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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 55, Folder 11, Awad, Mubarak, 1986-1988.



# Why Israel Deported Awad

By Moshe Arad

WASHINGTON  
**M**ubarak Awad, we are told, is an "advocate of peace" — comparable, some have argued, to such legendary practitioners of nonviolence as Mohandas K. Gandhi and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. In reality, Mr. Awad, a United States citizen, is wholly a different figure. The legal and political reasons for his deportation from Israel will stand the test of scrutiny.

Israel's independent Supreme Court unanimously dismissed his appeal against the Interior Minister's expulsion order. The court ruled that Mr. Awad, through his own actions, had forfeited his right to reside in Israel. Those actions included residing outside Israel for more than seven years, receiving a permanent residence permit in another country and becoming a citizen of that country.

Mr. Awad, an East Jerusalem resi-

*Moshe Arad is Israel's Ambassador to the United States.*

dent at the time of the Six-Day War in 1967, had been offered the opportunity to apply for and receive Israeli citizenship after that war. He chose not to do so. He retained Jordanian citizenship and continued to reside in Jerusalem until his voluntary departure for America in 1970.

In 1973, he was granted residence in the United States and, five years later, American citizenship, in accordance with immigration law, which required that he "intends to reside permanently in the U.S."

But before the Israeli Supreme Court, he declared that he had used his "American citizenship and passport solely for bureaucratic reasons of convenience, without attaching to them any importance or weight whatsoever regarding his designated place of residence in Jerusalem," and that he had "viewed Jerusalem as his place of residence always." Thus, upon taking up citizenship he had misrepresented his status, under oath, to the American Government.

Similarly, this so-called apostle of nonviolence has misrepresented his political aims and strategies to the Israeli Government and to the world's media. He not only has refused to condemn the Palestine Liberation Or-

ganization's violent campaign against Israel but also has contributed, through recent, particularly provocative writings and speeches, to the violence and unrest in the West Bank and Gaza during the last six months.

Unlike Dr. King, who deeply loved America and sought through his campaign of nonviolence to strengthen it, Mr. Awad has amply demonstrated different intentions regarding Israel.

For example, in a 1984 article in *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, Mr. Awad stated: "For the Palestinians who are living in the West Bank and Gaza ... the most effective strategy is one of nonviolence. This does not determine the methods open to the Palestinians on the outside; nor does it constitute rejection of the armed struggle. It does not rule out the possibility that the struggle on the inside may turn into an armed struggle at a later stage."

In a speech in Jerusalem on March 22, he unequivocally stated his goal: "The P.L.O. wants the entire Palestine, and I agree. ... Palestine for me is the Galilee, Akko [Acre], Ashdod — everything! This is Palestine for me." On other occasions, depending on the audience, Mr. Awad has

spoken about a two-state solution.

Support for the P.L.O., advocacy of the dismantling of the Jewish state, refusal to condemn armed struggle, nonviolence as merely a convenient tactic, participation in the authorship of leaflets encouraging residents of the West Bank and Gaza to engage in incitement and acts of violence — are these the watchwords of a man truly committed to peace and moderation? No. Western audiences do not hear these Awad views in English. But his local audiences hear them in Arabic.

Compare Mr. Awad's words with Dr. King's unequivocal condemnation of all violence. "Not only is violence impractical," the Nobel laureate once declared, "but it is immoral; for it is my firm conviction that to seek to retaliate with violence does nothing but intensify the existence of evil and hate in the universe."

My country will continue its 40-year pursuit of peace, but only with partners that renounce violence and terror and recognize the existence of Israel. And Israel, as any country — including the United States — reserves the right to determine who can enter and reside in its territory and to bar visitors from engaging in hostile political activity. □



JUN 3 1986

Joel A. Gallob  
501 12th Street, First Floor  
Brooklyn, NY 11215  
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5/30/86

Dr. Mubarak Awad  
Box 35  
Wapakoneta, Ohio 45895

Dear Dr. Awad:

I wrote 600 words on your address at the UN Church Center in New York City, and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency did indeed run it. (Copy, of course, enclosed.) I will see if I can get hold of any clippings, but at the minimum, hundreds of Jewish newspapers and numerous sectarian ones, as well as individual opinion leaders, synagogue groups, etc, subscribe to the JTA which is, in effect, the Jewish Reuters or AP. Whether they will chose to run it is another matter, but they now have the option.

You will see some periods that should be commas and other typos; but then, the American Jewish establishment doesn't provide much in the way of funds to the JTA.

The story takes a neutral stance in reporting the Qatanna events, and poses the issues you raise in terms of your own credibility before its audience - the Jews of America. My one concern about your presentation is expressed in my editorial comment about your statement that the PLO hasn't tried to stop you. Since it was the Anti-Discrimination Committee that hosted you in NY, such phrasing is at least understatement. I expect that your phrasing was innocent, but honesty with my readers required that I note it while its disingenuous feeling compelled me to distance myself from it. The issue of your relation to the PLO is unavoidably the first question every American Jew will ask, and some percentage of the believability of the article, I'm afraid, hinged on my making that distancing. This is not because I doubt you or what you are doing (I recognize ambiguity as a fact of political life); but my readers surely will.

I think that I addressed the inevitability of your having a relationship with the PLO adequately in the closing paragraph, and my own feeling is made clear by the end of the article. I believe it was necessary to write the piece in the manner in which I did in order that I not appear an open advocate for your cause, which would have reduced the odds on getting the essay published as well as its effectiveness once published.

I was not able to get Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee interested in meeting you, but I did encourage the AJC to encourage its chapter members around the country to attend your speeches and to talk with you. I hope this may help some, and I think it possible that, depending on the feedback AJC gets, such a meeting might still be arranged. If you contact me, or Rabbi Tanenbaum directly, when you are back in New York (or next time you are here) he might be willing to meet with you. As the International Affairs Department Director for AJC he is a very important actor in American Jewish politics. He is a friend of the family to me, he is aware of my estimate of you, and he is someone who respects non-violence. I very much hope that you and he will get to meet in the near future. It should do you both much good.

Anyway, I will be sending copies of the attached essay along with query letters to a number of publications in the hope of obtaining commissions to write longer pieces on you and your Center. I gather that you spoke with Murray Polner of the American Jewish Committee's "Present Tense," which precludes my doing a story about you for that periodical. But there are other magazines around. I hope that I will be able to get you some further U.S. publicity both in the Jewish community and in general. As you surely know, an international reputation may do more than aid you; it may keep you alive someday.

It is clear to me that what you are doing represents a historical opening of great potential, a chance to break the cycle of violence, which is essential to any hope for peace and justice for Israelis and Palestinians alike. What we are dealing with here is a kind of cleansing anger in the context of a confrontation with the humanity and legitimacy of one's opponent, which is the only kind of healing that can help in Israel-Palestine. I am sure you realize that the only starting point is a mutual Jewish/Palestinian recognition of the existence of parallel, historically legitimate, emotionally real, religiously sanctionable, claims to the same piece of land.

I was asked what your "solution" to the problems there might be by Dr. George Gruen, an AJC Mideast specialist. I told him I do not know but that I expect you realize that you cannot help your cause at this point by becoming an advocate for any position, and that you surely realize that the only solution that could work will be the one that comes out of the confrontations and experiences that you may be able to put both Israelis and Palestinians through.

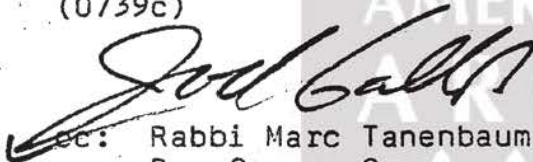


I hope we will keep in touch and look forward to aiding your efforts in such manner as I may best be able.

By the way, have you considered asking the New Jewish Agenda folks to write a brief essay in support of your project for the Center newsletter? It might do some good for your readers to learn that there are Jews in America who, while they are not the enemies of their own people, nonetheless, do understand.

Sincerely

Joel Gallob  
(0739c)

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Dr. George Gruen



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 13, 1988  
**to** Field Staff  
**from** George E. Gruen *GEG*  
**subject** Background on The Mubarak Awad Case.

The American Jewish Committee has decided not to make any official comment on Israel's decision to expel Mubarak Awad. This controversial matter is likely to continue to receive widespread coverage in the American media, especially after Mr. Awad arrives in the United States and embarks on a speaking campaign. (He is now scheduled to arrive in New York on June 13.)

The attached background analysis examines the factual and legal basis for the Israel Supreme Court's decision to permit the expulsion and cites various statements made by Mr. Awad, which raise serious questions as to the appropriateness of comparing him to Mahatma Gandhi or Martin Luther King. The memorandum also notes the political questions raised by the Israeli action.

You may wish to use this background memorandum to respond to inquiries and to help contacts in the media and the general community better understand the issues involved.

- cc: Ira Silverman
- Mark Tanenbaum
- Geri Rozanski
- Eugene DuBow



The AJC protects Jewish interests the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all; defends pluralism, enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people, and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

## THE MUBARAK AWAD CASE

### An American Jewish Committee Background Memorandum

#### Background

Mubarak Awad was born in Jerusalem in 1944, while it was under the British mandate. He grew up in East Jerusalem, which was annexed by Jordan after the 1948 war. Shortly after the Six Day War of 1967 the government of Israel offered the Arab residents of East Jerusalem the choice of either obtaining Israeli citizenship, or maintaining their Jordanian or other citizenship while becoming permanent residents of Israel. Awad chose the latter course, and was issued an identity card that certified his new Israeli residency status.

In 1970, Awad moved to the United States to pursue his studies. In 1973, he became a permanent resident of the U.S.; in 1978, he acquired U.S. citizenship. Using his American passport, Awad returned to Israel in 1983 on a tourist visa. Since then, he has made 14 additional trips to Israel. In 1985, Awad founded the "Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence" in Jerusalem.

Until last year, all of Awad's applications for an extension of his tourist visa were approved by the Ministry of the Interior. In May, 1987 he applied for an extension of his visa, as well as for a new Israeli identity card. Both requests were formally turned down by the Ministry in August. His visitor's permit expired on November 20, 1987. On May 9 of this year, Awad was ordered to leave the country.

On June 5, following an appeal by Awad, the Israeli Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, unanimously upheld the expulsion order.

#### Relevant Law

Residency rights and status in Israel are regulated by the "Entry Into Israel Law" of 1952. According to this statute, a person may lose his residency status if any of the following three conditions apply:

- a) residency outside of Israel continues for at least seven years;
- b) acquisition of permanent resident status in another country; or
- c) acquisition of foreign citizenship through naturalization.

Furthermore, Israeli law grants broad discretionary powers to the Interior Ministry in cases of persons who are not citizens and do not have a residency permit to decide whether or not they may remain in the country.

The Court found that through his own voluntary actions, Awad had fulfilled all three of the above conditions for possible loss of residency status. Therefore, the Interior Minister had acted within his authority in expelling Awad.

The Court pointed out that since Awad had "abstained from taking Israeli citizenship, it is difficult to accept the claim of 'quasi-citizenship' which carries rights but not obligations." (It should also be noted that before a person can become a United States citizen through naturalization, he must first renounce any other citizenship or foreign allegiance.)

....more



The Court said that since any person could be deported who was illegally present in the country, it did not have to rule on the substance of the factual dispute between Mr. Awad and the Israeli authorities as to whether or not his activities were "harmful to security and public safety," as charged by the Minister of the Interior.

#### Reasons for Expulsion

According to the Israeli government, Awad was expelled because he supported and incited violence among Arabs in Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza, and allegedly participated in the writing of pamphlets used in the current Arab uprising. Although Awad maintains that he is an advocate of non-violent protest, some of his writings and pronouncements cast doubt on the accuracy of his claim.

Below are some quotes that have been cited in favor of Awad's expulsion:

-- The strategy of non-violence "does not determine the methods open to Palestinians on the outside (of Israeli-controlled areas); nor does it constitute a rejection of the concept of armed struggle. It does not rule out the possibility that the struggle on the inside may turn into an armed struggle at a later stage". (From "Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy for the Occupied Territories," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 12, no. 2, Winter 1984.) Page numbers refer to the reprint of the article contained in Nonviolent Struggle in the Middle East (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers in cooperation with the Resource Center for Nonviolence, Santa Cruz, Ca.) p. 25.

-- "Palestinians on the inside can attempt to block roads, prevent communications, cut electricity, telephone, and water lines. . ." p. 29.

-- "The non-violent movement need not prefer a two-state solution over a secular democratic state in all of Palestine." (The latter phrase is the language used by the Palestine Liberation Organization to declare its intention to eliminate the State of Israel.) p. 27.

-- "We have already said, and we continue to say, that the PLO is our only legal representative and the only one authorized to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people . . . As for ourselves, our activities complement those of the PLO". (Interview with Saudi newspaper Al-Majala, November 17, 1987.)

These and other statements by Mr. Awad make it clear that he is not a pacifist as a matter of conscience or a true follower of the teachings of Mahatma Ghandi. He does not reject violence in principle, but out of a pragmatic calculation that it would be counterproductive. Thus, in the above cited article, he notes that going back to the 1930's the Palestinians have been using non-violent methods "side by side with the armed struggle in their attempts to achieve their goals against Zionism." The Palestinian revolt of 1936 resulted in hundreds of casualties, both Jewish and Arab. Among the reasons Awad gives for not advocating full-scale military action under present circumstances is that the 1.3 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip "are unarmed, not trained militarily and not permitted to possess weapons . . . Furthermore, they do not have the necessary lines of communication to receive military supplies in sufficient quantities to be able to carry on continuous military operations against the occupiers for any length of time." (Pp. 23-24.)

While the participants in the present Palestinian uprising have heeded Awad's counsel to refrain from using guns, they have by no means limited themselves to the non-violent civil disobedience championed by the late Reverend Martin Luther King. As Eric Breindel wrote in a column in the New York Post on June 10, 1988, "imagine if the Freedom Riders who went south in the early 1960s -- in answer to Martin Luther King's call -- had protested segregation by hurling rocks and Molotov cocktails at local police. King's reputation as an apostle of nonviolence wouldn't have lasted a day."

#### Political Questions

While it is clear that the Israeli authorities were within their legal rights to expel Mubarak Awad, it remains to be seen whether this action will be beneficial to Israel in either the short or long term. Notwithstanding the above-quoted statements, Mr. Awad has also gone on record calling for "coexistence and mutual recognition" between Israel and the Palestinians." (See for example, J.J. Goldberg, "Arab hero, Israeli headache: Activist says his



aim is peace," The Jewish Week, May 13, 1988.) This has led the New York Times to conclude, in its editorial on June 7, "If Israel drives the Awads out of its political system, it will be left with only the Arafats."

With respect to Mr. Awad, Israel faces this question: Will he do more damage to Israel counseling the leaders of the uprising in the territories in strategy and tactics in confronting the Israelis, or will he cause greater harm to Israel's image and support in the United States through the sympathy he will attract and the skillful public advocacy that he is certain to undertake in his speaking engagements throughout the country after his arrival?

• • •

*This memorandum was prepared by Dr. George E. Gruen, Ph.D., Director of Israel and Middle East Affairs in AJC's International Relations Department, and Gary Wolf, Research Analyst in Middle East Affairs.*



**AWAD'S PROPOSED "INSTANT CONVERSION" TO JUDAISM IS FRAUDULENT**

**By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum**

**(Copyright 1988, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)**

**--NEW YORK**

The so-called Palestinian-American "apostle of non-violence" has tossed another verbal hand grenade in his propaganda warfare against Israel, by coolly announcing that he would convert to Judaism and come back to Israel under the law of return.

Mubarak Awad, who is in the midst of appealing his deportation order before Israel's Supreme Court, has cunningly created another set of diversionary images which undoubtedly will give the Jewishly illiterate media another field day at the expense of Israel, and, indeed, of Judaism itself.

Awad's theatrical ploy is not only intended to embarrass Israel politically, but seeks to make a mockery of the profound religious meaning of conversion to Judaism.

Anyone even moderately knowledgeable about Jewish tradition is aware that Judaism historically welcomes converts, but rejects "instant converts" for reasons of convenience.

The traditional Jewish conversion procedures require that a rabbi turn away a potential convert at least three times in order to ascertain whether the decision to convert is serious and of honest intention, rather than frivolous or manipulative.

Awad's game-playing at "instant conversion" to Judaism -- which will be rejected by the overwhelming majority of American as well as Israeli rabbis -- is clearly not a genuine religious decision. Rather, it is another act of "civil disobedience" and deserves the contempt which inspires this fraudulent intention.

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*Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee.*

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FAX

TO: MARC TANENBAUM

FROM: ISRAEL OFFICE JULY 12, 1988

July 11/1988 THE AWAD-TANENBAUM TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Since your publication of my letter on Mubarak Awad (July 5), I have been informed that two Arab persons, one in the U.S.A. and the other in Jerusalem, have protested that the telephone conversation between Mr. Awad and myself in New York never took place. They claimed that the phone call was made by an imposter.

It is not inconceivable that that was the case, since some right-wing Jewish extremist groups have engaged in perpetrating despicable telephone hoaxes on various Jewish leaders. In this instance, I had watched and listened to Mr. Awad twice the day before on two American TV network programmes, and the voice of the person who called me sounded exactly like the Awad I had witnessed on television.

In the broadcast that I did over WINS-Westinghouse, I did take the precaution of saying that "I received a phone call from a man claiming to be Mubarak Awad, the self-proclaimed Palestinian apostle of non-violence." Awad, I am told, denies emphatically that he did speak to

me; If that is the case, then I was taken in by the imposter, and I apologize to Mr. Awad for the misrepresentation.

But judging from the written record of Mr. Awad's positions published in the Journal of Palestinian Studies (Vol. 12, No.2, Winter 1984), the substance of his position that I described on "a secular democratic Palestinian state," and his support "of the concept of armed struggle" against Israel remain accurate.

Therefore, the judgment I made in my broadcast is valid: "Mr. Mubarak Awad is a political sleight-of-hand artist who has used non-violent rhetoric and symbols to cover his real programme of violent aggression against Israel."

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, Director International Relations, American Jewish Committee New York:

Dry Bones

Jerusalem Post July 11, 1988



Jerusalem Post

July 11, 1988

McC-Boston  
Oct 21/88

Yegar - 351 - Row

Harold Swaggart -  
Browning  
Jay Rock / human rights / intl affairs / WCC / Istanbul  
Joan Campbell

7.6 m - 85% RC

June 15,  
88

Awad - I want to be consulted

- multi-religious state  
→ transition -

- 2 states - for the moment, temporary transition

- not short-term solution

- 1.5 m w. Bank 650,000

- we're going to be majority
- Dr Mehdia - honest & dishonest
- 55-67% - Israeli majority only

- no Jewish flag / no 6 Star

- Jewish Peace Fellowships - speeches

New Jewish Agenda -

Lebanon -  
no knowledge of history of Jewish attachment to Holy Land -

JDO meeting, PLO flag

- give PLO -  
stones of peace

meeting of U.S. nationality

intl anti-S

- American Nazi Party -

JDO -

Arad

(Arad  
213-384-1827) / American Nazi Party



המכון ליחסי יהדות ארה"ב - ישראל  
Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
AJC

Marc,  
This is a very important  
testimony. Congratulations.

Hordecha Gazit

July 6, 1988

בברכה

With our Compliments

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signed by five people from the... complaining about the so-called vigilante policy or behaviour in Israel.

It is gross *hutzpa* of foreigners who are not residents of Israel to attempt to blackmail the Israeli government to alter its domestic poli-

Who nominated these five signatories as representatives of American Jewry?

SIDNEY G. ADLER  
Jerusalem (Lawrence, N.Y.).

## MUBARAK AWAD CALLING?

Sir, - Since your publication of my letter on Mubarak Awad (July 5), I have been informed that two Arab persons, one in the U.S.A. and the other in Jerusalem, have protested that the telephone conversation between Mr. Awad and myself in New York never took place. They claimed that the phone call was made by an impostor.

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RABBI MARCH TANENBAUM,  
Director  
International Relations,  
American Jewish Committee  
New York.

## POORLY THOUGHT-OUT DECISION

Sir, - The deportation of Mubarak Awad may have a positive short-term effect on Israel, but the negative long-term result will be too great to measure.

Upon arrival in the United States, Mr. Awad immediately became the darling of the U.S. media. Soft-spoken, rational and intelligent, Mr. Awad presents the Palestinian cause on TV and radio talk shows and in newspapers in a manner that is difficult to refute. He will be able to travel the country and the western world and influence millions.

## GROTESQUE ACT

Sir, - The report that "20 members of the Israelis by Choice immigrant peace group set fire to a copy of the Declaration of Independence (June 6) completes a picture, ugly as it may be. Jews both of the right and left seem to have taken leave of history, if not their senses.

Who would have believed that Jews, after centuries of oppression, pogrom and expulsion, could perpetrate similar acts upon persons living under our occupation?

The amount of money he will be able to raise for the Palestinians is mind-boggling.

Once again, Israeli leadership has shown it has outlived its usefulness. The measure of an adult versus a child is whether or not one can put off immediate gratification for a longer-term gain. What has the Israeli government demonstrated with the poorly thought-out decision to deport Mr. Awad?

SANDRA R. CLESHKO  
New Port Richey, Florida.

Who would have believed that we, the People of the Book, who witnessed how burnings of books led to auto-da-fe and to crematoria, could dare to touch a match to any document, let alone our own Declaration of Independence?

Such a mindless and grotesque act vitiates the cause of civil liberties and human rights they intended to serve.

DAVID CLAYMAN  
Jerusalem.



Daniella Ortner, 20, of Herzliya, winner of the Israeli section of international "Face of the Eighties" model-search contest. Daniella who has just completed her army service and wants to study law, compete in the finals in Los Angeles next month. (Mal)

## THE PLAGUE OF ABORTION

Sir, - Reading reports of the painful court decision concerning the Brazilian child kidnapping and adoption case, one cannot help being moved by the tragic plight of both the natural and adoptive parents and the trauma affecting the little girl involved. Yet the greater tragedy lies in the fact that this is just one instance representative of perhaps thousands of others. According to another article on page four of the same edition, the kidnapping of Brazilian babies for sale to the adoption market is big business, even better than cocaine smuggling. One must ask why there is such a terrible shortage of babies available to couples who wish to adopt a child.

There may be many reasons, but in most western countries, and certainly in Israel, one of the main factors must be the high rate of the

artificial abortion of "unwanted" babies. In Israel, according to official figures, more than 17,000 babies were killed by abortion in 1987 according to *The Jerusalem Post* October 11, 1987. "...The Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Ailino told the Knesset that per another 40,000 illegal abortion performed annually, almost exclusively by the Jewish population. Meanwhile, thousands of approved Israeli couples have to wait years to adopt babies, causing many to in desperation to the dubious expensive "solution" of adopted Brazilian babies.

Is it not very strange that in its terrible memories of the Holocaust, is currently exterminating approximately one third of its potential citizens in this general area? Netanya.

TALIA V.

## SHARE THE BURDEN EQUALLY

Sir, - Since it is the government's policy to hold on to Judea and Samaria, and the government requires that our armed forces in the area be strengthened in order to do so, I feel that the burden on the Israeli population be shared equally by all.

Therefore, it is incumbent that instead of calling some men to serve in the reserves for 60 days a year, all males between the ages of 18 and 54 - no matter what colour their coat and/or their head covering - be required to

serve in the army reserves during the current situation.

We are one nation, one people, sharing the same destiny and burdens. For the government to require more from some and nothing from others, just to satisfy its political ambitions, can no longer be tolerated.

Times are changing, and it is time that our leaders' thinking change with it.

SEYMOUR BROTHMAN  
Jerusalem.

## LESS ARROGANCE NEEDED

Sir, - Our prime aim should be to help Jews to escape to freedom. The latest attempt at coercing Russian Jews makes my blood boil.

Instead of trying to build a decent, free and liberal society, we have so far only succeeded in creating one of the worst bureaucracies, marked by coercion and suppression at many levels - a society with a

singular lack of understanding of other person's needs, such as the case of immigrants and Arab.

A little less arrogance, more searching and self-criticism would be *de rigueur* and would attract the people whom we need.

ROSA GOLD  
Haifa.



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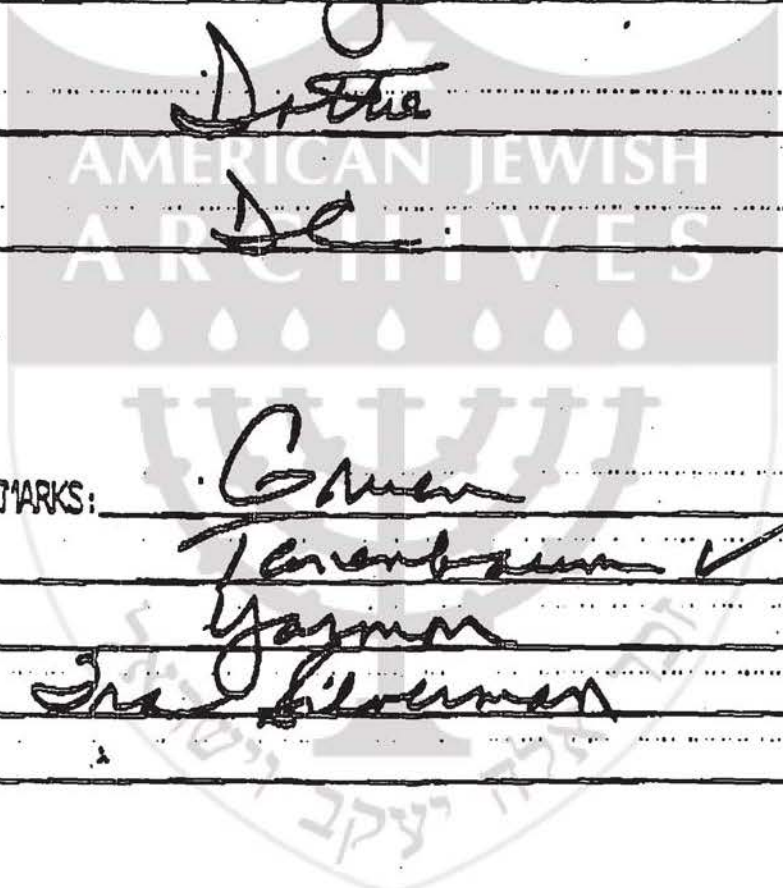
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June 14, 1988

## MUBARAK AWAD: APOSTLE OF NON-VIOLENCE?

There is a widespread conviction that Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian Arab political activist who holds American citizenship, is a dedicated disciple of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., and that he is committed to the philosophy, practice and support of non-violence, and to Arab-Israeli reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

This belief is a serious misconception, based on lack of familiarity with his fundamental views.

A close examination of his key statements to the Arab media--not usually studied by outsiders or non-specialists--reveals that:

1. He does not oppose violence, considering it a legitimate means of advancing Palestinian Arab political goals.
2. He views non-violence as a strategy to complement violence in the Palestinian Arab uprising.
3. He explicitly supports the PLO. His strategy of non-violence is not designed to supplant the PLO's "armed struggle," meaning terrorism, and he does not reject its doctrine of and aspiration to the ultimate liquidation of Israel.

Mr. Awad's underlying views have been spelled out explicitly and unambiguously in his principal work--"Non-Violent resistance: A strategy for the occupied territories," an article in the authoritative Journal of Palestine Studies, Volume 12, #2 (Winter, 1984), reprinted by New Society Publishers.

The following are excerpts from that article:

\* The tactic of non-violence "does not determine the methods open to the Palestinians on the outside [of the Israeli-controlled areas]; nor does it constitute a rejection of the concept of armed struggle. Neither does it rule out the possibility that the struggle on the inside may turn into an armed struggle at a later stage."

\* "First, non-violence is a total and serious struggle, nothing short of a real war. Second, non-violent struggle is not negative or positive. It is an active, affirmative operation, a form of mobile warfare."

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\* "It is not necessary that a non-violent strategy be politically moderate. The non-violent movement need not prefer a solution based on a two-state solution over a secular democratic state in all of Palestine."

For those who are unfamiliar with its clear implications, the term "secular democratic state in all of Palestine" is the common PLO formula for the liquidation of Israel.

\* "Non-violence can be successfully utilized, at least in part, by individuals who are not necessarily committed to non-violence and who may choose, at a different stage, to engage in armed struggle."

\* "There is the instinctive need of demonstrators to draw the Israeli army into a confrontation with them. The methods most commonly used presently are to burn tires, throw stones, or set up roadblocks.

"Palestinians...can attempt to block roads, prevent communications, cut electricity, telephone and water lines, prevent the movement of equipment and in other ways obstruct the government in carrying out its unjust plans."

In the context of a wave of violence, such acts are dangerous and could be lethal. In addition, this tactic is specifically designed to compel the government to intervene to restore order, thus producing violent confrontation.

Mr. Awad does not conceal his staunch support for the PLO. In an interview with the Saudi newspaper Al-Majala, on November 17, 1987, he stated: "We have already said, and we continue to say, that the PLO is our only legal representative and the only one authorized to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people...As for ourselves, our activities complement those of the PLO."

In Mubarak Awad's view, all means are legitimate in the struggle for "the great victory." As his writings and statements make clear, his chief criterion for choosing one method over the other at a given time is expediency, not morality.



### The Israel Supreme Court Decision on Mubarak Awad

On June 5, 1988, Israel's Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, rejected Mr. Awad's appeal of the government's expulsion order. The Court refrained from addressing the question of Awad's political activities, and restricted itself to refuting the legal claims he advanced concerning his civil status under the law.

The Court ruled, contrary to Awad's argument, that the 1952 Entry into Israel law, which outlines residency status and the conditions for its loss, governs all cases of inhabitants of the eastern part of Jerusalem who became residents of Israel when the city was reunified following the 1967 Six-Day War. It thus denied Awad's claim that such residents (as himself) enjoy special status. The Court added:

"As is known, for reasons connected with the interests of the residents of East Jerusalem, they were not given Israeli citizenship without their consent and each was given the opportunity to apply and receive citizenship as he pleased. Some applied for and received Israeli citizenship. The petitioner, and many like him, did not. Having abstained from taking Israeli citizenship, it is difficult to accept the claim of "quasi-citizenship" which carries rights but not obligations."

The Court noted that the law specifically stipulates that a resident may lose his status if any of three conditions are applicable: If the person has (1) resided outside Israel for at least 7 years; (2) received a permanent residence permit in that country; (3) become a naturalized citizen of that country.

The Court found that the petitioner had fulfilled each of these disqualifying criteria.

Having been a Jordanian citizen resident in Jerusalem, Mr. Awad left Israel on his own volition in 1970 and was lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States in 1973. He acquired American citizenship in 1978. He can therefore not be considered a permanent resident of Israel.

He was granted U.S. citizenship by naturalization, in accordance with U.S. immigration law which required that "he intends to reside permanently in the U.S." (United States Code, Title 8, Section 1449).



Now he has declared before the Israeli Supreme Court that he never intended to abandon his permanent residence status in Jerusalem, and that he used his "American citizenship and passport solely for bureaucratic reasons of convenience, without attaching to them any importance or weight whatsoever regarding his designated place of residence in Jerusalem," and that he has "viewed Jerusalem as his place of residence always" (Paras. 6d and 16c of his petition to the Supreme Court).

Thus, Mr. Awad admits to having willfully misrepresented his status, under oath, to the American judicial and administrative authorities before and upon taking up U.S. citizenship--just as he willfully misrepresented his activities and political aims before the Israeli authorities and the media.

Every country, including the U.S., reserves the right to determine who will enter its territory, and no country allows visitors to participate in hostile political activity.

Thus, American law provides for the exclusion of any alien who is "a member or affiliate of a subversive organization or a person likely to engage in activity prejudicial to the national safety or welfare."

Mr. Awad's last visitor's permit, issued to him as a tourist on his U.S. passport, expired on November 20, 1967, and he remained in the country illegally. Being neither an Israeli citizen nor a permanent resident, he could have been summarily deported. Nevertheless, he was granted the right of appeal. After three weeks of deliberation, the Israel Supreme Court confirmed the government's authority to act as it did in this case, and rejected his appeal.

Israel willingly hosts many Arab-Americans who come to the country as visitors. Steps to expel Mr. Awad were taken only after his visa had expired and it became clear that he engaged in activity prejudicial to Israel's national safety.