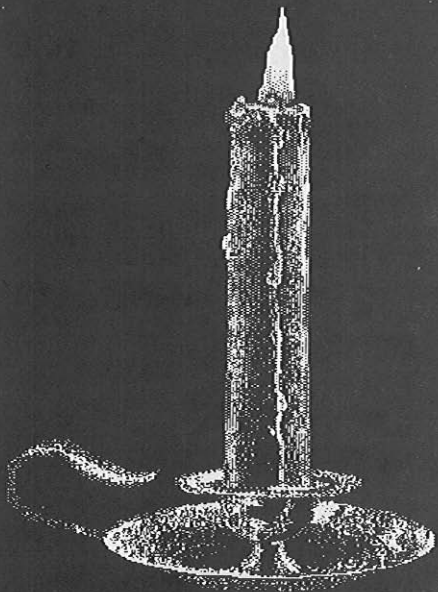


Refusing to Curse the Darkness



Nancy Murray

Issam Nashashibi

The Munayyers

Ned Hanauer

Geoffrey Aronson

Stan Heller

Larry Ekin

Jennifer Bing-Canar

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About This Issue

Who are they?

- Nancy Murray holds a doctorate in Modern History from Oxford University and is Director of Education for the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts.

- Issam Nashashibi lives in California and is president of AFTG, a company specializing in innovative fundraising solutions for non-profit organizations.

- Hanan and Farah Munayer are biochemists who work for Schering Pharmaceutical in New Jersey. Maha is their daughter.

- Ned Hanauer lives in Farmington, Massachusetts, and is editor of Palestine/Israel File

- Geoffrey Aronson is Associate Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace, a non-profit organization located in Washington, D.C.

- Stanley Heller is employed by the public school system in Connecticut.

- Larry Elkin is chair of the North American Coordinating Committee located in Washington, D.C.

- Jennifer Bing-Canar is Middle East Program Director for the Chicago office of the American Friends Service Committee

What these individuals have in common is the imperative to tell Americans that their tax money is being used to suppress the inalienable rights of another people.

How they communicate that message in the face of great difficulties — and, ironically, it may be more difficult now *after* the “handshake” — is told here in their own words.

Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark once opined that “the truest test of any individual’s commitment to human rights in our society — with all its hopes, fears, love and hate — lies in the commitment to human rights for Palestinians.” We are honored to introduce to our Link readers a few — and many more could have been included had space allowed — who pass that test.

AMEU’s Winter ‘94-’95 book catalog is found on pages 13-16, with a special focus on holiday gift books.

And to all our readers our very best wishes for a joyous holiday season.

John F. Mahoney
Executive Director

Breaking the Siege

Volume 6, No. 3

August - September 1994

Minefields, Old and New, Menace Road Ahead

Focus on Policy-Makers:

By Nancy Murray

"When will Americans see that we are human beings too?"

I was asked this question on my first trip to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in August 1988, some nine months after the start of the Palestinian uprising. An historian by training who had studied and worked for two decades in Europe and Africa, I was motivated to join a small fact-finding delegation to the occupied territories by human rights concerns and by a research interest in popular movements. For ten days we visited refugee camps, towns, villages and hospitals to learn about the intifada and the "force, might and beatings" ordered by then Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin to suppress it.

Before we visited the small village of Beita near Nablus, we were familiar with its story. Nearly six months had passed since a group of Israeli settlers from the Gush Emunim settlement of Elon Moreh were out walking in the hills near Beita. They came across a group of farmers in their fields. There was an argument. Shots were fired. Two of the Palestinian farmers and one of the settlers, 15-year-old Tirza Porot, were killed.

The assumption that the Israeli girl had been killed by Palestinians caused an immediate uproar in Israel. Members of the government and Meir Kahane, the American-born head of the Kach Party, called for Beita to be

wiped off the face of the earth. It almost was. Fifteen houses were destroyed, fifteen others damaged, and six residents expelled to Jordan before it was revealed that Tirza Porot had in fact been killed accidentally by her own armed guard, Roman Aldubi.

Near one of the destroyed houses of Beita, a woman in a long blue dress stood outside the tent in which she was now forced to live with her five children. After we questioned her about the dynamiting of her home, she pointedly asked me when Americans would understand that Palestinians were human too.

Whenever I am asked why I got so involved in the work for Palestinian rights, I think back to the woman in Beita who would not let us ask all the questions. After this encounter, if I wanted to live at ease with my conscience, I really had little choice.

Like many who visited the occupied territories in the early years of the intifada, I soon discovered that observing first-hand what was going on in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was the easy part. Making that information available to American taxpayers and policy-makers who subsidized the Israeli occupation at a rate of some 12 million dollars every day was considerably more difficult. Of all foreign policy concerns this was, in a direct sense, "our" issue — and yet it was one which broad sections of the peace movement and most progressive groups declined to address.

I will remember the frustration of having articles I wrote about my trip repeatedly rejected by the press. I also remember how difficult it was to stay connected with what was going on in

the West Bank and Gaza. Compared to the Israeli press, with its often frank treatment of occupation practices and their impact on Israeli society, the U.S. media offered a starvation diet to anyone who wanted more than an occasional listing of clashes and casualties, and an uncritical focus on a U.S.-initiated "peace process."

On the first anniversary of the intifada I attended a meeting in New Jersey which brought together nearly one hundred Americans who had participated in fact-finding delegations to the occupied territories. Many participants shared my frustrations and were anxious to bring what they had witnessed to a wider audience.

To be effective, we knew we would have to do more than give occasional talks to local audiences and write articles and letters. We had to organize ourselves in order to monitor and to influence developments in Washington DC. The Administration and our Congressional representatives had to know that there were citizens who were deeply concerned about our country's support for the Israeli occupation.

So we decided to set up an organization that could be the vehicle for our efforts: The Middle East Justice Network (MEJN). Our objectives were to influence policy-makers to be even-handed in their treatment of Israel and Palestine, and to recognize the justice of Palestinian claims to statehood. We knew we could only make an impact if we succeeded in drawing in new people, and not only the "usual suspects" and those who had seen for themselves the

situation in the West Bank and Gaza. Ours was, in the broadest sense, to be a public education campaign.

We started with one computer, a filing cabinet and a desk in the Massachusetts apartment of a recent Tufts University graduate, Hady Amr, who would serve MEJN as an astute and indefatigable national coordinator over the next four years. Once we had sent out the first issue of our newsletter Breaking the Siege to a mailing list consisting mainly of people who had visited the occupied territories, we had the nucleus of an actively-engaged readership.

From April 1989 our small group of volunteers with myself as director, monitored initiatives in Washington relevant to Israel and Palestine, and provided our growing number of members with details about the Middle East positions taken by their elected representatives and the Administration. Soon we started producing Action Alerts, which gave background information and sample letters for our supporters to send to their representatives and the State Department.

Within a year, we had more than 100 volunteer area coordinators around the country, who set up meetings with Members of Congress, spearheaded local letter-writing campaigns, and maintained a rapid response telephone tree. We provided them with background briefings and Congressional report cards, which gave voting patterns on Middle East issues and records of pro-Israel PAC funding.

At the same time, through our bimonthly Breaking the Siege, we provided our members with detailed reports about the intifada and ongoing Israeli repression and occupation practices. And mindful of the need to reach new audiences, we sponsored delegations to the occupied territories for specific groups like teachers and activists in

In the year since the DOP was signed...an astonishing 27 square miles of West Bank land have been confiscated for settlements and roads, and a further 10 square miles for quarries and nature reserves.

the anti-apartheid movement. I wrote and MEJN produced a book intended to serve as a general introduction to the issue, "Palestinians: Life Under Occupation." Thanks to some good reviews and the interest of universities and church groups, we managed to sell our 3,000-print run.

In addition to local forums, we succeeded in attracting new constituencies. The last two, held in Boston, MA, and Wichita, KS, highlighted the new developments in the Middle East, and assessed the prospects for peace and an independent Palestine.

It is this new situation that MEJN is now evaluating. I always told myself that I would be happy to consider MEJN my second (if often full-time) job as long as the intifada continued and as long as the organization showed signs of growth. But the Declaration of Principles (DOP), signed in Washington in September 1993, has forced me to think again.

The intifada has been declared over. MEJN's growth has been dramatically reversed. Like many organizations active in pursuit of a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, our subscriptions and donations have fallen drastically during this past year. People assume the Question of Palestine has been "solved." Others, including large numbers of Palestinian Americans, have either adopted a "wait and see" attitude or have become demoralized and convinced that they can do nothing to influence the outcome of events. Many of our supporters seem to feel that there is no role for a "solidarity" movement

now that the Palestinian leadership has accepted an agreement which, for the time being, gives legitimacy to settlements and an apartheid-style arrangement in Jericho and the Gaza Strip.

It is tempting at this point to wind up our operations and cease publication of Breaking the Siege, especially in light of the two highly-suspicious break-ins we sustained during a single month last year, and the financial constraints that have forced us to part with the capable services of Tim Bishop as national coordinator and to rely again entirely on volunteer labor.

But, on the other hand, it is all too clear that the Israeli occupation is not over. In the year since the DOP was signed, some 200 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers, and an astonishing 27 square miles of West Bank land have been confiscated for settlements and roads, and a further 10 square miles for quarries and nature reserves. There is still a need to get this sort of information to the thousands of people who care about Palestinian rights. Two days after the massacre in Hebron's Ibrahim Mosque we were able to mobilize nearly two hundred people to join a protest demonstration in the bitter cold outside the Israeli consulate — the need for a network of committed activists is as great today as ever.

However varied our views may be about the DOP and Cairo Agreement, we can continue to unite

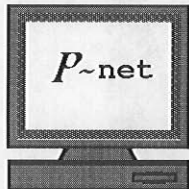
around the importance of supporting the Palestinian people in their quest for self-determination and a democratic future. There must continue to be voices in the United States which protest Israel's human rights violations — Palestinian prisoners are still being tortured and Israeli death squads continue to operate — and condemn its recently accelerated settlement expansion, land confiscation, and plans for a "Greater Jerusalem." There must also be voices of lending support to the activities of Palestinians who oppose a future in which they are consigned to "autonomous" areas which are in fact less-than-bantustans (being denied the trappings of 'independence' that characterized those apartheid creations.)

Above all, we must realize that the economic misery of the Gaza Strip, the encirclement and strangulation of East Jerusalem, and inflammatory conditions in Hebron remain very much our responsibility. It is still our more than \$3 billion annual aid that allows all this to go on. We must continue to monitor the one-sided policies of the Clinton Administration, the most openly pro-Israel Administration in our nation's history. And we must work harder than ever to build a U.S. constituency of support for genuine Palestinian independence. How can the Clinton Administration say that it opposes anything that prejudices the final outcome of Israeli-P.L.O. negotiations, yet simultaneously declare that it opposes the establishment of a Palestinian state?

During these uncertain times, when so much is at stake, we ask readers of The Link to consider becoming part of our network. For an introductory offer of \$15 you will receive Breaking the Siege, our Action Alerts and other reports. For more information, contact MEJN at P. O. Box 495, Boston, MA 02112, tel. 617-542-5056; fax 617-861-3783; E-mail mejn@igc.apc.org.

Focus on the Information Superhighway

By Issam M. Nashashibi



A bulletin board for news and announcements of events that impact on Palestine as well as a forum for philosophical discussions about Palestinian issues, that is what Palestine-net (P-net) provides its 300 worldwide users (P-netters).

P-netters voluntarily post news reports from many sources. The postings usually include items the mainstream U.S. media chooses not to report.

One example was an October 3, 1994, report in the British newspaper *The Independent*. The article detailed Israel's continued confiscation of 16,750 additional acres in Jerusalem and the West Bank since the September 13, 1993 agreement despite the agreement's call for the preservation of the integrity of the West Bank and Gaza.

P-netters can also keep the mainstream press honest. When the BBC World Service quoted Prince Hassan of Jordan about the temporary nature of Jordanian custodianship of Moslem holy places in Israeli-Occupied East Jerusalem, the reputable BBC correctly translated the prince as saying that the holy places would be returned to the Palestinians "when" (in Arabic *indama*) they assume sovereignty over

East Jerusalem. On November 1, 1994, however, National Public Radio repeatedly reported the prince as saying that the holy places would be returned "if" Palestinians assume sovereignty. The value of P-net is that, in addition to sending a letter of protest to NPR's Vice President for News, Mr. Bill Buzenberg, one could send the same letter to thousands of other media watchers all over the world.

Another recent example occurred when NPR's Carl Kassel identified Kashmiri abductors of two Europeans and an American as "Islamic," — a modifier not once used by their Indian correspondent because it is irrelevant since the overwhelming majority of Kashmiris are Muslim. Posted on P-net was a letter to Ms. Vicki O'Hara, NPR's Morning Edition Senior Editor, asking why their correspondents never use religious modifiers in the case of other religions; why, for example, wasn't Mr. Francisco Duran identified as the Christian shooting up the White House. NPR may not read this letter, but P-netters will.

Besides the news, healthy skepticism imbues commentary and other discussions that keep P-netters busy. These commentaries tend to be pointed, thoughtful and call for evidence when authors make unsubstantiated assertions.

Moreover, P-net serves as a knowledge exchange forum. Users ask other P-netters to provide information that helps the requester's research or special project. One P-netter from Switzerland wanted to organize an exhibit of the works of the assassinated Palestinian cartoonist Naji Al-Ali. Her call for information resulted in data that all P-netters could use, including Al-Ali's biography, details of his published works and the newspapers that might have his originals in Beirut and Kuwait.

P-netters also assume certain roles. A user from Britain regularly posts

Israeli media reports, while another in Jerusalem fulfills the role of the network's conscience.

In addition, P-net provides a notice board for posting protest letters with requests for support, such as the ongoing call to stop Israel's land confiscation in the Christian-Palestinian village of Abu Ghoneim.

This cooperative effort is P-net's source of success, and the value it provides the users.

The network evolved into its current form through the efforts of a Palestinian computer science graduate student, Yaser Doleh, who started the network in March 1991. This one-person operation is now managed by a Steering Committee whose members live all over the world. They promulgate, and monitor adherence to, network rules that members agree to observe. Committee members approve new P-netters and suspend those who do not abide by the rules. To date, only one person has received a three-month suspension.

To join P-net you need access to Internet. Internet is formed of a worldwide web of interconnecting computers located mainly in educational institutions. If you are associated with a college, you can get an account on the network through your school. Otherwise, you may choose any of the commercial Internet access providers including CompuServe, Prodigy and America On Line.

To join P-net, send a brief message introducing yourself to pnet-sc@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu with the subject "Subscribe." You can also choose to be on-line and receive network postings as they occur or receive a daily network digest once a day. Happy networking.

[For a listing of organizations in your area that provide Internet access send a self-addressed stamped envelope to Internet Access, Box 7176, Newport Beach CA 92658, and be sure to note your telephone area code. Ed.]

Focus on Culture

By Hanan, Farah & Maha Munayyer



Arab-Americans have long had to contend with a distorted media image of Arabs. Our challenge was to find ways to define who we are, as opposed to who others say we are.

The answer came, unexpectedly, while we were looking for a book on Palestinian traditional costumes in a shop in Jerusalem. The shop owner offered us a large collection of antique Palestinian costumes for sale. That sale triggered a series of events that transformed our lives.

The awe we felt when we first viewed the astounding beauty of that first collection inspired us to attempt to generate the same feeling in others. We decided that a video, as an easily portable sample of our culture, would be the best way to reach homes, libraries and community gatherings.

We also decided that merely viewing these costumes was not enough. The question of how this art had developed to such a degree of intricacy and sophistication required an answer. Thus began a

long search into art history, archeology, interpretation of ancient symbols and patterns, and into the history of costumes and crafts in the Middle East that spanned a period of four thousand years, eventually influencing arts and crafts in other emerging civilizations, such as Ottoman Turkey and medieval Europe.

Studying these enduring patterns revealed a "language," a script of individual motifs chosen by embroiderers whose lack of writing skills was overcome by their ability to express their creativity through the choice of lively patterns copied from generation to generation. This rich repertoire of ancient patterns that survived in these traditional costumes are as relevant a source of historical data as any archeological find.

To present this wealth of information in a comprehensive yet appealing way, we produced a videotape in 1990 featuring our newly-acquired collection. With the help of a professional camera crew in Los Angeles, we filmed a show of the most valuable and beautiful costumes. Young Arab-American women, trained by Ms. Rima Nashashibi, gracefully modelled the costumes to the beat of contemporary Arabic music. Later that year, we complemented the show with close-ups of the embroidery, demonstrating the intricate detail of each piece, and explaining the significance of their patterns and traditions. The last part of the 35-minute video offers a short summary of the fascinating historical development of textile arts in the Arab world. Appropriately, the title of our video was inspired by one of the project's main objectives: "Palestinian Costumes and Embroidery: A Precious Legacy."

Since its production, the video has been widely distributed to public and academic libraries, as well as to the Middle Eastern departments of several univer-

sities. Students often display it as an example of Arabic culture at international campus festivals and find that the brilliant colors and music attract many viewers. Arab Student Aid International has distributed 100 copies to libraries and Middle East Studies Departments of colleges and universities across the country, and the Arab World Notebook: The Secondary School Level has included it in its list of recommended resources. An Arabic version has been shown to Palestinian audiences in Palestine, where the response has been wonderful.

We have also performed live costume shows for audiences ranging from several hundred at banquets such as the Ramallah Federation's Annual Convention in Florida to several thousand at the Arab World Festival in Michigan and the A&S Plaza in New York City. Lectures and displays have been presented throughout the country, including the Textile Museum and the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee's National Convention in Washington, D.C., and at Harvard University in Boston. Thousands of people viewed the elaborate recreations of a turn-of-the-century Palestinian home that was constructed in the lobby of the United Nations building and, most recently, at the Brooklyn Museum. Thousands more viewed the large three-month exhibition at the Mingei International Museum of Folk Art in San Diego. At the local level, our frequent presentations to schools, community groups, churches, synagogues, embroidery and weaving guilds, senior citizen groups and others were very favorably received. To reach the American public easily, we designed an exhibit specifically for public libraries. Thus far, it has toured the libraries of several towns. Friends in distant places, inspired to organize cultural displays at festivals, schools or colleges, were sent the required materials. Clearly, the snowball effect we hoped for had gained serious momentum.

One tangible result of this momentum has been our formation of the Palestinian Heritage Foundation.

Link readers who would like further information about the Foundation and its various programs may write

to us at P. O. Box 1018, W. Caldwell, New Jersey 07006.

Looking back to that day in 1987 when we decided to take on this unpredictable mission, it seems amazing that our complete lack of experience did not deter us from going forward. Determination kept us going, and we have never regretted it. It has been an endless source of inspiration and satisfaction.

Arabs will no longer be depicted as cartoon villains but as a proud people with a fascinating history...

By far, the greatest inspiration and satisfaction has come from those who have viewed or participated in our presentations. The young Arab-American men and women who take part in our shows have developed new pride in their heritage. These costumes for them are not mere pieces of clothing, but pieces of history. And non-Arab Americans, seldom if ever exposed to the art and culture of the Arab world, tell us that they come away from the exhibits with a great appreciation for the intricacy and beauty of the dresses and jewelry and a new-found respect for the people who created them.

These changed outlooks assure us that eventually Arabs will no longer be depicted as cartoon villains but as a proud people with a fascinating history and a rich culture. The young women who created these dresses probably did not consider their embroidered "script" to be anything more than village tradition. How proud they would be to know that their's is the language by which a positive image of Arabs is being defined to the American public and to our own children.

Focus on the Media

By Ned Hanauer

My rabbi was ready to throw me out of his office — figuratively, at least. As a youth activist in the American Council for Judaism, I had the temerity to argue that Jews are a religious, not a national group. My rabbi, an ardent Zionist and leader in the reform Jewish community, told me my definition of Jews and Judaism was akin to leaving out the fins (nationalism and Zionism) when describing a fish. He terminated the discussion.

Years later I concluded that we were both right (or, if you will, wrong): there are many different ways to be Jewish. Neither he nor I could or should define the other's Jewishness or the other's Judaism. But I continued to believe he was wrong in supporting Israel's denial of individual and national rights to the Palestinian people.

In 1971, I and others started Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine/Israel. SEARCH was and is based on the knowledge that justice for Palestinians and security for Israelis are interdependent, not mutually exclusive. We needed an organized expression of that view.

In order to go beyond the converted to reach millions of concerned, ill-informed Americans, we decided to focus on the media. If the U.S. is to work for a just peace in Palestine/Israel, our news media needed to help citizens understand the Arab-Israeli conflict. This means informing journalists and encouraging them to ensure that their readers and listeners are better informed. While fairer presentation of the news is important in itself, we also ask journalists to editorially support human rights for Palestinians, including a Palestinian

Palestine/Israel File: Facts, Resources, Analysis

A Publication of Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine/Israel

5 IS THERE PEACE AFTER CAIRO?

Focus on Israeli Settlements

By Geoffrey Aronson

state alongside Israel, a settlement that will benefit both peoples.

The publication we use for this purpose is SEARCH's Palestine/Israel File. Relying heavily on news from and about the Israeli peace movement regarding human rights issues, and on translations from the Hebrew-language press, the File brings to its over 600 journalists (print and electronic) little-known facts and perspectives in a succinct four page format. (Four pages, I have found, is about their attention limit. Longer pieces can be provided to those few journalists who have a keener interest in the subject.)

Many supporters of justice for Palestinians assume that editors are automatically anti-Palestinian, or are forced to toe a party line by pressure from publishers, or the Israeli lobby. Yet many editors are themselves victims of their own media's imbalanced coverage. As one Boston editor told a group of us who went to see him about errors and omissions in one of his editorials, "We're short-order cooks who are forced daily to write instant editorials on everything from atomic energy to Zionism." Indeed, he conceded, there were "experts" who could rip apart most of his editorials.

The challenge that SEARCH has wrestled with over the years is how to inform and influence such journalist — and how to get them to publish our letters. One piece of advice came from a respected columnist for a Seattle newspaper. At a media workshop I gave, he held up a handbook on media advocacy and quoted it to the effect that media activists need to practice the three "Ps": patience, politeness, and persistence. Whose handbook is that? I asked. "The handbook of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, the leading Israeli lobby group," he answered. Too often, those of us committed to justice for Palestinians fail to grasp that advice from the AIPAC handbook. [Similar guidelines are also put out by the

National Association of Arab Americans, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Patience is a particular requirement when it comes to submitting letters to newspapers. It also helps to remember that even unpublished letters are often read by relevant editors or reporters. One thing I try to do is to keep track of how many letters a newspaper uses — or of how many guests a TV or radio show interviews — which endorse the Israeli position. This puts us in a strong position to appeal to a journalist's sense of fairness by asking for "equal" time — or at least for more balance. I recently had a letter published in *The New York Times* — after having received four previous rejections!

In those cases, however, where we conclude that a paper's policy is flat-out biased, then, by all means, we call or meet with the appropriate editors. The squeaky door is still likely to get the grease.

My experience has also led me to believe that good journalists welcome input from citizens' groups, knowing that these groups, often on opposite sides of an issue, have information he or she lacks. They don't have the time to go to the library or to read scholarly books. What they seek is credible, documented information presented clearly, succinctly, and calmly. Smart journalists also know that they have been exposed more to the arguments of Zionists than to supporters of Palestinian rights. So they welcome our input if for no other reason than to hear what "the other side" has to say.

Readers wishing to read what our publication has to say can receive a copy of the Palestine/Israel File by sending \$1.00 and a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine/Israel, P.O. Box 3452, Framingham MA 01701. We would also like very much to receive copies of letters that Link readers have sent to their newspapers, whether the letters have been published or not.

"I didn't know where the Middle East was until I went there in 1975 with J. William Fulbright," explained Merle Thorpe Jr., the founder and chief benefactor of the Foundation for Middle East Peace. "After seeing Israel's occupation of the West Bank first hand in 1976, I became hooked, like so many Americans, and easily convinced myself that I could do something about it." In 1979, the Foundation for Middle East Peace came into being.

The core of the conflict soon became readily apparent. There would never be peace until Israel and its supporters recognized the other party to the conflict, the Palestinian people, which meant, in turn, dealing with the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Such reciprocal recognition between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples was a necessary prerequisite to their reconciliation. This became the cornerstone of Foundation policy.

The Foundation's first financial assistance was a 1980 grant of \$8,000 to support a Washington, D.C. conference organized by Simha Flapan, editor and founder of the peace-oriented Israeli magazine, *New Outlook*.

Six-hundred and fifty-two persons registered for the four-day event and 800 attended its opening evening. Forty-eight came from Israel to oppose their government's policies, including seven Knesset members, representing parties from Labor to Sheli.

With Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Foundation inaugurated a newspaper advertising program to

REPORT ON
ISRAELI SETTLEMENT
IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A Bimonthly Publication of the Foundation for Middle East Peace

promote its views. In July, 1982, it reserved space for three advertisements on the op-ed page of the New York Times. Its first submission closed with the statement: "The Palestinian problem will not go away. It cannot be solved by force. After years of unresolved conflict, threatening the peace of the world while repeatedly shattering the peace of the region, it is now the right and responsibility of the United States to bring the full weight of its influence to bear for a final, equitable settlement.

The ad was rejected.

A second ad a year later entitled "Middle East Peace Must Include the P.L.O.," featured supporting quotes from Meir Merhav of the editorial staff of the Jerusalem Post and Philip M. Klutznick, a Jewish American and leading pro-Israel fundraiser. This time the ad passed and over 400 requests were received from Times readers. (It also ran in the Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune, and USA Today with considerably less responses.)

Since changing American Jewish and Israeli attitudes was paramount to the Foundation's mission, the preponderance of our grant support went to American Jewish and Israeli groups.

One of the Foundation's most satisfying efforts over the years was its conception and financial support for the book "No Trumpets, No Drums: A Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," by Mark Heller and Sari Nusseibeh. Two years in the making, the book was published in October 1991. Heller was Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. Nusseibeh directed MAQDES, a research center in East Jerusalem and was a Bir Zeit University lecturer in philosophy. The American edition, published by Hill & Wang (a division of Farrar, Straus & Giroux), was followed by

British, French, Spanish, Hebrew and Japanese editions.

The main work of the Foundation since 1991 has been the publication of its bimonthly Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories.

The Report has become the most authoritative source in the United States for information about Israel's settlement activities. It has been an important factor in maintaining the interest of journalists, specialists, and government officials and Congress as well as the concerned public in this still-central issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Only recently, the Rabin government has announced its intention to begin construction on an additional 1,000 housing units in settlements along the "green line" border separating Israel from the West Bank.

This Report is available from our Foundation without cost. For a subscription please write to: Subscriptions, The Foundation for Middle East Peace, Suite 800, 555 13th Street, Washington, DC 20004. Tel.: 202-637-6558; Fax: 202-637-5910.

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert supports annexing more of the West Bank to Jerusalem "in the near future."

"If you want to know whether I support confiscation of land where necessary for construction and development in Jerusalem, the answer is: absolutely yes...I believe Jerusalem should expand eastward, because further westward development would soon turn Jerusalem into a suburb of Tel Aviv...Naturally this planning concept has political ramifications."

Ha'aretz, May 6, 1994

Reprinted in "From the Israeli Press," a regular feature of Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories.

Focus on Human Rights

By Stan Heller

Why was The Struggle started? Back in 1982 the Israeli invasion of Lebanon so infuriated a group of us that we founded the Middle East Crisis Committee. We handed out tons of leaflets over the next few years, but eventually felt a need for more in depth information. We wanted a journal that would excoriate Israeli oppression and at the same time freely criticize dictatorial Arab regimes (whether pro-U.S. or pro-Soviet.) We wanted a journal that would denounce bombings and shootings of civilians whether Arabs or Jews. We didn't see any paper or magazine doing all those things so we started our own.

The Struggle prides itself on being readable. Its reading level is pitched to that of the high school graduate. We try to be completely accurate, but we don't aim to be "objective." What's going on is a scandal and we want people to be angry. In our first issue on August 8, 1984, we exposed the luxurious prison conditions enjoyed by members of the Israeli settler "Underground." Ten years later, in our most recent issue we note that the murderer who headed the "Underground," Menachem Livni, is now an Israeli government employee in charge of recruiting Russian scientists to come to an intellectual "hothouse" on a West Bank settlement.

Our approach is to tell about the news from the point of view of the individual. To explain the sparks that set off the intifada we talked about the death of Intissar al-Attar in a schoolyard in Gaza. Intissar was a 17-year old girl who allegedly had been with a group throwing stones at a settler's car. The settler, Shimon Yefrah, went home, got a pistol, came back to the area where stones were thrown, saw Intissar and shot her in the back. Yefrah was charged only with "involuntary manslaughter" and set free on bail.

The Struggle

#54 editor: Stanley Heller October 25, 1994

To illustrate the savage repression during the intifada we spotlighted the case of Hani A-Shami of Jabalya. Beaten in front of his children by 20 soldiers, he was taken away to a military compound where he died the next day. The soldiers who beat him were found not guilty of causing his death because he was walking when they brought him to the compound. The soldiers got a minor sentence for brutality and were immediately "amnestied." The judges advised that the A-Shami case be closed because of the length of time, *nine* months, since the incident.

Over the last decade we have criticized some unlikely targets, among them Jesse Jackson, Amnesty International and Peace Now. At the height of the intifada in the summer of 1988, Jackson was speaking to the nation at the Democratic convention. Millions were glued to his every word. The Struggle complained that for a few minutes he could have talked about the apartheid conditions in the territories or, at the least, could have revealed to an ignorant America the 14-year record of P.L.O. peace proposals to Israel. Instead he said nothing. Not a word.

We had a major article in 1990 "Why is Amnesty International Soft on Israeli Torture?" In it we backed the charges made by Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, that AI was ignoring the systematic torture of Palestinian prisoners. We also took Amnesty to task for ignoring the Landau Report, an intellectual defense of torture that the Israeli government uses as guidelines for investigators. At the end of 1991, Amnesty issued a strong report about Israeli torture. The Struggle was happy to print excerpts.

As for Israel's Peace Now, The Struggle frequently criticized it for being little more than a Labor Party appendage. During the first years of the intifada, when Rabin was ordering the smashing of bones and the shooting of children, Peace Now

sat on its hands. It would heap abuse on Shamir while merely giving friendly advice to Rabin, even though they served in the same government.

We are proud that The Struggle was one of the first publications to call attention to the plight of Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu. At first we were reluctant. At the time he was being denounced in the media for selling Israeli nuclear secrets for money. But his kidnapping, secret trial, and conditions under solitary confinement convinced us that the Israelis were punishing a man of conscience. Our article at the start of 1987 was headlined "Israel's 'Daniel Ellsberg' on Trial for his Life." Before his conviction Vanunu wrote The Struggle several letters, which we were honored to publish.

We often print first hand accounts, but over the years our main source of information has been the Shahak Papers, which consists of translations of articles in the Hebrew press, along with a fiery commentary by Israel Shahak, and News From Within, the publication of the Alternative Information Center which was closed down for a year by the Israeli government who put its director, Michael Warshawsky in jail for several months.

We criticize all strains of political-religious fundamentalism, particularly the strains of macho Jewish orthodoxy that are fawned over by the American press. We denounced Walter Mondale for accepting support from Rabbi Klass, publisher of the New York Jewish Press, an ultra-right wing rag that openly supported the Jewish terrorist underground. In 1989, when the Israeli Shas party was distributing a prayerbook with a prayer calling for a holocaust of Arabs, we published Israel Shahak's article "The Beautification of the Haredim," an expose of the racism of the ultra-orthodox in Israel toward all non-Jews. We also published an article about the late Rabbi Schneerson of Brooklyn, alleging that he told his Israeli followers in 1982 that the Israeli army should enter Beirut and kill all the women and children because "Arabs are our enemies."

The Struggle's coverage has ranged across the Middle East. We've supported Kurdish rights since 1984. We reported extensively on the horrible war Syria let the Lebanese Amal unleash on the Palestinian refugees in the middle 1980's. We had a major forum on the Gulf War with points of view from Alexander Cockburn, Lenni Brenner, Noam Chomsky and myself. We took the stand that the slogan "Iraq out of Kuwait" should be given equal billing with "U.S. Out of the Gulf." We've continued coverage of the deadly effects of the sanctions on Iraqi civilians long after other publications have lost interest.

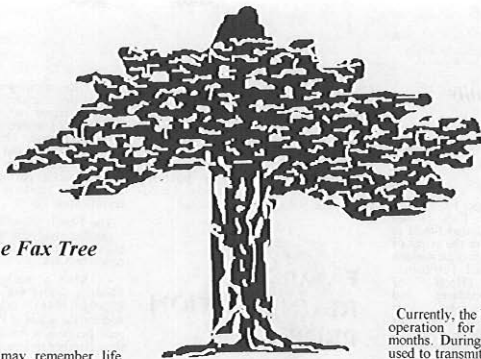
As for the future, our basic attitude is that the U.S.-Israeli-P.L.O. "peace process" is a sham. What's being constructed has more in common with apartheid than with self-determination. In future issues we will detail the new shackles being constructed for the Palestinians and the waves of resistance that are sure to come.

The Struggle is published five times a year. A single issue is free. A subscription for 12 issues cost \$10. Checks should be made out to MECC and mailed to The Struggle, P.O. Box 8993, New Haven CT 06532.

"A perusal of...the [Gaza-Jericho First] Agreement's pages can leave no doubt... that Israeli victory was absolute" Myron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem.

Under the "Gaza and Jericho First" Agreement Palestinians and Israelis will determine who will come into the Territories. Here's how it will be done. Coming from Jordan across the Allenby Bridge officials of the Palestinian Border Police will check papers and such and could decide to bar certain people from entering. Where's the Israeli? Behind a one-way mirror there will be a "hidden one" [that's the official name], an Israeli official who will be able to push a button making a red light turn on the the Palestinian policeman's desk. The red light bars entry unless overruled by the Israeli "hidden one's" supervisor.

From The Struggle, April 15, 1994



Focus: The Fax Tree

By Larry Ekin

Some of you may remember life before the Fax Tree. Information on developments in Palestine would come into an office. Person A, the recipient, would then think about 10-20 people and/or organizations that he or she thought would be interested. Frequently, by day's end, Person A would again receive the same information, but from another source who had put together yet another list. And so on.

Consequently, the North American Coordinating Committee of the Non-Government Organizations on the Question of Palestine (NACC), a U.N. affiliation, organized its Fax Tree to try to rationalize the flow of information among interested groups as well as to reduce administrative costs and energy.

A good deal of thinking went into organizing this system. The NACC decided on a "tree" system rather than a "broadcast" system because we believed it encouraged more active identification and participation with a broader network than if participants were merely passive recipients of information. The NACC understood that not every organization would respond to every issue. But as long as they maintained a sense of allegiance to the system, the system would continue to function.

To achieve this, the NACC articulated guidelines that we believed would enable the Fax Tree

to assume an identity as the common property of the Non-Government Organization (NGO) movement, and not as an extension of any one organization. The NACC took care to put forward a broad spectrum of initiatives utilizing a number of different sources. The NACC included policy questions, individual human rights cases, initiatives focusing on a particular village or region, general humanitarian appeals, etc. The NACC made sure the operation was not identified as only putting forward initiatives that would be seen in support of any particular faction. The NACC agreed not to use the system to promote any organization's activities. Other variables entered our discussions. Understanding that different organizations would utilize the information in different ways, the NACC had to evaluate the system's abilities to effectively absorb Fax Tree messages.

The system's major drawback is that it is labor intensive to maintain. The NACC coordinator and various Fax Tree branch managers must be checking steadily to see that people at all levels of the system are receiving transmissions, that officers are still functioning, and that, should a breakdown occur, they are ready to step in and transmit directly. Nevertheless, we believe that for our purposes this "tree" system continues to better serve our purposes than a simple fax "broadcast" operation.

Currently, the Fax Tree has been in operation for approximately 40 months. During that time, it has been used to transmit just over 60 Action Alerts. The NACC tries to limit each Action Alert to one or two pages and to include specific action suggestions, sometimes adapted for both Canadian and U.S. users. In addition, the system has occasionally been used to transmit material such as the Peace Conference Information Bulletins and the CCINGO Reports. Currently, there are approximately 400 outlets on the system in North America and a number of international outlets.

We believe that the system has proven effective as a tool for informing and mobilizing the North American NGO community. It was essential in several successful campaigns, and also has proven its merit as an information-sharing tool. Like everyone else in the non-profit sector, we have to budget more and more carefully. In the past, we have carried a number of recipients without charge. We doubt that we can continue that practice and regret that we must become more strict about asking people and organizations to help provide support for the system.

Information about how you or your organization can get on the Fax Tree can be obtained from the NACC office. Contact Sharry Mathews, 1747 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. Our telephone number is (202) 319-0757 and the fax is (202) 319-0746. We suggest a minimum contribution of \$25.

Focus on Family Reunification

By Jennifer Bing-Canar

A common challenge for people working on Middle East human rights issues in the United States is being able to humanize the effect of Israeli military rule on Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories. Exposing the effects of administrative procedures and collective punishments that constitute daily hardships for Palestinians who desire to remain in their homeland is particularly difficult.

One such human rights issue concerns Palestinian residency rights. Since 1967, Palestinians have been required to apply to Israeli authorities for formal "family reunification" permits if their spouse was not registered as a West Bank or Gaza resident. Typically, family reunification permits were not granted, or in some cases permission was granted only after large payoffs to "middle men" and corrupt officials. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, between 1967 and 1987 some 140,000 families applied for reunification. Approximately 19,000 (13.6%) were accepted, most of them within the first few years of Israeli occupation. Most Palestinians recognized the futility of the process and many chose to live together as a family on invalid visitor permits.

In 1989, the Israeli army raided Palestinian villages, rounded up women and children with expired permits and expelled them. This created panic for thousands of Palestinian families who live in the Occupied Territories without reunification permits.

While some improvements have been made for West Bank and Gaza families in the last year, the situation for East Jerusalemites has worsened. To respond to family reunification problems in Jerusalem, a coalition developed of Israeli and Palestinian non-governmental organizations, including the Alternative Information

Center (AIC), al-Haq, Hotline, B'tselem, and UNRWA. Through field work and legal counseling in the Jerusalem area, several common problems were identified. Among them were problems for women who were applying for their non-resident husbands, and for former political prisoners who were routinely denied permission without a stated reason.



The AIC project for the Promotion of Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights approached the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago in late 1993 about an international campaign for family reunification. In the spring of 1994, a group of human rights and community activists in Chicago began building a U.S.-based, educational network. Specifically, the newly formed Family Reunification Project joined efforts with AIC to advocate on behalf of nine Jerusalem families seeking family reunification. By connecting with specific families and learning of their hardships, the committee hoped to put a human face to this human rights issue. Through mailgrams and letters to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin, the Israeli Embassy in the U.S., members of the Israeli Knesset and the Jerusalem Interior Ministry, the campaign has succeeded — as of mid-November 1994 — in the reunification of four of the nine "adopted" families. Continued efforts are underway for the remaining five families.

In order to understand the context of Palestinian residency issues specifically in Jerusalem (where the problem is by far the worse due to Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and its recently stepped-up confiscation of Palestinian land), and to emphasize the need of addressing the status of Jerusalem in negotiations, the Family Reunification Project developed a 16-page background paper entitled "Jerusalem: Reclaiming a Divided

City." Researching and writing the Jerusalem document helped the group deepen its analysis and reaffirm its commitment to work on this urgent issue. This resource will be used by the Project for educational efforts in the U.S. and by the AIC and its partners in Israel and Palestine working on family reunification issues.

The Family Reunification Project seeks the involvement of others in its efforts. People can help in several concrete ways:

- Send a mailgram to Prime Minister Rabin via WorldLink (1-800-946-7846) urging him to address the needs of Palestinians who seek permanent residency status for their families in Jerusalem.

- Adopt a family seeking family reunification. Biographical information and suggestions for action can be obtained from the Project c/o AFSC, 59 E. Van Buren #1400, Chicago, IL 60605.

- Circulate informational handouts about family reunification to members of your community, elected officials, and other human rights groups.

- Join the network and receive our regular Update Newsletter from Chicago, plus materials from groups working on family reunification in Jerusalem.

Mailgram Goal: 500

We have almost reached a mid-point in our goal for sending mailgrams to Prime Minister Rabin about family reunification in Jerusalem. The recent text states: "I URGE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO IMMEDIATELY ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF PALESTINIANS WHO SEEK PERMANENT RESIDENCY STATUS FOR THEIR FAMILIES IN JERUSALEM. IN PARTICULAR I AM CONCERNED THAT THE FOLLOWING FAMILIES HAVE NOT BEEN GRANTED FORMAL FAMILY REUNIFICATION: [LIST OF FIVE NAMES AND ID NUMBERS]. Help us reach our goal! To send a Mailgram call WorldLink at 1-800-946-7846 and ask for Family Reunification Text #3.



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