

The Making Of A Non-Person

By Jan Abu Shakrah

I was arrested on March 5, 1984, when Captain Da'oud came to the house with some border guards at exactly 11:30 P.M. They searched the house and notified me of an order for my arrest. I went to the prison and was interrogated for two hours, and was then taken to al-Fara'a Prison.

When I got to al-Fara'a they took all my personal possessions away and I was taken to the doctor's room. He checked me—I didn't have any illness—and when the medical examination was over they moved me to the Stable and put me in handcuffs with a bag over my head for two days.

Then I was taken to an interrogation room where there was an interrogator called Abu Dani. He proceeded to make various charges against me—closing stores in Ramallah, incitement, preparing Molotov Cocktails and internal recruitment. I had done none of these things and told him so. I told him I owned a shop and looked after my family—my wife, two daughters and a son.

After this, I was moved to a cell for seven successive days, with interrogation continuing day and night. There were handcuffs on my hands and a bag over my head, and there was always water on the floor of the cell. They also restricted my food. I underwent a long period of interrogation and extremely ugly techniques were used. More than once they used cold showers on me during the bitterly cold nights when there was heavy rain. Another method was for the interrogator to rub and pull at my genitals. Then I was taken to the cell for two hours and then back to the rooms.

After this, I went on trial and my detention was extended for seven days. During the seven days I was taken once at random to the court, and after the session the judge ordered me released.

After I left prison I had pains in my throat, stomach, right knee and genitals. During interrogation, I was told that I wouldn't be able to father children because of the treatment they'd dealt to my genitals.

[Affidavit, signed March 22, 1984, by a 23-year-old Palestinian carpenter, is one of many affidavits attesting to Israeli torture of Palestinians collected by Law in the Service of Man, an affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland.]



About This Issue

Recently I renewed my passport. The new 5" x 3½" document, valid until 1996 (I wondered what my photo would look like *then*), fits snugly in the inside pocket of my coat.

There's something totemistic about a passport. It's different from a driver's license or a credit card. To drive a car or to buy with plastic are social functions. To present a U.S. passport to a customs officer is an act of social identification. While we may take care not to leave home without our traveler's checks, we *can't* leave home without our passport.

This issue is about a people without passports—four million people, dispossessed of their land, intimidated, tortured, massacred, facing an uncertain future. Sociologist Jan Abu

Shakrah traces the dehumanization of the Palestinians and dissects with clinical precision the matter of their statelessness.

Complementing our feature article is the book selection, *Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank*, reviewed on page 14 by Edward Dillon. This and other books on the Middle East are available through A.M.E.U.; for details see page 14.

Our next issue of *The Link* will focus on the Middle East views of the Vatican and U.S. Catholics.

John F. Mahoney,
Executive Director

The Dehumanizing Process

The process of dehumanization or de-personalization has been well analysed in its 20th century context. Martin Buber, the Jewish philosopher who advocated the dialogue of I and Thou to counter the pervasive reality of I-It relations in modern society, sought to apply his insights to Arab-Jewish relations in pre-State Palestine.² Dr. Victor Frankl, an Auschwitz survivor, drew from his multitude of Nazi torments a psychotherapeutic system

called logotherapy.³ Dr. Frantz Fanon, a black psychiatrist, captured the essence of the colonial process and the responses of the colonized masses in Algeria.⁴ Paulo Freire's work with illiterate Brazilian peasants led him to develop a "pedagogy of the oppressed," used and modified in developing countries, city ghettos and ordinary classrooms throughout the world.⁵ Drawing primarily on his experience with students and interpersonal relations in an American context, Carl Rogers developed a person-centered therapy based on the central healing factor of trust in the people themselves.⁶

Dr. Jan Abu Shakrah, a Jerusalem-based sociologist affiliated with the Arab Studies Society, is author of *Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories: 1980-1984*.

Despite differences in emphasis and minor disagreements on method, their collective works document a viciously consistent process at work in such disparate contexts. And while their counsel of response is necessarily adapted to the specific circumstances they address, their collective conclusions are convergent and clear: The attempt to dehumanize the other corrupts the dehumanizer. The only way out for both is to refuse to cooperate, by affirming the common humanity of oppressor and oppressed and by building a new relation of non-dominance in which both parties are free to actualize themselves. This process of change can and must begin, no matter how oppressive the circumstances, through the exercise of what Victor Frankl terms "the last of the human freedoms—to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way."⁷

This essay draws on the insights of these thinkers, exploring the process of dehumanization in its Israeli-Palestinian context.

Step One: Uprooting The Person From The Land

The village of Qattaneh, set in the hills near Jerusalem and the 1967 armistice line, depends on its olive orchards to yield thousands of dollars a year in sales of oil and olives, as well as staples of the Palestinian diet for the villagers themselves.

In January 1986, the Israeli Nature Reserves Authority entered the orchards with bulldozers and chain saws, and began uprooting, cutting and carting off hundreds of trees, some estimated at between 20 and 50 years old.

Stunned, the villagers collected their ownership and tax documents which they were confident would prove their ownership and provide a means for some restitution for the gross injustice. But the Nature Reserves Authority, protected by the army, continued its work unabated, claiming that the land

belonged to the Israeli Land Authority and that the villagers had thus planted the trees illegally. Ironically, some of the uprooted trees were later planted at a memorial site for Martin Luther King, Jr., in West Jerusalem.

Qattaneh's story is not new. Since 1967, the Israeli government, under various auspices and pretexts and often assisting Jewish settlers anxious to "redeem the land," have uprooted trees, bulldozed fields, blown up houses and taken possession of thousands of acres of Palestinian farmland in the West Bank and Gaza. According to one recent study, Israel

now controls 52 percent of the land base in the West Bank. Similar conditions apply in the Gaza Strip.⁸

The first step then toward dehumanization of a people is to uproot them from the land. Deprived of land, a people are shorn of all symbols that confer social identity: a flag, a passport, a national anthem, national holidays and, in the case of Palestinians, even the term "Palestinian." For this reason Golda Meir could declare: "There is no such thing as Palestinians."

Letters of Zionist leaders reveal clearly that from the beginning the planned State of Israel was for Jews only and

without self-rule for the native Palestinians.⁹ Theodor Herzl's blueprint for Israel, *Der Judenstaat*, is translated in English incorrectly "The Jewish State"; in German, "The Jewish State" would be *Der Jüdischer Staat*, i.e., a state with a Jewish culture, yet one in which Jew and non-Jew would share political, civic and religious rights. *Der Judenstaat* accurately is translated "The Jews' State," i.e., a state for Jews only, one in which non-Jews who remain exist as second-class citizens.

The concept of "The Jews' State," affirmed in the state's Declaration of Independence, was recently reinforced



Volunteers help Qattaneh villagers plant olive seedlings to replace trees uprooted by Israeli Nature Reserves Authority.

by the passage of an amendment to the Basic Law of the Knesset, originally conceived as a bill to ban Knesset lists that incite to racism or negate the state's democratic character. The final version of the bill, however, also banned lists that reject Israel's existence "as the state of the Jewish people." Thus, in an absurd twist, Palestinian citizens of Israel are forced to accept a position of civil inferiority based on a racial distinction, in the name of counter-racism and anti-democratic trends.

The facts speak for themselves. In 1947, when a partition plan for British Mandatory Palestine was approved by the United Nations, the Jewish people owned only 10 percent of the land base. Today, after four decades of Israeli land expropriation and extension of control over large areas of land for exclusive Jewish use (all lands purchased by the Jewish National Fund are legally "Jewish" and can never be repurchased by a non-Jew), the original Palestinian inhabitants are confined to 15 percent of that land base. The Jewish people have realized their right to self-determination at the direct expense of the dehumanization of the Palestinian people.

This process of systematic dispossession of land continues today at an accelerating pace. Whether under the label "absentee property," a military zone, earmarked for public use, or state land, the loss of land has transformed Palestinian society, within the span of less than forty years, from one of peasant farmers to a dependent workforce for Israeli industry and agriculture.

Palestinians, however, have not been passive victims. They have responded through the courts and on the land.

They also have their heroes: One old man near the Jewish settlement of Gilo, following the demolition of his house, lived in a tent for months, talking to all who would hear his story, until he received a promised bus from Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek. The quality of the bus was not all that he had hoped for, but he's not about to budge. Another farmer, Khalifeh, from al Jib village, battled settlers' bulldozers with one of his own, plowing through their road which had leveled his olive orchard and fields. Women in Khalif

warded off intruders with their broomsticks, saving their homes at least temporarily. In Qattaneh, Palestinians, Israelis and foreign visitors joined the villagers in replanting olive trees.

But there are the tragedies as well. A 60-year-old Bidya farmer, Ibrahim al Aqra, was gunned down by border patrols protecting the settlers' construction company, as he futilely tried to stop the destruction of his orchards. On Khalifeh's land in al Jib now stand villas inhabited by Jewish settlers who took advantage of the cheap lot prices to "build their own homes." The Nature Reserves Authority, in violation of an agreement with the police, uprooted all of Qattaneh's replanted olive seedlings. And sadly, in one of the few joint Arab-Jewish enterprises, some Palestinian land dealers and Israeli speculators, with the cooperation of some government officials, have defrauded unsuspecting Palestinian farmers of thousands of acres cultivated by their fathers and forefathers for hundreds of years.

Even when a case is pursued through the courts, the farmers are 95 percent assured of defeat—their surveys were not complete, the British Mandate papers were not sufficient, the Ottoman papers were obtained from Turkey too late, tax payment records did not clearly specify the land base, the percentage of cultivation was not sufficient, and so on. The farmers and their lawyers know that, at best, they are engaged only in documenting a "legal" theft. As Meron Benvenisti comments:

(B)eyond the limited legal controversy one should bear in mind the distinction between the Rule of Law and Rule by Law. The concept of Rule of Law embodies immutable values such as natural justice and the norm that all are equal in the eyes of the law. Those who uphold these values will fail to regard land alienation in the West Bank, irrespective of its legality, as a system governed by the Rule of Law.¹⁰

For Palestinians, the problem of land theft is not simply an economic matter. As Fanon reflected, for an occupied people, "the most essential value,

because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread, and, above all, dignity."¹¹ Defense of the land is not simply protection of livelihood, but preservation of the people's identity.

The battle over the land represents one of identity and legitimacy for the occupier. Conquest and legal pretense alone have never sufficed in the Israeli rush to secure the land. Hand in hand with religious rationalization of their conquest—as the chosen people with a God-given promise to the whole Land of Israel—is the mythology of a peopleless land which the reincarnated Jewish nation would redeem.

Without question Israeli agriculture has prospered, millions of trees have been planted, desert plots have been made to bloom. Yet the carefully tended rock terraces, the olive trees of 50, 100, and even 200 years, the white stone houses clinging to the hillsides, the estimated two million Palestinian people who remain on their land—with the memory of hundreds of destroyed villages—attest that the empty land tales are simply myths.

With brooms, stones, new seedlings, and their own bodies before the bulldozers and the Uzis, Palestinians assert that their lives are worth as much as the Israelis'. By brute force, however, the settlers with their army cover remove the Palestinians, seize the land, and stamp the operation with a seal of legitimacy.

Still, the Palestinians remain—crowded into refugee camps, commuting daily from their villages to work in Israeli factories, cleaning the garbage from Israeli streets, and even building Jewish settlements.

While Meir Kahane proposes mass expulsions, most of the Israeli public is aghast at the image of trains carrying off thousands to unknown destinations. More palatable are control of family reunion permits, discrimination in national insurance benefits, or withholding of building permits, which can be defended on "demographic grounds" to ensure a Jewish majority. And ever important Israeli "security" can certainly justify demolishing the home of a "terrorist's family or deportation of a "security threat."

Yet the homeless families of the "ter-

rorists," who are carted off to prison, killed, or sent across the border, remain. Most stay in the temporary tent shelters provided by the Red Cross, or move in with nearby relatives.

Deportees, who have had a chance to talk with family or press before their expulsion, speak of deportation as a prospect worse than death. And, in a decision outside observers might find hard to comprehend, the families of the deportees almost always choose to stay in the homeland.

Other definite Israeli responses to the Palestinian presence include censorship and control of media coverage in the occupied territories. Roads built to avoid passing through "Arab population centers" also help, as does exclusion of "non-Jews" from the use of 85 percent of the land base of historic Palestine. Waiters, garbage collectors and other menial servants performing the dirty tasks of society are easy to pass over.

Ameenah Mohammad Abdel Rahim, whose husband was shot by border police on October 7, 1985, stands in front of her destroyed home. She now lives with her parents.

Meryl Landon describes his experience on a World Zionist Organization Tour Va'aleh settlement tour bus, intended to introduce prospective immigrants to development and housing potential on the West Bank. Landon marvels at "some of the most bountiful olive country I've ever seen. For hill after hill, as far as the eye can see, there is not one empty patch, not one neglected corner; there are only beautifully-tended olive trees, thousands and thousands of them, covering the land, broken only by white stone Palestinian villages draped over the occasional hilltop."

In a word, the guide erases it all and remakes history. "Uninhabited," he declares. "You might notice these olive trees, and those terraces. Actually, this was all done recently, since 1967. Most of this area was barren until Israel developed it, and Arabs were drawn here. The terraces are no longer 100, 200 years old. They are 10 years old.

The millions of rocks fitted together by hand like perfect puzzle pieces, settled into the side of the mountains like ancient ribs, are all recent immigrant work. So what are these villages then, if not villages? Only elaborate stone camps for the Arab workers attracted to the land by Israeli work opportunities."¹²

Still this people remains. And if doublethink cannot entirely remove them from one's awareness, other techniques can be drawn into the service of "purifying" the land.

Step Two: Torture And Tertur

I am sitting in the cramped courtroom of the Military Compound in Ramallah, waiting for the opportunity to see my friend scheduled to be brought from his detention in Hebron Prison for a hearing. Neither I, his family nor his



Owens Nejar

lawyer will be able to speak with him, as he is still being held under interrogation. "Legally," according to military law in the occupied territories, he can be held incommunicado for eighteen days, and with the approval of the Prison Authority, an additional 60 days, and more. My friend doesn't appear. His interrogators cite "technical reasons," and set another date.

My unfulfilled vigil passes through a parade of tens of young people, most of them 15 or 16 years old, all born after the occupation. They are joined by one Palestinian farmer, 60 or older. Singly or in groups, they are escorted into the courtroom to face charges. The prosecutor is a military officer, reading from a file of "evidence" against the youthful offenders. Their judge, also a military man, is flanked by two colleagues who utter not a word throughout the entire proceedings. The court employees—prosecutor, judges, clerks, translator, guards—are subordinate in rank to the Regional Military Commander who oversees legislation, arrests, trials and sentencing.

There's no democratic separation of powers here, no pretense of judicial neutrality or due process. All the actors know their parts well, although now and then the judge has to prompt the prosecutor to say the right thing for the record. "Security" needs, as defined by the military commanders, replace the scales of justice. Current military and political policy determine verdicts and sentences. There is no system of precedents, no extenuating circumstances, no humanitarian considerations.

The accused know their parts as well. They are guilty, from the moment that a soldier or policeman decided sufficient "suspicion" of wrongdoing existed and brought them into detention. Most often they are charged with some version of disturbing the peace (stone-throwing, demonstrations) or membership in a "hostile organization." Statistically more than 95 percent will be convicted, usually on the basis of their own or someone else's "confession."¹³ Every year, more than 5,000 youth pass through the courts, the majority serving less than a year for their alleged "offenses against Israeli security."

There are few surprises in the courts, no anguished cries of grief, no unruly defendants or families. Most of the accused seem decidedly uninterested in the "judicial proceedings," directing their attention more to the benches, searching furtively, occasionally in vain, for family and friends. Mothers and fathers dressed in their finest dresses and suits await a glimpse of their son or daughter whom they may not have seen for days or even months. They exchange warm and knowing glances as the military men carry on their ritual.

My initial response to this scene is that of a mother, weeping inwardly for these young troops who carry the weight of the national struggle. Some look frightened, out of place, longing to be home. Others appear brave, almost heroic—they have undoubtedly been through all this before.

But quickly, I'm reminded of the many young people I've met, in villages and refugee camps, following their release from detention without charge or imprisonment on "security offenses." I recall their uplifted spirits, the pride that they did not break under torture, the strength and determination they gained from their comrades. They had passed the test and earned the badge—representative of the people, one of the steadfast.

My thoughts then pass to the court employees, many religious men, their army fatigues joined with skullcaps, and perhaps Uzis slung over their shoulders. How, I wonder, do they survive this tragi-comedy, day in and day out? Can they actually believe that this charade serves some higher value, some national purpose?

Now and then a defendant appears in the courtroom with unexplained hemorrhages, broken bones or dislocated nose. Doesn't this shake the court's confidence in the validity of alleged "confessions"?

Apparently not. Rarely is the admissibility of a confession rejected by the judges. And a confession by the defendant, or someone else, is all that is necessary for a conviction.

Accounts of torture in Israeli prisons and detention centers abound. Many Palestinians have signed affidavits after their release. Occasionally, their

testimony is entered in the court protocols. Reports from lawyers defending Palestinian clients indicate that incidents and severity of such treatment are recently on the increase.¹⁴

Outside of prison, Israelis have coined the term *tertur* for the systematic harassment and humiliation of the occupied population by army troops and border police. It includes: mass roundups; violent and arbitrary home searches; and the use of humiliating and degrading practices, like forcing men to stand for long periods on one leg with their hands in the air, orders to dance and sing, to bray like a donkey, to walk on all fours, and even to kiss a donkey's ass. Residents may be asked to slap each other, insult their family or friends, perform degrading acts, even write their identification card numbers on each other's arms in memory of the Jews in German concentration camps. They may be cursed, spat on, or beaten if they refuse.¹⁵

Dr. Israel Shahak, a Bergen-Belsen concentration camp survivor and former President of the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights, has concluded that, since 1968, Israeli Jewish society, as well as some of the other diaspora Jewish society, particularly in America, is undergoing what he calls a process of nazification.¹⁶

Hannah Arndt coined the term "the banality of evil" when covering the trial of Adolph Eichmann in Jerusalem. Her point was that Eichmann, and others like him, were not a species apart. Neither clinical sadists nor deranged murderers, they simply carried out their tasks, ordering the torture and murder of thousands, all by pushing papers, directing others, and following bureaucratic routine.

Her portrayal helps us to understand, if not condone, such horrors. But torture and degrading humiliations, face to face—how is it possible?

The "empty land" mythology holds the key, inasmuch as it rests on a good versus evil compartmentalization that must extend to all aspects of the situation: *They* are primitive, *we* are civilized; *they* ravaged the land by war, *we* are making the desert bloom; *they* are not a people, *we* are; *they* have no right to the land, no history, no culture; *we* are chosen by God to inherit this land

of our forefathers; Palestine and Palestinians don't exist, but no part of the Land of Israel can be foreign to the Jewish people.

Apartheid, or forced separation between the two peoples, is, as Fanon observed, simply a physical extension of this worldview.²⁷ It is a worldview that depends on the distortion and denial of a whole people's existence, identity and rights.

This compartmentalization is reinforced and solidified in the daily practice of the occupation: to control the population and to suppress their aspiration for independence. As Paulo Freire reflects:

If the humanization of the oppressed signifies subversion, so also does their freedom; hence the necessity for constant control. And the more the oppressors control the oppressed, the more they change them into apparently inanimate "things." This tendency of the oppressor consciousness to "in-animate" everything and everyone it encounters . . . unquestionably corresponds with a tendency to sadism.²⁸

The process by which Israelis attempt to "in-animate" the Palestinians is increasingly evident in Israeli rhetoric and practice. One step removed from humanity, they become Menachem Begin's "two-legged beasts," and then (former Chief of Staff) Raphael Eitan's "drugged cockroaches in a bottle." For years, Israeli Arabists have referred to them as "the growing cancer," and to their offspring as the "time bomb" or the "demographic threat." Dropping a few vacuum bombs on a refugee camp in Lebanon is justified as wiping out a "terrorist nest." Shooting to death a six-year-old child in the street can be rationalized as "neutralizing a security threat."

To the extent that Palestinians do not give way to self-deprecation, cynicism and direction of petty violence against their own people, their humanity and identity as a people is actually strengthened through their refusal to submit and their will to stand proud in the face of such treatment. They will suffer physically, but their spirit will triumph.

The Final Step: Futurelessness

According to Victor Frankl, the most depressing influence in his concentration camp internment was not knowing how long the imprisonment would be. The end, whether through death by gassing, liberation by allied forces, or other means, was uncertain, and it appeared that no actions by the interned – other than suicide – could alter this "provisional existence."²⁹

Parallels with an occupation of almost two decades, with no political solution in sight, are obvious, as are the varied responses of the interned and the occupied.

One common response is bitterness and desire for revenge, which can sustain one for a limited time. Eventually it gives way to a spontaneous, explosive and often suicidally desperate act, or to bitterness, then apathy and cynicism.

By far the more common response under occupation is the latter. Despite Israeli obsession with the "internal security threat" and the fear of random "terrorist attacks," there is a strikingly low level of violent resistance, whether spontaneous or organized,³⁰ in the West Bank or Gaza Strip. Even during periods when Israelis perceive Palestinian resistance as very high, statistics indicate that Palestinians are more often the targets rather than perpetrators of violence in the occupied territories.³¹

The relative passivity of the population under occupation is largely the result of Israeli military strength, and a policy of extensive military and security controls which limit access to arms and opportunity for effective attack.

Even more effective has been Israeli social and economic policy that has stifled opportunity for individual fulfillment and economic independence, while offering relative consumptive prosperity and comfort for those willing to cooperate with the occupation or to exploit their own people.³²

While it appears that life under occupation, with all its problems, offers greater freedom than imprisonment, avoidance of dehumanization and options for preserving one's humanity

in fact pose greater difficulties. Particularly enlightening are accounts by released prisoners contrasting their prison experience with life on the outside.

Palestinian political prisoners universally refer to Israeli prisons as their universities.³³ On the one hand, prisoners engage in concerted efforts at self-education by utilizing the skills and experiences of their fellow inmates and by making the few books and journals to which they have access. Their common situation, forced proximity and limited resources provide the perfect setting for the emergence of collective goals, social support and a united front against the authorities. The new prisoner enters an established social support system, complete with heroic role models.

The strategy of the political prisoners vis-à-vis the authorities is quite instructive. The first demand is for the recognition of Palestinian identity, which is signaled by their demand for separation from criminal prisoners, in recognition of their status as political prisoners. This separation, from time to time violated by the authorities, is the most prized achievement of the prisoners' campaigns.

Another way in which the Palestinian identity is asserted is by the simple insistence on the use of that label, as opposed to "Arab" or any other substitute. Over the years, Palestinian political prisoners eventually established the right to negotiate with the authorities through their chosen representatives. Only after this Palestinian identity and united national front was established, did the prisoners pursue demands for humane treatment, proper medical care, improvement of physical conditions, food, and so on.

In a sense, the demands of Palestinian prisoners are the reverse of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and with good reason. When the prison authority's (or occupier's) tactic is to cut off opportunity for independent, individual advancement and fulfillment as a way of forcing dependence and control, the only response which preserves and strengthens one's personhood is to reject individualist options and to choose identification with and

fulfillment through the collective. Above all, the point is to choose, and never to surrender or obey without reflection.²⁴

The choice for those outside prison but under occupation is basically the same, but particular features of the occupation make it more difficult, the consequences less clear.

Released prisoners often experience a kind of vertigo on their release. The major task is to adjust to the loss of the supportive social structure and sense of intimate solidarity they experienced in prison. Certain occupation policies are specifically designed to destroy coherent social structure and supports. All political activity is prohibited. Often, even funerals and wedding parties are banned. Most of the municipal authorities elected in the last election permitted by the authorities in 1976 have been deposed. Leaders of labor unions, voluntary work committees, student councils and other media for joint action are particularly subject to official harassment, restriction orders, and most recently, administrative detention and deportation.²⁵

But more than that, released prisoners confront the apathy and individualism, the selling of individual privilege, the betrayal of one's people for individual gain—all the evils they had successfully fought against and triumphed over in prison. And there is another option of escape not available in prison—emigration from the homeland in search of wealth or other individual advancement.

One response, particularly common among young people, is withdrawal into purely theoretical, "revolutionary" discussion, with no action component. Any action, in their eyes, involves a compromise they are not ready to make. Perhaps too there is the realization that concrete action cannot do much to change the reality of occupation. The uprooted trees of Qattaneh, the lost court battles to save the land, the deportations, the demolished homes all stand as stark reminders that any effort by the occupied can and will be quickly crushed by the occupier. So why should they make the effort?

One recently released prisoner provides the answer in her simple yet in-

spiring example of the importance of persistent action.

She and the other female political prisoners in Neve Tertz embroidered patterns on their blankets and pillowcases, and made simple decorations for their walls. Every month, the prison guards unpicked their work, and every month, the women would embroider new patterns. So it continued, month after month. The prisoners didn't succeed in keeping their handwork; but the authorities were defeated in their attempt to break the women's spirits.²⁶

Together with this are individual acts of a heroic nature. The hunger strike is a classic, for it represents a different value, that, in the name of the unity and dignity of my people, I am willing to sacrifice my health and possibly my life. The food you offer me is given by a hand that wants to control me. I reject that hand and the gifts of that hand. (See the detailed account of *Jabril Rujub's hunger strike*, pages 10-11.)

On the outside, boycott of Israeli

products is analogous. Israeli economic policy, designed to thwart independent Palestinian economic development and to establish an unfair advantage for Israeli industrial and agricultural products, creates attractive market conditions for the more plentiful, cheaper Israeli products. The short-term advantage of consuming these products manifests Palestinian acquiescence to their own exploitation as cheap day workers in Israeli industry and a captive consumer market.

Other forms of non-cooperation are more problematic. Refusal to carry the identity card, for example, effectively restricts one's mobility and leaves one open to harassment and probable imprisonment. Seemingly innocuous acts—reading a banned book, knitting a sweater in the four colors of the Palestinian flag, staying overnight with friends in Jerusalem, planting an unauthorized olive tree—are all criminal offenses under occupation rule which could, and often do, result in years of imprisonment.



Dress, embroidered by an 18-year-old girl, displays the Palestinian flag and the Dome of the Rock in place of traditional flower embroidery.

Violating such military orders, however, serves two significant purposes. The first is the assertion of identity, of defiance, of refusal to cooperate for the benefit of the occupier, for whom even the mention of the word "Palestinian" is a provocation. Equally important is the psychological effect on the Palestinian. As one Palestinian, under town arrest for an extended period, said:

Now and then, I violate my order—by taking a ride outside the city limits or getting home a few minutes after the appointed evening hour. I don't act stupidly or blatantly, because I don't want to give them an excuse to impose further restrictions on me. But I will not become an Israeli security agent. To preserve my integrity, I will challenge the spirit of their orders, which they can only impose by the exercise of brute force.

Under occupation, almost any action may be considered a potential security offense. The targets of the recent wave of administrative detentions and deportations suggest, in fact, that violent or military operations do not pose the greatest "security threat" in the eyes of the Israeli authorities. Almost half of the administrative detainees are students or university lecturers, including most of the elected student council members. Approximately one-quarter of the detainees and deportees are union leaders. Other targeted categories are journalists, professionals and bookstore owners. Since administrative detention entails no formal charges and evidence presented against the detainee and a potential deportee is "secret," one cannot determine the precise reasons for orders against such people. In their communities, they are known as those who are working to build local institutions in order to establish a sense of community. Their lives are dedicated not to personal gain, but to meeting the needs of their people, through voluntary work committees, unions, schools and charitable societies.

If the goal of an occupier is to dehumanize the occupied, then such work is indeed the greatest threat to the regime.



Oren Najar

A young boy raises his handmade Palestinian flag. If caught, he could face up to 10 years in prison and/or a \$10,000 fine.

Dehumanization And The Dehumanizers

Public opinion polls and studies of youth attitudes indicate that the campaign to control and dehumanize the Palestinians is taking its toll on Israeli society.

Attitudes toward the Palestinians are worrisome in themselves. Nearly 60 percent of the Jewish public believe that Palestinians in the occupied territories should either be deported (15

percent) or live under an apartheid rule without rights (44 percent). Even inside the Green Line, a high percentage of Israelis have long held that the rights of "non-Jewish" citizens should be limited. A recent study of secondary school students revealed, in fact, that more than 50 percent of the Jewish students felt that Arab citizens should be denied voting rights, free speech

and university education.²⁷

The extent of moral degradation reveals itself most clearly in the weakness and inconsistency of the current campaign which developed largely in response to the election of Meir Kahane's Kach list to the Knesset. Opponents who deplore Kahane and his methods and decry racist slurs and incitement do not seem as concerned

with the ongoing discriminatory practices which pervade Israeli life.

Ultimately it is the Israelis who will suffer most from their attempt to control, distort or annihilate (figuratively or actually) the Palestinian people. Historian Shlomo Ben-Ami notes that states that have dominated a large national minority have a common denominator: "if they were democ-

racies at the outset, sooner or later they cease to be so."²⁸ Already, there are disturbing signs of a growing disillusionment with democratic institutions within the state in general. Those bent on depriving the Palestinians of democratic rights also show a high degree of willingness to dispense with such rights for Israelis as well.²⁹ Despite the great sensitivity of the label,

Jabril Rujub's Hunger Strike

On May 20, 1985, Jabril Rujub was released from prison, under the Exchange Agreement between the Israeli government and Ahmed Jabril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command. Under the terms of the agreement, 600 Palestinians were allowed to return to their homes in Palestine with the understanding that they could not be rearrested for offenses committed before the exchange, and that they would be free from the threat of deportation and other punishment or harassment.

Jabril emerged from 15 years behind bars full of enthusiasm and resolve to build a new life. He wanted to work, to continue his studies, and to marry. Sentenced to life imprisonment at the age of 16 for alleged participation in a guerrilla cell, he now spoke openly - with Israelis and Palestinians - of the need for reconciliation and peace, based on mutual respect and guarantee of human and national rights for both peoples. Most important to him was his initiation and direction of a rehabilitation center for other released prisoners which would train them in skills necessary to work in local institutions and to build constructive lives in their homeland.

The day after the official inauguration of the center, Jabril was called in for questioning. Acquaintances, detained on the same day and released, reported that interrogators had beaten him in their presence and that it looked like Jabril would be held for an indefinite period. Under the usual terms of such detentions of Palestinians, no one, not even his lawyer, would be

able to contact him for at least 18 days.

After two bail hearings had been cancelled for "technical reasons," Jabril finally appeared in court, looking pale and weak. He reported to the judge that since the second day of his detention he had been on a hunger strike, taking only water, in protest against his detention without charge and the inhumane treatment to which his interrogators had subjected him, including mental and physical intimidation, the threat of deportation, and other humiliating and degrading practices. The judge extended his detention, with instructions to the prison authority that he receive medical attention. His lawyer was still prevented from speaking with him.

Jabril's friends quickly mobilized a support campaign. As Jabril would want it, the campaign did not focus on his personal case, but rather on his example in resisting inhumane treatment designed to break his spirit. During his previous imprisonment, Jabril had organized mass hunger strikes and other united actions by the prisoners to assert their demands, as Palestinians and as human beings, in the face of a powerful establishment seeking their surrender to passive dependence. We knew he would continue his strike until the security services relented, or he died.

We organized a round-the-clock vigil. A few held one-day hunger strikes in solidarity. We mobilized local and international press coverage, contacted human and civil rights groups, held a press conference and a demonstration.

Finally, over a month after his detention, it seemed that the pressure was beginning to pay off. On the thirty-second day of his hunger strike, Jabril was permitted a meeting with his lawyer. The intimidation and humiliating treatment had continued throughout his detention. He had lost the use of one kidney. But his spirit was not broken. He was moved by the support of both Israelis and Palestinians for his



a growing number of Israeli critics are openly discussing fascist trends in their own society.³⁰

Today, a powerful, armed and controlling Israeli state has less to fear from the physical violence of the occupied than they do from spiritual violence they are inflicting on themselves.

The Future: Hoping Against Hope

For Americans who are not already committed to one side or the other, through religious, familial or politi-

cal loyalties, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict must appear as one senseless fight which somehow could be re-

case, emphasizing that they must see his strike as a statement for all political prisoners. He had told his interrogators that his strike "is my way to answer you," and that he would continue until his death or his release from interrogation. "You treat me this way," he said, "because of what I stand for. I am for coexistence and peace . . . You, who represent the fascist extreme of Israel, do not want peace and are threatened by people like me . . . Your treatment of prisoners is designed to kill the chances for a just peace."

The next day, Jabril was again

brought before the Military Court, and his detention was extended another 20 days.

His supporters didn't know until a week later that, following the hearing, the security services asked Jabril whether he intended to continue with his strike. It was clear that he would die within a few days if he did. Jabril was firm.

The security services relented. After 33 days of hunger strike, his demands were met. The solitary confinement and daily interrogation ceased. He was moved to regular prison quarters with

the other political prisoners. He received medical attention and slowly began to gain weight. Within a few days, a formal charge sheet was issued, and he now awaits trial, all for alleged offenses before his release in the Prisoner Exchange, based on the testimony of others. He maintains his innocence.

Taking heart from his example, the committee organized in his defense has now broadened its scope to work against the current Israeli "iron fist" policy in the occupied territories and to mobilize opposition to the occupation.

Friends of Jabril Rujub demonstrate outside the Government Press Office in West Jerusalem during a press conference, December 22, 1985, on his detention and hunger strike.



Oswald Nejar

Frank Collins

solved if the sides would just sit down and talk (the preferred solution of educated liberals) or if a strong leader or superpower would impose order (the preferred scenario of the more authoritarian).

As an American citizen now living in the heart of this conflict, I make no claim to impartiality. The struggle of my Palestinian husband, and what I assume will be the struggle of my two Palestinian sons, has become mine. I believe that only a political solution which guarantees Palestinian national rights to self-determination and government in their homeland can bring an end to the political and physical violence. Reversing the dehumanization process involves, ultimately, the land.

Those who focus on the diplomatic level of the conflict, whether Israelis, Arabs, Americans or other concerned parties, have apparently concluded that time is running out. The extension of Israeli control over the people and land of historic Palestine is seen as "irre-

versible," the PLO is finished, the "peace process" stalemated, Israeli dominance unassailable. Palestinians, under whatever "leadership" willing to capitulate, must acknowledge Israel's right to exist and take in return the "limited autonomy" and "self-expression" it offers. Dialogue and reconciliation will heal the wounds of decades. Peace will reign in the Middle East.

One who lives in the heart of this conflict cannot counter such arguments with optimistic alternative scenarios. Realistic prospects for the realization of Palestinian self-determination – in an independent state, on an equitable share of the land with an Israeli state, in a relation of non-domination and harmony – are dim indeed.

One can, nevertheless, counter the time-clock argument in favor of surrender of basic Palestinian human and national rights with the firm assertion that such capitulation would be no solution at all. If it is a human, livable future, for both Israelis and Pales-

tinians, that is sought, then the bankruptcy of the diplomatic option at the present time cannot be used as a measure of success or failure.

Nor can dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians under the terms of occupation be considered a panacea. As Freire rightly perceived:

Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming – between those who deny other men the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them. Those who have been denied their primordial right to speak their word must first reclaim this right and prevent the continuation of this dehumanizing aggression.³¹

The only genuine dialogue between Israeli and Palestinians today is joint action to end the occupation. Like the

Girls at the Society of Inash al Usra (Preservation of the Family) painting a mural on a wall



women prisoners who persist with their embroidery, a small but loyal number of Israelis have rejected the occupier role. Through individual acts of refusal and joint demonstration of solidarity with Palestinian rights, they affirm that peace between Israelis and Palestinians as two equal peoples is a possibility.

There is no question that Palestinians under occupation are discouraged. But they are not defeated. If their humanization is subversion, then they will continue to subvert the occupation. They – the Jabri Rujubs, the al Jib and Bidya farmers, the Um Nidals, the Um Hasans and Hasan's children – will stay on the land. They will not

surrender their dignity. As long as they stay, as long as they resist, there is hope – hope, not only for themselves and their children, but for the Israelis as well.

It is true that increasing numbers of Israelis concur with Kahane's answer to expel all "non-Jews," and it is also true that the majority of Israelis manage not to see them, and to push "the problem" to the periphery of their consciousness. It is for those who do see them to announce their common humanity and stand for their rights. It is the hope that the eyes of the others will be opened, before their time runs out.

Defense Forces, which include all military and civilian deaths from Palestinian actions in Israel and in the occupied territories, whether by local people or infiltrators, indicate that in the first 17 years of the occupation (through 1982), 307 soldiers and 367 civilians were killed, most in the early years of the occupation. In 1982, e.g., only 3 soldiers and 1 civilian were killed by Palestinians.

21. See, e.g., Dedi Zucker, *Report on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories* (Tel Aviv: International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1983).

22. See, e.g., Mohammed K. Shadid, "Israeli policy towards economic development projects in the West Bank and Gaza," Background Paper No. 5, Second International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine (September 9, 1985).

23. See, e.g., A. Clare Brandabur, "Enlightenment behind bars," *Al Fajr English Weekly* (April 19, 1985): 6.

24. In a totally different context, Buber supports the prisoners' insight in the essay, "The Education of Character," "He who no longer, with his whole being, decides what he does or does not, and assumes responsibility for it, becomes sterile in soul," *Between Man and Man*, trans., Ronald Gregor Smith (London: Collins, 1947): 145.

25. Statistics on numbers and backgrounds of people affected by such policies are available through the Ramallah-based affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, Law in the Service of Man. See also, *Report on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories: 1985*, forthcoming by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, which includes research compiled by the present author.

26. From unpublished interview with a released prisoner by Kitty Warnock.

27. For summary reports of recent studies, see Yoram Peri, *Davar* (August 3, 1984); Israel Tomer, *Yediot Aharanot* (March 20, 1985); Nili Mandler, "The Arabs as Snakes," *Ha'arets* (October 18, 1985); and for more complete treatment of attitude trends, see, e.g., Sammy Smooha and John Hofman, "Some problems of Arab-Jewish coexistence," *Middle East Review* IX, 2 (Winter 1976/77): 5-14.

28. As quoted in *Hotam* (February 18, 1983).

29. See, e.g., opinion poll published in *Al Hamishmar* (March 20, 1983); and Israel Tomer, op. cit.

30. For some examples, see Dan Horowitz, "The spectre of Israeli extremism," *Davar* (December 7, 1984); Yeshoshua Sobol, "Kahane is just the abscess in Israel's body politic," *Al Hamishmar* (August 2, 1984); Sever Plutsker, "The Nazi experience: obedience based on greed and the will not to know," *Al Hamishmar* (June 28, 1984); and "Kahane's proposals compares with the Nazi Laws," *Al Hamishmar* (March 21, 1985).

31. Freire, op. cit., 76-77.

Notes

1. *Torture and Intimidation in the West Bank* (Jerusalem: Law in the Service of Man, 1985), 31-32; *In Their Own Words: Human Rights Violations in the West Bank: Affidavits Collected by Law in the Service of Man* (Geneva: Commission of the Church on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, 1983).

2. Martin Buber, *Land Thou*, trans., Walter Kaufmann (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970); and Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, ed., *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs* (New York: Oxford, 1983).

3. Victor Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning* (New York: Washington Square, 1963).

4. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans., Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1963).

5. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans., Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Herder, 1972).

6. Carl Rogers, *On Personal Power* (New York: Delta, 1977).

7. Frankl, op. cit., 104.

8. Usamah Halabi, Aron Turner, and Meron Benvenisti, *Land Alienation in the West Bank: A Legal and Spatial Analysis* (Jerusalem: The West Bank Data Base Project, 1985).

9. Tom Segev, 1949: *The First Israelis* (New York: The Free Press (Macmillan), 1986). This book has become a number-one bestseller in Israel.

10. Benvenisti, op. cit., 6.

11. Fanon, op. cit., 44.

12. Meryl Landon, "Prospective settlers tour 'uninhabited' West Bank," *Al Fajr English Weekly* (January 17, 1986): 15, 16, 13. Under the Law Amending the Evidence Order (No. 4), 1979, allegations made in the confession of another can be used as the sole or principal evidence against a defendant as long as certain conditions are met and the judge determines that the testimony is credible. Perhaps the most notorious case in this regard was the deportation of Ziad Abu Eain from the United States to face charges of planting a bomb in Tiberias. Despite the fact that Abu Eain had an alibi, and the person who made the allegations later retracted them, Abu Eain was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.

14. See, e.g., "Special feature: Israel and Torture," *Journal of Palestine Studies* IX, 2 (Winter, 1980): 79-117; Ghassan Bishara, "The human rights case against Israel," *JPS* VIII, 4 (Summer 1979): 3-30; and *Torture and Intimidation in the West Bank: The Case of Al-Fara'a Prison* (Ramallah: Law in the Service of Man, 1984).

15. For descriptions of the practice of *territur* in the occupied territories during the fall of 1985, see lead articles in *Al Fajr English Weekly* (September 20 and 27, 1985). See also *Torture and Intimidation in the West Bank* for a general description of the range of tactics.

16. Israel Shihak, "Is Israel on the Road to Nazism?," *Palestine* 12 (December, 1983): 15.

17. Fanon, op. cit., 51.

18. Freire, op. cit., 45.

19. Frankl, op. cit., p. 111.

20. Official figures released by the Israeli

Book Views

Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank

By Raja Shehadeh

Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985, 212 pp., \$8.95.

Reviewed by Edward Dillon

Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank, by Raja Shehadeh, was prepared for Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, and published by the Institute for Palestine Studies in Washington, D.C. The author is founder and current co-director of Law in the Service of Man. His other books include *Samed, A Journal of Life in the West Bank* and *The West Bank and the Rule of Law* (co-authored by co-director Jonathan Kuttub).

The latter book was published in 1980 by the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists through the same West Bank affiliate. It attempted to describe the changes the Israeli military orders had brought about in the Jordanian law in force in the territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 war. The Israeli section of the same international commission published the following year (1981) a rebuttal entitled *The Rule of Law in the*

Areas Administered by Israel. This was an attempt to justify Israel's activities by showing them to be consistent with international laws governing occupied territories. Any changes in the existing legal system were described as having been made for the benefit of the local population or for the security of the occupation forces.

The present volume responds to the Israeli rebuttal. It attempts to show that the tangle of Israeli military orders can only be understood in the light of the real Israeli goal "... gradually to drive out the local Palestinian population and to annex the territory." (p. 4)

The book has three sections. The first gives in detail the evolution of strategies by which Israel has already alienated at least 40 percent of the land in the West Bank for use by the Jewish settlers. It also shows how restricted the Palestinians are in their use of the land that is still left to them.

The second part shows how de facto annexation is already in full swing. It outlines the growth of the military administration, shows how it dovetails with the Israeli civil administration, describes the burgeoning bureaucracy, the elaborate system of courts, tribunals and committees, and the gutting of all real power and autonomy from traditional Palestinian offices and

courts.

The third part gives a picture of the hardening system of apartheid, in which Palestinians have become resident aliens in their own land, without effective recourse for almost any infringement of basic human rights.

The picture drawn here will not be surprising to anyone familiar with the Zionist achievement to date: whether in the part of Palestine ceded to the Zionists by the U.N. partition of 1947, or in the part annexed in their war of conquest in 1948-49. The fate of the Palestinians in those areas has been recorded in such works as Sabri Jiryis' *The Arabs in Israel* or David Gilmour's *Dispossessed: The Fate of the Palestinians*. The fate of the remnant of Palestine captured in 1967 follows a familiar pattern.

The book gives no promise of a resolution. It makes the impasse clear. On the Israeli side, it does not seem to matter greatly which government is in office. Labor and Likud follow the same grand design. Any differences would be in intensity of zeal or choice of tactic.

On the Palestinian side, there is ever deepening solidarity in the conviction that there is no place to run and hide, that they must stand firm and endure on the remnant of Palestine left to them.

Fr. Edward Dillon, a frequent lecturer on the Middle East, was the author of "Prisoners of Israel," in The Link, August/September 1983.

Books To Order

New Selections

□ J. Abu Shakrah, D. Betz, D. Wagner, et al., *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories: 1980-1984*, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1985, 125 pp., \$7.95. Besides documenting the use of violence by Jewish settlers in the occupied territories, this study goes on to point to the col-

lusion between settlers, the military and government officials in permitting violence against Palestinians to continue. Our price, \$5.95.

□ Raja Shehadeh, *Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank*, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985, 212 pp., \$8.95. A West Bank lawyer analyzes the methods of expro-

riating Palestinian land in the West Bank, and the deterioration of the local court system. His thesis is that the Israelis intend to annex the West Bank after confiscating the land and driving out its inhabitants. Our price, \$6.95. See review, page 14.

□ Colin Chapman, *Whose Promised Land?*, Lion Publishing, 1983, 253 pp., \$7.95. Outlines the conflicting claims to the Holy Land from the time of the Bible on. Discusses the relevance of biblical promises to the modern age. Our price, \$4.95.

Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, South End Press, 1983, 481 pp., \$10.00. Examines the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States, and how this relationship has led to a disastrous U.S. foreign policy, dangerous tensions within Israeli society, and irrational hatred in the United States and Israel towards Palestinian and other Arab moderates. Our price, \$7.00.

Helena Cobban, *The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power, Politics*, University Press, 1984, 305 pp., \$22.95. The first comprehensive political analysis of the PLO in English since the 1970's. Documentary sources and first-hand recollections are used in this book, which examines the history of al-Fateh, how it became the dominant force in the PLO, opposition to it, and finally, an assessment of its effectiveness over the past quarter-century. Our price, \$7.00.

John F. Devlin, *Syria: Modern State in an Ancient Land*, Westview Press, 1983, 140 pp., \$11.95. The author depicts the factors that shaped modern Syria and introduces the land, people and culture of the country, and explains how it has become relatively stable in recent years. Also discusses its economy and its position in regional politics. Our price, \$7.50.

John L. Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, Syracuse University Press, 1984, 288 pp., \$12.95. Thorough summary of the intellectual content and significant ideas of important modern Islamic groups. Our price, \$9.50.

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Sarah Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and Their Society: 1880-1946*, Quartet Books, 1980, 184 pp., \$14.95. A photographic essay about the social and economic life of the Palestinian people from the last years of the Ottoman rule through the years of the British Mandate. The photographs reveal a variety of aspects of Palestinian society from village weddings, agricultural practices, and light industry, to the dramatic effects of political and economic crises. Our price, \$4.95.

Stephen Green, *Taking Sides: America's Sacred Relations with a Militant Israel*, William Morrow, 1984, 370 pp., \$14.95. Exploring

America's behind-the-scenes relations with Israel, the author spent two years examining U.S. government files, many declassified at his request. Important new information emerges concerning Israeli army strength vis-a-vis the Arabs since the 1940's, Israel's shaky friendship with the Eisenhower Administration, the nuclear power plant at Dimona, and U.S. participation in the 1967 war. Our price, \$11.50.

Grace Halsell, *Journey to Jerusalem*, Macmillan, 1982, 193 pp., \$7.95. Memoir of an American journalist's year in the West Bank and Gaza, and her encounters with people as diverse as Mayor Bassam Shaka of Nablus and American-born Gush Emunim settlers near Bethlehem. Our price, \$3.50.

Alan Hart, *Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker?*, Sidgwick and Jackson, American Edition, 1985, 501 pp., \$19.95. Written by a journalist familiar with both Palestinian leadership, this biography permits Arafat and senior PLO colleagues to give their side of a modern Middle East history in which they were participants on center stage and behind-the-scenes mediators in regional and international conflicts. After considering the evidence, the author challenges many popular notions and concludes that "no leader has done more than Arafat to prepare the ground for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict." Our price, \$12.00.

Marjorie Kelly, ed., *Islam: The Religious and Political Life of a World Community*, Praeger, 1984, 324 pp., \$16.95. Fourteen jargon-free essays on the history, religious beliefs, and societies of nearly a billion Muslims in over eighty nations. Our price, \$9.95.

Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985, 352 pp., \$27.50. Five hundred photographs capture the full spectrum of Palestinian life before 1948 in town and countryside, in institutions and architecture, and in the struggle for national survival and dignity. Our price, \$19.95.

Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II: What Price Peace?*, North American, 1982, 904 pp., \$9.95. Covers the Arab-Israeli

conflict from the time of Herzl to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Research involved is monumental. Contains much information of which most Americans are unaware. Our price, \$5.95.

Jack G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab*, Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1984, 146 pp., \$6.95. A study of television, cinema, cartoon and documentary stereotypes of Middle Eastern people. Our price, \$4.95.

Merle Thorpe, *Prescription for Conflict: Israel's West Bank Settlement Policies*, Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984, 182 pp., \$7.95. In the introduction, Israeli magazine editor Simha Flapan states that "the deep commitment of the American Jewish community to Israel's security is not accompanied by sufficient knowledge of the situation in Israel." The texts, photographs and appendices show why a growing number of Israelis oppose their government's "narrow-minded, nationalistic and expansionist" policies because of its threat to long-term security. Our price, \$3.95.

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