Superman but to Men, and that another now lies in prison for explaining in his "Biologie des Krieges" that the real objection to war is simply that it compels men to act unlike men. So that, when moreover we remember that the noble stand most practical treatise on "Perpetual Peace" came forth from that other German professor, Kant, the hope is not altogether ausgeschlossen that in the internal convulsion that must follow the war, there may be an upheaval of that finer Germanism of which we should be only too proud to say that it is Judaism. [=]
into comparative concord beside the common peril from the resurrected gods of paganism, from Thor and Odin and Priapus. And it was always an exasperated quarrel—half misunderstanding like most quarrels. Neither St. Augustine nor St. Anselm believed God was other than One. Jesus but applied to himself distributively—as logicians say—those conceptions, of divine sonship and suffering service which were already assets of Judaism, and but for the theology of atonement woven by Paul under God's license, either of them might have had a forward on that path of universalism which its essential genius demander and which even without them it only just missed. Is it not humiliating that Islam, whose Koran expressly calls its obligation to our prophets, should have been taken in the work of universalization? Maimonides acknowledged the good work done by Jesus and Mohammed in propagating the Bible. But if the universalism they achieved held faulty elements, is that any reason why the purer truth should shrink from universalization? Has Judaism less future than Buddhism—that religion of negation and monkeyry—whose sacred classics enjoin the Bhiksu to camp in and contemplate a cemetery? Has it less inspiration and optimism than that apocalyptic vision of the, ultimate victory of Good which consoles the disciple of the cross? If there is anything now discredited in its ancient Scriptures, the: Synagogue can, as of yore, relegate it to the Apocrypha, even as it can enrich the canon with later expressions of the Hebrew genius. Its one possible rival, Islam, is, as Kuenen maintains, as sterile for the future as Buddhism, too irrevocably narrowed to the Arab mentality. But why, despite his. magnificent tribute to Judaism, does this unfettered thinker imagine that the last word is with Christianity? Eucken, too, would, call the future Christian, though he rejects the Incarnation and regards the Atonement as injurious to religion, and the doctrine of the Trinity as a stumbling block rather than a help. Abraham Lincoln being only a plain man, was not able to struggle with himself like a German theologian, and with the simplicity of greatness he confessed: “I have never united myself to any Church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long, complicated statement of Christian doctrine which characterize their Articles of Belief and Confessions of Faith.” “When any church,” he added, “will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, . . . Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, and thy neighbour as thyself,” that church will I join with all my heart and with all my soul. Can one read this and not wonder what Judaism has been about that Lincoln did not even know there was such a church? But call the coming religious reconstruction, what you will, what do names matter when all humanity is crucified, what does anything matter but to save it from meaningless frictions and massacres? “Would that My people forgot Me and kept My commandments,” says the ancient Rabbi. There is no friendship equal to that which is made over the common study of books. At the Talmud meetings held at the house of Arthur Davis were founded lifelong friendships. Unpretentious in their aim, there was in these gatherings a harmony of charm and earnestness; pervading them was the true “joy of service.” Above all he loved the liturgy. Here the self-taught man must excel. Homer said: “Dear to gods and men is sacred song. Self-taught I sing: by Heaven and Heaven alone The genuine seeds of poesy are sown.” And, as the expression of his inmost self, he gave us the best edition of the Festival Prayers in any language: better than Sachs’—than which praise can go no higher. This Prayer Book is his true memorial. As the expression of his inmost self, he gave us the best edition of the Festival Prayers in any language: better than Sachs’—than which praise can go no higher. This Prayer Book is his true memorial.

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Zangwill, Israel. Chosen Peoples: The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic: Part 10. Afterword. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1918. DR. ISRAEL ABRAMS, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge, in seconding the vote of thanks to the speakers, moved by the President of the Jewish Historical Society (Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B.), said that the Chairman had already paid a tribute to the memory of Arthur Davis. But a twice-told tale was not stale in repetition when the tale was told of such a man. He was a real scholar; not only in the general sense of one who loved great books, but also in the special-sense that he possessed the technical knowledge of an expert. His “Hebrew Accents” reveals Arthur Davis in these two aspects. It shows mastery of an intricate subject, a subject not likely to attract the mere dilettante: But it also, reveals his interest in, the Bible as literature. He appreciated both the music of words and the melody of ideas. When the work appeared, a foreign scholar tasked: “Who was his teacher?”

The answer was: himself. There is a rather silly proverb that the self-taught man has a fool for his master. Certainly Arthur Davis had no fool for his pupil. And though he had no teacher, he had what is better, a fine capacity for comradeship in studies. “Acquire for thyself a companion,” said the ancient Rabbi. There is no friendship equal to that which is made over the common study of books. At the Talmud meetings held at the house of Arthur Davis were founded lifelong intimacies. Unpretentious in their aim, there was in these gatherings a harmony of charm and earnestness; pervading them was the true "joy of service." Above all he loved the liturgy. Here the self-taught man must excel. Homer said: “Dear to gods and men is sacred song. Self-taught I sing: by Heaven and Heaven alone The genuine seeds of poesy are sown.” And, as the expression of his inmost self, he gave us the best edition of the Festival Prayers in any language: better than Sachs’—than which praise can go no higher. This Prayer Book is his true memorial, unless there be a truer still. Perhaps his feeling that he might after all have lost something because he had no teacher made him so wonderful a teacher of his own daughters. In their continuance of his work his personality endures. At the end of his book on Accents he quoted, in Hebrew, a sentence from Jeremiah, with a clever play on the double meaning of the word which signifies at once “accent” and “taste.” Thinking of his record, and how his beautiful spirit animates those near and dear to him, we may indeed apply to him this same text: “His taste remaineth in him and his fragrance is not changed.”

Zeidan, Fatmeh. “Abu Muddein: Israel Violates Accords On Prisoners”, in Bila “Jerusalem Times, January 5, 1996, p. 1. Justice Minister Freih Abu Muddein has accused Israeli of treating the political prisoners as hostages. Abu Muddein who is a member of the Palestinian-Israeli Commission on prisoners, was commenting Jan. 1 on the possibility of a partial release of the prisoners sometime next week. “This is not in co-ordination with the PNA,” Abu Muddein said. “This is a unilateral action by Israel and in violation of the accords. Sources form (sic) Israeli security bodies confirmed that some of these prisoners participated in the killing of Israelis. They added that the Israeli judiciary is expected to study a large number of appeals presented by Israelis to protest the release of the Palestinian prisoners. They said the release of prisoners will take place on 1/19/1996 but that the final list has not yet been approved. Twenty women prisoners are supposed to be released in the third phase of the amnesty. Abu Muddein explained that a set of priorities was established in the Tabo Accords, according to which the first to be released would be the women prisoners. “Israel has refused to allow the release of four of them. The other women stood by them, and have refused to be released without their sisters,” he said. Abu Muddein accused Israeli of trying to turn the prisoner issue from a political into a humanitarian issue over which Israel makes its down(sic) decision solely according to its mind. Abu Muddein added that Israel is exercising deception in the way it is stating the number of potential prisoners to be released. He said the Israelis are likely to release a number of prisoners charged with civil violations, and
such prisoners whose sentence ends within days. “This is not the criteria we established in the Taba Accords,” said Abu Muddein. He said that in talks with the Israeliis, he felt that the Israeli side does not deal with the Palestinian side as prisoners to whom freedom needs to be restored, but as hostages. Meanwhile, the Hebrew daily Yediot Achronot reported Dec. 28 that as a result of intensive discussions with the Israeli security forces, there is a willingness to release 1500 Palestinian prisoners on the eve of the Palestinian Legislative elections. [=]

61326. Zionist Organization of India; Indian Zionist Organization of Bombay; IZO; Japheth, M.D. To The Mark the 25th Anniversary of India's Statehood the Indian Zionist Organization of Bomb Has Published This Commemorative Pamphlet: Part 3: Zionism In India: Looking Back—And Forward. Pamphlet. Bombay: Indian Zionist Organization of Bombay (IZO), N.D. [December 1972?]. It was left to a British politician-philosopher to condense in a single sentence all that can be said and all that should be said by way of describing, understanding, and analyzing Zionism. "Zionism", he said, "has straightened the back of every Jew." These significant words were uttered in the 1930s, long before Israel became a fact, a reality and a state. It came as the answer to two questions: "What is Zionism?" and "Is every Jew a Zionist?" The wise Britisher's apt words regarding Zionism have been coming to life gloriously during the years preceding and following the establishment of the state of Israel, as a result of which Zionism has been on the upswing throughout the country, including, of course, the back of every Jew. Speaking strictly in a personal vein, Zionism came to me before I came to Zionism. Way back in the 1920s in our home town in the hills, my father used to read out to the family news about the then Jewish Palestine in after-dinner sessions. As he read, a glow of pride and joy, both typically Jewish, used to light up his aged face. Observing this glow, my childish mind immediately recorded the fact that Palestine meant something very special to each and every Jew. By the time I came to Bombay, I found that the Zionist movement was a going concern, manned by members who, happily enough, were inspired in their work by an almost fanatical sense of dedication.

In those days, when Jewish communities in India were much larger than they are today, the Zionist movement was also large enough to include sections of youth and women, the latter under the well organized and active WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization). Today, as per circumstances, the size of the Movement in India is smaller, but in spirit, it is as strong, or perhaps stronger, than ever. Indeed, the fact that there are two well established, well organized and active Zionist institutions in Bombay today may be construed as a safe indication that Zionism is very much part of Jewish life in India. It is also an indication that the Cause of Zionism can flourish in small Jewish communities as well as it can in big ones. Zionism is where the Jewish heart is. It is a Cause so sacred that a single Jewish heart is enough for it to make itself felt. For us, the members of the Indian Zionist Organization, as well as four our large numbers of well-wishers in India and abroad, it is a happy thought that we shall celebrate our 5th anniversary at about the same time that Israel will celebrate her 25th anniversary. If we may be permitted to carry the comparison a little further, we should like to mention, though only in passing, that, like Israel, the IZO also has passed through troubled times, and has been called upon to ward off many slings and many arrows, as well as to solve many problems anyway as its services were extremely limited. I am truly pleased and hopeful because of your promotion to your new and high ranking post. As a man of law who believes in the rule of human justice, I have been able to solve many problems, as well as to help many of our prisoners on the eve of the Palestinian Legislative elections. [=]

61327. Zughayar, Ghada. “An Open Letter to Liba’i”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 23, 1995, p. 5. Dear Minister Liba’i, I am one of the many Palestinians who have written hundreds of complaints about the harassment ill-treatment that Palestinian Jerusalemites receive at the offices of the Ministry of Interior on Nablus Road in East Jerusalem. Nearly every week articles appear in the Palestinian local newspapers telling about a new number of victims who have broken down while queuing in the sun outside these offices. In some of these articles Palestinians have given certain suggestions to facilitate the services at these offices. Such suggestions included opening other offices in East Jerusalem as well as increasing the staff in the Nablus Road offices. Although another office was opened some time ago in Beit Hanina, it was unfortunately shut down soon after its opening and was unable to solve any of these problems, as well as to serve many of the people who come to the offices on Nablus Road. Your latest orders to stop the destruction of houses in the Palestinian village of Issawiya inspired me to write to you especially after the great indifference of the former minister of interior. One hopes that the actions taken by Israeli authorities are intended to alleviate Palestinian Jerusalemites to lessen their city of origin in order to create new demographic facts in favor of Israeli residents. The procedures that presently exist appear to many to be a type of revenge against those who dare to raise their voices against the atrocities
committed against Palestinians. I am quite confident that sooner or later the Palestinian clients will revolt because of this increasing pressure. Undesirable and unavoidable consequences will result that will most likely be beyond your estimation if the frustrated and disappointed Palestinians raise their voices through violent clashes and demonstrations with their demands to exist as permanent residents of Jerusalem. Therefore, could you, as member of justice and acting minister of interior, kindly attend to this matter which clearly displays a gross violation of human rights by the Israeli state which claims to have a liberal and democratic nature. We demand the immediate halt of the discriminatory policies against the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem before it is too late. The time has come to create new hopes and encourage Palestinians about the current peace process by creating new Israeli trends of behavior apart from the historically stereotypical thinking and images directed towards the Palestinians. Ghada Zughayar, Director, Jerusalem Center for Women.

61328. Zughayar, Ghada. “Divided More Than Ever” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, June 30, 1995, p. 7. Ever since 6/5/1967, the Israeli occupation forces have applied a wide range of measures towards East Jerusalem, which at that time was solely populated by Arab Palestinians. These policies were and are intended to carry out that which is implicit in these words of many former Israeli leaders: “Land without a people for a people without a land.” On 6/28/1967, the Israeli Knesset ratified the annexation of Jerusalem to the state of Israel. Since then, Israeli laws have been promulgated which completely ignore the Fourth Geneva Convention which states that occupation forces must maintain the situation and laws that were in effect before occupation. The State of Israel, which maintained the convention on 7/6/1951, has not complied with either the Geneva Convention, or United Nations’ Resolutions such as the United Nations’ Security Council’s Resolution 237 issued on 6/4/1967 which called for Israel to allow displaced Palestinians who were forced to leave their country during the war of 1967 to return to their homeland. It also stated that Israel was responsible for civilian security and welfare. But soon after the war, Israel conducted a population census in Jerusalem during a curfew so that none of those Jerusalemites who left the city during the war or went to other towns in the West Bank to inquire about the safety of their relatives were registered. At this very early stage, Israel plotted to limit the number of Arab Palestinian Jerusalemites and deny the historical and legal rights of thousands of Palestinians to their property and residency. For me, Jerusalem is my home town—the place where I was born and raised. The quarters of the Old City, which display the distinguished histories of Arab Muslim and Christian civilization, also witnessed my childish simplicity. In their alleys, I spent most of my days playing with my classmates. The doors of all the holy shrines were always wide open to everyone, not guarded by dozens of well-equipped security men.

I never knew what a military helmet or club was until I was stopped by Israeli soldiers at the gate of Al-Aqsa Mosque in an attempt to resume my childish playing in its courtyard some days after the war. It was my second encounter with those strangers. The first was one of the most painful experiences of my life and lasted three days and two nights during the war of 1967 in a stinky, muddy and damp cellar at the bottom of my house. All of my family was forced to hide in the cellar for fear of their lives when the first wave of Israeli soldiers took over our town in Jerusalem. For a child of eight it was an absolutely terrifying experience the Israelis was in 1971. It was 3 a.m. when I was awakened by the shouts and screams of our neighbors. Israeli bulldozers had flattened 12.5 acres of our street, Ard Assamar, in Wadi Joz where I still live. A few years later, huge residential buildings were built on this confiscated land as extensions of Hebrew University, which was built on the land of three Palestinian villages: Issawiye, Wadi Joz, and Mount of Olives. Now, when I look at the Israeli quarter, “Hai Eshkol,” built in 1968 on the land opposite my quarter, I become extremely angry. This quarter, which was established on land confiscated from the Palestinian neighborhoods of Sheikh Jarrah and Shuafat has become larger than the two villages together and is equipped with every luxury facility. In comparison, Palestinians in Wadi Joz await for many, many years to get in their ears. There was also the constant fear of imminent massacres similar to the ones that occurred in Deir Yasin and Kufur Qasem. And there was the total helplessness of landowners while the Israeli’s seized Palestinians properties which were later used to house thousands of Jewish settlers, who presently number 160000 in comparison with 150000 Palestinians living in East Jerusalem. Now, the situation is worsening. Israel is feverishly intensifying its creation of a demographic and geographic balance in its favor by continuous measures of the West Bank and thickening the Jewish settlement belt. Israel does this in order to beat time by creating irreparable and irrefutable realities in the city of Jerusalem before negotiations on the status of the city are started. According to the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 9/1993, negotiations on the future of Jerusalem must begin before the end of the first three years of the transitional period.

Furthermore, Israel has recently escalated measures aimed at depriving thousands of Palestinian women of their rights to residency in Jerusalem, despite the fact that they hold blue Israeli identity cards to which they have been entitled since 1967. According to Israeli law, these holders of Israeli cards are not citizens, but “permanent residents” of the Israeli state. This is part of an attempt to keep Palestinians a minority in their own homeland by reducing them to the status of permanent residents. One of these women is my cousin, Nisreen, who has lived in Jerusalem for twenty-six years. After her marriage to a West Banker, she was informed that she had lost her rights as a Jerusalem resident to national and health insurance. Meanwhile, the Israeli authority has refused to register her daughter, Tala, now seventeen months old, on her identification card. This manner of separating a child from its mother is unique to Israel. Nisreen had to find a solution, so she temporarily rented an apartment in Jerusalem to maintain her residency rights. Meanwhile, her husband moved to live in his parent’s house in Haltul, fifty kilometers south of Jerusalem. Nisreen decided to appeal her case in court. However, in 1989 the Israeli Supreme Court rejected an appeal made by a Jerusalemite Palestinian family to maintain their residency rights. The most striking thing about this case is that this family moved to live in one of the housing units built by the Jerusalem municipality in Bethany, a district of Jerusalem. And now, Israeli claims Bethany is outside the municipality boundaries, i.e. Bethany forms another city. According to Israeli law, people who move to another country automatically lose their rights of residency in the state of Israel. “We are now a family separated by the Israeli’s policy of limiting Jerusalem’s Palestinian population. We are now subject to the discretion of, hopefully, a merciful judge,” says Nisreen.

Palestinian land has been relentlessly confiscated by Israel. 87% of Jerusalem is now under Israeli control, and Israeli Jewish settlements have been built on thousands of acres of land owned by Palestinians. Even church and mosque properties have not escaped the Israeli aggression. The Israelis have gone to the extent of replacing the Arab Palestinian names of quarters and streets with very Jewish names in their attempt to Judaize Arab Palestinian Jerusalem. I decided one day to drop by the quarter my family used to live in until they were forced to leave after the war of 1967. To my surprise, the name plate which carried the name of our quarter, “Asharaf,” in Arabic and English was removed and replaced with a new one with a Hebrew name, “Misgaf Ladach,” written in Hebrew, bad Arabic and English. “It’s really a brain washing process,” said my sister Na’imi. Another encounter I had with the Israelis was in 1971. It was 3 a.m. when I was awakened by the shouts and screams of our neighbors. Israeli bulldozers had flattened 12.5 acres of our street, Ar Assamar, in Wadi Joz where I still live. After her marriage to a West Banker, she was informed that she had lost her rights as a Jerusalem resident to national and health insurance. Meanwhile, the Israeli authority has refused to register her daughter, Tala, now seventeen months old, on her identification card. This manner of separating a child from its mother is unique to Israel. Nisreen had to find a solution, so she temporarily rented an apartment in Jerusalem to maintain her residency rights. Meanwhile, her husband moved to live in his parent’s house in Haltul, fifty kilometers south of Jerusalem. Nisreen decided to appeal her case in court. However, in 1989 the Israeli Supreme Court rejected an appeal made by a Jerusalemite Palestinian family to maintain their residency rights. The most striking thing about this case is that this family moved to live in one of the housing units built by the Jerusalem municipality in Bethany, a district of Jerusalem. And now, Israeli claims Bethany is outside the municipality boundaries, i.e. Bethany forms another city. According to Israeli law, people who move to another country automatically lose their rights of residency in the state of Israel. “We are now a family separated by the Israeli’s policy of limiting Jerusalem’s Palestinian population. We are now subject to the discretion of, hopefully, a merciful judge,” says Nisreen.

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Israeli permission to add another floor to their house. Israel has used all means available to consolidate its illegal annexation of Jerusalem, such as the confiscation of land, the forging of ownership documents, the destruction of Palestinian homes, the denial of housing rights and building permits, the purchasing of Palestinian real estate by deceitful means as well as the building of settlements.

The situation has not improved since the signing of the Oslo Agreement and the promise of peace. Since September of 1993, the State of Israel has intensified the closures and separation of Jerusalem from the rest of the occupied territories as well as Gaza, which is under Palestinians-self-rule. The closures have had a debilitating impact on Jerusalem’s economic, health and education sectors as well as significantly disrupting the Palestinian social fabric. The Israeli Knesset recently ratified the “Jerusalem Law” which outlawed the existence of any institutions within Jerusalem that are directly or indirectly affiliated with the Palestinian political leadership. Israel has also continued its harassment of Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem in direct contradiction of the letter of commitments sent by the Israeli Foreign Minister to the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs on 10/1/1993. The confiscation of 133.75 acres of Palestinian land in Jerusalem was ratified by the Israeli government on 5/14/1995, despite official decisions made in 1992 to freeze the confiscation of Palestinian land. The dangerous excavations by the Israeli Archaeology Department in Al-Haram (the Temple Mount), which threaten to undermine the Al-Aqsa Mosque, also continue despite protests and the threat of the loss of a major religious site. The Oslo agreements, rather than prioritizing the crucial issue of Jerusalem, have allowed Israel more time to consolidate their sovereignty over Jerusalem. For me, Jerusalem is my past, present and future. It is my culture and my civilization. It contains the religious depths of hundreds of years of Muslim and Christian generations. Jerusalem is the link between Gaza and the West Bank, between Nablus in the northern region of the West Bank and Hebron in the southern region. Jerusalem is the heart of Palestine. It forms one-fifth of the Palestinian territories. Therefore, there can be no future for Palestinian independence and sovereignty without Jerusalem. Sooner or later, the Israelis must realize that Jerusalem is the key to the solution to the Israeli Palestinian conflict and the substance of a peaceful co-existence in the region. [2]

61329. Zughayar, Ghada. “Media Censorship Threatens Democracy”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, December 1, 1995, p. 5. [Ghada Zughayar is the director of the Jerusalem Center for Women.] During this crucial stage in the history of Palestine, the current quest for democracy and freedom is a topic of concern for many Palestinians. The upcoming elections will serve as a test and foundation for a Palestinian state which is allegedly to be based on the principles of democracy and equality for all its citizens. However, these principles are already being threatened and the process by which these rights will be assured are already being abused. I have recently encountered an incident which directly calls into question the fairness of the elections. It concerns a radio announcement which was to be aired on the Voice of Palestine. The Jerusalem Center for Women is currently conducting a project which will document the elections in respect to women's participation. The advertisement was to highlight the problems and discrimination encountered by women during the elections. I initially spoke to an employee from the Voice of Palestine who informed me that the ad could not be aired until it was approved by a special commission which has been charged with handling all media concerning the elections, including news, announcements and advertisements. After it had gone through the commission, I was contacted to be informed that the advertisement could not be placed in its original form. Certain sections needed to be censored before it was aired. These included:

1. A portion of the ad which stated that the “Jerusalem Center for Women works for the protection of women’s rights in regards to voting and running for the elections through documenting any anticipated violations, problems and all types of discrimination against women during the electoral process.” The man in charge of the commission stated that the phrase, “all types of discrimination,” was to be dropped. No reason was given for the exclusion. However, my conclusion is that it seemed too provocative for him to accept.

2. Another section in the ad asked women to report instances in which “anyone from their family (i.e., father, brother or husband) prevented them from registering for the elections.” The commission responded by stating it was unfair to specify “father, brother or husband” with the justification that it could be her mother who prevented her from registering. However, the purpose of the study is to highlight the most dominant problems, and in the present situation, it is male members of the family who are overwhelmingly prohibiting women from voting.

3. The last section asked people to report any instances in which “any pressure was exerted on women during the registration process.” The Jerusalem Center for Women was asked to drop this section completely, without any reason being given. This incident clearly displays an immediate threat to the democracy Palestinians are so earnestly seeking. The ad was not in any way supporting any political campaign. It aimed primarily at raising the awareness of women and protecting their right to participate in the elections. It served to ensure that the upcoming elections would indeed be democratic for all citizens. Will such incidents be indicative of future elections? Will this type of censorship continue to be imposed on the Palestinian media? Is there any chance for the establishment of democracy, when equal opportunity to media access is limited to those sponsored by the existing authority? Can the media be regarded as impartial, or is it simply the mouthpiece of politically powerful and dominant parties? It would appear that the future of a Palestinian democracy is truly dark if censorship and discrimination are already an integral part of the building of a democratic state. A democracy cannot exist without the equal participation of citizens in any form of civic activity. [2]

61330. Zughayar, Ghada. “Opinion: Do We Need a Unified Women’s Movement?”, in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, October 13, 1995, p. 5. It is my belief that a constituency of professional and institutional women’s organizations is required for significant and influential intervention by women within the developing process. Women need to maintain proof of their skills and potential in order to build and change. Though Palestinian women have succeeded in establishing various organizations and temporary or occasional networks, they have not, as yet, been able to succeed in maintaining a powerful and orchestrated constituency that can continue operation on a regular basis. This is due to several factors, most specifically the internal problems that relate to the division of the women’s movement, which still remains a mirror of the political map in the Palestinian arena, with all the power struggle it embraces. However, the first and foremost problem is the lack of unanimity on some crucial issues. For instance, up until now, Palestinian women have not reached a consensus on the urgency of placing the issue of domestic violence on their agenda. There are many women whose conservative voices strongly oppose discussing this subject at the expense of the political issue. (These women claim that they are not ready yet to show their ‘dirty laundry’). Apart from the provision of a few insufficient counseling programs, and desultory protests against domestic violence, no tangible assistance has been developed, such as women’s shelters. This is at a time when there is an increasing trend towards the militarization of society and its resulting impact on the escalation of violence. On the other hand, while the traditional norms and conservatism of society are being fortified by the arrival of the Palestinian National Authority, the women’s movement as a whole still refrains from raising the question of legislation that must be built on the basis of equality between men and women. Very rarely do we hear calls demanding civic personal laws as an alternative to the lack of fairness in the family status laws based on Al-Sharia (Islamic law). Ararat’s nervous reaction toward our attempt to clarify our needs and demands for discussion of our crucial rights relating to private life, falls within the consolidation of the traditional and conservative trend now prevailing.

Yet another significant and dangerous decision adopted by the Palestinian National Authority can be found in the Arabic daily “An-Nahar” from 3/7/1995. The ruling bans women and girls from learning to drive unless they are accompanied by Mahram, for example, one of their
male relatives. Another example of this trend is the support and encouragement given by the Mufti of Palestine to early marriage and polygamy. The idea is that these practices would stem the welter of adultery and related sins which, it is thought, would fill the vacuum left by the end of the struggle against Israeli occupation. We may conclude from the Palestinian National Authority’s behavior that they are willing to betray women’s rights in order to placate the lobby of Hamas and the other fundamentalists. Therefore, a women’s charter is badly needed to reflect the challenges resulting from the changing realities within Palestinian society. Palestinian women must voice orchestrated opinions and strategies, as well as develop a working agenda for the implementation of all their strategies. This will enable them to cease being bystanders in society—and become active participants. The rise of democratic and liberal attitudes is in the interest of all the Palestinian people. What is presently taking place in Algeria and other Arab countries is due to the continued lack of democracy and must not be repeated here. Women are uncertain about their own future and the future of democracy within their society. Nevertheless, they are determined to place a great amount of emphasis on the values of democracy. This has importance in the strengthening of Palestinian NGO’s, which can monitor the Palestinian National Authority’s actions and policy with respect to human rights and individual freedom. However, Palestinian NGO’s have not yet been able to create a powerful and effective lobby. Women cannot wait until this is achieved, even though they join ranks with the NGO’s and other liberal tendencies in the building of democracy. Women must not allow there future to be compromised. Once the constitution has been ratified, its clauses excluding and marginalizing women will be beyond their powers to amend. The time for constructive intervention will have passed. It will be too late. [=]

61331. Zughayyar, Ghada. “Opinion: Remember the Prisoners,” in Biladi-Jerusalem Times, July 28, 1995, p. 5. [Ghada Zughayyar, Director/Jerusalem Center for Women.] On 6/18/1995, Palestinian political prisoners began their protest against the fact that they have still not been released, although the Cairo Agreement signed by the Palestinian National Authority and the Israeli government clearly states that the release of Palestinian prisoners should take place. In an unprecedented move, 5500 detainees began a hunger strike which lasted for twenty days. For the moment, they have halted their strike. The detainees played an important role in the Palestinian national struggle and paved the road to the peace negotiations between Palestine and Israel. There is no reason to keep them in prison. At present, there are twenty-five women political prisoners, five of whom are serving life sentences. These women—mothers, students, and supporters of their families—have the right to return to their homes, families and children and lead a normal life like everyone else. As their protest has remained largely unheard of until present, we strongly urge you to support our campaign for the unconditional release of all Palestinian political prisoners. Your voice is necessary and essential to promoting just and durable peace in our region and will help put an end to the tragedies suffered by the Palestinian people. You can support our campaign by writing a letter to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin stating that there will be no real peace without the release of the Palestinian political prisoners. Other acts of solidarity in support of our campaign are also more than welcome. [=]

61332. Zureik, Elia. “Review Article: Prospects of the Palestinians In Israel: II”, in Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1993. pp. 73-93. Israeli academics and politicians routinely state that the economic status of Palestinians improved under Israeli rule: for example, at a well publicized conference in Tel Aviv in 1991 its was argued that Palestinian income rose form $550 in the mid-1940s to $2200 in the late 1980s. Israeli sources concede there has been some neglect of the Palestinians; but Palestinians argue that the Arab minority in Israel has been subjected to systematic racial discrimination in government, education, economy, health and welfare services. Education: While 14% of Arab-Israelis leave school by fourth grade, only 2% of Jews do so; 50% of Arab children fail to complete high school; the Jewish rate of enrollment in universities is 350% that of Arabs; there are only 11 fulltime Palestinian academics at universities in a faculty of 5000. All Jewish education provided by local government is free, financed by national subsidies; Arab local schools are financed by a poll tax of Arabs. The difference in financing means that 37% of all Arab classrooms are substandard; most Arab schools have no art, music, physical education classes, and only the most inadequate science labs. While Arabs are 20% of students, Arabs are 3% of the personnel at the Ministry of Education (this even overstates the role of that 3%, since they are kept in low ranking posts or otherwise marginalized). To divide the Arab Israelis, the Druze and Bedouins have been separated as constituted as separate ethnic groups. ‘Evcen the most cursory look at the contents of Arab education indicates that the educational system among Arabs has been systematically planned to serve the official aim of controlling the Arab minority in Israel while minimizing the cost of control’. Economy: Some 90% of the monies in pension funds and banks are invested in government bonds, with the Histadrut the government controls almost all quarries, electricity, water, air and marine transportation, aerospace industry and shipbuilding, and defense industries and most insurance: the government justifies the exclusion of the Arabs from these sector simply by claiming they are backward. Jewish agriculture has grown simply by the seizure of Arab lands: in 1981 while the average Arab farm was 55.7 dunums, the average Jewish farm was 173608 dunums. Water is reserved for Jewish farmers, with 64% of Jewish farms having irrigation, but only 8% of Arab farms having irrigation: Arabs receive only 2.7% of waters used in irrigation. Among Galilee Arab farmers 80% had never received any government assistance: 94.2% of all agricultural credit is allotted to Jews.

Industrial sector: There is no R&D sector in the impoverished and tiny Arab industrial sector; while Jewish entrepreneurs use cheap or free government financing to build factories that they staff with low-paid Palestinian women workers, Arabs are simply frozen out of the industrial sector. Since all financial institutions are Jewish owned, Arabs cannot receive financing, and there is no single large Arab-owned plant in Israel. Even in construction, 90% of Palestinian firms are limited to the smallest scale subcontracting. In the mid-1980s, the unemployment rate for Jews was 6-7%, while that for Arab Israelis was 9.5-10.5%.

Health Care: The modern health system of Israel emerged from the Histadrut Sick Fund which sought to provide health services to every Jews. After the creation of Israel, the state started to provide universal health services for Jews, with services provided to non-Jews at a minimal level: in 1954 there were 200 mother-child clinic for Jews and 6 for Arabs. Such health facilities paid for with tax monies for Arabs were substandard: Arab family health clinics of the lack electricity, telephones, water or toilets. While 98% of Jews had health insurance, 52% of the uninsured were Arabs. While Arab workers pay into the Histadrut Sick Fund, they receive almost nothing for what they pay in: so Histadrut has set up 604 medical teams in Jewish rural communities, and 2 in Arab villages. The systemic deprivation of health services to Arabs is a product of the role of the Zionist organizations, including the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Fund, in health planning.
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