

The Exiles

By Ann M. Lesch

1993 opened with the searing image of nearly 400 Palestinians camped on a bleak hillside in south Lebanon, abruptly exiled by the Israeli government. Palestinian negotiators froze talks with Israel in Washington, complaining bitterly that their credibility and legitimacy had been destroyed by that arbitrary action in violation of international law. Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip feared that the mass expulsion portended the implementation of the long-feared "transfer" of large numbers of Palestinians into exile.

On September 13 the situation was transformed dramatically when Israeli and Palestinian leaders signed a Declaration of Principles to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority for a transitional period that would lead to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. By year's end, tangible steps toward self-government began to take place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Indeed, hints of Israeli shifts

had occurred earlier in the year when Israel rescinded the deportation of thirty prominent Palestinian exiles,



who returned home on April 30 and May 3. Those returnees included the mayors of Jerusalem and al-Birah, the president of Birzeit University, the presiding judge of the Court of Appeals, and the head of the Palestinian Women's Union. Several had served in the executive or legislative

bodies of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) while in exile. The Israeli government presented their return as "the first step towards the adjustment of the rights of the Palestinian people."¹ Similarly, 181 of the 395 persons expelled in late December 1992 returned home on September 9, and the remaining 214 were expected home by the end of the year.

Nonetheless, more than 1,300 Palestinians remain in exile — some for a quarter century. The Israeli-Palestinian agreement did not specify how their status would be resolved. Presumably, once the Palestinian Council is elected in summer 1994 and the military government withdrawn, then their exile can be reviewed and steps be taken to enable them to return home.² It remains important to highlight the plight of these individuals so that they will not be forgotten in the process of instituting self-government and dismantling the occupation.

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About This Issue

Fifteen years ago, Professor Ann Lesch compiled a list of 1,151 Palestinians deported by Israel between 1967 and 1978. Commissioned by the American Friends Service Committee, the report appeared in the Winter and Spring issues of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*. Most — perhaps 90% — of the expellees were identified. (We know, for example, that of the 30 deportees returned by Israel earlier this year, 27 were on Ann's list.)

We have asked Professor Lesch to update her compilation. The results, listed on pages 8-12, show that 547 Palestinians have been expelled from their homeland between January 1980 and December 1992. Nearly 40% come from the Gaza Strip, with 60% from the West Bank; not one is from East Jerusalem, since Israel's unilateral annexation of the Arab sector in 1980 placed its residents under Israeli law, which restricts deportation.

And why, in this post-handshake period, devote an entire publication to this issue?

First, because the success of the accords depends on the right of return of all Palestinians illegally expelled by Israel. Secondly, because success also depends on Palestinians being able to tap into the full range of human resources at their disposal. Israel expelled most Palestinians in order to prevent an indigenous leadership from arising. This is evident from the partial list of expellees found in Table 5 on pages 11-12.

If now Israel sincerely wants a

Palestinian administration to succeed, it can enhance those chances by permitting all its experienced leaders to return home.

One such leader, whom Israel just let back in after 19 years of exile, is Abd al-Jawad Saleh, mayor of al-Birah. Asked recently on the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour to describe his ordeal, Saleh compared it to an olive tree being wrenched from the earth. The analogy prompted us to reproduce the drawing seen on the front page, which originally appeared in the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr*.

When a tree is uprooted, the saplings around it lie exposed. Abd al-Jawad Saleh and his wife had four sons aged 1, 9, 11 and 13. The physical and psychological terror of waking in the middle of the night to see soldiers drag your father away is recounted in an interview given to *Al-Fajr* by the eldest son, Umar, and reprinted here on page 3. When thinking of the hundreds of Abd al-Jawads exiled by Israel, this testimony is offered on behalf of the thousands of Umars they left behind.

Our year-end book clearance sale is offered on pages 12-15. It contains recent titles, many at prices even lower than our previous discounts, as well as hard-to-find titles, many now out of print, some of which we have but a limited quantity.

Sincerely,
John F. Mahoney



Ann M. Lesch

Expulsion for Palestinians is crueler than the cruelest of Israel's prisons. The following account by Umar Abd al-Jawad, son of Mayor Abd al-Jawad Salem of al-Birah, exiled in 1974, reveals the horror that stalks every Palestinian family:

Whenever I think back on that night, events seem to roll in my head as if I am watching a bad movie. For a 13-year-old child that night can never be forgotten.

It was almost midnight, the hard blows on the front door woke me up and made me jump out of the bed with my three other brothers running ahead of me toward the livingroom.

Suddenly the blows stopped and all the lights in the house were turned on. At that moment my mother came rushing out of the door with scores of soldiers following her. She hugged all of us as if she wanted to protect us and tears started to fall from her eyes. She was mumbling several words from which I understood that something bad was about to happen to my father.

I felt so outraged and so helpless as the soldiers entered every room and messed up everything their hands could reach as they searched the house.

At that point, my three brothers (aged 1, 9, and 11 years) and I joined hands and moved close to each other. We all started singing Biladi Biladi (my homeland) as my father was being taken away by the soldiers. He waved his hands and yelled: "I will be back soon. I will be back." But he never returned; that was the last time I laid eyes on him.

The soldiers stayed all night. They cut off the telephone lines and prevented my mother and us from moving until they left in the morning.

We heard on the morning news that my father was expelled from the country on the pretext that he was a member of the National Front in the occupied territories.

Back then deportations were executed immediately without giving deportees a chance to appeal the order or to defend themselves.

Since then our life has never been the same. We were left without a father to care for us, to take us for a ride,

to help us with our studies, to guide us in the most essential years of our lives, to feel protected at night knowing that he is home with us.

My mother kept traveling across the bridge [to Jordan] and then on to Lebanon where my father later settled, spending a month with us and a month with him. I was prevented from visiting him by the occupation authorities on the pretext of "security reasons." I was a child then — what security reasons?

My mother and two younger brothers moved to live with my father and I was left with one brother to be responsible for without the help of a father and now, a mother. For the last twelve years, I hoped to be allowed to see him again. But each time the military authorities killed that hope by turning down my appeals.

He keeps asking for letters from me, but I keep hoping that I'll be able to speak to him in person because letters can never convey my feelings toward him.

He keeps asking people about the way I look, he tells them that he will be able to recognize me just by feelings. Now as I look back at the years, I don't believe that we made it through them. Even my grandfather, who used to care a lot for us, died from grief forty days after my father was expelled.

It has been 14 years since I last saw my father.

I wonder how I am going to be able to give my children love and affection when I, myself, was denied, those emotions.

I can understand it when someone is made an orphan and cannot see their father because of death, but what I can never comprehend is being made an orphan while your father is still alive.

al-Fajr, January 10, 1988

Legal Arguments

The Fourth Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilians in Time of War (12 August 1949) enjoins the occupying power to provide for the wellbeing of the "protected persons" under its control for the duration of the occupation. Moreover, the Convention states unambiguously in Article 49: "Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

Article 76 adds that "protected persons accused of offences shall be

detained in the occupied country and, if convicted, they shall serve their sentences therein." Those provisions are based in part on Article 6 of the Charter of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (1945), which defined deportation as a "war crime" and a "crime against humanity."

Although Israel signed the Fourth Geneva Convention, the government denied that it applies to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel enforced, instead, article 112 of the 1945 Emergency (Defence) Regulations that were promulgated by the British mandatory government. Article 112 permits deportation.³

As a secondary argument, Pales-

tinian lawyers maintain that Israel cannot base its decisions on the Emergency Regulations, since Britain revoked them just before the mandate ended in 1948. Moreover, under Article 9 of Jordan's constitution (1952), which applied to the West Bank: "It is illegal to expel any Jordanian resident."

Israeli legal scholars differ concerning the content and applicability of the Geneva Convention. Most justices on the High Court hold that Article 49 applies to mass expulsions or population transfers but not to individual deportations. However, in minority opinions, Justice Gabriel Bach argued that Article 49 applies "unambiguously" to individuals and Jus-

tice Haim Cohen maintained that customary international law forbids "the deportation of any person from his country of birth."⁴

In the first decade of Israeli rule, the army transported deportees to the border with Jordan or Lebanon before they could contact a lawyer and obtain a stop-order from the Israeli High Court of Justice. As was the case with the mayor of al-Birah, as narrated on page 3. Since 1980, they had 48 hours to appeal to a military review committee and then to the High Court. Those steps postponed expulsion, but rarely blocked it.

The appeals committee consisted of a military judge and army officers who lacked independent status, since they were appointed by the military government. Those committees rarely challenged deportation orders. In practice, security officers insisted that evidence be hidden from the deportees and their defense lawyers; charges were rarely stated. In any event, the committees did not constitute formal courts of law and only had advisory power.

The records I have studied indicate that only six persons appealed successfully to military committees.⁵ Three of those persons were deported anyway, when the government overruled the committee. See page 8, Table 1, (#8, 46, 104). In case #8, the government exiled the person for three years, a form of temporary expulsion that has been used increasingly (#120, 125-132, and the December 1992 deportees).

The government also deported prisoners jailed for long periods or needing urgent medical care: expulsion proved the only way to get out of prison (#4, 41, 87, 88). Some had completed their sentences — but the government still refused to release them (#40, 44, 53, 58).

The High Court rarely challenged the government's security arguments and tended to decide on procedural, rather than substantive, grounds. Moreover, the government has only formally rescinded deportation twice: for the mayor of Nablus in 1979 and for 11 persons ordered expelled in January 1992 (discussed below).

Despite the slim prospects for success, nearly all deportees tried to use the two-step appeals process. However, they often dropped their appeal prior to the Court's ruling, as a form

of protest against the legality of the military panel, their lawyers' inability to review evidence, and/or the High Court's refusal to base its decisions on the Geneva Convention.

Aside from the limited-term expulsions and the recent returns, only a handful of deportees have been able to return home prior to 1993. Zulaiha Shihabi (JPS# #32), head of the Women's Society in Jerusalem, was deported in September 1968 but returned two months later, after public protests. Seven people returned in 1971, signing pledges to keep out of politics (JPS #46, 48, 57, 64, 164, 171, 252, 277). Dr. Ahmad Hamza al-Natshah (JPS #1135) — deported in 1976 while he was the leading candidate for mayor of Hebron — was allowed back two years later, upon the personal order of the Israeli Minister of Defense. The former mayor of Ramallah, Nadim Zaru, deported in 1969 (JPS #278), returned in November 1981. Labor activist Ali Abu Hilal, expelled in 1985 (#34), came home in 1991. Those returnees represent a minute fraction of the total expelled.

First Phase: 1967-72

For Palestinians, deportations seem an integral part of the "Israeli effort to systematically wipe out the indigenous Palestinian Arab leadership in the occupied territories." Exile "physically eliminates the leaders who can rally the citizens to a resistance of the occupation and ... deters the growth of an alternative, natural and open political leadership that could express [their] political rights and aspirations."⁷

During the first phase, expulsions decimated the pro-Jordanian elite and hampered the growth of nationalist activists. Those who organized protests against the annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel and opposed changes in the religious, educational and legal systems were singled out — notably, the three-member committee that coordinated political resistance, the President of the Islamic Council, the mayor of Jerusalem, and the director of the Maqasid Islamic charitable hospital (JPS #1-4, 8, 134).

Ongoing unrest in the schools and general strikes by merchants were countered by expulsions as well as arrests, fines, curfews, shop closures, and travel restrictions. Deportees in-

cluded the mayor of Ramallah (JPS #278), the deputy mayor of Jenin (JPS #47), the head of the Ramallah Red Crescent Society (JPS #59), and dozens of teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, labor leaders, and journalists.

In contrast, nearly all the people expelled from the Gaza Strip were men who fought in the violent uprising from 1968 to 1971. Expulsions from the Strip peaked at 146 in 1970 and 144 in 1971, but dropped to zero in 1973-74.⁸

Second Phase: 1973-84

The civil war in Jordan in September 1970 embittered Palestinian-Jordanian relations. In mid-1973, pro-P.L.O. activists formed the clandestine Palestine National Front (P.N.F.), which provided an umbrella for groups that sought negotiations based on Palestinian statehood alongside Israel and recognition of the P.L.O. as the Palestinians' representative.

The Israeli drive to destroy the P.N.F. began on 10 December 1973 — international human rights day — when the government deported eight leaders, including the mayor of al-Birah, three Communists, and a member of Jerusalem's Islamic Council (JPS #1103-1110). Each expulsion triggered demonstrations and heightened tension. Israel expelled four persons who helped organize a petition drive to the Arab League in October 1974 that backed the P.L.O. as the Palestinian diplomatic representative — including the deputy mayor of Halhul (JPS #1113-16). Five prominent residents were deported after student demonstrations and business strikes in November 1974, including members of Ramallah's municipal council and chamber of commerce and the president of Birzeit University (JPS #1117-21).

During the winter of 1975-76, the West Bank witnessed far-reaching civil disobedience, which peaked as municipal elections neared. The government even exiled two candidates (JPS #1135-36). Some Israelis criticized those deportations as "interference in the election process."⁹ A High Court judge denounced the army for expelling the candidates fifteen minutes before he planned to hear their appeal.

For the next nine years, the Israeli government virtually stopped using

expulsions to control Palestinians. The notable exceptions involved the mayors of Nablus, Hebron and Halhul. Those elected leaders were powerful symbols of Palestinian nationalism. Their expulsions were demanded by the Israeli political right and by settlers — but also damaged Israel's image abroad.

In fall 1979, when the government sought to deport the outspoken mayor of Nablus, Bassam al-Shak'a, the High Court issued a temporary injunction barring his expulsion. Israeli, Palestinian and international protests mounted, inducing the government to rescind the order and release the mayor.

In contrast, the government summarily deported mayors Fahd Qawasmeh of Hebron and Muhammad Milhem of Halhul on 3 May 1980, before they could protest or take legal action (#1, 2). Both mayors promoted dialogue with Israeli peace groups, but the government charged them with "inciting" Palestinians to kill five Israeli settlers

leftist activists (Fatah, Democratic Front, Popular Front), especially municipal councilors, journalists and trade union leaders (#34-36, 45). He expelled student leaders — members of universities' elected student councils and activists in Shabiba, the (then legal) youth movement affiliated with Fatah (#46, 48-50).

Rabin singled out former prisoners, who were among 1,150 long-term prisoners freed in May 1985 in exchange for three Israeli soldiers detained by the Popular Front-General Command in Lebanon. 605 of those prisoners were freed on the West Bank and Gaza, but Rabin expelled 19 for not holding valid IDs (#9-26, 33) and deported a dozen more for allegedly resuming political activities.

In fall 1987, after Islamic Jihad began to attack military personnel, the government arrested one of its founders, Shaykh Abd al-Aziz Awdah (#64) and sought to expel him. That galvanized violent protests in the Gaza Strip.¹¹

shortly after he signed a statement with Israeli and Palestinian academics that called for mutual recognition and peace. Aruri was expelled despite protests that peaked when 1,200 physicists (including 18 Nobel laureates) petitioned: "It is extremely disturbing that a man of Aruri's long-time, well-known and outspoken moderate views is considered by Israel to be a candidate for deportation."¹²

In another notable instance, the government deported six residents of Baita village, shortly after an Israeli girl was killed while hiking through the village (#68-73). Even though the girl was shot accidentally by her armed Israeli escort and the military prosecutor did not seek the expulsion of any villagers, Israeli settlers demanded punitive action. Moreover, the Justice Minister urged the government "to raze the village of Baita and expel all rioters from the territories."¹³

Palestinians were not daunted by the expulsions, since they placed them in the context of their fundamental national struggle. The mother of deportee #63, who was arrested two weeks before his planned marriage, lamented:¹⁴

The house will be empty from now on. Nothing I can say could explain the pain I feel, but this is the price we Palestinians have to pay for our cause. If the Israelis think that these measures will stop the uprising, they are fools. Everybody realizes now that he is exposed to such measures. And they know that if they don't fight it now they could be the next victims.

The U.N. Security Council and, increasingly, the U.S. government criticized Israel for deporting Palestinians.¹⁵ Washington warned Israel about possible damage to their relationship in the wake of the order to expel 25 community organizers in August 1988. Rejecting Israeli arguments that deportations helped the military maintain order, an American official stated: "An increasing number of Americans are wondering what Israel is doing. If this attitude persists, damage to our bilateral relations will occur. We will oppose Israel in the U.N. and elsewhere. We urge you to reconsider the expulsion orders or, at a minimum, to refrain from carrying them out."¹⁶ The U.S. subsequently supported (or ab-

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in Hebron.¹⁰ Washington protested that the mayors had no connection to the attacks and that they were denied the opportunity to appeal.

The High Court, for the first time, questioned the propriety of the summary deportations, ordered the government to show cause why the expulsions should not be rescinded, and recommended that the mayors return home to file appeals. Later, when they lost their appeals, the High Court still urged the government to let them stay. But they were re-expelled the next day.

Third Phase: August 1985-87

The use of deportations to control Palestinian political life resumed in 1985 when Yitzhak Rabin became Defense Minister. He deported 47 Palestinians in the next 2.5 years (Table 5)—in contrast to six expulsions during the previous seven years (Table 4). Those deportations were part of Rabin's "iron fist" policy, which also included largescale house demolitions and administrative detentions. He targeted secular nationalist and

The government even expelled the maverick activist Mubarak Awad, director of the Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence (#74). Awad, an outspoken pacifist, catapulted into international prominence when the government revoked his residency in September 1987. His deportation in June 1988 proved embarrassing politically to Israel. Awad gained an audience in Europe and the United States; he countered the image of the deportee-as-terrorist by invoking Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Fourth Phase: 1988-89

Expulsions accelerated with the onset of the intifada on 9 December 1987. In 1988, 36 persons were expelled to Lebanon for organizing and participating in the uprising, although none were charged with terrorist or violent acts. Most were secular nationalists but one came from Hamas — the new, militant wing of the Muslim Brothers (#65) — and another from Islamic Jihad (#86).

In one instance, physics professor Taysir Aruri (#111) was arrested



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stained on) U.N. resolutions condemning expulsions and regularly criticized deportation as "harmful" and "counterproductive."¹⁷

Moreover, security officials viewed deportation as an ineffective way to quell the uprising, partly because the length of the appeals process meant that deportation had lost its value as a deterrent and as an emotional shock. An officer argued: "It cannot be said that we have crushed the Intifada or that we have brought about a reduction in the level of violence, despite the fact that we have destroyed hundreds of houses and deported dozens of residents from the territories."¹⁸

That external and internal criticism affected Israeli actions. From late August 1988 until December 1990, no new expulsion orders were issued. The 26 persons deported during 1989 were expelled on the basis of orders issued in 1988; no one was expelled in 1990.

Nonetheless, support for the "transfer" — mass expulsion — of Palestinians grew in Israel. Israeli polls showed that 38% favored transfer in early 1989 whereas, by November 1989, 52% supported mass deportation if there were no peace accord.

Fifth Phase: 1990-93

Expulsions resumed as tensions mounted during the Gulf Crisis. As soon as three Jewish Israeli civilians

were stabbed to death in Jaffa in December 1990, nearly 1,000 Palestinians were rounded up and four members of Hamas were ordered deported (#116-119). In March 1991, the government retaliated against a series of knifings by expelling four persons allegedly connected to Fatah; none was charged with those knifings (#121-124).

Moreover, in the midst of student council elections at Al-Najah National University in July 1991, the army besieged the campus, claiming that armed men had taken refuge there. Nearly 3,000 people were trapped on the campus for four days until the Palestinian leader Faysal Husayni negotiated a 3-year expulsion for 6 persons (#127-132). Husayni complained: "The price of getting out of the university crisis was high... Deporting Palestinians... is something that we reject in principle."¹⁹

The U.S. position hardened. Washington sponsored the 20 December 1990 U.N. Security Council resolution that condemned the deportation of four persons. The U.S. also denounced the decision to expel four Gaza residents in March 1991, arguing that the action could jeopardize efforts to achieve peace.

Washington became even more insistent once peace talks began in fall 1991. When the Israeli government announced on 2 January 1992 the im-

minent deportation of 12 men — the day after an Israeli settler was shot dead in the Gaza Strip — Palestinian negotiators refused to negotiate with Israel until the Security Council condemned the expulsion orders. None of the 12 was charged with killing the settler; in fact, 6 of them were already in jail.²⁰

Washington pressed Israel to rescind the orders, but the government merely delayed holding hearings before the military appeals committees and the High Court. The Labor government, formed in July, initially sought to retain the expulsion orders while promising to return them in three years. Finally, the new Justice Minister David Liba'i recommended that expulsion proceedings be suspended as a goodwill gesture to promote negotiations. Strikingly, Liba'i argued — for the first time — that expulsion is "problematic according to the norms of international law even though it is legal here in light of the Emergency Defense Regulations... The degree of deterrence it offers is dubious... Experience provides that a lengthy jail term also meets security needs. Personally, I would prefer to avoid expulsions."²¹

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin cancelled the orders on August 24 but continued to detain them and emphasized that he would deport Palestinians when necessary. Many observers felt that, in practice, the government would not jeopardize negotiations by any additional expulsions.

Mass Deportation

As soon as Palestinians kidnapped Sergeant Nissim Toledano, an Israeli border policeman, in Lod on 13 December 1992, the army rounded up 1,600 members of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. When Toledano's body was found, the army blindfolded and handcuffed 418 detainees, loaded them onto 22 busses, and drove them to Israeli-held territory in south Lebanon.²² They were held for up to 18 hours on the busses, with their hands and feet tightly bound, before they were forced to walk into Lebanon on December 17.

The government declared that the expellees "endanger[ed] human lives through their actions" or their incitement to violence. Nonetheless, the expellees were never linked directly to

the assassination of Toledano. Indeed, when four persons were arrested in June 1993 and charged with his murder, security officials conceded that those Palestinians had acted on their own — with no prior contact with Hamas or Islamic Jihad.²³

More than 109 of the expellees were students, teachers, professors or administrators at universities or schools.²⁴ Their spokesman, Dr. Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, a founder of Hamas, was a professor of medicine at the Islamic University in Gaza and a member of the administrative committee of the Gaza Medical Association. Other deportees from the Islamic university included the president, Dr. Salem Salamah, and the deans for students, commerce, medicine, and nursing. Al-Najah National University lost three professors, a lab technician and several students. The expellees also included 99 laborers; 65 self-employed farmers or shopkeepers; at least 21 physicians, pharmacists and engineers; and more than 19 religious preachers, including the head of the Palestine Religious Scholars Association, the shari'a judge of Tulkarm and an imam at al-Aqsa mosque (Jerusalem).

The Israeli cabinet had authorized on December 16 an amendment to article 112 of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, which granted military commanders "the authority to issue orders ... without prior notices, to expel inciters ... for a period ... not to exceed two years."²⁵ Only Justice Minister Liba'i opposed the amendment, which denied expellees the right to appeal prior to their banishment.

The High Court issued a temporary restraining order that delayed the expulsions by a day. On 28 January 1993, however, the Court issued a convoluted ruling: the amendment to the regulations was illegal, but the deportations could stand. The court instructed the government to facilitate the expellees' appeals through military committees.

Rabin argued that expelling Hamas and Islamic Jihad leaders would help the negotiations by removing those who most strongly opposed peace. A spokesperson added: "There was a need to do a very fast and important act to shake this organization."²⁶ Chief of Staff General Ehud Barak asserted that Israel had to act after Islamists killed 19 Israeli soldiers in 1992 — 6 of them in De-

ember. Prison, Barak maintained, was not a viable alternative since militants use the prisons to train cadres and gain political adherents.

Islamic Jihad's spokesman-in-exile, Shaikh Abdallah al-Shami, agreed: deportation was intended "to destroy or contain the Islamic movement... the only force in Palestine today which is capable of confronting the unjust settlement forced on the Palestinians."

Barak already advocated mass deportation: he was on record as proposing the banishment of "12, or 120 or 1,200" Palestinians for limited periods.²⁷ That statement had triggered fears among Palestinians that entire villages or residential areas could be emptied — the form of "transfer" widely discussed in Israel.

The expulsions sent shock waves through the Palestinian community and forced the Palestinian negotiators to cut short talks in Washington. Contrary to Rabin's expectation, secular nationalists denounced the deportation of Hamas supporters. They argued that "the measure is not against Hamas. The measure is against the Palestinians, their existence and their future... [Rabin] is telling everybody that your turn will come ... Today Hamas, tomorrow it could be anybody else."²⁸

Rabin also did not expect the Lebanese government to block the entry of the expellees. In the past, the Israeli army provided deportees with \$50 and a satchel of clothes and ordered them to walk north into Lebanese territory. Soldiers closed the gates behind them and threatened to shoot if the expellees tried to return.

But, during 1992, the Lebanese army had assumed control over the area directly north of Israel's self-imposed zone. Caught between the Israeli and Lebanese armies, the expellees pitched tents to form the Camp of the Return (Awda) on a snow-covered hillside near Marj al-Zuhour. (The name means Meadow of Flowers, but local residents call it the poisonous Valley of Snakes.)

The Red Cross and U.N. provided 53 tents and numerous blankets, but were quickly barred by Israel from offering further services. The expellees had to smuggle food and medicine from nearby Lebanese villages. They lacked permanent sources of fresh water, aside from a seasonal stream, and had no waste facilities. Skin dis-

eases, stomach ailments, and chest infections spread quickly, despite efforts by expellee doctors to treat them. In late July, 87 expellees marched toward Israeli lines demanding their evacuation for medical treatment. The deportees did try to maintain morale by pooling their considerable intellectual resources to form the Ibn Taimiyya University for Expellees.

Israel was sharply criticized for denying food, medicine and water to the encampment. U.N. Security Council resolution 799 of 18 December 1992 demand "that Israel, the occupying Power, ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied territories of all those deported."

Not wanting to implement the resolution in full, the Israeli cabinet accepted on 1 February 1993 an American compromise that allowed 101 persons to return immediately and reduced the deportation period for the rest from two years to one year. The U.N. endorsed that modification on February 12, despite Palestinian protests that the orders must be rescinded completely. Palestinians were also angry that Washington made a deal with Israel without consulting them. The expellees rejected the modification, arguing that they must all return at the same time.

Nonetheless, the Palestinian delegation returned to the negotiations in late April. The expellees protested by marching toward Israel on April 26, carrying Qurans. Israeli soldiers shot over their heads and exploded bombs near them to compel them to halt.

In August, the expellees decided to accept a modified version of the U.S.-Israeli agreement: almost half would return in September and the rest in December.²⁹ Their spokesman indicated that more than 100 of the men were ill and needed to return urgently. Moreover, they could be more effective politically once they returned home, since their protests from exile had failed to block the peace talks.

Conclusion

During 26 years of rule, Israel exiled more than 2,000 Palestinians. Most were political or intellectual leaders in their localities. Expulsions undercut the activities of the pro-Jordanian elite, partially crippled nationalist and left-wing groups, struck at the Islamist movement, and weak-

ened professional organizations, trade unions, and community groups.

Although Palestinians viewed expulsions as an extreme punishment, banishment did not deterred political activism. Deportations galvanized fresh waves of protest and deepened anger against the occupation. They also enhanced ties to the P.L.O. and Palestinians living in the diaspora.

Expulsions satisfied the Israeli public's demand for revenge when Palestinians killed Israeli soldiers, settlers or civilians. They did not, however, reduce the level of violence. And they angered the U.S. government and the international community, causing diplomatic embarrassment for the Israeli government. They also called attention to Israel's refusal to implement the Geneva Convention, which placed Israel in the uncomfortable position of rejecting the application of a convention that was promulgated because of the Holocaust.

The accord negotiated between Israel and the P.L.O. in 1993 will transform the legal and political status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The individuals expelled since 1967 may be able to return home before long. Recording their names prevents us from forgetting them and recalls the human cost of the lengthy occupation. Naming them also reminds us of the talent and energy that can be unleashed once Palestinians are free to create their own institutions and reconstruct their society. (Table 5, page 11, documents the caliber of individuals Israel has expelled over the years.)

END NOTES:

1. Hanna Nasir, Birzeit University president, *al-Fajr*, 3 May 1993, p. 1.
2. Annex I, part 3 states: "The future status of displaced Palestinians who were registered on 4th June 1967 [the last day before the war] will not be prejudiced because they are unable to participate in the election process due to practical reasons." That statement implicitly includes the deportees.
3. Article 112: "The High Commissioner shall have power to make an order... for the deportation of any person from Palestine. A person in respect of whom a Deportation Order has been made shall remain out of Palestine so long as the Order remains in force."
4. B'Tselem, *Violations of Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, 1990/1991*, Jerusalem, p. 53. For details on the appeals process,

see *ibid.* pp. 54-55 and al-Haq, *Punishing a Nation* (Ramallah, 1988), pp. 209-11.

5. Mahmud Ahmad Udwan was released on 21 May 1972 after the appeals committee recommended that he sign a IL30,000 bond for two years. (Ann M. Lesch, "Israeli Deportation of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 1967-1978," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, #30, winter 1979, p. 106.) In the second case, the government accepted the appeals committee's recommendation that one of 25 persons ordered expelled in August 1988 be, instead, detained for six months. In the third case, the government detained Iyad Jawdah for six months, accepting the committee's view (23 January 1992) that "the Israeli army has less serious means [than deportation] ... to halt his activities." (*al-Fajr*, 27 January 1992, p. 1.)
6. Numbers after "JPS" refer to the author's list of deportees in *Journal of Palestine Studies* #30 (winter 1979), pp. 113-131 and #31 (spring 1979), pp. 81-112.
7. Rami Khouri, *The Jordan Times*, 8 November 1977.
8. Lesch, table 3, p. 104.
9. Yehuda Litani, *Ha'aretz*, 29 March 1976; Etzioni cited in *Ha'aretz*, 28 March 1976.
10. Coverage in *The New York Times*, May 4-15, August 20, October 15-21, December 5-25, 1980.
11. For public reactions, see Lesch, "Prelude to the Uprising in the Gaza Strip," *JPS*, XX:1 (autumn 1990), pp. 13-15.
12. Text and names of 16 May 1989 appeal, *JPS* XIX:1 (autumn 1989), pp. 123-132.
13. Al-Haq, pp. 207-8; *Washington Post* 12 April 1988; *Christian Science Monitor* 13 April 1988.
14. *al-Fajr*, 17 January 1988, p. 9.
15. *New York Times*, January 6 and 15, 1988.
16. John Whitehead, Deputy Secretary of State, *Jerusalem Post*, 24 August 1988.
17. *Los Angeles Times*, 28 August 1988, 30 June 1989; *Washington Post*, 4 January 1989.
18. *Hadashot*, 5 December 1990, quoted in B'Tselem, pp. 108-9.
19. *al-Fajr*, 20 July 1992, p. 15.
20. Detailed profiles in *al-Fajr*, 6 January

1992, p. 2.

21. *al-Fajr*, 24 August 1992, p. 6.
22. At the last minute, Israel returned 35 persons. But 32 persons were flown from Ansar 3 detention camp to replace them. Later, 19 were returned to Israel for health reasons or due to mistaken identity and one person fled from the camp, leaving 395 in south Lebanon by August 1993.
23. *The New York Times*, 7 June 1993.
24. Data from Palestine Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC), *From the Field*, December 1992, which lists all of their names; *British Medical Journal*, Vol 306 (30 January 1993); Gaza Centre for Rights and Law, fax dated 21 December 1992; Birzeit University, Human Rights Action Project, *Deportation* (4-page, n.d.) and *Record*, No. 11 (November 1992-February 1993); Science and Human Rights Program, American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Directory of Persecuted Scientists, Engineers, and Health Professionals*, July 1993, pp. 38-39; *al-Fajr* and *Jerusalem Post* *passim* December 1992-January 1993.
25. Quoted in "Middle East Watch Condemns Israeli Court Ruling on Deportations," 28 January 1993; available in the compilation of reports on the *Palestinian Deportees* by Middle East Watch, August 1993.
26. Israeli embassy (London) spokesperson, quoted in *The British Medical Journal*, 30 January 1993. Next two quotations from *Inquiry*, 2/7 (March 1993), pp. 9, 11.
27. Quoted in *al-Fajr*, 13 January 1992, p. 6; also *Kol Israel* 7 January 1992 in FBIS 8 January 1992.
28. Riyad Malki, professor of engineering at Birzeit University, *al-Fajr*, 21 December 1992, p. 16.
29. *The New York Times*, 16 August 1993 reported that the 187 comprised the original 101 plus 25 approved by military committees plus 66 more deemed eligible by Israel in early August, of whom 5 had already returned home due to illnesses.

Table 1 EXPULSIONS 1979-FEBRUARY 1985

1979 (no Palestinians deported)	
1980 (3)	sentenced November 1982 to 7 years prison for membership in a "hostile organization"; deported after health deteriorated and government refused requests to release him.
1. May 2, Muhammad Miihem, Haihut mayor; later member PLO executive committee, responsible for occupied territories.	1985 (29; see table 5 for 27 names)
2. May 2, Fahd Qawasmeh, Hebron mayor; later member, PLO executive committee member, killed 29 December 1984 in Amman.	5. February 15, Abd al-Muhammad Saakh, Tulikam.
3. May 2, Shaykh Rajab Bayud Tamimi, judge, Hebron.	6. February 17, Abd al-Aziz Ali ("Abu Ali") Shahin, Rafah; alleged founder Shabiba (Fatah youth movement); jailed 1967 for "armed infiltration"; released 1982, lived incommuted in Dahran'ya village till rearrested April 1983 for illegal residence; deportation order 14 March 1984.
1984 (1)	
4. January 10, Nabill Shawkah, Bethlehem;	

Table 2 EXPULSIONS AUGUST 1985-1987, UNDER THE "IRON FIST" POLICY

1985 continued	PFLP; journalist; returned home spring 1993.
7. August 18, Ghassan Ahmad Harami, Jayyus.	36. January 31, Dr. Azmi Salah al-Shur'abi, al-Birah; elected member municipal council, dentist; charged as DFLP leader; deportation order 28 October 1985; returned home spring 1993.
8. August 28, Khalil Abu Ziyad, Azziyya. Bookstore owner arrested August 8 for "subversive activities," Fatah; August 26 accepted three year "voluntary" exile to cancel deportation order, with which military objections committee had disagreed.	37. February 2, Mahmud Fa'nan, Nahalin; alleged PFLP.
September 15: 18 former prisoners (freed in the exchange on May 20, 1985), expelled for lacking proof of residency.	38. February 5, Hassan Muhammad (or Mahmud Ahmad) al-Amudi, Breij camp (Gaza); prisoner freed May 1985; alleged PFLP.
9. Abd al-Ghaffar Ahmad Abu Asabeh, Tulكرم.	39. February 5, Jalal Hafez Hisham Azizeh, Breij camp (Gaza); prisoner freed May 1985; alleged PFLP.
10. Muhammad Hamdan Abu Asabeh, Tulكرم.	40. February 6, Ahmad Balu; completed 16 year term but not released; had already rejected Israeli offer to go abroad as wanted to rejoin his family when sentence completed.
11. Saleh Khader Abu Murtada, Beit Dajan.	41. February 20, Adnan Mahmud Ghanim, Tulكرم or Hebron; prisoner freed May 1985; torture (brain damage from head injury) in Gaza prison, administrative detainee since 22 December 1985, alleged infiltrator from Jordan; deportation the only way to gain release for medical treatment.
12. Idallah al-Awni, Nablus.	42. February 10, Ahmad Abd al-Majid Radad, Tulكرم; freed May 1985.
13. Muhammad Ahmad Bairuti, Hebron.	43. April 28, Zaki Abu Stelteh, Jabalya camp (Gaza); freed May 1985; deportation order 28 October 1985 as PFLP member.
14. Adnan Muhammad Baladi, Tulكرم.	44. June 11, Mahmud Muhammad Mustafa al-Ajrami deported from prison; 6 month sentence ended 11 months before, but not released; deportation the only means to gain release.
15. Saleem Ahmad Brafwesh, Hebron.	45. December 28 or 31, Akram Abd al-Salam Hanlyeh, Ramallah; editor al-Shabab, chair Journalist Union (West Bank).
16. Khalid Mahmud Dalul, Nablus.	
17. Muhammad Hasan Gharrir, Dheisheh refugee camp.	1987 (8)
18. Nazmi Hussain Hamdan, Beit Iba.	46. January 26, Muhammad Yusuf Dahlan, 25, Khan Yunis, from Asqalan prison; arrested mid-December 1986, deportation order January 13 after judge rejected extension of administrative detention; Shabiba leader, student Islamic University (Gaza); accused inciting armed struggle against Israel, funds from PLO, demonstrations; 11 months jail 1983 as head Youth Bloc in student council elections; 10 months jail 1985 for leaflets supporting a student election list.
19. Mahmud Abdullah Hamdan, Bethlehem.	47. March 13, Raj'a Taleb, Gaza.
20. Jum'a Awad Abu Hamed, Qalqiya.	48. March 31, Ahmad Abd al-Fatah Nasr, 32, Khan Yunis camp (Gaza); prisoner released May 1985; charged with leading Shabiba.
21. Muhammad Murawweh Hanini, Beit Dajan.	49. May 14, Khalil Ibrahim Ashur, Nablus; student activist Bir Zeit University.
22. Walid Muhammad Kasrawi, Jenin.	50. May 14, Marwan Husaib al-Barghuti, Kubar; president Student Council, Bir Zeit University, third year student.
23. Bader Darwish al-Qawasmii, Hebron.	51. June 14, Jihad Abdullah al-Musalmi, Balata camp (Nablus); freed May 1985; arrested night May 31; charged with inciting demonstrations in the camp.
24. Khalil Abd al-Hamid Salameh, Gaza.	52. July 21, Nael Amin Fataye, Nablus.
25. Issa Muhammad Shahin, Bethlehem.	53. October 5, Zaqariya Hamed al-Nahas, al-Birah, deported after completed jail term, charged with infiltration, recruitment.
26. Abd al-Qadir Muhammad al-Wahesh, Bethlehem.	
27. October 1, Bahjat Mustafa Hasan al-Biyadi al-Jayussi, Jayus (Tulkarm); incitement, stone throwing.	
28. October 1, Amin Ramzi Dawish Maqbul, Nablus; alleged Fatah leader; prisoner freed in May.	
29. October 1, Walid Ahmad Mahmud Nazzal, Qabatya; alleged DFLP.	
30. November 17 or 27, Khamis Hussain Nasrallah, Beit Furik; prisoner freed in May.	
31. December 6 or 9, Yunis Salem al-Rajub, Dura; former prisoner freed in May; alleged Abu Musa faction (Fatah).	
32. December 6 or 9, Mahmud Abdallah D's, Bani Naim (Hebron); alleged Fatah leader; prisoner freed in May.	
33. December 17, Khalid Muhammad Tantash, Jerusalem; freed in May, no ID; expelled during High Court review of appeal.	
1986 (12)	
34. January 31, Ali Abdallah Abu Hilal, Abu Dis; deportation order 28 October 1985, membership DFLP; returned home 1991.	
35. January 31, Hassan Mahmud Abd al-Jawad Fararjeh, Dheisheh camp (Bethlehem); deportation order 28 October 1985, membership	

Table 3 EXPULSIONS 1988-1989

1988 (36)	expulsion 1 November 1987 (before intifada).
January 13: four expelled secretly to Lebanon, orders issued January 3, charged with inciting the intifada.	59. Muhammad Ramadan Ibrahim Abu Samra, 27, Gaza, student; expulsion order January 3 for organizing, inciting intifada.
54. Jamal Abdallah Shaker Jabbara, 29, Qalqiya, dental technician, prisoner freed May 1985, recently married.	60. Hassan Ghanem Muhammad Abu Shaqra, 38, Khan Yunis town, laborer, imam Khan Yunis mosque; married with 5 children; expulsion order January 3, for inciting intifada.
55. Husam Mahmud Abd al-Rahman Khader, 27, Balata camp, employee Nablus oil company; arrested at work December 30 after leg injured during camp protests.	61. Jamal Shafiq Yunis al-Hindi, 30, Jenin camp; accused Fatah activist, student leader Najah University before intifada.
56. Bashir Ahmad Kamil al-Khalil, 46, al-Birah, lawyer; released 1984 after 15 years jail, then married, 2 children; six month administrative detention 1987.	62. Frajl Ahmad Khalil al-Khalil, 40, Gaza, engineer, deputy head Engineers Union (Gaza Strip), married with 2 children; expulsion order January 3 for organizing, inciting intifada.
57. Jabril Mahmud Rajoub, 34, Dura, journalist, managing director al-Absar magazine, prisoner freed May 1985 after served 15 years of life sentence; rearrested November 1985 and September 1986; newly married when arrested 29 December 1987.	63. Adel Nafe' (or Bashir Mahmud Nafe' Hamad), 27, Qalandia camp, laborer, marriage planned for January 22; expulsion order January 3 for organizing, inciting intifada.
April 11: Eight expelled to Lebanon, including three arrested before the intifada.	64. Shalkh Abd al-Aziz Abd al-Rahman Awdah, 37, Gaza, university lecturer, physician, married with 9 children; arrested, expulsion order 16 November 1987, before intifada; accused spiritual leader, co-founder Islamic Jihad.
58. Abd al-Nasir Abd al-Aziz, 31, Jenin, student; accused member PFLP; 28 September 1987 protested plan to expel him when he finished 5 year jail term, but military objections committee approved	

(Continued on next page)

Table 3 (continued)

65. **Khalil Ibrahim Id al-Ouga**, 40 or 45, Shati camp (Gaza), teacher, head Islamic Society (Muslim Brother), imam Khan Yunis mosque, married with 8 children; expulsion order January 3 for organizing, inciting intifada.

April 19: 8 expelled to Lebanon, including 6 from Baita village:

66. **Ahmad Fawzi Khalid al-Dik**, 30, Kufri al-Dik (Ramallah), student; accused near local Shabiba.

67. **Ghassan Ali Issa al-Masri**, 32, Nablus, pharmacy worker, journalist; married with 2 children; accused member Fatah, organized rallies at Najah University.

68. **Ibrahim Muhammad Khader Ali Bani Shamseh**, 28, Baita, worker, student.

69. **Mahmud Abd al-Rahim Bani Shamseh**, 35, Baita, worker, married with 5 children.

70. **Umar Muhammad Sa'ad Da'ud Bani Shamseh**, 32, Baita, laborer, married with 3 children.

71. **Najih Jamil Sa'ada Dwalkat**, 29, Baita, worker.

72. **Mustafa Mahmud Hamdan Hamayel**, 28, Baita, worker.

73. **Sari Khalil Hamayel**, 25, Baita, worker.

74. **June 13**, **Mubarak Elias Awad**, 45, Jerusalem (US citizen); psychologist, director Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence; married with 2 children; to Jerusalem 1985 after 16 years in US; residency papers revoked 28 September 1987, ordered to leave by November 20; arrested May 5, ordered deported by Interior Ministry, lost appeal to High Court.

August 1: 8 expelled to Lebanon:

75. **Adnan Muhammad Dagher**, 37, al-Birah, journalist, married with 3 children, member board Union of Public Institutions Workers, member General Federation of West Bank Labor Unions; arrested March 30 for 6-month administrative detention, but ordered expelled April 11; alleged CP, organized protests, published clandestine pamphlets.

76. **Ziad Rida al-Nakhaleh (al-Nakhar)**, 35, Nasr (Gaza), tailor-merchant, married with 2 children; released May 1985; expulsion order April 11, alleged Islamic Jihad.

77. **Ahmad Muhammad Jaber Turmus Suleiman**, 32, Turmus Ayya (Ramallah), teacher, researcher Literacy and Adult Education Program, Bir Zeit University; married with 1 child; detained March 19, expulsion order April 11, alleged DFLP.

78. **Jamal Awad Abd al-Jawad Zaqqout**, 31, Shati camp (Gaza), trade unionist, married with 1 child; jailed 1986 for DFLP; expulsion order April 11 for DFLP.

79. **Luray Ali Nafi' Abdu**, 34, Nablus, journalist al-Hadarah Press Office (Nablus), correspondent al-Fajr, student Najah University, member Student Council; freed in May 1985; married with one child; expulsion order July 8, alleged Fatah.

80. **Mursi Abd al-Hadi Abu Ghwala**, 21, Qalandia camp, university student; administrative detainee since 28 December 1987, expulsion order July 8, alleged Shabiba leader.

81. **Jamal Diab Lafi Abu Latifeh**, 25, Qalandia camp, journalist, administrative detainee since January 8; expulsion order July 8, alleged Fatah.

82. **Samir Mahmud Abd al-Qadir Sbeihat**, 34, Rummeh, journalist, student Bir Zeit University (student council president, 1983); married with 3 children; served 4 years prison 1970s; town arrest 1 year while student president; expulsion order July 8.

August 17: 4 expelled to Lebanon by army helicopter Gaza on orders issued July 7:

83. **Muhammad Abd al-Sabri Gharableh**, 43, Gaza city, worker, married with 5 children.

84. **Yusri Darwish Abd al-Ghani al-Hams**, 38, Rafah, shop owner, married with 2 children, wife pregnant.

85. **Ahmad Mustafa Abu Mu'allaq**, 29, Gaza city, worker.

86. **Dr. Fathi Abd al-Aziz al-Shiqqaq**, 37, Rafah, physician, co-founded Islamic Jihad with #64, 1981; formerly jailed 1986.

December 14: 3 expelled to Lebanon:

87. **Issa Hamadeh**, 55, Tufah (Gaza), sentenced to 4 life terms 1968; expelled in exchange for release.

88. **Ahmad Hasan Muhanna**, 38, Bani Suhaila, released in May 1985; re-arrested 1986, 25-year sentence; expelled in exchange for release.

89. **Abd al-Fattah Ziara**, 55, Shujayeh (Gaza City), released 1986 after 15 years jail but re-arrested a month later as lacked ID; deported as "infiltrator."

1989 (26)

January 1: 13 expelled to Lebanon on orders issued 17 August 1988, for membership in popular committees:

90. **Abd al-Munam Abu Attaya**, 33, Rimal (Gaza City), university student.

91. **Ayyash Abd al-Aziz Abu Sa'da**, 30, Jabalya camp (Gaza), teacher, married with 3 children.

92. **Abd al-Hamid Isma'il al-Babba**, 25, al-Amari camp (Ramallah), chemistry student Bir Zeit University, engaged; detained 16 July 1988; alleged leader intifada.

93. **Sayid Hussain Hasan Baraqa**, 32, Bani Suhaila (Gaza), teacher, married with 3 children.

94. **Rizq Mahmud al-Bayari**, 29, Gaza, journalist.

95. **Uthman Muhammad Da'ud**, 27, Qalqilya, livestock farmer.

96. **Issam Ayman al-Dib'**, 24, Nablus, grocer, married, 2 children.

97. **Jamal Ibrahim Abu Muhsin Fara**, 24, Dheishah camp (Bethlehem), trade unionist, journalist, married with 1 child.

98. **Fathi Mustafa Hajaj**, 36, Jabalia town or Breij camp (Gaza), grocer, married with 9 children.

99. **Hani Muhammad Abd al-Rahim Hallub**, 28, Tulkam, photographer.

100. **Yusif Barh Muhammad Odeh**, 25, Balata camp, university student.

101. **Abdallah Ayad Abu Samhdaneh**, 37, Nasr (Gaza City), university lecturer, married with 5 children, wife pregnant; former prisoner, accused led popular committees in Gaza Strip.

102. **Mas'ud Uthman Zu'aytar**, 43, Nablus, newspaper vendor, married with 6 children.

June 29: 8 deported to Lebanon by helicopter, accused of being active members in Fatah or DFLP:

103. **Ata Ahmad Hussain Abu Qarsh**, 54, Shati camp, agricultural engineer, married with 6 children; expulsion order 17 August 1988 as popular committee member; agreed to leave for 5 years but retracted agreement; 16 years in prison varying periods; released April 1988, 4 months before re-arrested.

104. **Riyad Waljeh Kamel Ajur**, 26, Daraj (Gaza), fruit seller, married with 3 children; expulsion order 17 August 1988 as popular committee member; Military Objections Committee recommended against expelling him, but reversed its view when Southern District Commander rejected the recommendation.

105. **Aqil Wahid al-Hamdallah**, 27, Anabta, son of town mayor, student Najah University; expulsion order 17 August 1988 as popular committee member; already 40 months in prison.

106. **Muhammad Abdallah al-Labadi**, 33, Abu Dis, labor union, married with 2 children; expulsion order 8 July 1988; accused DFLP.

107. **Muhammad Sa'adi Maduh (or Imdukh)**, 38, Daraj (Gaza), farmer, married. Arrested 1974, life sentence, released May 1985.

108. **Taysir Muhammad Nasrallah**, 27, Balata or Askar camp (Nablus), student Najah University; expulsion order 17 August 1988 as popular committee member; accused Fatah; jailed for possessing weapons 1985-88.

109. **Nabil Muhammad Mustafa Tammsu**, 24, Khan Yunis (or Sheikh Radwan quarter, Gaza City), car mechanic, married with 1 child; expulsion order 17 August 1988 as popular committee member; agreed to leave for 5 years but retracted agreement; jailed 1984-87.

110. **Radwan Ahmad Ziadeh**, 31, Hebron, labor union, expulsion order 8 July 1988, accused DFLP.

August 27: 5 expelled after Israeli High Court (August 24) upheld deportation orders issued a year earlier (17 August 1988), which accused them of leading the intifada:

111. **Taysir Aruri**, 43, Burham village, resident al-Birah, deported by air to France; physics professor Bir Zeit University; detained 8 August 1988 as popular committee leader just after he signed a "peace treaty" with Israeli and Palestinian intellectuals; expelled 2 days after Jerusalem Post printed his "Peace: A 5-Point Palestinian Plan."

112. **Majid Abdallah al-Labadi**, 28, Abu Dis; trade union, arrested July 1988, one month after his wedding.

113. **Odeh Yusuf Ma'ala**, 30, Kufri Na'ameh (Ramallah), to Lebanon; trade union member, married with five children.

114. **Muhammad Abd al-Jalil al-Mattur**, 38, al-Birah resident from Sa'ir; Nursing College lecturer, married with 6 children.

115. **Bilal Lizz al-Din Shakhshir**, 36, Nablus; university student, writer, married with 1 child.

1990 No expulsions

Table 4 EXPULSIONS 1991-1992

1991 (9)

January 8: 4 expelled to Lebanon by helicopter on orders issued 15 December 1990 after three Jewish Israelis were stabbed to death in Jaffa; alleged Hamas members, they rejected a conditional 3-year 'voluntary' expulsion.

116. **Imad Khaled Faye'q al-Alami**, 34, Rimal quarter (Gaza City), civil engineer, member executive committee Engineers Union (Gaza), married with a daughter; alleged active in Muslim Brothers and Hamas, wrote and distributed Hamas leaflets, close to imprisoned Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin; jailed several times, released 27 September 1988 after two year sentence; arrested 15 December 1990 after obeyed telephoned orders to go to military headquarters (Gaza) for questioning.

117. **Mustafa Yusif Abdallah al-Liddawi**, 26, Jabalya camp (Gaza), high school teacher, science student Islamic University, wife pregnant with first child; 18-month administrative detention during intifada, alleged aided Hamas members who kidnapped and killed two Israeli soldiers.

118. **Shaykh Mustafa Ahmad al-Qanu'**, 45, Jabalya (Gaza), mosque preacher, money changer, former high school teacher (fired by military government after detained 2 years during intifada), married with 4 children; alleged Hamas leader, supported armed struggle, preached liberation of all Palestine.

119. **Fadel Khaled Zahar Za'but**, 34, Zaytun quarter (Gaza City), English teacher Islamic University, married with 5 children; alleged Muslim Brother, Hamas leader; 18-month administrative detention during intifada; arrested 15 December 1990 at home; alleged incited students, encouraged acts against the army.

120. **May 17, Ahmad Muhammad Ajaj**, Jabal al-Mukabbar camp (Jerusalem), expelled for 5 years for security violations.

May 18: 4 expelled to Lebanon by helicopter on orders issued March 24 after knife attacks on Israelis; alleged Fatah members:

121. **Jamal Abd al-Nasir Abu Habl** (or **Jalal Yasin Abu Habbal**),

33, Jabalya camp, employed with UNRWA, married with 3 children; served 3 of 5 years' sentence, released May 1985; expulsion ordered while serving fifth administrative detention during intifada.

122. **Jamal Abd Rabbu Muhammad Abu al-Jidyan**, 33, Jabalya camp or Beit Lahya housing project, married; sentenced 1979 to 10 years; recent 10 month administrative detention.

123. **Hashem Muhammad Ali Dahlan**, 31, Jabalya camp, employed with UNRWA, married with 2 children; served 5 years of life sentence, released May 1985; administrative detention March 4.

124. **Mur'in Ahmad Muhammad Musallem**, 31, Jabalya camp; released May 1985 after served 5 years of life sentence; administrative detainee for three time during intifada when expelled.

1992 (423)

125. **March 9, Samir Murad al-Ba'ba'**, 40, Tulkarm; served 6 of 10 years' sentence; will return after 4 years' exile.

126. **May 1, Abd al-Fattah Hamayel**, 42, Kufr Malik (Ramallah), deported under agreement to serve 20 months prison and then 28 months exile, after arrested 1990, sentenced August 1991 as Fatah member, intifada leader; 3 life terms for shooting Israeli soldiers (1968) but released in May 1985.

July 17: 6 expelled for three years after the army besieged al-Najah University; alleged Black Panthers from Nablus sought for attacks on military targets; driven by Red Cross ambulance to Jordan's border:

127. **Yasser Badawi**, 20, Balata camp.

128. **Bilal Dweikat**, 28, Askar village.

129. **Nasser Iweis**, 23, Balata camp.

130. **Majid Masri**, 21, Balata camp.

131. **Abdallah Abd al-Qader**, 32, Balata camp.

132. **Ibrahim Tayyim**, 19, Ein Beit al-Ma' camp.

December 16: 415 deported by bus to South Lebanon. Of the original 418, 35 were returned to detention centers but 32 others were flown from Ansar 3 (Ketziot) to replace them, i.e. 415 actually expelled.

Table 5 Names and positions of expellees who returned in the spring of 1993:

1. **Fa'iq Warrad**, 74, Ramallah; member Jordan parliament, head Palestinian Communist Party (CP); expelled 7 December 1967, age 48 for coordinating opposition to the occupation; #2 JPS; later, Jordan CP politbureau, PNC, PLO central committee.

2. **Rawhi Khatib**, 75, mayor Jerusalem; expelled 7 March 1968, age 51 for opposing Jerusalem's annexation; #8 JPS.

3. **Kamal Dajani**, 74, Jerusalem; judge, head Court of Appeals, former Jordan Minister of Interior; expelled 6 September 1968, age 51 for opposing the occupation; #30 JPS; later worked in Jordan Interior Ministry.

4. **Rusdi Shahin**, 75, Nablus; manager al-Watan (CP underground newspaper), member CP central committee; expelled 30 October 1968, age 51 for organizing resistance; #57 JPS; left CP 1969.

5. **Adnan Bakri**, Nablus; lawyer (on strike); expelled 6 January 1969 for encouraging student protests, Committee of National Solidarity; #75 JPS.

6. (Mrs.) **Issam Abdul Hadi**, late 60s, Nablus; secretary Nablus Red Crescent Society and Women's Society; expelled 27 April 1969 with her teenage daughter on charge of hiding and financing guerrillas; #137 JPS; later PNC, head Palestinian Women's Union.

7. **Dr. Faysal Kan'an**, Nablus; dentist; expelled 6 May 1969, charged with incitement against the occupation; #149 JPS.

8. **Mahmud Hammad**, mid-40s, Jericho (al-Awja); law student in Cairo; expelled 14 May 1969; arrested February 1969 for resistance activity and hiding arms, deported from prison; #151 JPS.

9. **Adil Badawi Dallal**, 60s, Nablus; physician, member Committee of Solidarity; expelled 9 June 1969 for organizing the committee and promoting strikes; #167 JPS.

10. **Khalil Husayn Muhammad Salameh al-Sawahri**, 53, writer, school teacher, East Sawahreh (Jerusalem); member CP, Jerusalem Arab Teachers Union; expelled 9 June 1969, age 29, for demonstrating, distributing leaflets and al-Watan (CP); #170 JPS; later worked in Office of Occupied Territories, Amman.

11. **Ms. Sihab Husni Shahin**, 58, Nablus; physical education instructor, CP; expelled 29 September 1969, age 34 for encouraging student protests; #258 JPS.

12. **Samih Amin Nasr**, Qalqilya, left on his own (no deportation order), but was not permitted to return. Not on JPS list.

13. **Mahmud Zighari**, 39, Dheishah refugee camp; expelled February 1971, age 17; abroad June 1967 but returned on family reunion 1969, arrested for weapons training and membership PFLP; not on JPS list; later bus driver in Amman, married with 6 children.

14. **Ibrahim Muhammad Khalil Abu Jarad**, 63, Beit Lahya (Gaza); expelled 20 April 1971 via Wadi Araba, age 41 for cooperating with resistance movement; #827 JPS.

15. **Bad' Subhi Salim al-Yazji**, Gaza, 44; expelled 7 January 1972 via Wadi Araba, age 23; #1016 JPS.

16. **Musa Izzeddin Hasan al-Shakhshir**, Nablus, 49; already administrative detainee when expelled 25 May 1972 via Wadi Araba, age 28; #1079 JPS.

17. **Abd al-Jawwad Salih**, 64, mayor al-Birah since 1966, reelected 1972; owned building-supply store, Ba'ath; expelled 10 December 1973 via Wadi Araba, age 45 as member Palestine National Front (PNF); #1103 JPS; later PNC, PLO executive committee.

18. **Dhamin Husayn Awdeh**, 64, al-Birah; chair Construction Workers Union (al-Birah), member General Union of Palestinian Workers (West Bank), CP; expelled 10 December 1973 via Wadi Araba, age 45, for urging people to refuse work in Israel and CP role; #1104 JPS.

19. **Dr. Walid Qamhawi**, 69, Nablus; doctor, head Nablus Medical Association and Planned Parenthood branch, Nasserist; expelled 10 December 1973 via Wadi Araba, age 50 as member PNF; #458 JPS; later PLO executive committee, head Palestine National Front.

20. **Dr. Shaker Muhammad Abu Hijleh**, 60s, Nablus; science professor al-Najah University; expelled 10 December 1973 via Wadi Araba for hostile activity, high post in secret organization; #1110 JPS.

21. **Naim Ashab**, 60, Jerusalem; expelled in 1970; not on JPS list; later, member Political Office of People's Party (ex-CP), PNC and PLO Central Committee. He returned home in August 1993.

22. **Dr. Mustafa Hasan Milhem**, 55, Halhul; dentist, mayor 1966-72, deputy mayor since 1972; expelled 4 November 1974 as PNF regional organizer; #1113 JPS; later, PNC.

(Continued on next page)

Table 5 (continued)

23. Daud Arliqat, 60, Jericho and Jerusalem; treasurer Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Committee (Jericho), CP; expelled 4 November 1974 as PNF regional organizer; #1116 JPS.

24. Dr. Hanna Nasir, Bir Zeit; physics professor, president Bir Zeit University; expelled 21 November 1974 for allegedly aiding student protests; #1117 JPS; later, PNC, PLO executive committee, Palestine National Fund, PLO education coordinator.

25. Mahmud Abd al-Rahman Kidri (or Qadri), al-Birah; teacher Hashmiah government secondary school, active member Teachers Union (West Bank), CP; expelled 21 November 1974; #1120 JPS.

26. Mahmud Abed Shugair, 53, Jebel Mukaber (Jerusalem); writer, journalist, CP; expelled 28 February 1975, age 36 while administrative detainee since April 1974; detained July 1969 to May 1970; #1125 (JPS); later central committee People's Party (ex-CP).

27. Abdallah al-Siryani, 53, Jerusalem; union worker underground

since 1967, CP; expelled 28 February 1975, while administrative detainee since 25 December 1973, age 36; #1126 JPS.

28. Dr. Abd al-Aziz al-Hajj Ahmad, 51, al-Birah; dentist, president Dentists Union (West Bank), al-Birah Family Planning Association, al-Birah Municipal Club; PNF leader expelled 27 March 1976, age 34, after announced candidacy for municipality; #1136 JPS; later PNC, PLO central committee.

29. Hassan Mahmud Abd al-Jawad Fararjeh, 39, Dheishah refugee camp (Bethlehem); journalist since 1973, PFLP; deportation order 28 October 1985 while detained, expelled 31 January 1986 for opposing the occupation; #35 (Link); later, freelance journalist in Amman.

30. Dr. Azmi Salah al-Shu'abi, 46, al-Birah; dentist, elected to al-Birah municipality 1976; deportation order 28 October 1985, expelled 31 January 1986; #36 (Link); later PNC, member political office DFLP (Abad Rabbo branch).



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