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Box 64, Folder 6, Israel Office [American Jewish Committee],
1971.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
PL-1-4000

Date 4/5/71

TO: Rabbi Taurbaun

FROM: DR. GEORGE E. GRUEN

- For your information.
- From our office in Israel.
- You requested this.
- Read and return, please.
- Returned as requested.
- Please talk to me about this.
- Your (written) comments, please.

REMARKS:

Marc Janenbaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE - Israel Office

71-585-44

DATE: 31 March 1971

TO: George E. Gruen

APR 5 1971

SUBJ: The Arabs of Israel; Part II. Abu-Gosh Portrait of an 'Israëli 'Arâb Village
(Part I. Between Two Fires, dated March 18, 1971; Doc. No. 71-585-37)

The village of Abu-Gosh is only about 10 kilometers from the capital of Israel. It occupies a dominant position on the road between the coastal plain and Jerusalem, and has a history rich in adventure and anecdote; although its inhabitants are renowned for their independence of spirit and resolute resistance to all kinds of outside encroachment, the villagers of Abu-Gosh have earned a reputation of seeking and managing to secure for themselves the most cordial of relations with their neighbors both during the British Mandatory rule and after the establishment of the State of Israel.

The people of Abu-Gosh have a knack for the practical, the immediate and the relevant. They are, in a way, a living testimony to the fact that in normal times and circumstances men's chief preoccupation is with the business of daily living rather than with ideological issues, nice national and ethnic distinctions, or political party allegiances. During the past five decades of turmoil, of strife between nationalist Jew and nationalist Arab, a period which witnessed three radical changes of regimes, four full-scale wars and numerous armed clashes and acts of bloodshed, the people of Abu-Gosh sought only one thing; to live in peace and safety and to earn their livelihoods in honor and dignity. A highly-placed Israel official whose job it is to deal with the country's Arab citizens once declared that the Arabs of Israel cannot be expected to owe "absolute loyalty" to the State "as they belong to another nationality". In numerous conversations with Arab villagers, from Abu-Gosh as well as from other parts of the country, one could not fail to notice that, insofar as he does owe "absolute loyalty" to any person, place or institution, the Arab of Israel - rather like other men everywhere - preserves this sentiment to his person and his kith, his own house and plot of land, and his family and hamula (extended family).

This of course has its pitfalls. Though relatively quite a high proportion of the villagers of Abu-Gosh pay their taxes to the Local Council, not enough do so in order to keep local government going nor do all members of the Council display enough public spirit or are willing to give enough of their time and energy to the village's welfare to be an example for others. "The Local Council does very little indeed," said a desultory-looking Councilor. "There are no services to speak of; health, education and sanitation are completely neglected." "My son is in the fifth form yet he cannot read or write," exclaimed a man who sat at the same table in the local cafe. "Every end of term he brings home his certificate, and against every subject it's written 'Not Enough'; yet the following year he finds himself in the higher form and the situation gets worse and worse with the passage of years."

Abu-Gosh is not quite typical of Arab villages in Israel. Being uniquely situated as almost a suburb of Jerusalem has its disadvantages as well as its many advantages. For with only a portion of its original lands now cultivated by its own inhabitants, Abu-Gosh has grown increasingly dependent on the capital. The year or so of economic entrenchment which preceded the Six-Day War affected the villagers' livelihoods as acutely as it did any other Arab village in Israel. Yet these villagers have, by the sheer accident of geography, been denied the fruits of the relative prosperity which followed the 1967 war. For the simple fact is that the people of Abu-Gosh have for the past four years been feeling the sting of "unfair" competition from their fellow Palestinian Arabs of East Jerusalem and the other territories now held by the Israel Defence Army. "Would it that we had never set eyes on their faces!" exclaimed one fairly well-to-do inhabitant of Abu-Gosh while sitting in the guest room of his house, whose construction, furniture and internal architecture compare favorably with many a modern flat in Jerusalem. Asked to be more specific, our host - a building sub-contractor and the owner of a large vineyard - said that whereas

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before the onset of the West Bank Palestinians, Jerusalem contractors offered him over IL 40 per day for a skilled building laborer, they can now hire any number of such workers for as little as half or even a third of that sum.

Again, his grapes, famous for their quality, size and aroma, did not have a market these past summers, when choice fruit from Hebron's renowned vineyards sold at the absurd price of 3 kilograms per IL 1.00! Not even the nicely-situated, pleasantly-furnished cafe-restaurant, the Caravan, owned by a relative - the whole village is inhabited by four hamulas - did escape unscathed from the competition. Instead of patronizing the Caravan, Jerusalemites out for a brief excursion now prefer the far more novel experience of frequenting a cafe in Ramallah or East Jerusalem. He admitted, though, that in 1971 the competition has become far less acute. The complaints against fellow Palestinian Arabs revolve around such prosaic subjects of day-to-day interest; the larger, somewhat abstract questions of shared "nationality", Arab or even Palestinian solidarity seem never to occur to the people of Abu-Gosh in this unexpected encounter with their neighbors and former compatriots.

This should not, however, be taken as meaning that during the 23 years of Israeli rule the inhabitants of Abu-Gosh - or of other Arab villages in Israel for that matter - have undergone such profound social change and acculturation that they have surrendered their old allegiances and loyalties. The contrary is almost true; for the curious thing is that, while profound changes and all but revolutionary social processes were taking place in well-nigh every sphere of the lives of these villagers, the traditional social structure has not only remained intact but in some cases was even strengthened and entrenched.

This should not surprise us. For while outside influences and pressures on the traditional order of things may mount, the tenacity normally displayed by small groups in face of almost cataclysmic change in the general socio-political structure is a well-known sociological phenomenon. Recent studies have in fact shown how hamulas, in Arab villages in Israel, after a period of gradual break-up during the Thirties and Forties, revived after the establishment of Israel to meet new challenges and new uncertainties. Rather than abandoning them in face of outside sociocultural pressures, it was shown that it is through these traditional methods of organization that these villagers now regulate their relations with the outside world, and accommodate themselves to the strange and bewildering world of modern political institutions of Israel. In other words, the intensity and the strong impact of change have often proved so great that, in order the better to meet them, our villagers had to fall back on the only way of social organization which they had known well and that had stood the test of time.

This tenacious survival, and even strengthening, of the old institution of the hamula is noticeable at every step in a village like Abu-Gosh, to the extent even of making people think of the central authority in terms of a parental relationship. "We are like unto a family," this reporter was told by a fairly literate companion from the village. "A family depends for its progress and prosperity on the actions of its head, and the head of this particular family of ours is the Government in Jerusalem." The authorities are expected to do all and to help in every step and in every measure, and when this help is not forthcoming, when the villagers are faced with the proposition that it is they who have to take the first steps, the aspect they present is one of genuine helplessness and near incomprehension.

This state of affairs presents its paradoxes and its own difficulties. On the one hand, Abu-Gosh has long ceased to be a self-contained society. Its economy became integrated within the industrial economy of the country, the bulk of the inhabitants earning their livelihoods from wage labor in Jerusalem and surrounding settlements. Administratively, it came under the jurisdiction of the central government, whose various institutions and

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agencies penetrate into many spheres of the village's life. Yet notwithstanding all these far-reaching changes the old traditional socio-political organizations and frameworks not only continue to function but actually gain momentum, re-emerging after a long period of weakening and gradual disintegration.

The practical outcome of this sharp discrepancy between developments introduced from the outside and ones imposed from within the body social is felt in every sphere of the villagers' life. It makes meaningful integration of the villagers into the country's overall economic, political and social structure all but impracticable. The difficulty does not always stem from either the villagers or the central authority, but is often to be found in factors outside the reach of both. One of these factors, or sets of factors, has to do with the uncertainties and obvious complexities of the situation attending the Israeli-Arab dispute throughout the past 24 years, and inevitably reflected in the respective attitudes towards each other of Arab and Jewish Israelis. One of the results of the events which Israel and the region as a whole witnessed during these past few years in the State's existence has been that it put everything very much in flux. On the threshold of their 25th year of life as Israeli citizens the Arabs of Israel, and amongst them the proud villagers of Abu-Gosh, find themselves facing new vistas and new possibilities - exactly like their Jewish compatriots. The future course of development within Arab society in Israel will in large measure depend upon the final shape of things which will have to emerge from the present rather fluid state of things in the sphere of Israel-Arab relations in general.

But there are other, less tangible factors which tend to determine the present status and the possible future of Israel's Arab citizens. These have more to do with ideologies and attitudes than with purely socio-economic or general political circumstances. The third and last part of this series of reports on the Arabs of Israel will be devoted to some of these questions.

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Mare Janinbaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE - Israel Office

71-585-27

DATE: March 7, 1971

TO: George E. Gruen

FROM: M. Bernard Resnikoff

SUBJ: The Nerve Center of the Emergency Campaign

Because I thought it would be of interest to see how an Israel journalist describes American campaign programs, there appears below an article by Moshe Shagi which appeared in the February 24th issue of "Ha'aretz". It carried a Los Angeles date-line.

* * *

Los Angeles - How \$400 million is collected for Israel

How does one collect \$400 million? Who are the people who take part in such an enterprise? What are the systems and techniques used here in order to bring in dollars for Israel?

The nerve center of the emergency campaign is located in the Jewish Communal Building in Los Angeles. At the desks sit women most of whom have passed the age of 60.

The financial aid scheme for Israel is only a part of a much larger and comprehensive scheme for mutual aid for Jews beginning with Rumanian Jewry and ending with the Jews of Tunisia and Morocco. The local needs of Jews in Los Angeles also claim a large chunk from the cake. Synagogues, schools, universities and hospitals eat into the main portion of the booty.

There are two main funds for the enlistment of moneys: the one is the Emergency Campaign for Israel, whose funds are completely dedicated to Israel; the second is the Jewish Welfare Fund which serves local and international Jewish needs. From this fund too, close to 50% of the contributions finally reach Israel. Both these funds have set themselves a total target of \$400 million this year.

As there is over 10% of U.S. Jewry living in L.A., the local funds have been assigned with the enlistment of \$50 million.

Methods of Fund-raising

There are four main methods of fund-raising. The first and most important is personal contact. Hundreds of volunteers, from doctors and lawyers to plumbers and newspaper sellers, participate in the house-to-house visits according to lists prepared in advance. The lists are classified according to areas, profession and enterprise. Thus the appropriate volunteer is generally sent to the area where he will have the most personal influence. Doctors to doctors, plumbers to plumbers and the contributions come in.

Official fund-raising this year will begin on March 1 and will end on May 30. In this period, all other campaigns will cease operating and all effort will be concentrated in direction. Despite the fact that the campaign has not yet been officially inaugurated, over \$11 million have already been raised, as compared with \$7 million in 1966, \$16 million in 1967 and \$17 million in 1970. A substantial portion of the sum collected is contributed by a group of five persons. During the last visit here of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, a banquet was held in her honor at the home of one of the notables of the town. On that evening alone over \$5 million were raised.

Such meetings, where groups of fifteen to twenty-five persons assemble in a private home, generally with the participation of an Israeli speaker, serve as a further means of fund-raising.

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Several weeks ago a meeting of doctors was held in the home of one of the members. The host, who was not one of the wealthy ones in the group, admitted that although he was not one of the prosperous ones he had decided to double his contribution as the result of his unquestioning faith in the increasing urgency of the needs of Israel. Following upon this, all those present were asked to declare what they were prepared to give.

Part of the Way of Life

Several days ago a banquet was held in the city with the participation of Ambassador Yitzhad Rabin accompanied by four members of the kibbutz, Kfar Ruppin. About 250 persons were invited to this banquet. At the conclusion of the speeches, the invitees were asked to announce the amount of their contributions. The social pressure created by the calling out of names and contributions in public, together with the ready willingness of the invitees to contribute towards Israel, resulted in \$330,000 being raised.

The book of contributions issued annually containing the amount of the contribution next to the name of the contributor is also a useful means for extensive social pressure on the public.

In Los Angeles there are 60,000 contributors which represents about one-third of the total Jewish population (or 200,000 persons). In order to bring in new contributors, the campaign makes extensive use of the mail. Requests for contributions reach the majority of Jewish inhabitants through the mail.

Recently, a check for \$1,000 was sent to the campaign anonymously. On investigation, the address on the envelope was found to be incorrect, the bank account was adequate but exactly covered the amount of the contribution.

The youth too contribute their share to the campaign, and in 1970 they collected more than \$60,000.

Fund-raising here has become an integral part of the way of life. Cooperation within the Jewish community and mutual aid for the needy are far more developed here than in the other communities. The enthusiasm, love and devotion, typical of this community in its communal work, despite the intrigues which are also an unavoidable part of the organization, give to its members a feeling of security and belonging which is a rare asset in the United States.

31 March 1971
Vol. II No. 6

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ISRAEL OFFICE
9 Ethiopia Street
Jerusalem

71-585-45

FROM THE ARAB PRESS

In the interests of improving Jewish-Arab understanding, the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee translates and distributes, twice a month, material appearing in the Arab press. Though material is sometimes extracted for brevity it is extracted in context and there is no attempt to delete or to editorialize. The selection is based on an objective judgment of relevance. Comments or reactions are welcome.

The material is generally taken from AL-QUDS, an independent daily published in East Jerusalem; AL-BASHEER, a weekly newspaper published in Bethlehem; ALWAN, a monthly for literature and the arts published in East Jerusalem; AL MIRSAD, a weekly published in Tel Aviv by Mapam; and AL-ANBA, a Jerusalem daily sponsored by the Israeli Government.

* * *

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

26 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "A Settlement by Stages"

U.A.R. Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad's assertion that his Government has reached the end of the road, and Marshal Tito's statement that efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem have entered a blind alley, may not mean that all the doors are now shut, or that war is in the offing. There are indications, in fact, that several quarters, and probably the U.S. first of all, still believe that one door remains open through which these efforts may pass with a minimum of difficulties and stumbling blocks.

This door, it has now become obvious, is the one through which a way may be found for the reopening of the Suez Canal, to be made possible by an Israeli pull-back but without being accompanied by a parallel withdrawal of Egyptian troops on the west bank of the Canal.

It is most likely that the announcement made by certain Israeli sources that Israel has not rejected the proposed reopening of the Canal and that she is willing to withdraw 48 kilometers to the east of the Canal, mean that this may be the only serious way out (of the impasse) on which the U.S. and Israel may now agree. It is to be recalled that it was President Sadat who first broached this proposal.

It might not be an exaggeration to say that concentration on this particular subject stems from the conviction of the various leading parties, and especially Washington, that the most relevant and likeliest way to a settlement does not present itself in the form of an overall solution to be attained in one installment but in a gradual settlement coming in stages, the first of which would be the opening of the Suez Canal. Such a gradual settlement may be the only way through which the parties interested can be made to leap over the high wall which is now in danger of barring the way before the continuation of the Jarring mission.

* * *

22 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "Whither the Peaceful Settlement?"

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir asserts time and again that Israel would never withdraw to any borders except those which Israel herself deems secure, and that she rejects all international guarantees. On the other hand, the Committee charged with preparing the

(More)

U.A.R. for war, headed by President Anwar al-Sadat, resolves to mobilize all the country's resources to be ready for the battle, and its decisions encompass the whole length and breadth of Egypt.

Furthermore, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban declares, after his meeting with the U.S. U.N. Ambassador George Bush, that close ties and an identity of interests link Washington to Israel, whereas Bush himself affirms that his Government supports Dr. Jarring's mission; hinting at "some" differences between his country and Israel, however, Bush goes on to assert that both countries are eager to restore peace to the Middle East.

Amidst all these sometimes contradictory, sometimes vague pronouncements, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers comes up with the statement that he will continue his quest for peace, as though he wants to suggest that the proposals carrying his name, and the Jarring mission to which he continues to pledge his country's support, no longer constituted the road to a peaceful settlement!

Out of all this darkness, the questions which the ordinary inhabitant of the Middle East and the world as a whole would want to ask are: When and how will Rogers and others stumble on the peaceful settlement? Is it possible that the U.S. needs so much time, effort and contemplation in order to bring about a peaceful solution? Or is the U.S. perhaps trying to keep such a peaceful settlement "buried" under enormous heaps of interests and ambitions?

* * *

MRS. MEIR'S "TIMES" INTERVIEW

19 March 1971; AL-ANBA: "Concerning Mrs. Meir's Interview" by Muhammed Nasiriyya

A great deal is being said these days about the statements made lately by Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir to the Deputy-Editor of the London Times. In what people say in their drawing rooms and private conversations, there is almost a consensus of opinion to the effect that Mrs. Meir's statements were unreasonable, and that Arabs everywhere cannot under any circumstances agree to her proposals, since any settlement of the Middle East crisis will have to be a just settlement giving each party its legitimate rights.

If, however, Mrs. Golda Meir is trying to impose her proposals on the Arabs because she speaks from a position of strength, then she is making a mistake. The Prime Minister must not forget that force, war and destruction cannot accomplish that meaningful peace which all the parties to the dispute advocate.

Israel no doubt can continue to hold on to all the territories she has occupied; she can also say openly that she does not want to withdraw from any part of the land of Palestine. Israel cannot, however, at the same time say that she wants peace and reconciliation with the Arabs. After all, everything has a price. If Israel seeks peace, then she must pay the price acceptable to those who can give it to her; she must withdraw from all the territories she occupied in 1967, and be satisfied with keeping those which she occupied in 1948.

Prior to the June war of 1967, Israel used to call for the signing of a peace treaty (with the Arabs). Assuming for a moment that such a peace treaty was to be concluded before June, would Israel then have demanded new Arab territories or would she have returned some territories to their owners in exchange for such a treaty? The Arab States have announced their agreement to recognize Israel and to sign a bona fide peace treaty with her, provided she withdrew from the territories she occupied in 1967.

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Yet Israel has not withdrawn and does not want to withdraw. How, then, can she ask the Arabs to recognize her and sign a peace treaty with her while her troops occupy the land of Palestine and parts of other Arab territories?

* * *

27 March 1971; AL-BASHEER: "Peace!" by Muhammed Nasiriyya (Extracts)

Peace is a lofty hope with all peoples, and especially the Palestinian and Jewish peoples who have had to pay the price of wars which broke out in this region during the past few decades...

The peace which the Arabs want must have a price, and this price has already been paid by the people of Palestine, in the form of lands, towns and villages which Israel occupied in 1948. The peace which Israel wants, on the other hand, is peace without a price...The Arab States have expressed willingness to conclude a peace treaty with Israel; but the Israeli Government does not wish to withdraw...and wants to keep the occupied territories, and first and foremost the Arab city of Jerusalem. What, then, is this peace that Israel is seeking?...What price is Israel willing to pay in exchange for a just peace?

Israel must be assured that the Arabs are earnestly trying to obtain a just peace and that they do not wish to wage another war. But would Israel believe in this desire and withdraw from (occupied) Arab territories, after which peace can be realized, or does she refuse to believe in the Arabs' talk about peace and insists on keeping these territories? This is what the Arab people, and the people of Palestine particularly, want to know frankly from Israel. If Israel wants real peace, then she must withdraw, and there are international guarantees to safeguard the peace after her withdrawal. If, however, Israel wants to keep the territories, then one could justly say that she does not want peace and has no desire to end the Middle East crisis.

* * *

14 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "Mrs. Meir's Statements"

Israeli Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir's interview in the London Times delineates the map which Israel wants for the Middle East in some detail; it also places several clear-cut conditions which Israel stipulates for bringing peace to the area.

These conditions fall into three categories. The first relates to the ultimate status of the Gaza Strip, Sharm el-Sheikh, the Golan Heights and the Arab city of Jerusalem. The second relates to Israel's presence in the whole of Sinai and the two banks of the River Jordan. The third has to do with Israel's refusal to allow the deployment of Egyptian arms in Sinai and of Jordanian arms in the West Bank, and the categorical rejection of any independent Palestinian entity on the assumption that this would bear the seeds of war against Israel.

After stipulating all these conditions, Golda Meir says it is imperative that no more wars should break out, and calls for negotiations provided that none of the parties submit any prior conditions! It is as though Golda Meir does not see that every one of her statements constitutes a prior condition! It is, indeed, as though she does not realize that the logic of her statements implies taking with the left hand all that she wants to give with her right hand, and that such logic means in practice that Golda Meir covers the path to peace with insurmountable obstacles, obstacles arising from the feeling of victory and a conviction that terms can be dictated.

And all this at a time in which Golda Meir and other Israeli leaders never cease denying that their conditions are inspired by victory and continue to assure us that these conditions are motivated by a desire to attain peace. But is it possible to call what Golda Meir wants peace that is meant to last?

* * *

THE PALESTINIANS

22 March 1971; AL-QUDS; This Is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
 "Palestinian Guarantees and International Guarantees"

The problem which U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has described as being extremely grave, and which he said might cause a third world war, is none other than the Palestine problem which concerns the Palestinians first and foremost. However, new cooks were added and the problem became a Middle Eastern one! Then still more cooks were brought in and the problem became an all Arab and then an international one, in which everybody has a stake except the Palestinians themselves.

Finally, at the end of the long trek, the problem became concentrated in the hands of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, or rather the former first and foremost, and the desired settlement became that which is sought by the two Super-Powers, or rather one of them: the U.S. In this way, the term "international guarantees" now denotes what satisfies Washington, without reference to the viewpoint either of the Palestinians or the countries of the Middle East as a whole.

The question is, however: Would American-Soviet guarantees, or unilateral American guarantees, be capable of bringing about a just and lasting peace or just an American-Soviet peace only? The fact is that international guarantees alone will never produce any peace; all they can do is to give us an armistice. This is because international guarantees will never be more than a periodic phenomenon: At a certain stage in their struggle the two Super-Powers will honor them, at another they will be rendered useless, in which case war will break out and more bloodshed will ensue...

And it perhaps is precisely this that the Super-Powers want, and especially the U.S. For what the Super-Powers really want is that the problem remain without a final settlement, and that in any settlement there ought to be left a loophole through which they can provoke more wars in which the peoples of the area would be used as cannon fodder to serve these Powers' own interests and ambitions.

The guarantees which will be capable of really safeguarding peace should be Palestinian as well as international guarantees. The "Palestinian guarantees" can be obtained only through the Palestinian people's being granted its legitimate rights, foremost among which is its right to self-determination through a free referendum, following a period in which the occupied parts of Palestine are placed under U.N. trusteeship. After this, and only after it, should the international guarantees come, as reinforcement for the "Palestinian guarantees" which constitute the first and most important foundation for a just peace.

* * *

21 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "Admiration!" by Sani al-Bitar

Some Israeli officials do not make a secret of their preferences: they prefer to conclude an agreement with the Amman regime concerning the future of the occupied territories. Secret as well as open meetings take place, pronouncements are made in public, strange attitudes assumed, expressions of mutual admiration are made, fond memories invoked, and agreement seems to be imminent!

Golda Meir states: "We shall grant Jordan the right to use the ports of Gaza and Haifa; there is no room for a third State between the sea and the desert; we do not want a State that bears the seeds of hatred..." Shlomo Hillel holds meetings with West Bank leaders, after which he announces to the Press: "The inhabitants of the West Bank cling to the present regime in Amman!" NEWSWEEK tells of an agreement concluded between Israel and Jordan following talks between Allon and Hussein. General Dayan sings the praises of the King's wisdom and his moderation, though he has no faith in the proficiency of (Hussein's) army; and Hussein admires Dayan, "the brave military commander"!

(More)

Eliahu Sasson, the former Minister, speaks in his memoirs about the late King Abdullah, and Sasson is one of those who participated in the conclusion of the Rhodes agreement in 1949, and has written many articles advocating making peace with the former King's grandson!

We do not interfere in the right of officials to say what they like or express their opinions and reveal their sentiments. But if these opinions are liable to harm the rights of others, or hurt the feelings of a whole people, then we have a right to object! Our people has already proclaimed his non-confidence in the leaders of the defeat! Our people demands that those responsible for the massacres, the disasters and the tragedies are brought to account! We reject the attempt made by Minister Hillel to misrepresent the wishes and will of the Arab inhabitants: The leaders whom he has met represent no one but themselves, and he is aware of this!

We assure Mrs. Meir that the uprooting of "the seeds of hatred" will never be accomplished except by recognizing the rights of the peoples, and that persistence on the part of officials in ignoring the rights of the people of Palestine is bound to breed more hatred and more hostility! We reject all agreements concluded in the dark, without the people's supervision, its participation and consent. Any settlement of the conflict must affirm the rights of the two peoples, and must guarantee coexistence and cooperation between them; it must also provide for the elimination of all kinds of domination, exploitation and enslavement.

We demand an end to the occupation and implementation of resolutions adopted by international organizations and safeguarding the rights of the two peoples in the land...The people of Palestine demands its right to self-determination, and seeks to set up a national regime that would guarantee stability, repatriation and dignity.

* * *

JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK

17 March 1971; AL-QUDS: Prickings by Abu Marwan

In all seriousness, I am beginning to doubt very much if the Government in Amman still considers the inhabitants of the West Bank Jordanian citizens!

The behaviour of this Government now gives the impression that it is beginning to rid itself of the burden of this "citizenry" little by little, or at least this is what one may adduce from the abnormal measures taken at the bridge. Otherwise how is one to explain the way in which a citizen who happens to be a great Justice of the Peace is sent back unceremoniously to the West Bank, being prevented from continuing his way to Amman? How, moreover, is one to explain the existence of black lists containing the names of other citizens and kept by the security police across the river? How, finally, is one to explain the regulation to the effect that no document other than a valid passport could constitute sufficient proof of a citizen's identity?

All these measures, with their arbitrariness, cruelty, foolishness and short-sightedness, can have only one meaning; i.e., the Government's gradual abandonment of its duties towards the citizens and their interests. Instead of greeting these citizens with a'halan wa-sahlan and "we have been missing you," the practice now has become to tell them off and shout, "beat it!"....

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17 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "Amman's Latest Measures and Our Senators and Deputies"
by Muhammed Nasiriyah

The measures taken lately by the Jordanian Government against its officials in the West Bank - measures which include dismissals, pensionings and stoppage of salaries, indicate that Amman has lost the hope it entertained during the past three years that it will return to the West Bank. By taking these measures, the Jordanian Government is in fact trying to get rid of employees who served it for decades.

Amman's claim that it suffers from a financial crisis, and that by these dismissals it seeks to solve that crisis, is ludicrous and has no basis in fact. Surely the Government could have found solutions other than dispensing with the services of its officials?

The truth is that the financial crisis from which Amman suffers has its origins in the huge embezzlements committed by the State's senior officials, as well as to the secret funds spent by the Government on various informers and agents who submit libelous reports against innocent people...

Only yesterday the Jordanian Government used to appeal to its officials in the West Bank, through Amman radio and the Jordan press, to continue observing Jordanian regulations and keep considering themselves part and parcel of the civil service on the East Bank. Today, the clouds have scattered and the Jordanian Government has finally decided to stop paying all salaries to West Bank officials, dismissing a considerable number of Judges, Justice Ministry officials, and others from various Ministries and government departments.

These measures have been taken solely because Jordanian government employees in the West Bank are of Palestinian origin. Had it been the contrary, had these officials been of Jordanian origin, neither al-Tal's Government nor any other Jordanian Government would have dared take such a step.

We here in the West Bank do not blame al-Tal's Government for deciding on what it has decided upon. Rather, we blame our Senators, Deputies and Ministers who continue occupying their seats in Parliament and the Cabinet but say nothing, as though they were dumb. If these Deputies and Ministers cannot do anything to protect the Palestinians of the West Bank, it would be far better for them to submit their resignations and leave their posts, which have prevented them from seeing the truth or realizing the conspiracies that are being planned against us and them. He who aspires to lead his people and his country has to make sacrifices, rather than follow others like a despised slave.....

* * *

31 March 1971
Vol. II No. 6

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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FROM THE ARAB PRESS

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THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

26 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "A Settlement by Stages"

U.A.R. Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad's assertion that his Government has reached the end of the road, and Marshal Tito's statement that efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem have entered a blind alley, may not mean that all the doors are now shut, or that war is in the offing. There are indications, in fact, that several quarters, and probably the U.S. first of all, still believe that one door remains open through which these efforts may pass with a minimum of difficulties and stumbling blocks.

This door, it has now become obvious, is the one through which a way may be found for the reopening of the Suez Canal, to be made possible by an Israeli pull-back but without being accompanied by a parallel withdrawal of Egyptian troops on the west bank of the Canal.

It is most likely that the announcement made by certain Israeli sources that Israel has not rejected the proposed reopening of the Canal and that she is willing to withdraw 48 kilometers to the east of the Canal, mean that this may be the only serious way out (of the impasse) on which the U.S. and Israel may now agree. It is to be recalled that it was President Sadat who first broached this proposal.

It might not be an exaggeration to say that concentration on this particular subject stems from the conviction of the various leading parties, and especially Washington, that the most relevant and likeliest way to a settlement does not present itself in the form of an overall solution to be attained in one installment but in a gradual settlement coming in stages, the first of which would be the opening of the Suez Canal. Such a gradual settlement may be the only way through which the parties interested can be made to leap over the high wall which is now in danger of barring the way before the continuation of the Jarring mission.

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22 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "Whither the Peaceful Settlement?"

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir asserts time and again that Israel would never withdraw to any borders except those which Israel herself deems secure, and that she rejects all international guarantees. On the other hand, the Committee charged with preparing the

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U.A.R. for war, headed by President Anwar al-Sadat, resolves to mobilize all the country's resources to be ready for the battle, and its decisions encompass the whole length and breadth of Egypt.

Furthermore, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban declares, after his meeting with the U.S. U.N. Ambassador George Bush, that close ties and an identity of interests link Washington to Israel, whereas Bush himself affirms that his Government supports Dr. Jarring's mission; hinting at "some" differences between his country and Israel, however, Bush goes on to assert that both countries are eager to restore peace to the Middle East.

Amidst all these sometimes contradictory, sometimes vague pronouncements, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers comes up with the statement that he will continue his quest for peace, as though he wants to suggest that the proposals carrying his name, and the Jarring mission to which he continues to pledge his country's support, no longer constituted the road to a peaceful settlement!

Out of all this darkness, the questions which the ordinary inhabitant of the Middle East and the world as a whole would want to ask are: When and how will Rogers and others stumble on the peaceful settlement? Is it possible that the U.S. needs so much time, effort and contemplation in order to bring about a peaceful solution? Or is the U.S. perhaps trying to keep such a peaceful settlement "buried" under enormous heaps of interests and ambitions?

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MRS. MEIR'S "TIMES" INTERVIEW

19 March 1971; AL-ANBA: "Concerning Mrs. Meir's Interview" by Muhammed Nasiriyya

A great deal is being said these days about the statements made lately by Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir to the Deputy-Editor of the London Times. In what people say in their drawing rooms and private conversations, there is almost a consensus of opinion to the effect that Mrs. Meir's statements were unreasonable, and that Arabs everywhere cannot under any circumstances agree to her proposals, since any settlement of the Middle East crisis will have to be a just settlement giving each party its legitimate rights.

If, however, Mrs. Golda Meir is trying to impose her proposals on the Arabs because she speaks from a position of strength, then she is making a mistake. The Prime Minister must not forget that force, war and destruction cannot accomplish that meaningful peace which all the parties to the dispute advocate.

Israel no doubt can continue to hold on to all the territories she has occupied; she can also say openly that she does not want to withdraw from any part of the land of Palestine. Israel cannot, however, at the same time say that she wants peace and reconciliation with the Arabs. After all, everything has a price. If Israel seeks peace, then she must pay the price acceptable to those who can give it to her; she must withdraw from all the territories she occupied in 1967, and be satisfied with keeping those which she occupied in 1948.

Prior to the June war of 1967, Israel used to call for the signing of a peace treaty (with the Arabs). Assuming for a moment that such a peace treaty was to be concluded before June, would Israel then have demanded new Arab territories or would she have returned some territories to their owners in exchange for such a treaty? The Arab States have announced their agreement to recognize Israel and to sign a bona fide peace treaty with her, provided she withdrew from the territories she occupied in 1967.

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Yet Israel has not withdrawn and does not want to withdraw. How, then, can she ask the Arabs to recognize her and sign a peace treaty with her while her troops occupy the land of Palestine and parts of other Arab territories?

* * *

27 March 1971; AL-BASHEER: "Peace!" by Muhammed Nasiriyya (Extracts)

Peace is a lofty hope with all peoples, and especially the Palestinian and Jewish peoples who have had to pay the price of wars which broke out in this region during the past few decades...

The peace which the Arabs want must have a price, and this price has already been paid by the people of Palestine, in the form of lands, towns and villages which Israel occupied in 1948. The peace which Israel wants, on the other hand, is peace without a price...The Arab States have expressed willingness to conclude a peace treaty with Israel; but the Israeli Government does not wish to withdraw...and wants to keep the occupied territories, and first and foremost the Arab city of Jerusalem. What, then, is this peace that Israel is seeking?...What price is Israel willing to pay in exchange for a just peace?

Israel must be assured that the Arabs are earnestly trying to obtain a just peace and that they do not wish to wage another war. But would Israel believe in this desire and withdraw from (occupied) Arab territories, after which peace can be realized, or does she refuse to believe in the Arabs' talk about peace and insists on keeping these territories? This is what the Arab people, and the people of Palestine particularly, want to know frankly from Israel. If Israel wants real peace, then she must withdraw, and there are international guarantees to safeguard the peace after her withdrawal. If, however, Israel wants to keep the territories, then one could justly say that she does not want peace and has no desire to end the Middle East crisis.

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14 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "Mrs. Meir's Statements"

Israeli Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir's interview in the London Times delineates the map which Israel wants for the Middle East in some detail; it also places several clear-cut conditions which Israel stipulates for bringing peace to the area.

These conditions fall into three categories. The first relates to the ultimate status of the Gaza Strip, Sharm el-Sheikh, the Golan Heights and the Arab city of Jerusalem. The second relates to Israel's presence in the whole of Sinai and the two banks of the River Jordan. The third has to do with Israel's refusal to allow the deployment of Egyptian arms in Sinai and of Jordanian arms in the West Bank, and the categorical rejection of any independent Palestinian entity on the assumption that this would bear the seeds of war against Israel.

After stipulating all these conditions, Golda Meir says it is imperative that no more wars should break out, and calls for negotiations provided that none of the parties submit any prior conditions! It is as though Golda Meir does not see that every one of her statements constitutes a prior condition! It is, indeed, as though she does not realize that the logic of her statements implies taking with the left hand all that she wants to give with her right hand, and that such logic means in practice that Golda Meir covers the path to peace with insurmountable obstacles, obstacles arising from the feeling of victory and a conviction that terms can be dictated.

And all this at a time in which Golda Meir and other Israeli leaders never cease denying that their conditions are inspired by victory and continue to assure us that these conditions are motivated by a desire to attain peace. But is it possible to call what Golda Meir wants peace that is meant to last?

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THE PALESTINIANS

22 March 1971; AL-QUDS; This Is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
 "Palestinian Guarantees and International Guarantees"

The problem which U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has described as being extremely grave, and which he said might cause a third world war, is none other than the Palestine problem which concerns the Palestinians first and foremost. However, new cooks were added and the problem became a Middle Eastern one! Then still more cooks were brought in and the problem became an all Arab and then an international one, in which everybody has a stake except the Palestinians themselves.

Finally, at the end of the long trek, the problem became concentrated in the hands of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, or rather the former first and foremost, and the desired settlement became that which is sought by the two Super-Powers, or rather one of them: the U.S. In this way, the term "international guarantees" now denotes what satisfies Washington, without reference to the viewpoint either of the Palestinians or the countries of the Middle East as a whole.

The question is, however: Would American-Soviet guarantees, or unilateral American guarantees, be capable of bringing about a just and lasting peace or just an American-Soviet peace only? The fact is that international guarantees alone will never produce any peace; all they can do is to give us an armistice. This is because international guarantees will never be more than a periodic phenomenon: At a certain stage in their struggle the two Super-Powers will honor them, at another they will be rendered useless, in which case war will break out and more bloodshed will ensue...

And it perhaps is precisely this that the Super-Powers want, and especially the U.S. For what the Super-Powers really want is that the problem remain without a final settlement, and that in any settlement there ought to be left a loophole through which they can provoke more wars in which the peoples of the area would be used as cannon fodder to serve these Powers' own interests and ambitions.

The guarantees which will be capable of really safeguarding peace should be Palestinian as well as international guarantees. The "Palestinian guarantees" can be obtained only through the Palestinian people's being granted its legitimate rights, foremost among which is its right to self-determination through a free referendum, following a period in which the occupied parts of Palestine are placed under U.N. trusteeship. After this, and only after it, should the international guarantees come, as reinforcement for the "Palestinian guarantees" which constitute the first and most important foundation for a just peace.

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21 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "Admiration!" by Sani al-Bitar

Some Israeli officials do not make a secret of their preferences: they prefer to conclude an agreement with the Amman regime concerning the future of the occupied territories. Secret as well as open meetings take place pronouncements are made in public, strange attitudes assumed, expressions of mutual admiration are made, fond memories invoked, and agreement seems to be imminent!

Golda Meir states: "We shall grant Jordan the right to use the ports of Gaza and Haifa; there is no room for a third State between the sea and the desert; we do not want a state that bears the seeds of hatred..." Shlomo Hillel holds meetings with West Bank leaders, after which he announces to the Press: "The inhabitants of the West Bank cling to the present regime in Amman!" NEWSWEEK tells of an agreement concluded between Israel and Jordan following talks between Allon and Hussein; General Dayan sings the praises of the King's wisdom and his moderation, though he has no faith in the proficiency of (Hussein's) army; and Hussein admires Dayan, "the brave military commander!"

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Eliahu Sasson, the former Minister, speaks in his memoirs about the late King Abdullah, and Sasson is one of those who participated in the conclusion of the Rhodes agreement in 1949, and has written many articles advocating making peace with the former King's grandson!

We do not interfere in the right of officials to say what they like or express their opinions and reveal their sentiments. But if these opinions are liable to harm the rights of others, or hurt the feelings of a whole people, then we have a right to object! Our people has already proclaimed his non-confidence in the leaders of the defeat! Our people demands that those responsible for the massacres, the disasters and the tragedies are brought to account! We reject the attempt made by Minister Hillel to misrepresent the wishes and will of the Arab inhabitants: The leaders whom he has met represent no one but themselves, and he is aware of this!

We assure Mrs. Meir that the uprooting of "the seeds of hatred" will never be accomplished except by recognizing the rights of the peoples, and that persistence on the part of officials in ignoring the rights of the people of Palestine is bound to breed more hatred and more hostility! We reject all agreements concluded in the dark, without the people's supervision, its participation and consent. Any settlement of the conflict must affirm the rights of the two peoples, and must guarantee coexistence and cooperation between them; it must also provide for the elimination of all kinds of domination, exploitation and enslavement.

We demand an end to the occupation and implementation of resolutions adopted by international organizations and safeguarding the rights of the two peoples in the land...The people of Palestine demands its right to self-determination, and seeks to set up a national regime that would guarantee stability, repatriation and dignity.

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JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK

17 March 1971; AL-QUDS: Prickings by Abu Marwan

In all seriousness, I am beginning to doubt very much if the Government in Amman still considers the inhabitants of the West Bank Jordanian citizens!

The behaviour of this Government now gives the impression that it is beginning to rid itself of the burden of this "citizenry" little by little, or at least this is what one may adduce from the abnormal measures taken at the bridge. Otherwise how is one to explain the way in which a citizen who happens to be a great Justice of the Peace is sent back unceremoniously to the West Bank, being prevented from continuing his way to Amman? How, moreover, is one to explain the existence of black lists containing the names of other citizens and kept by the security police across the river? How, finally, is one to explain the regulation to the effect that no document other than a valid passport could constitute sufficient proof of a citizen's identity?

All these measures, with their arbitrariness, cruelty, foolishness and short-sightedness, can have only one meaning; i.e., the Government's gradual abandonment of its duties towards the citizens and their interests. Instead of greeting these citizens with ahalan wa-sahlan and "we have been missing you," the practice now has become to tell them off and shout, "beat it!"....

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17 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "Amman's Latest Measures and Our Senators and Deputies"
by Muhammed Nasiriyya

The measures taken lately by the Jordanian Government against its officials in the West Bank - measures which include dismissals, pensionings and stoppage of salaries, indicate that Amman has lost the hope it entertained during the past three years that it will return to the West Bank. By taking these measures, the Jordanian Government is in fact trying to get rid of employees who served it for decades.

Amman's claim that it suffers from a financial crisis, and that by these dismissals it seeks to solve that crisis, is ludicrous and has no basis in fact. Surely the Government could have found solutions other than dispensing with the services of its officials?

The truth is that the financial crisis from which Amman suffers has its origins in the huge embezzlements committed by the State's senior officials, as well as to the secret funds spent by the Government on various informers and agents who submit libelous reports against innocent people...

Only yesterday the Jordanian Government used to appeal to its officials in the West Bank, through Amman radio and the Jordan press, to continue observing Jordanian regulations and keep considering themselves part and parcel of the civil service on the East Bank. Today, the clouds have scattered and the Jordanian Government has finally decided to stop paying all salaries to West Bank officials, dismissing a considerable number of Judges, Justice Ministry officials, and others from various Ministries and government departments.

These measures have been taken solely because Jordanian government employees in the West Bank are of Palestinian origin. Had it been the contrary, had these officials been of Jordanian origin, neither al-Tal's Government nor any other Jordanian Government would have dared take such a step.

We here in the West Bank do not blame al-Tal's Government for deciding on what it has decided upon. Rather, we blame our Senators, Deputies and Ministers who continue occupying their seats in Parliament and the Cabinet but say nothing, as though they were dumb. If these Deputies and Ministers cannot do anything to protect the Palestinians of the West Bank, it would be far better for them to submit their resignations and leave their posts, which have prevented them from seeing the truth or realizing the conspiracies that are being planned against us and them. He who aspires to lead his people and his country has to make sacrifices, rather than follow others like a despised slave.....

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Report from ...
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
ISRAEL

Published by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

February 1971

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

February 1971

NOTE: The following report is sent regularly to the American Jewish Committee by an Israeli observer of affairs in that country. His comments do not necessarily reflect the views of the AJC.

This is a time of grave difficulty for Israel. The cease-fire agreement between Israel and Egypt, now in effect for a total of six months, has been extended by Egyptian last minute consent for just one more month, reportedly on an express promise from Secretary of State William P. Rogers to see to it that from now on the Jarring talks will offer more concrete results. What these results might be, we shall see in a minute.

The United Nations General Assembly resolved in November 1970 to give the parties a chance to make progress on the Jarring talks. At the end of December Israel returned to the talks, and early in January she gained a tactical advantage in having Jarring visit Israel and receive from Prime Minister Golda Meir Israel's plan which contained 14 constructive points. The three major points were: Withdrawal from occupied areas against agreement on safe and defensible borders, cancellation of the Arab boycott, and an undertaking by all sides to settle the refugee problem. The proposals were put to Egypt and Jordan. The latter made vague and rather hostile noises in its reply, but these did not matter. In actual fact Jordan today is no danger or trouble to Israel. The danger comes from Egypt, which went back to its basic demand, a pledge by Israel to total withdrawal from all occupied territories, before any talks can take place. Egypt then threatened two things: To resume the fighting along the Suez Canal, and to take the matter back to the U.N. Security Council, where the dice are all loaded against Israel.

No War Until March 7?

Both these steps have now been temporarily put off, but Egypt has managed to put Israel on the spot once again. The world breathes in relief that the

fighting at the Suez Canal is not being resumed right this minute, and time has been bought, for just thirty more days. But, what will happen next? From Israel, the following situation should be reported:

Every time a cease-fire is officially due to expire, the armed forces are on the alert, and everybody is very tense. The same is probably true of the other side as well. In Israel this is a great strain on resources and also on nerves. The public kept asking one question in the three weeks before February 5, the end of the cease-fire: Will there be war? And if it will not break out again now, when will it break out?

The one thing virtually nobody here believed in is the coming of peace. The reason is simple. The Egyptians want total and unconditional withdrawal, while the Israelis want total and firm peace. The two positions are fundamentally different, and unless someone can bridge the gap between them, nothing will come of the Jarring talks, the U.N. Security Council resolutions, or even talks by the U.N. ambassadors of the Four Powers, or Secretary William P. Rogers' optimistic interventions with either party. The outlook, from Israel, appears grim.

True, for the moment the parties are jostling for positions of tactical advantage. Progress could be made, if the Egyptians were ready to listen, and there appears to be some popular desire for peace. However, President Sadat is believed to be under terrific pressure from his young officers to resume the war. These young bloods just want to fight, even if they surely will be beaten again, as most of them know they will. Second, on the international scene Egypt has considerable backing, from the Afro-Asians at the U.N. and not least, from Britain and France, and of course Russia. Only American still maintains a balanced view, talking to both the Egyptians and the Israelis, and managing to cool both sides. How long this will last, it is difficult to say.

Withdrawals and elections

It should be made clear, that after all the debating in Israel about secure borders, withdrawals, and whether Israel should or could absorb a million more Arabs with the occupied areas, this much is clear. The present government, representing no doubt the majority view of the people at this time, will not agree to unconditional withdrawals from anywhere before it is certain that the Arabs will make peace. There will be no prior withdrawal. If the alternative to that is fighting, then fighting it will be. The right-wing Gahal party left the government last August over the issue of whether Israel should resume the Jarring talks. Now, the talks have been resumed, but if Israel is

forced to go beyond talks into unilateral withdrawals, without any assurances for peace and secure, or defensible, borders, then Mrs. Meir's government will ask for elections, to get a new mandate from the people. Arrangements have quietly been made by the majority, headed by the Israel Labor party, for snap elections to be held, if such a mandate has to be asked for at very short notice.

Rely on Itself-- Not Guarantees

Until this happens, Israel may have to face several difficult situations. One course is a possible new outbreak of war. Israel does not wish to be the starter of another war in this area, one which would perhaps--but no more than perhaps--lead to a larger conflagration. Another would be a change in the American position, whereby the United States would demand of Israel to start withdrawals from some occupied areas as a first step toward some peace arrangements. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan suggested as much himself six weeks ago, but the Egyptians, in their folly, turned this proposal down. They demand total withdrawal. The new situation, now lurking behind the bushes, seems to be one in which Israel might be "persuaded" by the United States government to start withdrawing against the creation of international "reliable guarantees" and an international peace-keeping force. Mrs. Meir has turned down both these suggestions, but that is probably not the last we shall hear of them from Washington. The only guarantee the Israelis are prepared to trust in is their own fighting ability. That is, they want arms from abroad, and then will do their own defending. They don't even want foreign military "advisers" and certainly not any foreign soldiers, least of all friendly American boys, to fight for the defense of Israel. They question, in view of past failures, how reliable "reliable guarantees" of a peace-keeping force would really be. For obvious reasons, Israel will not even hear of a joint Soviet-American patrol force. They don't want four soldiers in a jeep or two soldiers in a jeep, on the old European post-war pattern.

Now it is quite possible that on these very points Israel and the United States may clash. If that happens, things may be very difficult indeed for Israel. But, where Israel has to choose between her own ultimate security and the standpoint of her friends, her own security comes first. There is always a chance of her friends changing their mind. But, if Israel is attacked and in peril, thanks to the colossal Russian aid and support to the Arabs, then defense comes before anything.

Attack Across Canal

The Egyptians are ready to cross the Suez Canal at scores of points. All preparations have been laid to that end, embarkation sites, drives down into the Canal water, collapsible bridges ready for immediate use, etc. It is all

done in full view of the Israeli soldiers, so as to openly warn them of the Egyptian intention. Indeed, it is by now declared Egyptian policy to attack across the Suez Canal, if Israel does not withdraw of her own accord.

What then is holding back the Egyptians from coming across in attack? First Russian caution, because the Russians probably realize that this may lead to another debacle. Then, a feeling by the Egyptians that perhaps not everything is as good and ready on their side as their confident talks would lead one to believe. Israeli air power is still stronger than Egyptian, Russian missile sites notwithstanding. True, new and additional Russian missiles have been installed, but Israel has greatly improved her own air potential. Military experts believe--and this would need testing--that Israel is still superior in the air. The mere fact that Egypt agreed to forego another military adventure on February 5 shows that she may be very unwilling to take the risk. Reliable reports from Egypt just before February 5 showed that the Egyptians were very worried about an Israeli attack first. In the past, whenever the Egyptians girded themselves visibly for war, the Israelis managed to strike the first blow, which usually was the decisive one. There is no reason to believe that the situation had changed significantly during February and therefore the feeling of most foreign observers at the end of the month was that Egypt would reluctantly agree to a de facto continuation of the cease-fire when it expired on March 7. Whether the agreement would be formal and public or tacit and private would not much matter as long as there was no new shooting.

Jordan Quiet

Just one word about Jordan. Things have been very quiet on that border for some months. King Hussein has ground down the terrorist groups, and stopped them from attacking Israel from his own territory. The only place they still manage to give some trouble is from Lebanon. The Lebanese are either unwilling or unable to stop them as firmly as Hussein has.

The heyday of the terrorists is over. They were never more than a mirage on a hot summer's day, an illusion of prowess and of war. They were just a nuisance and it did not take too long to wear them out. Their image is fading fast among the Arabs themselves. Yet, it is interesting to note that King Hussein did not start wiping them out until he saw his own throne endangered by them. Until then, he let them give trouble to Israel.

Occupied Territories

Which raises the question as to what to do with the occupied areas and their inhabitants. Gaza, the West Bank and the Sinai Peninsula are three separate parts. Sinai is of no real value to Israel other than as a buffer

strip against sudden air attacks from Egypt. If other ways are found to give early warning of Egyptian sneak air attacks, Sinai is dispensable. However, the question has still not been answered whether America really wants Israel to quit the Suez Canal, and make it open for the Russians to sail down south. This, mainly, is an American strategic problem.

West Bank Does Well

As to the West Bank, never has that area been so well off and its inhabitants so peaceful, not even under King Hussein before 1967. The West Bank now has the best of both worlds. They trade with both Jordan (and the Arab oil producing states beyond) and with Israel. They trade in cash, for political reasons, and so have no credit problems. They work in Israel, and get good wages. They travel abroad and can freely spend their newly acquired money.

Gaza: Terror and Poverty

Only in Gaza is there trouble, and plenty of it. Owing to the many years of great poverty, terrorism can flourish with little money to spend. Laborers going into Israel are terrorized, and so are others. More than 130 Arabs were murdered by Arab terrorists in the Gaza Strip since 1967, most for political reasons. The Israeli forces seem more or less powerless, until the border patrol of the Israeli Police moved in. They used strong arm tactics, and were severely criticized for it. But, they managed to put down terrorist action, at least for the moment. As soon as they leave, terrorism will erupt again.

The cure for Gaza, as Moshe Dayan pointed out, can only come from certainty about its political future and relief of poverty. The two are interlocked. Dayan adumbrated the annexation of the Gaza Strip to Israel when he said that the Gazans must get used to being Israelis. This would mean taking in 450,000 additional Arabs, but from the point of view of defensible borders, there is no other way for Israel. Once annexation is put through, and the sooner the better for the sake of political clarity, then poverty there can be really relieved. Then, and only then, will terrorism stop in Gaza. That is the view of many Israelis. Others have suggested demilitarizing Gaza and making it part of a Palestinian or Jordanian state linked in a common market with Israel.

Jews, Israelis, Hebrews

Israel is essentially a country of many contrasts, and of many peoples, even though it was created as a Jewish state. There are not only the Arabs. Take some of the others. There are Jews in Israel who prefer to be known as Israelis or as "Hebrews," and it is not a matter of semantics for them. The Canaanites are a small group of Jews who feel they belong to this part of the world rather than to the Jewish people. Most of them have changed their mind since 1967, when "this area" turned against them, and the Jewish people

all over were their best support. However, some still linger on. One such, a poet, pressed the Israeli authorities to classify him as "Hebrew" rather than "Jewish," and the authorities gave in, just for the sake of peace and quiet.

Karaites Another fringe group, but more historical and less capricious, is that of the fundamentalist Jews. Are the Karaites Jews in the full sense? These are not converts, they are of ancient Jewish stock. But they only acknowledge the Bible and its teachings, and refuse to accept the post-biblical Jewish tradition. They are Jews, but having different traditions and laws, they need different rabbis and rabbinical courts for their personal status questions, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance. The normal Jewish rabbinical courts will not judge their cases. So, special rabbinical courts for Karaite Jews are now being set up here, "if one of the parties desires that jurisdiction." There are about 4,000 Karaites in Israel.

Converts The problem of converts to Judaism is becoming more important. Of the East European immigrants, many are married to non-Jews. In Vienna, on the way to Israel, there is a Jewish authority which converts these non-Jews, so that they can come to Israel by virtue of the Law of Return, as Jews. This is the situation created by the recent changes in that law. The Viennese conversion authority operates on conservative-reform principles and makes conversion fairly easy, as a sort of transit operation. Now, the rabbinical authorities in Israel have taken up the matter, and declared they will not recognize these Viennese conversions to Judaism as valid. This runs counter to the agreed government policy and legislation in the matter.

Days of Rest The Sabbath problem still comes up every once in a while. Someone in the Knesset has come up with a novel idea. So as to give the religious Israeli a day of rest unfettered by inability to travel or play: Declare a day of rest at each New Moon, which is the first of each lunar (Jewish) month. The idea of celebrating Rosh Hadesh dates back to the ancient Kingdom of Judea; but is it feasible today? In principle there is nothing against it, any more than a weekly half day off for shop keepers, or the blue Monday in France. In Israel, most people work a somewhat shortened day Friday, the day before the Sabbath, but Sunday is an ordinary work day for Jewish Israelis. So there are nearly six full working days in Israel. The problem is complex, but not insoluble. Already at present Christians are entitled to select Sunday and Muslims Friday as their official day of rest.

Taxation Apart from war, there are always economic problems in Israel. The government is still trying to maintain its holding operation on prices, wages,

and taxes, known as the "package deal." All three are going up, however, wages least of all. Prices have gone up more than anything. The government, using war expenditure as a reason, has increased taxation in all sorts of ways, but wages have only risen fractionally. By official statistics, based on selected items, prices went up by over ten percent in 1970. Actually they rose by thirty percent. Now taxation is to be increased, a government undertaking notwithstanding. The rise is not in new tax rates, these already reach a maximum of 83 percent at 35,000 Israel pounds (ten thousand dollars). The change is in deductible expenses, which are to be drastically disallowed from now on. Management and staff consider these changes a change in taxation, and are determined to fight them.

City Taxes Next in line are city governments. They are in deficits, partly through bad management and over-staffing (due to local patronage) and partly through rises in costs and large development projects. The central government contributes to local budgets, but there will be no increase in that. So they demand a rise in city taxes, by about forty percent for most areas. The Histadrut, representing labor, opposes the new city taxes.

Teachers Among those who got a wage hike recently were high school teachers. This will cost the public about IL 174 million and will have to be borne in part by the cities. Yet, since it was the state which gave in to the teachers' demands during their strike, the cities refuse to share the extra expense. The teachers' wage hike too is said to be about 40 percent.

The prospect for 1971 is that generally wages will be allowed to rise by ten percent across the board, without shaking economic planning.

Less Consumer Goods There has been a recession in consumer goods, including imports. The main decline has been in durables, such as television sets and motor cars (17 percent drop). Perishables have dropped by only one percent. This is due to price rises and to fear that the recent prosperity may not last. As things are now, television has made such strides here in a short time, that one in every two families now has a set, and the larger and poorer families are more likely to have a set than some of the middle class families who have so far resisted the tube. Bearing this in mind, and with a view to keeping consumption in check, the government turned down a proposal of the broadcasting authority to introduce commercial advertising on televisions. Even though the authority needs the commercial income, it is better for the viewer not to have the commercials.

The only activity which continues at full speed is in the building and real estate field. This is due to immigration and the defense effort.

The Bank of Israel is strenuously trying to keep consumer spending down, because so much of it is spent on imported goods. As things are now, Israel has a huge debt in foreign currency, close to three billion dollars, or a thousand dollars per capita.

Welfare What is the poverty line in Israel and how can one relieve it? The line is at about IL 450 (\$129) per month for a family with two children. Some 18,000 families in Israel receive regular, though modest, welfare relief. There are a further 12,000 to 14,000 who subsist without such relief. Bank of Israel Governor David Horowitz proposed recently to give relief to these people through a negative income tax, i.e., through state payments by way of the social security system. But, the head of social security has rejected this idea. He sees technical difficulties in establishing criteria for the right to relief. Further, he fears that relief would weaken the need to work and earn your living.

Food From poverty to food: When Moshe Dayan was minister of agriculture he made food growing a vast and profitable enterprise for every farmer. Today, Israel's prime exports are in food, not only citrus fruit, still its biggest single item for export, but there are now all sorts of other foods, vegetables and fruit, especially off-season, such as strawberries at Christmas and early blooming flowers. A growing field is canned and processed food. Contrary to earlier estimates, non-citrus food exports will top the \$70 million mark. Since investment in agriculture is relatively small, there are very good prospects for exporting additional food from Israel in the future.

Computers and Stocks Computers have caught on fast in Israel. There are already too many in operation here. Now, a plan has been devised to get the state into partnership in the production of computers in Israel, for export to other countries.

The Israel stock exchange has never been a major place for financing enterprises. Last year its turnover dropped by half on shares, and a little less on bonds. The government itself tries to attract the public's money for its own bonds, so the stock market stays on the side. This has led to complaints from private industry that the government should do more to stimulate private investment.

FAD
2/71

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
PL-1-4000

Date

3/26/71

TO:

Rabbi Sarekbaum

FROM: DR. GEORGE E. GRUEN

- For your information.
- From our office in Israel.
- You requested this.
- Read and return, please.
- Returned as requested.
- Please talk to me about this.
- Your written comments, please.

REMARKS:

DATE: March 21, 1971

TO: George E. Gruen

FROM: M. Bernard Resnikoff

SUBJ: Current Welfare Problems in Israel.

Because of the widespread interest in this, I decided to translate and distribute the following article written by Uzi Benjamin, that appeared in a recent issue of Ha'aretz.

* * *

Finance Minister, Pinchas Sapir, urged by the Prime Minister, Golda Meir, instructed his staff in the Ministry of Finance, to find additional funds to deal with social matters, especially with the problems of marginal youth. The Government, especially Mrs. Meir, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Police - were unnerved by the discovery of agitation among the youth of Jerusalem's suburbs. They suspect that this might influence similar uprisings in different parts of the country. They are seeking new solutions to reveal ad hoc activities, to bring the wave to a halt. As usual, the Government was surprised. The outbursts in Jerusalem which has been brewing under the surface for several years now and which the authorities have been aware of, returned and pointed out the disassociation of the administration from what is happening in the country.

This week, one of the ministers told me: I am discovering the nation. It seems we are not an "Itrog Box" (?). Another minister said: The commotion around the Black Panthers is exaggeration and shouldn't be taken seriously. There are hundreds of places of work in Jerusalem. If the youths wanted to work, they could go to the employment office, and within days they would find work. The first minister admitted that he was surprised by the agitation in Jerusalem. The second minister revealed, without intending to, a complete disassociation from social problems, and in the right way of coping with them. In any case, the alarmed approach of the government in this matter, proves, that there isn't even one member (of the Cabinet) that has an understanding of the subject, that will become an increasingly important problem in the Israeli society in the coming years.

Minister of Finance Pinchas Sapir became acquainted with the gloomy sight of the wide margins of Israeli society in the last elections to the Knesset. Because of circumstantial reasons, he became secretary of the Labor Party. On account of his position, he conducted the election of his party and travelled around the country. He was shocked to face the stark reality of the conditions of the suburbs and far-out immigrant districts. Sapir feared the extent of the danger. Evaluations reached him by authorities that the "human" level of the youth that grows up in these difficult conditions that he saw during his election campaigns, has a direct impact on the security of the country, including the ability of these youth to fulfill their military obligations in Zahal. In his position, as Minister of Finance, Mr. Sapir, interpreted his fears in terms of budgeting. The welfare expenditure to needy families has grown significantly in the last 2 years. In 1969-70, a family of 10 persons received IL 178/month. The figure in the current fiscal year has gone up to a sum of IL460. The estimated welfare coverage in 1969-70, to the average needy family was 25% of the average income in the market, and this year this has gone up to 35.1%. In the coming fiscal year, the percentage will be considerably increased. The Ministry of Finance has come to the call of the Ministry of Welfare, also in additional spheres. The Ministry of Welfare fears a change of policy. In 1969-70, the budget of the Ministry of Welfare was 94 million IL. It went up to 135 million this year and will reach 160 million IL in the coming year.

(More)

The question remains - why wasn't the government informed on matters of welfare until this just happened to be brought to the attention of Mr. Pinchas Sapir during his election-campaigning in the various suburbs. This question is most valid, in view of the fact that there exists still today an impenetrability and lack of understanding of social matters among the higher authorities, primarily because of the negative image of the Ministry of Welfare which has not managed to become a representative body of the deprived population before the administration. The Ministry of Welfare until recent years engaged in primitive methods which aroused suspicions that welfare funds were not utilized in a rational manner for the purposes they were destined for. The Ministry was lacking in professional manpower and was itself not properly aware of the severe social problems of the State and its obligation to struggle with these issues. The Ministry of Welfare does not stand alone in this matter. There are no voluntary bodies, which are widespread in the Western countries. It is easy to place the blame on the Ministry of Welfare alone. The opinion among the professionals and higher officials of the Ministry of Welfare, that the negligence of the problems of welfare in this country has deeper roots.

The Israeli society is led by an administration which has been nurtured on an ideology of productive labor. It did not acknowledge the existence of the problems of welfare. One who does not work does not deserve welfare. Although this is a simplistic exploration it hits the truth. Actually, there were no problems of welfare when the State was established. There were few cases of needy or aged people. Just now, in view of biological laws the problem of the elderly has become known. In 1948 the estimated percentage of aged in the population was 3.8%; in 1970 - 6.5%. The figure for 10 years from now - 8%. The large waves of immigration of the Fifties created focii for severe social unrest - but there were no outbursts - as the immigrants were harnessed into the framework of political parties that knew how to suppress bitterness despite of their lack of information about the needy and their rights - and despite the fact that their living conditions in the Maabarot (transit living quarters) and neglected districts were for many of them an improvement when compared to the standard of living in their countries of origin. The pressure of security matters shadowed over all internal questions, including that of welfare.

The emotional roots which tie the fathers of the country to an ideology of fifty years past are felt even in recent decisions. Decisions in social matters are prevented by the desire for equality. They do not come from the realization that it is the obligation of the state to foster governmental protectionism to those whose fate destined them to be on the margins of society. In the absence of this awareness the price of bread is kept at an unrealistically low level which both rich and poor benefit from. The law of free obligatory education until grade 9 includes all.

There was a change after the last elections. Monies began to be directed to the promotion of social issues. But because of the years of neglect, bottlenecks were created which funds could not penetrate. Lack of trained manpower. Lack of appropriate work methods, and still, the lack of money. The following figures will explain the difficulties. In the past year 10,830 youths have been directed to probation officers. The administration dealt only with 1000 of these youths. The number of youths who dropped out of elementary schools was 10,000. Just 1500 were absorbed by rehabilitation projects of the Ministry of Welfare. 8000 youths reach juvenile courts each year; of them only 12% are placed in institutions.

The awakening among the higher officials in the wake of the unrest in Jerusalem proved that in domestic matters progress cannot be made without some outbursts. Such was the case in the granting of funds and personnel in the area of public health after the Cholera episode. So is the case with the deprived sectors of the population. And perhaps this is only natural that as the border clashes relax, the internal problems appear more prominent. These problems deserve attention at all times. The uprisings in the underdeveloped areas of Jerusalem awakened a spark of identification with these problems among many of those of Oriental origins even the more established among them.

INSIDE ISRAEL

A REPORT FROM
THE JERUSALEM OFFICE
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The Battle of the Dunams

Since the Six-Day War in June 1967 the Israel government has expropriated some 4,000 acres of land in Jerusalem, the bulk of it across the former "green line" which divided the city for 19 years. These expropriations will no doubt figure prominently in any negotiations to be conducted between the Arab states and Israel over the ultimate status of Jerusalem.

The primary purpose of the expropriations has been to settle Jews in East Jerusalem in order to ensure that the city is not divided again along ethnic lines. Housing Minister Zeev Sharef stated clearly at a press conference in February that the Government was determined to preserve the majority the Jews have enjoyed in Jerusalem for more than a century.

A cardinal principle in the land takings has been to expropriate only non-arable waste land, for the most part rocky hillsides, and to spare dwellings and agricultural land.

An exception to this rule was the walled Old City. In the week immediately after the war, bulldozers cleared the warren of hovels behind the Western Wall that constituted the Mograbi Quarter. Instead of a narrow alley to which Jewish worshipers had until then been confined, a large plaza was opened up to receive the throngs of visitors soon to arrive and to give this holiest Jewish site a dignified setting. The 110 Arab families in the Mograbi Quarter were relocated elsewhere in East Jerusalem. The hovels in the Quarter were owned by a Moroccan foundation which received a monthly rent of 20 pounds sterling. The Israel government is continuing payment to the foundation at five or six times the rate, according to Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek.

In the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, 112 dunams (about 28 acres) were expropriated. About 40% was Jewish-owned property which had been captured by the Arabs during the War of Independence when the Quarter fell to the Arab Legion and its Jewish population was expelled by the Jordanians. Some 5,000 Arabs were found living in the Jewish Quarter after the Six-Day War. It was decided not to evacuate them en masse but only as the reconstruction work in the Quarter reached each dwelling and after compensation had been agreed to in separate negotiations with each apartment owner. The purpose was to resettle the Jewish Quarter, in which Jews had lived for 700 years, with Jews. To date some 3,000 Arabs have been moved out and officials say there has been no opposition. Almost inevitably, the new apartments found by the

Arab families outside the walls of the Old City have been superior to the cramped apartments they had had in the Quarter. This writer has met one Arab who had lived in the Quarter and was now living in a large apartment on the Mount of Olives. He expressed himself as completely satisfied with the money he received as compensation and with his new quarters.

In 1968, the government had its first large-scale expropriation of some 3,000 dunams (750 acres) in north Jerusalem. The land consisted mainly of a strip connecting Jewish Jerusalem with the old Hebrew University campus on Mount Scopus. (Under the 1949 Armistice Agreement with Jordan, Mount Scopus remained under Israeli control. In the succeeding years Jordan restricted Israeli access to the enclave. The opening of this corridor had been the initial objective of Israeli troops in the battle for Jerusalem in 1967.) The bulk of it had been no-man's-land for two decades, thickly sown with mines. On this land, some 4,000 dwelling units are being built. Half of them are included in Ramat Eshkol which is almost completed. Other developments include French Hill next to Mount Scopus on which several smaller housing developments are being built including housing for Hebrew University students and faculty, Givat Hamivtar where one and two-family houses are being built on a former Jordanian army position, and the soon-to-be completed Ramat Dafna which is already being hailed as the best planned housing development in Jerusalem. This latter development is located on the portion of no-man's-land where Israeli paratroopers made their breakthrough in the Six-Day War.

Last summer, the Israel government expropriated another 12,000 dunams (3,000 acres) -- most, but not all of it -- across the former "green line." It fell largely into three blocks: in the north of the city near Nebi Samuel, the Government House area in the southeastern part of the city, and the Sharafat area in the south of the city. The only large inhabited area taken was a Jewish one-- the Mamilla Road and the old commercial center complex opposite Jaffa Gate in what had been the Israeli sector of the divided city. Here some 350 Jewish families and 300 Jewish-owned businesses will have to relocate to make way for the expanding central business district. Across the former "green line" only 20 buildings inhabited by Arab families are affected. The rest of the land taken was empty and non-arable. The boundary lines drawn for the expropriated areas carefully avoided fields or groves of olive trees. Land owned by Muslim or Christian religious institutions was also avoided. Mayor Kollek has estimated that about 20% of the expropriated land was Jewish-owned.

The United Nations has complained that the Government House expropriation involves UN-owned property. The UN compound at Government House, headquarters of the UN truce supervisor, was taken over by Jordanian troops on June 5, 1967. They were driven out by Israeli troops who dug in on the strategic hilltop. The buildings were returned to the UN two months later but the largely wooded compound around it was kept for the most part in Israeli hands. Authorities pointed out that the UN had no legal claim to the site at all since the compound, built by the British mandatory authorities, had been registered as the property of the Palestinian government. The British High Commissioner upon his departure turned it over to the Red Cross which in turn handed it over the UN. Since the building had fallen into no-man's-land, Israel had not put forward a claim to it in 1948 but with the reunification of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War, many Israelis opposed handing over any part of the tract to the UN. Bowing to international pressures, however, the government returned the buildings and about one-third of the tract.

On the 12,000 dunams expropriated last summer the Housing Ministry plans to build some 20,000 apartments, half of them for new immigrants. Work is already under way on the initial stage of 2,400 units.

Only a handful of Arab landowners whose property outside the Old City was expropriated have applied for compensation. To sell land to the Jews is considered dangerous, particularly when the future of the area has not been settled. Local Arab leaders have unanimously condemned the expropriation.

Mayor Kollek has pointed out that land expropriations of equal dimensions have taken place in Haifa and elsewhere. The only expropriations in Jerusalem where significant dislocation is involved are in Jewish area in the former Israeli sector. In addition to the Mamilla area, the government has also expropriated the Yemin Moshe Quarter, the first Jewish neighborhood built outside the walls of the Old City. It had turned into a slum and after expropriation the former residents were relocated so that the Quarter could be converted into a fashionable Quarter for artists and intellectuals. This move has raised a storm of protest in the Knesset and elsewhere.

Probably the least controversial expropriation in the city occurred immediately after the Six-Day War when Mayor Kollek, after consulting with the government, ordered bulldozers to level the old deserted buildings which lined and cluttered the outside of the Old City wall for several hundred yards between

Jaffa Gate and New Gate. The commercial property, owned by several churches, had been in no-man's-land for 19 years. Their destruction opened up for the first time in many years a proper view of the Old City walls from the west. In this case, the bulldozing came first and the expropriation afterwards, but even Arab leaders have praised Kollek for clearing the walls.

* * *

March 15, 1971



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
PL-1-4000

Date 3/26/71

TO: *Rabbi Tarerbaum*

FROM: DR. GEORGE E. GRUEN

- For your information.
- From our office in Israel.
- You requested this.
- Read and return, please.
- Returned as requested.
- Please talk to me about this.
- Your (written) comments, please.

REMARKS:

Should this article be reprinted?

March 22 1971
Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 15 March 1971
to George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff

FO-ISR

subject

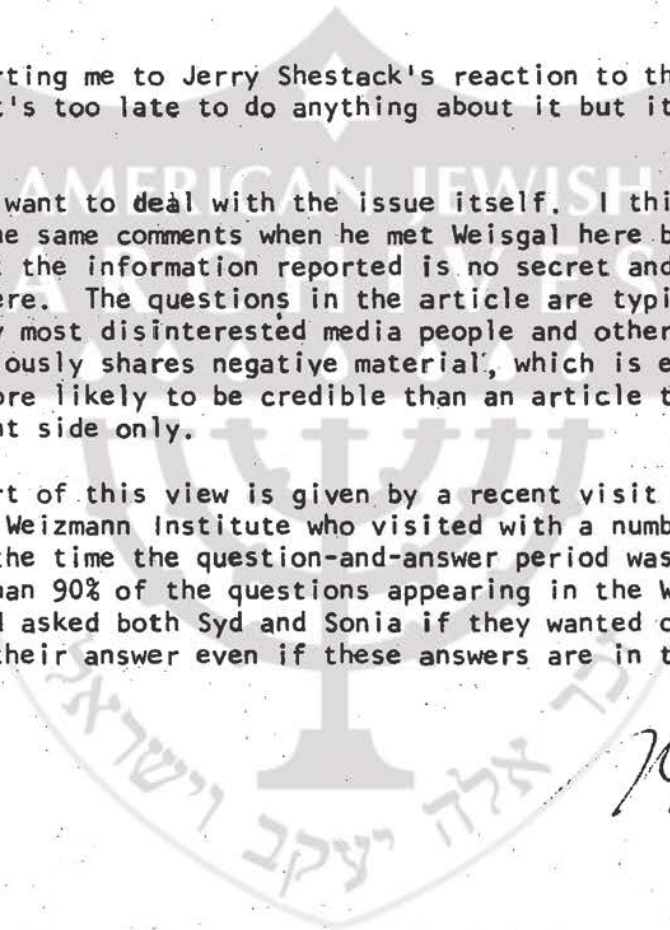
Thank you for alerting me to Jerry Shestack's reaction to the Weisgal story. You are right: it's too late to do anything about it but it was useful to alert me to this.

More important, I want to deal with the issue itself. I think Shestack is wrong. He made the same comments when he met Weisgal here but the fact of the matter is that the information reported is no secret and is easily obtainable elsewhere. The questions in the article are typical of the questions asked by most disinterested media people and others. An article which unselfconsciously shares negative material, which is easily available in any case, is more likely to be credible than an article that pants to focus on the bright side only.

Interesting support of this view is given by a recent visit of American scientists at the Weizmann Institute who visited with a number of West Bank authorities. By the time the question-and-answer period was over, they had raised more than 90% of the questions appearing in the Weisgal article. In any case, I had asked both Syd and Sonia if they wanted copies in quantity and I would like their answer even if these answers are in the negative.

Regards.

MBR:sr



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2/14/71

Special Report

Israeli Handling Of Occupied Land Explained

Editor's note: Fred E. Weisgal, born and educated in Baltimore, practiced law here for 22 years. He specialized in civil rights cases and, for a period, represented the Baltimore branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In August, 1969, Mr. Weisgal sold his home on Cross Country Boulevard, auctioned much of his book and art collection and moved, with his wife and five children, to Israel. "I want to try to help bring peace between Israel and the Arab countries," he explained.

After a year, spent chiefly in studying the Hebrew language, he was admitted to the Bar of Israel. He now lives and practices in Jerusalem where he often meets American visitors, many of them from Baltimore.

Among the most frequent questions they ask, he finds, relate to the treatment of Arabs in regions that Israel captured during the "Seven Days War."

Because of the widespread interest in the subject, Mr. Weisgal has sent to The News American his answers to the most persistent questions. "As an attorney of 23 years experience, I think I know how to investigate the correct facts," he explained.

By FRED WEISGAL

Q. — What are the occupied territories?

A. — The territories that remained under Israeli control following the cease fire on June 11, 1967: The Golan Heights (formerly under Syrian control) in the north; the West Bank (Judea and Samaria, formerly under Jordanian control); the Gaza Strip in the south and The Sinai also in the south (formerly under Egyptian control).

Q. — How many people live in these areas?

A. — Approximately 1 million people; 600,000 in Judea and Samaria; 370,000 in the Gaza Strip and Sinai (the Golan Heights were and still are sparsely populated).

Q. — Is East Jerusalem considered part of the territories?

A. — Israel treats East Jerusalem as part of its territory. The population of East Jerusalem (formerly under Jordanian control) is 70,000.

Q. — Did any of the inhabitants of East Jerusalem vote in the 1969 elections for Mayor and City Council of the city of Jerusalem?

A. — More than 8,000 residents of East Jerusalem voted in that election. There were rumors that eligible Arab voters living in East Jerusalem who did not vote would not have their identity cards stamped, thereby depriving them of work opportunities provided by the "work exchange" of the Israel Government.

Q. — How are the territories governed?

A. — Each area (Golan . . . Judea and Samaria, Gaza Strip and Sinai) is under the command of an Israel Defense Forces officer. Attached to his command are officers who are representatives of various ministries of Israel.

Q. — Are there local governments in these areas?

A. — Yes. There are 22 municipalities and 21 rural councils in Judea and Samaria. In the Gaza Strip and North Sinai there are 3 municipalities and 7 rural councils. They all operate in the same manner as before the war and with practically the same membership.

Q. — Do Israelis hold office in any of the municipalities or local councils in the occupied territories?

A. — Only local residents serve on the city councils and rural councils. Vacancies are filled by other Arab members in accordance with local law.

Q. — What kind of legal system is in effect in these areas and what laws govern?

A. — Local law in effect prior to the war continues and local (Arab) courts are administered by Arab judges and clerks. Matters of security are handled by military courts.

Q. — Who handles criminal prosecutions in the occupied territories?

A. — All crimes are prosecuted by Arab District Attorneys before Arab judges in the local courts. Security offenses are handled by military government courts. For example, in the West Bank (1969-1970) 28,000 criminal cases were tried before local Arab courts and approximately 3,000 cases before the military courts.

Q. — What is the employment situation in the occupied territories?

A. — Immediately after the war, there was a serious unemployment problem affecting 30 per cent of the work force in the West Bank and 36 per cent in Gaza and Sinai. Today, unemployment has been reduced to about 3 per cent in the West Bank and 4 per cent in Gaza and Sinai.

Q. — Are residents of the occupied territories allowed to work in Israel?

A. — Yes. At present more than 30,000 Arabs from the territories are employed within Israel.

Q. — Are Arab workers from the occupied territories employed in Israel paid the same wages as Israeli employes doing the same work?

Yes.

Q. — Does Israel permit residents of the occupied territories to visit Jordan, Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries and then return home?

A. — Yes. Residents of the occupied territories may receive travel papers for visits to Arab countries, and to study in universities in Cairo, Damascus and Beirut. Rules of the Arab governments on receiving visitors, change from time to time.

Q. — Does Israel permit Arabs from Arab countries to visit friends and relatives living in the occupied territories and in Israel?

A. — Yes. In the summer of 1970, approximately 53,000 visitors from the Arab world visited Israel and the occupied territories.

Q. — Are Israeli Arabs permitted to visit Arab countries?

A. — No. Arab governments refuse to permit Israeli Arabs with Israeli passports to visit friends and relatives living in the Arab world nor are they permitted to go to Mecca for religious observances.

Q. — Are houses in the occupied territories destroyed (bulldozed or blown-up) or sealed (hoarded up) by the military authorities?

A. — Yes.

Q. — What reasons are given for the destruction or the sealing of a house?

A. — Before a house may be destroyed or sealed there must be (1) evidence to show that the house was used consistently to shelter individuals engaged in acts of violence in the occupied territories or in Israel and (2) a search of the house revealed a cache of arms and/or explosives.

A. — How many civilians have been injured or killed in the occupied territories and in Israel by acts of violence from 1967 to date?

A. — As of this date (December 1970): killed, 93 Arabs and 22 Israelis; injured, 1,132 Arabs and 166 Israelis.

A. — How many houses have been destroyed or sealed in the occupied territories?

A. — 720.

Q. — What procedure if any exists prior to blowing up a house?

A. — The procedure is as follows: A condemnation order is placed on the house. All people are removed from the house. A destruction order is issued and prior to actual destruction, approval must be obtained from the Minister of Defense (Moshe Dayan).

Q. — Is the owner of the house entitled to a hearing prior to destruction of his house?

A. — No.

Q. — After a house has been destroyed, what provision for compensation is made for damage to neighboring houses?

A. — Within 24 hours after a house is destroyed an appraiser from the military government goes to the scene to determine if there is any damage to neighboring houses. In the event of damage, immediate compensation is made.

Q. — Are provisions made to compensate residents of the occupied territories who are negligently injured by individuals employed by the State of Israel?

A. — In August 1968, the military government passed a regulation enabling inhabitants of the territories to bring suit for damages caused by the Army or Government employees. Claims are presented to a litigation officer who decides the amount of compensation. Appeals against his decision may be taken to an appeals committee. The decision of the appeals committee is final. To date, compensation has been paid in 308 cases.

Q. — For what reasons are individuals expelled from the occupied territories?

A. — When the military government determines that no period of detention will deter the individual's anti-Israel activities and when his activities will endanger the lives of others.

Q. — How many have been expelled since June 1967?

A. — 73.

Q. — Does an individual who has been expelled have the right to make application to return?

A. — Yes.

Q. — How many of these individuals have been readmitted?

A. — 7.

Prior to expulsion, is an individual entitled to a hearing?

A. — No. In many instances, people under administrative detention are given the choice of remaining in prison or leaving the occupied territories or Israel.

Q. — Does capital punishment exist in the occupied territories and in Israel?

A. — Even though International Law recognizes the use of capital punishment by an occupying power, capital punishment has never been carried out in the occupied territories and only once in the State of Israel (execution of Eichmann).

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Marc Janenbaum

MAR 24 1971

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE - ISRAEL OFFICE

71-585-37

DATE: March 18, 1971

TO: George E. Gruen

FROM: M. Bernard Resnikoff

SUBJ: The Arabs of Israel; I. Between Two Fires

On March 3, 1971 - two days before the conclusion of its Eighth Congress - a spokesman of the Palestine National Council announced in Cairo that three "representatives from the occupied homeland" had been elected as new Council members. The three new members turned out to be Israeli citizens who had all left the country after the Six-Day War. The names were also among the best-known:

1. Sabri Jerais - A young Haifa lawyer hailing from the village of Fassuta on the Lebanese border and author of a book called H'Aravim ve-Yisrael (The Arabs of Israel), first published in Hebrew in 1966 and then translated into French and published by a left-wing Paris publisher. The book was highly critical of official Israeli policy toward the Arab population, and the author was among the active members of Al-Ard organization which was subsequently outlawed by an Israeli court. After spending a few years in and out of administrative detention - during which his French publisher actively worked for his release - Jerais found his way to Paris and from there to Beirut, where he now works for the Center for Palestinian Studies attached to the Palestine Liberation Organization.
2. Mahmud Darwish - a young poet born in a village in Galilee. In the early Sixties, after publishing his first book of poems, Darwish joined the Israeli Communist Party and worked as literary editor, proofreader and translator for the Party's Arabic publications Al-Ittihad, Al-Jadid and Al-Chad. Following the Six-Day War he became famous all over the Arab world as one of the "poets of the resistance" (the others were Samih al-Kassem and Tawfiq Zayyad). The Arabs' crippling defeat of 1967 produced in them a strong psychological need for self-expression, and Darwish was literally flooded with praise and became something of a culture hero for the Arabs. (So much so that he wrote an open letter to his fellow-Arab intellectuals asking to be released from "your suffocating love"). Last year, Darwish left for the Soviet Union to participate in an international gathering of Asian writers; the gathering bestowed on him its annual prize, and shortly afterwards he made his way to Cairo, where he issued a personal announcement last month to the effect that his was an entirely private decision and had nothing to do with the party to which he belonged (the New Communist Party - Rakach). This however did not prevent his Party from expelling him from its ranks.
3. Habib Qahwachi - One of the founding members of Al-Arad in 1958. After the Six-Day War he was detained (together with his wife) but never brought to trial. Subsequently, he was released on the understanding that he was leaving for the United States. Instead, he stopped in Cyprus, where he is reported to have established contacts with the Syrians and Egyptians. The last that has been heard of Qahwachi - who is also known as a poet though a lesser one than Darwish - has been his election to the Palestine National Council.

Darwish, Jerais and Qahwachi have in effect opted out of their Israeli citizenship. Their action, though by no means representative even of a small segment of the country's Arab population, remains significant in that it is indicative of a certain fundamental change in the Israeli Arab's position since the Six-Day War. A young Israeli Arab writer described this change the other day in the following terms. "Before the June war," he told this reporter, "the Arabs of Israel were virtually rejected both by their own government and by governments of neighboring Arab countries. The Israelis suspected them as a potential fifth column, their Arab brethren across the border as potential Israeli agents. Paradoxically, this gave them a certain psychological equilibrium which allowed them - with a few exceptions - to concentrate on improving their lot and tending their own gardens. And they did not do at all badly..."

(More)

The Six-Day War introduced a slow but perceptible change into this situation - and the equilibrium was upset. On the one hand, the encounter with their Palestinian brethren from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip brought the Arabs of Israel considerable material gains and helped them climb one step in the socio-cultural "pecking order". With almost 30,000 Arab workers and laborers employed in Israel, the original Arab inhabitants of the country tended to become employers, employment contractors, foremen or generally counted among the more skilled of the Arab labor force. On the other hand, the birth and growth of a specifically Palestinian national movement - and the appeals made daily to them to take up arms and join their fellow-Palestinians in their movement for liberation - tended to place the Israeli Arab into a far more difficult psychological position than the one he was in prior to the 1967 war. The cases in which Israeli Arab citizens were caught actively cooperating with the guerrilla organizations after 1967 have been relatively few and quite unrepresentative; nevertheless, they have been indicative of a certain change in the political consciousness of the country's Arabs.

That the Arab citizen of Israel is caught between two conflicting loyalties is something of a commonplace. What is not generally realized, however, is that - while the Six-Day War and the renewed encounter with his fellow-Palestinians made the Israeli Arab far more acceptable as a bona fide Arab nationalist - no similar willingness has been shown by Israel to accept her Arabs as full-fledged Israelis. In this connection it may be useful to recall here the case of Mr. Rustum Bastuni, the Haifa architect and former Mapam Knesset Member who emigrated from the country after the 1967 war to try his luck in Canada after he had failed to find a job in Israel. What is curious about Bastuni's case, however, is that - unlike Darwish, Jerais and Qahwachi - he advocated full political and "national" integration of the Arabs in Israel and rejected out of hand all Arab Nationalist claims on their loyalties.

From 1965 onwards, Bastuni started to advocate a new "Israeli Arab ideology" and founded "the Arab-Jewish Committee for Israel", whose other leading members were Salim Jubran, Muhammed Hubeishi, Suheil Shukri and Tawfiq Shuli. The gist of the new Israeli Arab ideology was summed up by Bastuni himself in the following terms:

"The only basis on which healthy Jewish-Arab relations can be achieved inside Israel is Israeli muwata'aa (citizenship, nationality) which does not differentiate between citizens of different ethnic groups, faiths and races. Those who consider Israel's Arabs as being in fact part of what they call the Arab World, and maintain that as long as that "world" is at war with Israel there can be no possibility of integrating the country's Arabs into the economic, cultural and political life of the State, must sooner or later arrive at the conclusion that the Arabs have no business living in Israel, and that they have to look for another abode."

The Arab-Jewish Committee for Israel further announced that it would concentrate on achieving three leading objectives:

1. The stabilization of Arab-Jewish relations inside Israel.
2. Establishing contacts with Arab officials abroad with a view to acquaint them with the position taken by Israel's Arabs toward the Israeli-Arab conflict generally and Ahmed Shukeiry's "Palestine Liberation Organization" in particular.
3. To act on the international plane for a settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict through direct negotiations between the parties.

(More)

The Committee expressed its firm belief that the Arabs of Israel should disown not only Shukeiry and his organization but all those self-styled spokesmen of Israeli Arabs who were not Israeli citizens themselves. "The relations between the various communities in Israel," Bastuni declared at the time, "must be viewed as a purely Israeli issue in which no outside element should interfere." More broadly speaking, Bastuni defined the ultimate goal of Israeli society as he and his colleagues saw it as "the creation of a new, well-defined Israeli identity capable of meeting the challenges of the modern world and the requirements of modern life and technology." That the prevailing state of affairs was "a far cry from this stipulation," Bastuni explained, was the outcome of "the absence of clear definitions of the concepts on which our society is based - a society which is still in a transition period as far as the crystallization of these concepts were concerned."

To implement its "Israeli Arab ideology" the Arab-Jewish Committee for Israel made a number of quite elaborate practical suggestions. On the legal plane, it promised to fight against differentiation between citizens based on ethnic, religious or racial origins. On the institutional plane, it sought the liquidation of all so-called "Arab departments" appended to official and semi-official institutions and supposed to cater for the country's Arab citizens. These departments, the Committee maintained, constituted an obstacle to the integration of the Arab citizen and thus must be merged into the general government and national institutional apparatus. On the social plane, the Committee called for ensuring equality of opportunity for all citizens; and on the political plane it advocated total separation between the government apparatus and the political party, maintaining that party considerations should cease to guide the actions and decisions of officials, who were servants of the people as a whole and not of their respective political groups.

As has already been indicated, Bastuni not only failed to put his and his colleagues' ideas into effect but finally decided to leave the country for good. Neither official Israel nor his own fellow-Arab citizens of Israel proved receptive to these ideas.

* * *



15 March 1971

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ISRAEL OFFICE
9 Ethiopia Street
Jerusalem

71-585-38

FROM THE ARAB PRESS

In the interests of improving Jewish-Arab understanding, the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee translates and distributes, twice a month, material appearing in the Arab press. Though material is sometimes extracted for brevity it is extracted in context and there is no attempt to delete or to editorialize. The selection is based on an objective judgment of relevance. Comments or reactions are welcome.

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AMERICAN JEWISH
THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

13 March 1971; AL-BASHEER Editorial: "Shock and Anxiety" by Ibrahim Handal

Fear, shock and anxiety have begun to descend on the inhabitants of the occupied territories as a result of the failure of the current diplomatic efforts to attain any progress. This, and the fact that the Four Power Representatives have so far failed in their efforts, is liable to place obstacles in the way of Dr. Jarring's mission; there are, in fact, reports that the U.N. envoy intends to go back to Moscow for an unspecified period of time!

It is to be presumed that, should the present stalemate in the Jarring talks continue, Egypt will find herself compelled to take some action. One possibility is that Cairo will opt for the one path open to it - namely, a renewal of the war attrition started by the late President Jamal Abdul Nasser.

If resumed, such a war of attrition may go on for years - and in the end may lead to the shelving of the current plan to conclude a contractual peace agreement to end the Middle East crisis and find a just settlement to the Palestine problem. Ultimately, too, it may affect the whole question of world peace, whose foundations will have to be laid here, in the land of peace!

* * *

8 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "After Sadat's Speech - What?"

Despite the tone and the violent phrases which characterized President Anwar el-Sadat's speech last night, announcing his refusal to extend the cease-fire, it remains obvious - as Sadat himself indicated - that Cairo has left the door open for going on with the diplomatic effort.

Sadat has appealed to the Great Powers, and especially the U.S., to the U.N. and its Secretary-General and to world public opinion, asking that each of these play its role in bringing about a just peace in the area. He also expressed confidence in the World Organization and in its principles, proclaimed his faith in the Security Council Resolution which rules that no land should be seized by force, and reiterated his country's desire for establishing peace on the basis of this Resolution - as well as Egypt's positive reply to the Jarring proposals. All this tends to show that Sadat's address was aimed at putting the Great Powers on a test, rather than passing a threat of starting a new war.

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After this Egyptian move, responsibility now obviously rests chiefly with the U.S. herself. The world cannot afford the outbreak of a third world war, and the Middle East region has just had its fill of wars. Moreover, as Sadat has asserted, Washington has pledged that it opposes, and will continue to oppose, the annexation of land by conquest.

Will the U.S., then, play her role in bringing about peace - or will she choose to let things deteriorate, so that guns would again be fired and the lives of this area's inhabitants continue to supply the fodder?

* * *

THE PALESTINIANS

3 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "The Report and the Organizations"

The report which Ibrahim Bakr, the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the guerrilla organizations, has submitted to the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo these days has been frank and courageous both in its criticism and in its self-criticism. The Report criticized the attitudes taken by the organizations when the late President Abdul Nasser accepted the Rogers proposals; the Report also used candid terms in describing the general conduct and attitudes of the organizations - attitudes and conduct which the Report described as being "based on erroneous understanding, auctioneering, and blunders in various spheres."

Much of this criticism was aired months ago by certain Palestinian and Arab writers, in the hope that the organizations would free themselves from their blunders and their auctioneerings, and ultimately to make them avoid leading the people of Palestine to the brink of liquidation and more blood baths. Yet all this was countered by accusations and ridicule - as though it were fated that the leaderships of this people will never see the truth until they and the people as a whole have paid dearly in terms of its blood, its destiny and its existence.

It is to be hoped that the kind of candid and courageous criticism which Bakr addressed to representatives of all the organizations would persuade these organizations and their leaderships to put their fingers on the mistakes and avoid illusory slogans and cheap auctioneerings - and that this will be a start for objective and realistic thinking leading to a grasp of the truth in all its dimensions. For the fact is that the Report, despite its candor, reveals only part of the truth; a more complete knowledge of the truth can free the organizations from their present isolation from the people and give them an idea of the Palestinians' demands at this juncture. In the forefront of these demands is one calling for self-determination and for drawing a blueprint for the future through a freely-held plebiscite. In realizing this demand lies great gain, while discarding it means the loss of everything.....

* * *

7 March 1971; AL-QUDS This is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
"In Defence of Ibrahim Bakr"

We no doubt have many differences of opinion with Ibrahim Bakr, both on strategic and tactical matters. Nevertheless, we reject the kind of treatment being meted out to Ibrahim Bakr - or to anybody with something to say, for that matter. For the fact is that, when Bakr exercised his right to criticism and to self-criticism, airing before the Palestine National Council some of the blunders made by the P.L.O. Executive Committee and the guerrilla organizations, he was subjected to violent attacks of a kind which we would not want to see directed at any Palestinian - such as that Ibrahim Bakr was a defeatist and that he was working in collusion with Egypt.

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Our Palestinian people, and our Arab Nation as a whole, fully realize that this sort of language means that, instead of objective and constructive criticism, we are back on the road of invective and libel - that road which had been the principal reason of our calamities. We thought that the June defeat and the bloodshed in Amman since September were sufficient to make us discard this style and adopt instead a democratic way allowing everyone to express his opinion without being subjected to invective and slander - and without being forced to resign, as happened yesterday with Ibrahim Bakr, Yasser 'Omar, Hamid Abu Sitta and Zuheir al-'Alami.

Moreover, it is ludicrous for anyone to speak of "collusion with Egypt". Egypt is not a hostile power, but the older sister - a country which sacrificed the lives of thousands of her sons, saw hundreds of thousands of her Canal Zone inhabitants become refugees after their towns had been laid in ruins - and all this for the sake of Palestine and the people of Palestine, and at a time when not many Arabs or Palestinians present anything more than illusory slogans and tall and empty talk that has been responsible for our dismal position and the loss of our homelands.

Our Palestinian people call upon Ibrahim Bakr, Yasser 'Omar and their comrades to form the nucleus of a new Palestinian leadership advocating the right of our people to self-determination through a free plebiscite - to decide the kind of system they want and the sort of union they opt for.

* * *

WEST BANK PROSPECTS

10 March 1971; AL-ANBA: "An Error Everybody Recognizes" by Ahmed Barham

Israeli Police Minister Shlomo Hillel says that the inhabitants of the West Bank want to go back to Jordan. This is not true. Mr. Hillel, it seems, has reached the conclusion on the strength of closed meetings he held with certain West Bank inhabitants known for their contacts with Amman and the Amman regime - or with the traditional leaderships the identity of whose personal interests with those of Amman is known to everybody, including the Minister. It is equally well-known to all, the Minister included, that these leaderships no longer represent anybody besides themselves.

It would seem, too, that even those few whom Mr. Hillel consulted, and on the strength of whose statements he reached his erroneous conclusions, did not have the courage to tell the Minister about their true attitude. For in reality all that they wanted to say was that the Palestinians do not want the occupation; instead they told him that the West Bank inhabitants want to return to Jordan! It was on this that Mr. Hillel based his wrong conclusions - and it is because of this that these conclusions will not in the least affect the truth known to all - namely that the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and Palestinians everywhere and in all their habitations, peasants, workers and clerks, merchants and students, firmly hold on to their right of self-determination, and demand that this right be exercised through a neutral and free plebiscite to be held under the supervision of a neutral party during a transition period in which occupied Palestinian territories are placed temporarily under the trusteeship of those same bodies which are to supervise the plebiscite.

It is universally known, moreover, that this is the attitude of the U.A.R. and of President Anwar el-Sadat, as he propounded it to the American weekly Newsweek. It is also the attitude of the Arab nation as a whole, and of every leader who is loyal to the cause of Palestine and the Arab people of Palestine.

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The question is: How does Mr. Shlomo Hillel permit himself to make a statement in which he announces the desire of a million Palestinian Arabs to go back to Jordan when in fact he has asked no one but a few ex-notables and a number of would-be leaders whose leaderships were bestowed on them by Amman in return for their loyalty to Amman and the King of Amman? I am absolutely certain that the people whose opinion concerning the return to Jordan Mr. Hillel solicited know full well that they represent no one but themselves, and that they can in no wise speak in the name of the million Palestinians who live in the occupied areas. The fact, as we have pointed out above, is that they were too afraid to tell the Minister that the Palestinians want to see an end to the occupation and to start determining their own destinies - and so, instead of saying all this, they chose to say what they thought would spare them the Minister's anger, namely that the Palestinians in the occupied areas want to go back to the regime in Amman.

I repeat: It is not fair on the part of Police Minister Shlomo Hillel to base his conclusions on erroneous premises - and the error here lies in soliciting the opinion of persons who the Minister and everybody know do not dare state the truth - and cannot express the right opinion - concerning the wishes of the inhabitants and their aspirations.

* * *

3 March 1971; AL-QUDS: This is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
"Ask the People!"

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir opposes the establishment of a Palestinian State; the Jordanian Parliament and the Jordanian media of communications are instructed to oppose the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination; King Hussein wants this right of self-determination to be exercised only after the people concerned have returned to him, so that the result of a plebiscite could be fixed in advance; the Police Minister of Israel holds meetings with some leaders and notables - and then comes out to announce that the inhabitants of the occupied territories consider themselves part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; some of the Palestinian leaderships, new as well as old, come out with speeches and proclamations describing self-determination as "a liquidatory conspiracy"; and, finally, some Palestinian personalities now advocate the dispatch of delegations to Amman, ostensibly to try to effect a reconciliation, but only God knows what actually is hidden behind these calls!

Now the question which our Palestinian people as a whole, both in the occupied territories and outside them, poses is: Why do some responsible officials in Israel and Jordan, as well as in certain foreign countries, trouble to speak in the name of the Palestinians, claiming that their views represent those of the Palestinians? Why a free plebiscite is not held, instead, in which the people itself would make its own say?

Is it not more useful for peace and the efforts to establish peace that the Powers - major and minor, Arab and foreign - know the real opinion of the people of Palestine - instead of letting this notable or that leader or the other mukhtar claim that he speaks in the name of the people, so that everyone may be spared the trouble, the unjust attacks, and the empty claims concerning alleged "conspiracies", "separatism" and "heresies"?

* * *

3 March 1971; AL-QUDS: Prickings by Abu Marwan "When Good Will Prevails"

In my opinion, Golda Meir's references to "a Palestinian State" are somewhat misplaced: She does not reject the idea of establishing this State as a State, but simply with reference to the geographical capacity of the area to absorb three States - Jordan, Israel and Palestine. It would, in fact, be easier to understand Mrs. Meir's view if we introduce in it a change that would make it nearer certain of her former and better-known statements - so that it reads as follows: "The area has no room at once for the Jordanians, the Palestinians and the Israelis!"

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Here a personal episode comes to my mind. During a certain year in my secondary education my father wanted me to move from my private school to the Rashidiyya School, a government school which charged no fees. Dutifully, I took my papers and went to see the Principal of my prospective school. Unable to see me, he referred me to his Deputy, Mr. S. - may he be well and prosperous wherever he may be.

Now Mr. Deputy-Principal said: "Let's go to the school's courtyard!" "What for?" I enquired.

"You stand at one end of it and I at the other," he said. "Okay," I consented.

"You push at your end and I push at mine," he continued. "Okay," I said.

"And then the school will have enough room for an additional seat," he went on to explain. "Okay," I said.

"And the seat will be yours!" he finally let out. Upon which I bade him goodday and went back to my own school...

Perhaps we can "press" the map of this land a little so that we can make room for us and for our posterity. Such room is necessary, since we have no "old country" to go back to and must make do with what we have and live on?

* * *

ARAB SOCIETY AND POLITICS

March 1971; AL-BASHEER MONTHLY; Reflections by Ibrahim D'eibis "Three Points"

Industrialization and economic progress are basic factors of change. Yet, to avoid building with one hand and destroying with the other, economic development must be accompanied by social development - so that nation-building may rest on the two strong pillars, the economic and the social.

The Arab revolution has undertaken industrialization and economic development, but stopped short where social problems were concerned, hesitant to take radical decisions, fettered by popular creeds, customs and superstitions. Instead of confronting these extremely backward phenomena, the Arab revolution appeased them, and often even exploited them in a most opportunistic manner.

To make our meaning clear, we will raise three points:

1. Separation of Church and State: In the name of religion, we in the East have granted our minds a long leave of absence; we tend to shift all our responsibilities and our troubles to God, resorting to such dicta as "Nothing shall ever befall you unless it be decreed by God" and "Not a single hair shall fall from the head of any of you except by my command". God interferes with every aspect of our lives. He gives us our daily bread; He defeats us; He grants us victory; He solves our problems; He consoles us; He delivers us from trouble; and it is He who decides the time and place in which we do our deeds.

I do not here wish to discuss theological matters; I merely put on record a popular reality which I feel and experience, and this is what matters to me here. The separation of Religion and State will not, by mere decree, change everything overnight; but it will open the way and provide the scope for change. The most important result will be the awakening of the mind accustomed to reliance on God. This is not because one rejects God; it is because one rejects all kinds of resignation - even if it be to God!

2. Co-Education: Our sex complex is one of the greatest obstacles to our progress. Sex consumes half of the thoughts of our young men and women and fills the minds with delusions and complexes. Let me say in advance that I prefer what some would call sexual degeneration in the West to the hypocrisy, the mock-chastity and the moral dualism of the East. In my opinion, the liberation of the East from these complexes resides in one radical

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solution: All the rising generations of the Arab Nation must be sent to mixed schools - from kindergarten to university...In these mixed schools the minds of the new generations will be implanted with new concepts of the East and a new attitude to the other sex. Needless to say, this will entail the introduction of sex education in school from a very early age.

3. Freedom of Thought: For long generations, we lived under regimes which suppressed thought and silenced mouths - and the result has been that Reason retreated and tended toward laziness and leniency. If the Arab revolution is really sincere in its drive to move the Arab man to the Twentieth Century, then first and foremost it must revive his mind. We therefore reject attempts made by any ruler, revolutionary or reactionary, to tell us what is allowed and what is not allowed in the sphere of thought. We refuse to allow the nation to become a group of impotent yes-men and conformists. A revolutionary regime that is confident of itself and of its methods does not fear opposition or free thought. Democracy and liberty of thought are the two primary pillars in the construction of the new, creative Arab man; they are the only way of reviving the mind of our nation - a mind full of fear and cowardice and accustomed to hypocrisy and submissiveness. Some may indeed exploit this democracy and this liberty; some may put them to bad use. They remain, nevertheless, a thousand times better than mental slavery - a thousand times better than the attempt to standardize the minds of the people and subject them to regimentation as decreed by the ruler. We must allow the new man to choose, to doubt, to reject and this must be applied to everything, from the color of his shoes and his necktie to the most sacred and elevated of beliefs and concepts.

* * *

5 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "The Arab Woman: When Will She Break the Fetters?"
by Muhammed Walid Istitiyya - Nablus

Is it not astounding that, after decades of strife aimed at the liberation of woman, tens of millions of our daughters continue in various parts of the Arab Homeland to lead a dismal social existence, living like slaves and enjoying no more rights than those bestowed on cattle?....

Is it not astounding, too, that while great efforts are being made to create a better Arab society the Arab woman continues to be neglected,...as if it were decreed that she was created solely to serve men and bear children. No one seems to be aware of the fact that all the efforts being made to create a better society will never bear fruit unless the Arab woman is liberated and given her full rights - otherwise our Arab society will remain backward.

One wonders when will the time come when the educational level of Arab women will be improved enough to reach that of their Western sisters - or their sisters in China and Japan? When will the Arab woman enter the field of work side by side with the man - in factories, in firms and in government departments - so that she will get the feeling - as well as the man - that she is no longer a burden to him, or a mere piece of furniture that he may change whenever he so desires?

* * *

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
PL-1-4000

Date 3/4/71

TO: *Esther Sarah Bauer*

FROM: DR. GEORGE E. GRUEN

_____ For your information.

_____ From our office in Israel.

_____ You requested this.

_____ Read and return, please.

_____ Returned as requested.

_____ Please talk to me about this.

_____ Your written comments, please.

REMARKS:

DATE: March 18, 1971
TO: George E. Gruen
FROM: M. Bernard Resnikoff
SUBJ: The Arabs of Israel; I. Between Two Fires

On March 3, 1971 - two days before the conclusion of its Eighth Congress - a spokesman of the Palestine National Council announced in Cairo that three "representatives from the occupied homeland" had been elected as new Council members. The three new members turned out to be Israeli citizens who had all left the country after the Six-Day War. The names were also among the best-known:

1. Sabri Jerais - A young Haifa lawyer hailing from the village of Fassuta on the Lebanese border and author of a book called H'Aravim ve-Yisrael (The Arabs of Israel), first published in Hebrew in 1966 and then translated into French and published by a left-wing Paris publisher. The book was highly critical of official Israeli policy toward the Arab population, and the author was among the active members of Al-Ard organization which was subsequently outlawed by an Israeli court. After spending a few years in and out of administrative detention - during which his French publisher actively worked for his release - Jerais found his way to Paris and from there to Beirut, where he now works for the Center for Palestinian Studies attached to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

2. Mahmud Darwish - a young poet born in a village in Galilee. In the early Sixties, after publishing his first book of poems, Darwish joined the Israeli Communist Party and worked as literary editor, proofreader and translator for the Party's Arabic publications Al-Ittihad, Al-Jadid and Al-Chad. Following the Six-Day War he became famous all over the Arab world as one of the "poets of the resistance" (the others were Samih al-Kassem and Tawfiq Zayyad). The Arabs' crippling defeat of 1967 produced in them a strong psychological need for self-expression, and Darwish was literally flooded with praise and became something of a culture hero for the Arabs. (So much so that he wrote an open letter to his fellow-Arab intellectuals asking to be released from "your suffocating love"). Last year, Darwish left for the Soviet Union to participate in an international gathering of Asian writers; the gathering bestowed on him its annual prize, and shortly afterwards he made his way to Cairo, where he issued a personal announcement last month to the effect that his was an entirely private decision and had nothing to do with the party to which he belonged (the New Communist Party - Rakach). This however did not prevent his Party from expelling him from its ranks.

3. Habib Qahwachi - One of the founding members of Al-Arad in 1958. After the Six-Day War he was detained (together with his wife) but never brought to trial. Subsequently, he was released on the understanding that he was leaving for the United States. Instead, he stopped in Cyprus, where he is reported to have established contacts with the Syrians and Egyptians. The last that has been heard of Qahwachi - who is also known as a poet though a lesser one than Darwish - has been his election to the Palestine National Council.

Darwish, Jerais and Qahwachi have in effect opted out of their Israeli citizenship. Their action, though by no means representative even of a small segment of the country's Arab population, remains significant in that it is indicative of a certain fundamental change in the Israeli Arab's position since the Six-Day War. A young Israeli Arab writer described this change the other day in the following terms. "Before the June war," he told this reporter, "the Arabs of Israel were virtually rejected both by their own government and by governments of neighboring Arab countries. The Israelis suspected them as a potential fifth column, their Arab brethren across the border as potential Israeli agents. Paradoxically, this gave them a certain psychological equilibrium which allowed them - with a few exceptions - to concentrate on improving their lot and tending their own gardens. And they did not do at all badly..."

(More)

The Six-Day War introduced a slow but perceptible change into this situation - and the equilibrium was upset. On the one hand, the encounter with their Palestinian brethren from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip brought the Arabs of Israel considerable material gains and helped them climb one step in the socio-cultural "pecking order". With almost 30,000 Arab workers and laborers employed in Israel, the original Arab inhabitants of the country tended to become employers, employment contractors, foremen or generally counted among the more skilled of the Arab labor force. On the other hand, the birth and growth of a specifically Palestinian national movement - and the appeals made daily to them to take up arms and join their fellow-Palestinians in their movement for liberation - tended to place the Israeli Arab into a far more difficult psychological position than the one he was in prior to the 1967 war. The cases in which Israeli Arab citizens were caught actively cooperating with the guerrilla organizations after 1967 have been relatively few and quite unrepresentative; nevertheless, they have been indicative of a certain change in the political consciousness of the country's Arabs.

That the Arab citizen of Israel is caught between two conflicting loyalties is something of a commonplace. What is not generally realized, however, is that - while the Six-Day War and the renewed encounter with his fellow-Palestinians made the Israeli Arab far more acceptable as a bona fide Arab nationalist - no similar willingness has been shown by Israel to accept her Arabs as full-fledged Israelis. In this connection it may be useful to recall here the case of Mr. Rustum Bastuni, the Haifa architect and former Mapam Knesset Member who emigrated from the country after the 1967 war to try his luck in Canada after he had failed to find a job in Israel. What is curious about Bastuni's case, however, is that - unlike Darwish, Jerais and Qahwachi - he advocated full political and "national" integration of the Arabs in Israel and rejected out of hand all Arab Nationalist claims on their loyalties.

From 1965 onwards, Bastuni started to advocate a new "Israeli Arab ideology" and founded "the Arab-Jewish Committee for Israel", whose other leading members were Salim Jubran, Muhammed Hubeishi, Suheil Shukri and Tawfiq Shuli. The gist of the new Israeli Arab ideology was summed up by Bastuni himself in the following terms:

"The only basis on which healthy Jewish-Arab relations can be achieved inside Israel is Israeli muwatana (citizenship, nationality) which does not differentiate between citizens of different ethnic groups, faiths and races. Those who consider Israel's Arabs as being in fact part of what they call the Arab World, and maintain that as long as that "world" is at war with Israel there can be no possibility of integrating the country's Arabs into the economic, cultural and political life of the State, must sooner or later arrive at the conclusion that the Arabs have no business living in Israel, and that they have to look for another abode."

The Arab-Jewish Committee for Israel further announced that it would concentrate on achieving three leading objectives:

1. The stabilization of Arab-Jewish relations inside Israel.
2. Establishing contacts with Arab officials abroad with a view to acquaint them with the position taken by Israel's Arabs toward the Israeli-Arab conflict generally and Ahmed Shukeiry's "Palestine Liberation Organization" in particular.
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(More)

The Committee expressed its firm belief that the Arabs of Israel should disown not only Shukeiry and his organization but all those self-styled spokesmen of Israeli Arabs who were not Israeli citizens themselves. "The relations between the various communities in Israel," Bastuni declared at the time, "must be viewed as a purely Israeli issue in which no outside element should interfere." More broadly speaking, Bastuni defined the ultimate goal of Israeli society as he and his colleagues saw it as "the creation of a new, well-defined Israeli identity capable of meeting the challenges of the modern world and the requirements of modern life and technology." That the prevailing state of affairs was "a far cry from this stipulation," Bastuni explained, was the outcome of "the absence of clear definitions of the concepts on which our society is based - a society which is still in a transition period as far as the crystallization of these concepts were concerned."

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As has already been indicated, Bastuni not only failed to put his and his colleagues' ideas into effect but finally decided to leave the country for good. Neither official Israel nor his own fellow-Arab citizens of Israel proved receptive to these ideas.

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15 March 1971

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ISRAEL OFFICE
9 Ethiopia Street
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71-585-38

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* * *

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

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8 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "After Sadat's Speech - What?"

Despite the tone and the violent phrases which characterized President Anwar el-Sadat's speech last night, announcing his refusal to extend the cease-fire, it remains obvious - as Sadat himself indicated - that Cairo has left the door open for going on with the diplomatic effort.

Sadat has appealed to the Great Powers, and especially the U.S., to the U.N. and its Secretary-General and to world public opinion, asking that each of these play its role in bringing about a just peace in the area. He also expressed confidence in the World Organization and in its principles, proclaimed his faith in the Security Council Resolution which rules that no land should be seized by force, and reiterated his country's desire for establishing peace on the basis of this Resolution - as well as Egypt's positive reply to the Jarring proposals. All this tends to show that Sadat's address was aimed at putting the Great Powers on a test, rather than passing a threat of starting a new war.

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After this Egyptian move, responsibility now obviously rests chiefly with the U.S. herself. The world cannot afford the outbreak of a third world war; and the Middle East region has just had its fill of wars. Moreover, as Sadat has asserted, Washington has pledged that it opposes, and will continue to oppose, the annexation of land by conquest.

Will the U.S., then, play her role in bringing about peace - or will she choose to let things deteriorate, so that guns would again be fired and the lives of this area's inhabitants continue to supply the fodder?

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THE PALESTINIANS

3 March 1971; AL-QUDS Editorial: "The Report and the Organizations"

The report which Ibrahim Bakr, the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the guerrilla organizations, has submitted to the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo these days has been frank and courageous both in its criticism and in its self-criticism. The Report criticized the attitudes taken by the organizations when the late President Abdul Nasser accepted the Rogers proposals; the Report also used candid terms in describing the general conduct and attitudes of the organizations - attitudes and conduct which the Report described as being "based on erroneous understanding, auctioneering, and blunders in various spheres."

Much of this criticism was aired months ago by certain Palestinian and Arab writers, in the hope that the organizations would free themselves from their blunders and their auctioneerings, and ultimately to make them avoid leading the people of Palestine to the brink of liquidation and more blood baths. Yet all this was countered by accusations and ridicule - as though it were fated that the leaderships of this people will never see the truth until they and the people as a whole have paid dearly in terms of its blood, its destiny and its existence.

It is to be hoped that the kind of candid and courageous criticism which Bakr addressed to representatives of all the organizations would persuade these organizations and their leaderships to put their fingers on the mistakes and avoid illusory slogans and cheap auctioneerings - and that this will be a start for objective and realistic thinking leading to a grasp of the truth in all its dimensions. For the fact is that the Report, despite its candor, reveals only part of the truth; a more complete knowledge of the truth can free the organizations from their present isolation from the people and give them an idea of the Palestinians' demands at this juncture. In the forefront of these demands is one calling for self-determination and for drawing a blueprint for the future through a freely-held plebiscite. In realizing this demand lies great gain, while discarding it means the loss of everything.....

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7 March 1971; AL-QUDS This is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
"In Defence of Ibrahim Bakr"

We no doubt have many differences of opinion with Ibrahim Bakr, both on strategic and tactical matters. Nevertheless, we reject the kind of treatment being meted out to Ibrahim Bakr - or to anybody with something to say, for that matter. For the fact is that, when Bakr exercised his right to criticism and to self-criticism, airing before the Palestine National Council some of the blunders made by the P.L.O. Executive Committee and the guerrilla organizations, he was subjected to violent attacks of a kind which we would not want to see directed at any Palestinian - such as that Ibrahim Bakr was a defeatist and that he was working in collusion with Egypt.

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Our Palestinian people, and our Arab Nation as a whole, fully realize that this sort of language means that, instead of objective and constructive criticism, we are back on the road of invective and libel - that road which had been the principal reason of our calamities. We thought that the June defeat and the bloodshed in Amman since September were sufficient to make us discard this style and adopt instead a democratic way allowing everyone to express his opinion without being subjected to invective and slander - and without being forced to resign, as happened yesterday with Ibrahim Bakr, Yasser 'Omar, Hamid Abu Sitta and Zuheir al-'Alami.

Moreover, it is ludicrous for anyone to speak of "collusion with Egypt". Egypt is not a hostile power, but the older sister - a country which sacrificed the lives of thousands of her sons, saw hundreds of thousands of her Canal Zone inhabitants become refugees after their towns had been laid in ruins - and all this for the sake of Palestine and the people of Palestine, and at a time when not many Arabs or Palestinians present anything more than illusory slogans and tall and empty talk that has been responsible for our dismal position and the loss of our homelands.

Our Palestinian people call upon Ibrahim Bakr, Yasser 'Omar and their comrades to form the nucleus of a new Palestinian leadership advocating the right of our people to self-determination through a free plebiscite - to decide the kind of system they want and the sort of union they opt for.

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WEST BANK PROSPECTS

10 March 1971; AL-ANBA: "An Error Everybody Recognizes" by Ahmed Barham

Israeli Police Minister Shlomo Hillel says that the inhabitants of the West Bank want to go back to Jordan. This is not true. Mr. Hillel, it seems, has reached the conclusion on the strength of closed meetings he held with certain West Bank inhabitants known for their contacts with Amman and the Amman regime - or with the traditional leaderships the identity of whose personal interests with those of Amman is known to everybody, including the Minister. It is equally well-known to all, the Minister included, that these leaderships no longer represent anybody besides themselves.

It would seem, too, that even those few whom Mr. Hillel consulted, and on the strength of whose statements he reached his erroneous conclusions, did not have the courage to tell the Minister about their true attitude. For in reality all that they wanted to say was that the Palestinians do not want the occupation; instead they told him that the West Bank inhabitants want to return to Jordan! It was on this that Mr. Hillel based his wrong conclusions - and it is because of this that these conclusions will not in the least affect the truth known to all - namely that the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and Palestinians everywhere and in all their habitations, peasants, workers and clerks, merchants and students, firmly hold on to their right of self-determination, and demand that this right be exercised through a neutral and free plebiscite to be held under the supervision of a neutral party during a transition period in which occupied Palestinian territories are placed temporarily under the trusteeship of those same bodies which are to supervise the plebiscite.

It is universally known, moreover, that this is the attitude of the U.A.R. and of President Anwar el-Sadat, as he propounded it to the American weekly Newsweek. It is also the attitude of the Arab nation as a whole, and of every leader who is loyal to the cause of Palestine and the Arab people of Palestine.

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The question is: How does Mr. Shlomo Hillel permit himself to make a statement in which he announces the desire of a million Palestinian Arabs to go back to Jordan when in fact he has asked no one but a few ex-notables and a number of would-be leaders whose leaderships were bestowed on them by Amman in return for their loyalty to Amman and the King of Amman? I am absolutely certain that the people whose opinion concerning the return to Jordan Mr. Hillel solicited know full well that they represent no one but themselves, and that they can in no wise speak in the name of the million Palestinians who live in the occupied areas. The fact, as we have pointed out above, is that they were too afraid to tell the Minister that the Palestinians want to see an end to the occupation and to start determining their own destinies - and so, instead of saying all this, they chose to say what they thought would spare them the Minister's anger, namely that the Palestinians in the occupied areas want to go back to the regime in Amman.

I repeat: It is not fair on the part of Police Minister Shlomo Hillel to base his conclusions on erroneous premises - and the error here lies in soliciting the opinion of persons who the Minister and everybody know do not dare state the truth - and cannot express the right opinion - concerning the wishes of the inhabitants and their aspirations.

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3 March 1971; AL-QUDS: This is My Opinion by Muhammed Abu Shilbaya
"Ask the People!"

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir opposes the establishment of a Palestinian State; the Jordanian Parliament and the Jordanian media of communications are instructed to oppose the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination; King Hussein wants this right of self-determination to be exercised only after the people concerned have returned to him, so that the result of a plebiscite could be fixed in advance; the Police Minister of Israel holds meetings with some leaders and notables - and then comes out to announce that the inhabitants of the occupied territories consider themselves part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; some of the Palestinian leaderships, new as well as old, come out with speeches and proclamations describing self-determination as "a liquidatory conspiracy"; and, finally, some Palestinian personalities now advocate the dispatch of delegations to Amman, ostensibly to try to effect a reconciliation, but only God knows what actually is hidden behind these calls!

Now the question which our Palestinian people as a whole, both in the occupied territories and outside them, poses is: Why do some responsible officials in Israel and Jordan, as well as in certain foreign countries, trouble to speak in the name of the Palestinians, claiming that their views represent those of the Palestinians? Why a free plebiscite is not held, instead, in which the people itself would make its own say?

Is it not more useful for peace and the efforts to establish peace that the Powers - major and minor, Arab and foreign - know the real opinion of the people of Palestine - instead of letting this notable or that leader or the other mukhtar claim that he speaks in the name of the people, so that everyone may be spared the trouble, the unjust attacks, and the empty claims concerning alleged "conspiracies", "separatism" and "heresies"?

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3 March 1971; AL-QUDS: Prickings by Abu Marwan "When Good Will Prevails"

In my opinion, Golda Meir's references to "a Palestinian State" are somewhat misplaced: She does not reject the idea of establishing this State as a State, but simply with reference to the geographical capacity of the area to absorb three States - Jordan, Israel and Palestine. It would, in fact, be easier to understand Mrs. Meir's view if we introduce in it a change that would make it nearer certain of her former and better-known statements - so that it reads as follows: "The area has no room at once for the Jordanians, the Palestinians and the Israelis!"

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Here a personal episode comes to my mind. During a certain year in my secondary education my father wanted me to move from my private school to the Rashidiyya School, a government school which charged no fees. Dutifully, I took my papers and went to see the Principal of my prospective school. Unable to see me, he referred me to his Deputy, Mr. S. - may he be well and prosperous wherever he may be.

Now Mr. Deputy-Principal said: "Let's go to the school's courtyard!" "What for?" I enquired.

"You stand at one end of it and I at the other," he said. "Okay," I consented.

"You push at your end and I push at mine," he continued. "Okay," I said.

"And then the school will have enough room for an additional seat," he went on to explain. "Okay," I said.

"And the seat will be yours!" he finally let out. Upon which I bade him goodday and went back to my own school...

Perhaps we can "press" the map of this land a little so that we can make room for us and for our posterity. Such room is necessary, since we have no "old country" to go back to and must make do with what we have and live on?

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ARAB SOCIETY AND POLITICS

March 1971; AL-BASHEER MONTHLY; Reflections by Ibrahim D'eibis "Three Points"

Industrialization and economic progress are basic factors of change. Yet, to avoid building with one hand and destroying with the other, economic development must be accompanied by social development - so that nation-building may rest on the two strong pillars, the economic and the social.

The Arab revolution has undertaken industrialization and economic development, but stopped short where social problems were concerned, hesitant to take radical decisions, fettered by popular creeds, customs and superstitions. Instead of confronting these extremely backward phenomena, the Arab revolution appeased them, and often even exploited them in a most opportunistic manner.

To make our meaning clear, we will raise three points:

1. Separation of Church and State: In the name of religion, we in the East have granted our minds a long leave of absence; we tend to shift all our responsibilities and our troubles to God, resorting to such dicta as "Nothing shall ever befall you unless it be decreed by God" and "Not a single hair shall fall from the head of any of you except by my command". God interferes with every aspect of our lives. He gives us our daily bread; He defeats us; He grants us victory; He solves our problems; He consoles us; He delivers us from trouble; and it is He who decides the time and place in which we do our deeds.

I do not here wish to discuss theological matters; I merely put on record a popular reality which I feel and experience, and this is what matters to me here. The separation of Religion and State will not, by mere decree, change everything overnight; but it will open the way and provide the scope for change. The most important result will be the awakening of the mind accustomed to reliance on God. This is not because one rejects God; it is because one rejects all kinds of resignation - even if it be to God!

2. Co-Education: Our sex complex is one of the greatest obstacles to our progress. Sex consumes half of the thoughts of our young men and women and fills the minds with delusions and complexes. Let me say in advance that I prefer what some would call sexual degeneration in the West to the hypocrisy, the mock-chastity and the moral dualism of the East. In my opinion, the liberation of the East from these complexes resides in one radical

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solution: All the rising generations of the Arab Nation must be sent to mixed schools - from kindergarten to university...In these mixed schools the minds of the new generations will be implanted with new concepts of the East and a new attitude to the other sex. Needless to say, this will entail the introduction of sex education in school from a very early age.

3. Freedom of Thought: For long generations, we lived under regimes which suppressed thought and silenced mouths - and the result has been that Reason retreated and tended toward laziness and leniency. If the Arab revolution is really sincere in its drive to move the Arab man to the Twentieth Century, then first and foremost it must revive his mind. We therefore reject attempts made by any ruler, revolutionary or reactionary, to tell us what is allowed and what is not allowed in the sphere of thought. We refuse to allow the nation to become a group of impotent yes-men and conformists. A revolutionary regime that is confident of itself and of its methods does not fear opposition or free thought. Democracy and liberty of thought are the two primary pillars in the construction of the new, creative Arab man; they are the only way of reviving the mind of our nation - a mind full of fear and cowardice and accustomed to hypocrisy and submissiveness. Some may indeed exploit this democracy and this liberty; some may put them to bad use. They remain, nevertheless, a thousand times better than mental slavery - a thousand times better than the attempt to standardize the minds of the people and subject them to regimentation as decreed by the ruler. We must allow the new man to choose, to doubt, to reject and this must be applied to everything, from the color of his shoes and his necktie to the most sacred and elevated of beliefs and concepts.

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5 March 1971; AL-QUDS: "The Arab Woman: When Will She Break the Fetters?"
by Muhammed Walid Istitiyya - Nablus

Is it not astounding that, after decades of strife aimed at the liberation of woman, tens of millions of our daughters continue in various parts of the Arab Homeland to lead a dismal social existence, living like slaves and enjoying no more rights than those bestowed on cattle?....

Is it not astounding, too, that while great efforts are being made to create a better Arab society the Arab woman continues to be neglected,...as if it were decreed that she was created solely to serve men and bear children. No one seems to be aware of the fact that all the efforts being made to create a better society will never bear fruit unless the Arab woman is liberated and given her full rights - otherwise our Arab society will remain backward.

One wonders when will the time come when the educational level of Arab women will be improved enough to reach that of their Western sisters - or their sisters in China and Japan? When will the Arab woman enter the field of work side by side with the man - in factories, in firms and in government departments - so that she will get the feeling - as well as the man - that she is no longer a burden to him, or a mere piece of furniture that he may change whenever he so desires?

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