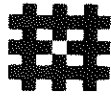


**A
FUND
FOR FREE
EXPRESSION
REPORT**



Israeli Censorship
of Arab Publications

A Survey

Directed by
Meron Benvenisti

36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10036
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Summary and Conclusions</u>	1
<u>Introduction</u>	5
Part One - <u>Press Censorship</u>	10
A. <u>Overview</u>	10
Freedom of the Press in Israel	10
Government-Press Relations	13
Legislation Concerning the Press	15
Laws Inherited from the British Mandate	16
Official Secrecy	22
Other Legislation Concerning the Press	25
The Role of the Courts	26
Military Censorship	29
The Army Spokesman and his Functions	31
B. <u>The Arab Press</u>	35
Arab Editors Symposium	38
Affidavit in Support of Censorship	45
C. <u>The Sample</u>	51
D. <u>Statistical Analysis</u>	52
Table 1: Distribution of Censored Items by Subject and Paper (%)	52
Table 2: Arab Press, Censored Items by Papers and Source (%)	54
Table 3: Papers Own Records of Censored Items	54
E. <u>Translations of Censored Items</u>	55
PLO-Palestinians	55
Israeli Coercive Measures	59
Resistance Terrorism	60
Demonstrations-Strikes	61
Land Ownership	61
Israelis-Arabs	61
Palestinian-French Relations	63
Vigilantes and Israeli Violence	63
Golan Heights	64
Censorship	64
Death Notices	65
Lebanon War	65

Universities	69
Zionist Propaganda	70
Settlements	70
Arab League	72
Rabbi Kahane's Activities	73
Prisons	73
Courts	74
Taxation	75
Holy Places	76
Arab Lobby in the U.S.	76
Village Leagues	76
Israeli Demonstrations	77
Foreign Support for Palestinians	77
Israeli-Egyptian Relations	79
Voluntary Social Work	79
Poems	80
News Items	80
Photocopies of the Censor's Work	91
Part Two - <u>Book Censorship</u>	111
Military Order No. 101-Prohibition of Incitement and Adverse Propaganda	111
Military Order No. 938-Support for Hostile Organization	115
Table 1: Censored Books by Subject	118
Table 2: Censored Books by Publisher	121
Table 3: Distribution of Subjects by Major Publishers	122
Table 4: Distribution of Titles by Major Authors	123
The Sample	124
List of Titles Translated from European Languages	125
Reviews of Random Examples of Censored Books	129
Fiction, Poetry	129
Military-Historical Research	144
Terror, Terrorist Organizations, Revolutions	151
Israeli-Arab Conflict	154
Political Studies	161
Arab Nationalism	164
Bibliography	167

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THE FUND FOR FREE EXPRESSION

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Summary and Conclusions

The struggle over Israeli censorship of Arab publications on the West Bank mirrors the larger struggle between Palestinians and Israelis. It is a struggle that is urgent; both sides view words and ideas as powerful weapons; both sides see themselves as beleaguered minorities; and both sides view censorship as a method of denying the other side legitimacy.

Legitimacy -- or the perception of legitimacy -- is what is at stake. Israeli censors attempt to prevent the publication not only of the supposed national security secrets and the ideological tracts that are the targets of censors everywhere; nor even is such censorship the main point. Rather, the primary concern is to eradicate expression that could foster Palestinian nationalist feelings, or that suggests that Palestinians are a nation with a national heritage. Concomitantly, expression denying Israeli legitimacy or imputing behavior to Israeli officials that suggests illegitimacy, is eliminated by the censor.

Pursuing these concerns, censors prohibit publication of a death notice for a Palestinian asserting that a family "in the homeland and the diaspora mourns" his passing. They prohibit publication of a poem referring to the "martyrdom" of Palestinians, or an article reporting that neighbors "distributed gifts to the mothers of martyrs" and helped rebuild "a home which was destroyed by Israeli authorities." A brief news item is censored because it reports that a student group at Bir Zeit

University "sends best wishes on the release" of a Palestinian prisoner. Censorship rules out even a line in an Arab newspaper reporting that, "the Israeli authorities released the day before yesterday three residents from Arrabeh in the Jenin district." That line indicates that Israel maintains its control over the occupied territories by coercive measures -- hardly a secret to any resident of those territories -- and, thereby, could be thought to deny the legitimacy of the occupation.

Just as Israeli censors employ censorship to deny Palestinian national legitimacy and to prohibit any denial of Israeli national legitimacy, the Arab press attempts to assert that which the censors would prohibit. It is a "mobilized" press and its editors -- with no exceptions but with varied emphasis -- attempt to express Palestinian nationhood and to question Israeli legitimacy. "We do all that," an Arab editor says, "by playing a game of cat and mouse with the censor." He sees his task as "struggling against the occupation by means of words authorized by the censors of the occupation." It is possible for the Arab press to conduct this struggle, he says, because "there are narrow margins between what the occupation wants for us and what we want. Within those narrow margins we emphasize national institutions and activities and we fight against actions which contradict it."

Censorship is pervasive. Arab editors submit all material meant for publication (including photos, advertisements and crossword puzzles). They visit the office of the censor twice

a day to show what they propose to publish and to pick up what they are permitted to publish. The censor may censor a whole item or any part of it. Empty spaces may not be used to show that censorship has taken place, censoring the fact of censorship. One newspaper's records show that of 1,077 items in English submitted to the censors in 1982, 367 were prohibited entirely and another 214 were partially censored. The censor may close a newspaper at a moment's notice -- as has been done frequently.

Book censorship is also heavy-handed. Some sixty lists of prohibited books that included more than 1,600 titles were promulgated over the years by the Israeli censors. After New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis embarrassed the Israeli government by pointing out that even George Orwell's 1984 was prohibited on the West Bank, the censor cancelled all lists issued prior to 1977 and announced in September 1982, a new master list of 1,002 censored titles. Since then, some 600 additional titles have been listed. Though this is only three to four percent of the titles imported to the West Bank, and does not now include any well known work of world literature, it includes every work that expresses or that arouses Palestinian national feelings.

Despite the pervasiveness of censorship, the censors -- like their counterparts throughout history -- are fighting a losing battle. In this instance, the censor's struggle is particularly pathetic because of the proliferating technology of communication from Arab states that penetrates the West Bank

and because of the emergence of new and powerful intellectual centers in the West Bank itself.

Yet the struggle over censorship will persist, as the struggle over legitimacy will persist, until both sides abandon the view that they are engaged in a game that only one can win.

INTRODUCTION

Israelis and Palestinians live in a polarized environment, that encompasses them totally.

Israelis and Palestinians organize their worlds in terms of "our side" and the "other side," constantly receiving messages that reinforce polarization. Only these messages seem to them significant. Their attitude to facts is selective. They interpret acts by the other side as designed to destroy them, even when the opposite is meant. These perceptions permeate every contact, define all interests, and run through the political and administrative systems. All events are seen in terms of gain or loss. They are constantly aware of dichotomies of interest that reinforce their social divisions. Harris (1972), after reviewing the literature on ethnicity and minorities, pointed out that for national minorities, "the dichotomized area includes the wider political units, so that the minority role is perceived to be significant in the encapsulating society, as well as in the local community."

Israelis and Palestinians each perceive themselves to be the "besieged minority." The Palestinians are a minority in Palestine, but an overwhelming majority in the Middle East. The Israelis are a majority in Palestine, but a tiny minority in the area. The result is that both feel threatened. The feelings of insecurity and stress are especially strong in the Israeli community, because the "minority syndrome" is not

unique to their present situation in the Middle East. It has been their status for thousands of years, and became a second nature. Memories of persecution, pogroms and, especially, the Holocaust, are connected with their previous status of scattered and defenseless minority. The fact that they are surrounded by a hostile "Sea of Arabs," causes them to be preoccupied with their security. The Palestinians, who in one generation lost their majority through their "Naqbah" (disaster) of 1948, are equally insecure and stressful. The occupation, and Israeli coercive measures reflecting their own insecurity, leave Palestinians with a burning sense of grievance.

Minority and majority in Palestine are therefore equally prejudiced insofar as they interpret events and perceive positions in polarized terms.

Such frames of mind are characteristic of nations at war. Indeed, Israelis and Palestinians perceive their conflict as a war, or as an "intense conflict." They would agree that their conflict conforms to Nordlinger's (1972; 9) definition: "A conflict is intense...when the issues at stake are thought to be of the greatest importance, involving the segment's social identity, its most sought after material rewards, its most cherished cultural values or its perceived inalienable rights."

The intensity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is exacerbated because both sides refuse to view their adversary as a legitimate national group. As Kelman (1982; 62) observed: "Each sees the national identity and existence of the other as

problematic, because they cast doubts on their own claims...The main concern of both sides, is that their own claims might become less evident and more ambiguous once they conceded that the other, too had certain rights in the land...The fulfillment of the other's national identity is perceived by each group as equivalent to the destruction of its own identity." This is the context in which one must understand press censorship in the West Bank. Both sides view themselves as engaged in a Zero-Sum Game, whose rules are well known to both. A Palestinian journalist (see below) defined it as a "cat and mouse" game. He defines his task as "to mobilize the masses against the occupation, and the escalation of national activities in that struggle -- by means of words authorized by the censor of the occupier."

The Israeli censor, suffering like his compatriots from the "besieged minority syndrome," sees the mere publication of a nationalist Palestinian paper, irrespective of its contents, as a provocation; and one-sided reporting of events in the Territories as "emphasizing violence against Israel and the Military Government, non-recognition of Israel and provocation against it."

The struggle is waged between unequal adversaries. The full coercive power of a sovereign state is at the disposal of the censor, who enjoys the support of the majority of his national group, and the understanding of the judiciary. He uses his absolute power against a defenseless and frail group of

dedicated journalists. The results of this "cat and mouse" struggle are clearly seen in the present survey -- in the statistics of censored items, and the samples of banned articles and books.

However, the outcome of the struggle is far from decided. The censor's fight is a losing battle. His predecessors throughout history discovered that it is impossible, in the long run, to stifle freedom of expression. The censor's role as the arbiter of national feelings in the Territories seems particularly pathetic, considering the proliferation of means of communication (Arab radio and TV) available to the local population, and the emergence of new and powerful intellectual and scholarly centers in the West Bank itself.

Even so, the censor's self-image as protector of the public order (see below), and as the guardian of Israel's security, force him to pursue his elusive objective. Israeli censorship - Palestinian press relations are but one aspect of the ongoing deadly struggle for a homeland claimed by two peoples. Palestinian freedom of expression will be salvaged from the censor's scissors only when both sides abandon the notion that they are engaged in a game that only one can win.

* * *

This survey was conducted by:

Dr. Dina Goren: Overview of Israeli Censorship

A Palestinian Journalist: Sampling and translation of

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Meron Benvenisti
Jerusalem, November, 1983

PART ONE

PRESS CENSORSHIP

A. Overview

In recent years, the Israeli news media have come to assume an increasingly important political role. The tendency by some newspapers to adopt adversary position vis-a-vis the government -- to criticize its policies and, on occasion, to expose its shortcomings - have led the news media to contribute significantly to the public debate on central issues on the country's political agenda. This tendency has become even more pronounced since the beginning of the war in Lebanon.

The press's recent performance has tended to obscure its rather precarious constitutional position in Israel. Somewhat paradoxically, this constitutional frailty has so far not been mentioned even by those among the government's spokesmen who have increasingly sought to delegitimize the news media. The tactic of delegitimization has proved quite successful, however, and, as a result, there has been a growing outspoken resentment of the news media which, in the course of the Lebanon war, assumed alarming proportions. This antagonism has been directed in particular at the broadcast media, especially against television -- the chief (if not sole) source of news of certain sections of the public.

Freedom of the Press in Israel

That the government has successfully fanned such resent-

ment towards the news media, to the point of denying the legitimacy of their role as critics of government performance, is one sign of the tenuous position of press freedom in Israeli political culture.

In this connection, it should be recalled that the foundations of the political system in Israel were laid, mostly before the establishment of the State, by immigrants whose political heritage was predominantly East European. One characteristic of this heritage was to emphasize the formal aspects of majority rule and free elections over the liberal aspects of civil liberties and minority rights (Shapiro 1977 and 1976; Horwitz and Lissak 1977).

The concepts of pluralism, the "free marketplace of ideas," freedom of expression and of the press, are not accorded the same weight as in the liberal Western version of democracy, and are not, in fact, considered to be essential components of the democratic belief system. As a result of the East European origin of their founders, political groups in Israel, for the most part, adhere to the so-called majoritarian interpretation of democracy. This is true of the labor movement and of the political parties and institutions it established.

It also holds true of the Revisionists -- who are the major opposition within the Zionist movement, and the ideological forerunners of today's Herut party -- the dominant group within the Likud in terms of power and ideological imprint.

The Likud's electoral victory in 1977, and again in 1981, seems to have further increased the tendency to emphasize the need for consensus, adherence to leadership, and for preferring the interests of the State over those of individuals; in other words, the elements of what is commonly labelled as "right" in political discourse.

Surveys to measure general democratic norms prevalent in society have shown that, while there is widespread support for abstract democratic norms, their application to specific groups indicates a high level of political intolerance (Shamir and Sullivan, 1981). A majority of Israelis favor outlawing groups they dislike, and oppose allowing members of such groups to hold public rallies and speeches or to appear on TV or to hold top political posts or teaching positions.

A finding of particular relevance to the present discussion is the conspicuous discrepancy between support of the abstract principle of free speech, endorsed by 83% of the respondents when devoid of any particular context, but when it was considered in the context of the least liked group there was a decline of 45% in support of the principle (Shamir and Sullivan, 1983).

This data was collected long before the Lebanon war, and the escalation resulting from it in the antagonism prevalent among certain sections of the population regarding the legitimacy of press freedom.

In a survey conducted early in 1983, it was found that 60%

among the public favored outlawing a radical leftist group, dedicated to expressing solidarity with Bir Zeit University, while only 35% of the respondents favored outlawing Rabbi Kahane's ultra-rightist "Kach" movement. 27% favored outlawing "Peace Now," against 68% who did not favor such a move. In relation to "Gush Emunim" the figures were 22% for, 74% against outlawing this group (Koteret Rashit, 1983).

Unlike the public at large, Israeli media practitioners have tended to internalize the liberal values of press freedom and of the public's right to know. Increasingly, they interpret these values as essential elements of their own role. This has been true particularly in the case of the younger generation of journalists. Unlike their older colleagues, the younger journalists were not exposed to the co-optive pressures exerted on the media by the government, and, before statehood, by the leadership of the national movement. The turning point in government press relations came as the result of the Yom Kippur War.

Government - Press Relations

Throughout the first formative years of statehood until 1973, the prevalent pattern in government-press relations was established in the pre-statehood era when the struggle for independence was waged within a voluntary framework which naturally entailed pressures for concensus, unity and subordination to the leadership. As a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict,

these pressures remained at work long after the establishment of the State.

In the case of government-media relations, an increasingly effective system of co-optation was developed. This system was institutionalized in a formal organization -- the "Editors' Committee," comprising the editors-in-chief of the newspapers and the broadcasting media -- who, on a continuing basis, were offered off-the-record briefings by policy makers who, in turn, were using the media to elicit support for the government's policies and actions (Goren, 1975 and 1979). That this system worked very smoothly for almost three decades can only be understood against the background of the legitimacy accorded to the government's policy on secrecy that was prevalent in the political culture (Galnoor, 1977).

Such a system also created a vested interest for the news media in preserving the voluntary nature of press-government relations which, in turn, safeguarded the privileged position of media practitioners and guaranteed their access to information not available to consumers of their publications and broadcasts.

Given press-government relations based almost exclusively on gentlemen's agreements that worked to their mutual advantage, it is easy to understand why both sides share a tacit understanding that the laws concerning press performance were irrelevant. This explains why the Israeli news media rarely sought to repeal blatantly restrictive laws that are still in force.

The possibility of applying these restrictive measures to parties excluded from the gentlemen's agreements also contributed to the preservation of this legislation. As a result, a useful, though reprehensible, pattern of double standards could evolve. This helps to explain the almost total indifference of the Israeli news media to the application of restrictive press laws to Arab language newspapers in Jerusalem and the Territories.

Legislation Concerning the Press

As has been pointed out already, Israel has no constitutional guarantee of press freedom or, indeed, even of freedom of expression generally. Israel does not have a written constitution. Instead, through the years, a series of "Basic Laws" has been enacted which, unlike other laws, may be repealed only by an absolute majority of members of the Knesset. It is intended that these laws should, when taken together, form a constitutional framework. A proposed basic law on civil rights, first debated in the Knesset in 1975, has not yet been passed.

One section of this draft proposal does refer to freedom of expression by the press, but it includes a number of qualifications which, if approved, will effectively restrict these freedoms. In 1982, a private member's bill to establish the public's right to know was tabled by a member of the opposition Labor Alignment. According to its author, the proposal stands

no chance of being enacted in present circumstances. (M.K. Moshe Shahal, in private conversation.)

Existing legislation dealing with the media, their performance and legal status, may be divided into two broad categories: (1) laws referring specifically to the media and (2) laws in general terms that have direct bearing on one or another aspect of media performance.

Laws Inherited from the British Mandate

The oldest law concerning the press, still in force, is the Press Ordinance of 1933 -- enacted by the British Mandatory power at the recommendation of a Commission set up to investigate the causes of riots between Arabs and Jews in August 1929. The Commission's report noted the role played by the press in local politics and recommended tighter regulations (Lahav, 1978).

The Press Ordinance of 1933 provided for licensing of printed media, governmental supervision and regulation of content, and administrative and penal sanctions for newspapers that violated these provisions. The Ordinance, providing as it does for prior restraints on the press, contradicts the principles of press freedom. It is worth noting that, under Ottoman law in force prior to the enactment of the Press Ordinance, anyone desiring to publish a newspaper did not need a permit. All that was necessary under Ottoman law was to file a declaration noting the name of the publication and how it would be published.

The Press Ordinance of 1933 was incorporated into Israeli law in 1948. After that, on several occasions and mostly recently in 1978, an attempt was made to re-enact it. The latest attempt was deferred as the result of outspoken opposition by the press. The revisions proposed by the Ministry of Justice at that time left in force the provision for licensing included in the original Ordinance.

Needless to say, the very idea of licensing is diametrically opposed to the concept of press freedom. The far-reaching discretionary powers vested in the Minister of the Interior make this provision a serious threat to freedom of expression.

Apart from licensing, the Minister of the Interior enjoys far-reaching powers to control the contents of publications, and has the power to close down a newspaper with or without prior warning. He is also entitled to demand the publication of government announcements. As we shall see, these powers have been curtailed as far as the Hebrew press is concerned as the result of judgments of the Supreme Court. In the case of the Arab language press published in Jerusalem, the provisions of the 1933 Press Ordinance remain in force (see below).

Sections 17 and 19 of the Press Ordinance are particularly pertinent:

"17. When the Director General of the Ministry of Interior has reason to believe that any statement containing an allegation of fact, appearing in a newspaper, is incorrect, he may request the editor of such

newspaper to insert, and the editor shall insert free of charge in the next issue of the newspaper after the receipt of such a request, such denial as the Director General of the Ministry of Interior may, in the public interest, deem necessary to publish.

"19. (1) The Minister of Interior may cause the proprietor or editor of any newspaper or both such persons to be warned that certain matter appearing in such newspaper is, in the opinion of the Minister of Interior likely to endanger the public peace and that, if the publication of such matter is continued, the Minister of Interior will consider the question of suspending publication of the newspaper under the provisions hereof.

"(2) The Minister of Interior, either with or without having caused the proprietor or editor of a newspaper to be warned under subsection (1) may, if any matter appearing in a newspaper is, in the opinion of the Minister of Interior, likely to endanger the public peace, by order, suspend the publication of the newspaper for such period as he may think fit and shall state in the said order the period of such suspension.

"(3) Any copy of a newspaper which has been suspended under the provisions hereof may be seized by a police officer, customs officer or officer of the post office.

"(4) Any person who publishes a newspaper the publication of which has been suspended under this section is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for six months or a fine of one hundred pounds or both such penalties."

Still in effect, too, are the Defense Regulations (Emergency) issued by the British in 1945. Some of these deal with military censorship and enumerate the powers of the Military Censor. Censorship had been in force in Palestine since

1936, and was especially stringent during World War II. It was used then, among other things, to prevent publication in the Hebrew press of any mention of what was happening to the Jews in Europe under Nazi occupation (Naon, 1969). The regulations enacted in 1945, at the height of tension between Jews and the British, further enlarged the powers of the Military Censor. He was authorized to prohibit the publication of any material that "in his opinion, would be, or be likely to be, or become prejudicial to the defense of the State or to the public safety or to public order" (87/1). The Censor also has unlimited authority to prevent publication by ordering any publisher to submit for inspection any item intended for printing (97/1). He can prohibit publication merely by stating one of the general reasons enumerated in the regulations, without providing concrete justification. Publication of the fact that censorship had been applied can also be prohibited.

The regulations, with minor changes, were left intact and in force (see below). In the area of military censorship, however, they were only partially implemented. The exercise of military censorship in relation to the Hebrew press and broadcast media serves as the perfect illustration of how a system of voluntary agreements is used to substitute for the letter of the law. The restrictive legislation is left intact, while the objects of these restrictions forego the struggle to repeal them as these restrictions are not implemented against them.

The voluntary agreement on censorship dates back to the

War of Independence when, in the last months of the British Mandate, the editors volunteered to submit their copy to prior examination by censors appointed by the "Hagana." After Independence, the editors continued to submit their copy to the same censors under the mistaken belief that the arrangement was still voluntary. They soon discovered that the Military Censor was now operating under the Defense Regulations of 1945. The editors strongly objected to the continuation of these repressive measures but they did not question the need for prior military censorship. During the War of Independence, controversies were resolved on an ad hoc basis. After the war in 1950, an agreement was negotiated between the general staff of the army and the Editors' Committee, regulating military censorship. The legal Counselor to the government and experts of the Ministry of Justice strenuously objected to the arrangement which they defined as "illegal." Nevertheless, it went into effect and with minor revisions in 1966, has continued in force ever since.

Under the agreement, the military does not insist on compliance with the Regulations, which stipulate that everything published be submitted to prior examination. Instead, lists of excluded and sensitive subjects are supplied to guide the press. These are periodically updated and their contents are themselves classified. In the early years after the War of Independence, considerable friction resulted from attempts to suppress stories for what the newspapers claimed were political

reasons. Under the 1966 revisions, a clause was added that "Censorship does not apply to political matters, opinions or comment, or anything except for security information liable to help the enemy or harm national defense." The military censor retains power over matters pertaining "to the public morale."

The agreement further stipulates that neither party will resort to legal sanctions or bring their differences to court. Its day-to-day implementation is supervised by a committee of representatives of the press and the military and it is chaired by a public figure. According to General Shani, the present Military Censor, this committee considered, since its establishment, no more than 180 disputes between the army and the media. (General J. Shani, in address in symposium on Media in Wars, Jerusalem, May 1983)

The censor's control of stories filed by foreign correspondents from Israel does not come under this agreement. Nor does it apply to publications in Hebrew or other languages, whose editors are not affiliated to the Editors' Committee, as for example, the weekly magazine "Haolam Hazeh." All such publications, including the Arab press, are subject to control by the Military Censor, under terms specified in the Defense Regulations (Emergency) 1945.

The legislation examined above, comprising the Press Ordinance of 1933 and the Defense Regulation of 1945, are the only laws specifically concerned with the press. Both, as we have seen, date from the pre-State era. The only legislation deal-

ing specifically with the mass media enacted by the Israeli Knesset is the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965 (revised in 1969 to include television). This law, however, need not concern us within the framework of the present discussion.

Official Secrecy

Several other laws, while not addressed specifically to the media, have a direct bearing on aspects of media performance on the freedom of expression, and on the right to know. Of prime relevance are laws regulating the manner that information may be made available or kept secret. Before turning to a detailed discussion of this legislation, we offer some general remarks concerning the attitudes prevalent in the political culture on classification and the publication of information.

The approach to secrecy in Israel has been labelled as paradoxical by one researcher (Galnoor, 1977). Government affairs are formally secretive, yet new confidential information gets into circulation, occasionally concerning sensitive matters of security and foreign relations, and, more frequently, concerning deliberations on domestic issues. Given the nature of the Israeli political system, characterized by the need to form coalition governments, decisions of high policy cannot be kept secret. Leaks from Cabinet deliberations are useful in the conduct of politics and have come to constitute an integral part of government media relations, in almost complete disregard of the laws on the subject (Goren and Rothman, forthcoming).

In accordance with British tradition, the secrecy and publicity laws require that everything official is secret unless disclosure is specifically permitted. There is no equivalent to Great Britain's Official Secrets Act, but several sections of the penal law deal with official secrets, espionage, treason, and damage to the State's security and foreign affairs.

Of particular relevance is Section 113 of the law (under Article Four: Espionage) which provides:

"Aggravated espionage (D/23) 113. (a) A person who delivers any secret information without being authorized to do so is liable to imprisonment for fifteen years.

"(b) A person who delivers any secret information without being authorized to do so and with intent to impair the security of the State is liable to imprisonment for life.

"(c) A person who obtains, collects, prepares, records or holds possession of any secret information without being authorized to do so is liable to imprisonment for a term of seven years; if he thereby intends to impair the security of the State, he is liable to imprisonment for fifteen years.

"(d) In this section, "secret information" means information whose contents, form or mode of keeping indicate or indicates that the security of the State requires its being kept secret and information relating to a class of matters which the Government, with the approval of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset, has, by order published by Reshumot, declared to be secret matters.

"(e) it shall be a good defense for a person charged with an offense under subsection (c) that he did nothing unlawful to obtain information in so far as it was secret information and that he obtained, col-

lected, prepared, recorded or held possession of it in good faith and for a reasonable purpose."

(Law of the State of Israel: Special Volume: Penal Law 5737, 1977)

This system, which found its organizational expression in the Editors' Committee may be used effectively to manipulate the media and prevent them from dealing with matters the government wishes to keep secret, without resort to the punitive provisions of the law. (Goren, 1979)

Although (unlike the case of military censorship) no formal written agreement was signed, the system worked to the satisfaction of both parties, the news media and the government, and was, by and large, sufficient to keep the press from "rocking the boat" in matters of security and foreign affairs. This cosy arrangement started to break down with the advent of the Likud Government in 1977. For a variety of reasons, Mr. Begin did not engage in the same method as previous governments of co-opting the press to support his regime. As a result, the relationship between government and the news media became increasingly antagonistic.

Notwithstanding this deterioration, no measures have yet been taken to apply the punitive measures specified by law to the printed media. As far as the broadcast media are concerned, the tendency to interpret the law more narrowly has become increasingly apparent.

Other Legislation Concerning the Press

There are also other laws that bear on the performance of the news media and affect their freedom. These concern libel, privacy and the guarantee of a fair trial. A detailed discussion need not concern us here. Suffice it to say that the laws themselves, as well as their interpretation by the courts, including the Supreme Court, limit the media's freedom when they are deemed to threaten the individual's right to preserve his good name (Peled v. Haaretz, 1979) or his privacy.

These statutes, enacted in the post-independence era, may also be viewed as part of Israeli press law. To sum up: they include the Defamation Law of 1965 (19 L.S.I. 257); the various statutes pertaining to secrecy in government (included in the Penal Law 1977, Sections 111 to 120, and in Basic Law: The Government, Section 28); press coverage of legal proceedings (Courts Law 1957, Sections 40, 41 and L.S.I. 157 at 164-65); and curtailment of speech on matters of national security (Penal Law 113).

The common denominator of these statutes, as distinct from the mandatory laws, is that they attempt to balance the interests of freedom of expression with other social interests (Lahav, 1978).

This balancing process has often been criticized as too restrictive of civil liberties and too generous toward state interests. The same tendency is also apparent in the proposed Basic Law: The Rights of the Person Bill, which, as has been

mentioned, was introduced in 1973, but has not yet been approved.

The proposed Bill provides for freedom of expression, but subjects it to legislation designed to protect a variety of state interests, namely, "to ensure the existence of the democratic regime, to maintain the security of the State and the public peace, to preserve moral values and to prevent religious desecration, to protect the rights of others or to ensure the proper operation of legal proceedings." (1973 H.H. no. 1085, p. 448, sec. 11).

As is clear from the above, in matters of freedom of expression and of the press, the statutory part of Israel's legal system reveals a narrow and restrictive approach. This is particularly obvious in that part of the law that is composed of pre-Independence colonial statutes enacted by the British Mandate. These statutes view the press either as an instrument to mobilize public opinion and inform the public of governmental policies, or as a threat and/or nuisance to be strictly controlled. Other laws concerning the press enacted after Independence view a variety of state interests as sufficiently legitimate to justify substantial limitation of speech (Lahav, ibid).

The Role of the Courts

The protection of freedom of speech and consequently, the gradual development of the guarantees of press freedom was left

to the courts. It is in Israeli case law that a liberal approach to freedom of expression appears. The first judgment on matters of press freedom was announced by the Supreme Court in 1953 -- five years after Independence. Judge Agranat, speaking for a unanimous Panel of the Supreme Court, held that Israel's Declaration of Independence and the commitment in it to liberal tradition made the principle of free expression an integral part of the Israeli legal system (Kol Ha'am v. Minister of Interior (1953) P.D. 871). The Court asserted the priority of freedom of expression over other State interests and indicated that an effort should always be made to avoid its infringement or curtailment. Ever since, the courts have used a range of tests to solve conflicts between the principle of free expression and other constitutional principles. Among these, the "incitement test," the "clear and present danger test," the "probability test," the "balancing test" and even the "expression action test" have been used by the Supreme Court (Lahav, 1977)

Subsequent judgments of the Supreme Court on matters pertaining to free expression were all based on the Kol Ha'am decision. Most important among these is the decision of the court to allow the screening of a newsreel showing police brutality which had previously been cut by the film censorship board (Ulpanei Hasrata v. Levy Gerry, (1962 (IV) 16 P.D. 2407).

This decision broadened the concept of freedom of the press to include the visual media. More important, perhaps, it

also interprets the concept to include freedom of information. However, as is evident from another case, adjudicated at about the same time (Shalom Cohen v. Minister of Defense, 1962 - P.D. 1023), the court does not endorse, or even recognize the public's right to know.

In this case, the court refused to recognize the claim by Shalom Cohen, then the military correspondent of the weekly "Haolam Hazeh", that as a journalist, he was entitled to receive information and other services offered by the Army spokesman to other correspondents.

The Court's position on the "right to know" or, rather, its refusal to recognize a right of access to official documents, is also apparent in its decision Itzhaki v. Minister of Justice (S.C. Order No. 159/73, 28 P.D. 2nd Part 1974 at 692). The Court upheld censorship of a book by Itzhaki on the 1948 Battle of Latrun on the grounds that the author had gained access to the information as a public official.

In recent years, a more restrictive approach to freedom of expression has been taken by some members of the Supreme Court. This tendency was pronounced in the introductory remarks to the second part of the report of the Aragrant Commission (1974) in which the press is denounced in acerbic terms for interfering with the work of the Commission in disregard of sections of the Courts Law that deal with press coverage of Court proceedings.

In 1978, in a defamation case that reached the Supreme Court, Judge Landau, then Acting President of the Court, used

the "balancing test" to decide that a person's right to protect his reputation should be preferred to freedom of expression. (Electrical Company and Y. Peled v. Ha'aretz, 32 1978 P.D. Part 3 at 339).

On the other hand, the principle of freedom of expression was upheld in a decision by Justice Shamgar, now Acting President of the Supreme Court, In the matter of Shiran and others v. the Israeli Broadcasting Authority. In this case, a claimant's demand for an injunction against a screening on TV was denied because, if it granted an injunction, the Court would be acting in contradiction to the principle of freedom of expression (Shiran v. I.B.A., 1981 35 P.D. part 3, at 365).

Military Censorship

As we have seen, military censorship is exercised on the basis of certain sections of the Defense Regulations (Emergency) enacted by the British Mandate in 1945. Insofar as the majority of the Hebrew press and broadcast media are concerned, the military censor's mode of operation is determined not by the letter of the law, but by a voluntary agreement between the army and the Editors' Committee. Censorship of foreign correspondents and of the Arab press, on the other hand, is exercised according to the Defense regulations of 1945, which give the censor extensive powers.

His exercise of such powers has frequently caused considerable friction with the foreign correspondents filing from

Israel. Hard feelings came to a head in the course of the Lebanon War when correspondents, in particular those working for American TV networks, adopted the habit of spelling out on the screen the fact of the censor's intervention. The resulting deterioration in relations between censors and foreign correspondents tends to obscure the fact that, by and large, and in spite of periodic demands by the Association of Foreign Correspondents to abolish censorship altogether, working relations between the two parties have been satisfactory (Goren, 1979). In the course of the Yom Kippur War, for example, foreign correspondents explicitly voiced their understanding for the need for military censorship in Israel's case (Goren, Cohen and Caspi, 1975). Military censorship in Israel is open, i.e., the material is read in the presence of the correspondent who is told what is being deleted or amended (Medzini, 1971).

Conflicts with newsmen, Israeli as well as foreign, are most common when journalists feel that military censorship is used to keep politically harmful information from being published. Though the 1966 agreement on censorship specifically forbids its exercise for political purposes, the censor's powers of discretion are wide enough to enable him to prohibit information of a political nature.

The exercise of censorship to preserve morale is one example. Another loophole has to do with the powers vested in the military censor by virtue of laws that have nothing to do with military operations.

A January 1976 attempt by the government to impose political censorship on information relating to foreign affairs and diplomatic meetings, vesting the power to control publication on these matters in the Military Censor, has brought to the fore the argument over the legitimacy of such powers. Until then, it was customary to charge the Military Censor with the task of preventing publication of any information promulgated as secret by the government with the consent of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Security Committee (see Penal Law, sec. 113(d)). In 1976, the Committee refused the Rabin Government's request for such a promulgation on two separate issues concerning Israel's diplomatic relations. This prompted a theoretical discussion of the legitimacy of extending the powers of the Military Censor to include political matters (Lahav, 1976). To date, no Israeli court has been called upon to rule on this matter.

The Army Spokesman and his Functions

As we have seen, the dissemination of information on the operation of government is limited by stringent legal restrictions. On the other hand, there are intense pressures for dissemination of such information, pressures from the political process, which is characterized by extreme contentiousness. The intense personal involvement of the public in day-to-day events, particularly as they bear on the military situation, also creates pressures on the authorities to make relevant in-

formation available through the media. This is enhanced by the intimate nature of Israeli society, and by the fact that many people serve in the reserves. As a result, much information is circulated through unofficial channels. However, since the government has no formal obligation to make such information available, its dissemination may be used for political and other purposes, occasionally in a discriminatory manner. As a result, a system of partial secrecy has evolved in which transactions are made that provide for the exclusion of outsiders (Galnoor, 1977). For many years the relationship between the Army Spokesman and the news media was such a transaction. In the early seventies, this relationship, and the obligations it imposed on both parties, i.e., the Army Spokesman and the military correspondents, were formally spelled out in a written agreement regulating the correspondents' accreditation (Goren, 1975). In addition, most (though not all) military correspondents belong to a reserve unit under the command of the Army Spokesman. As a result, the accredited military correspondents were exposed to considerable information in the form of "off-the-record" and "background only" briefings. Such selective access to military information exerted strong co-optive pressures on those correspondents. On a different level, the same system was at work in the case of the newspaper editors.

While this system worked efficiently to disseminate such information as the Army Spokesman desired, it was not enough to guarantee exclusivity for him as a source of military informa-

tion for correspondents. Personal relationships between officers and correspondents motivated by various interests were an additional source of information. Its publication, however, could be controlled by military censorship.

In recent years, the relations between the Army Spokesman and the military correspondents have become increasingly strained. This started in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War which, among other things, caused a serious breakdown in the Army Spokesman's credibility (Goren, 1975; 1979). In the course of the Lebanon War, largely as a result of Minister of Defense Sharon's efforts to discredit the news media and to arouse public resentment towards them, relations between the military establishment and the press reached an all time low. Consequently, little information was made available to correspondents and logistic services that should have been put at their disposal by the Army spokesman were deficient. This led to their increased dependence on such information as they could collect on their own. This material had obvious political overtones, particularly concerning morale and the attitudes prevalent among the troops regarding the war. The publication of this information, which could not be prevented under the agreement on censorship, led Sharon to increase his attacks on the news media and on the very legitimacy of press freedom, to the point of using "stab in the back" rhetoric when referring to the press. Since Sharon's resignation following the publication of the Commission of Enquiry's report on Sabra and Shatila, attacks on

the news media become a constant theme in Sharon's frequent public appearances. These could become a serious threat to the very concept of press freedom.

B. The Arab Press

Jerusalem was the press capital of Jordan until the early 1960s. Of six dailies published in the Hashemite Kingdom, only one (al-Urdun) was published in the capital, Amman, and five papers were published in Jerusalem. In March 1967, a new press law reduced the number of newspapers to three. The main purpose was to transfer to Amman two Jerusalem papers (al-Jihad and Filastin) and amalgamate them as a-Dastur, and to amalgamate the remaining Jerusalem dailies and create al-Quds. The government also proposed to hold 25% ownership in each of the Kingdom's dailies. The imposed amalgamation and transfer of papers to Amman was resented by editors and journalists, who saw it as an attempt to exert more press control, and as a move to stifle Palestinian political aspirations.

However, the 1967 war intervened before the changes took place. The Jerusalem papers ceased publication two days before the occupation of East Jerusalem by Israel (June 7, 1967).

In December 1968, al-Quds resumed publication by permission of the Israeli District Commissioner, under Israeli law. In June 1972, al-Fajr and a-Sha'ab started publication and other Arabic weekly, bi-weekly and monthly publications followed. Since 1980, al-Fajr has published an English edition, and since 1982, a Hebrew edition.

It is ironic that under Israeli rule the Arab press enjoys a degree of prosperity it never previously experienced. The number of regular publications is: three dailies, five week-

lies, four bi-weeklies and monthlies, as well as numerous irregular publications. Circulation of the dailies varies between 10-15,000 of al-Quds, to 3,000-5,000 of al-Fajr, and 2,000-3,000 of a-Sha'ab. Some of the magazines reach a circulation of 15,000. The papers are distributed throughout the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza. The dailies appear in eight pages, with diversified contents.

Most dailies and magazines suffer from poor professional manpower. The number of professional journalists is small, salaries are low, and the volume of advertisements (except al-Quds) is low. According to rumor, outside political elements subsidize the Arab papers: al-Quds is subsidized by the Jordanians and al-Fajr by the PLO.

All Arab publications appear in Jerusalem and are subject to Israeli censorship laws and regulations. The obvious reason is that the press laws in Israel, although severe, are preferable to the draconian limitations on freedom of expression imposed by the Military Government in the West Bank (see below, Censored Books).

Although the Arabic press is subjected to the same press laws as the Hebrew papers, the difference in practice is immense. As we have seen, censorship-press relations are governed by a voluntary system of self-censorship which reflects a basic national consensus. The subjects on which censorship applies are defined; there is a mechanism for appeal; and a Knesset committee supervises the process. This voluntary

agreement, based on mutual trust, does not apply to the Arabic press. The Arabic editors do not participate in the Israeli national consensus and are not only excluded from the "Editors' Committee," they vehemently oppose it and actively struggle against it.

The Arabic papers, with no exceptions, but with varied emphasis, are "mobilized" papers, both in style and in contents. They perceive themselves as situated in the forefront of the national struggle against the occupation. Their "advocacy journalism" is reflected in the choice of news items, choice of phrases, and even in the contents of their advertisements. According to a recent study (Communication Systems in the West Bank, Study submitted to the Israeli National Council for Research and Development, by Dr. Dov Shinar, Jerusalem, July, 1983) the "mobilized" characteristics of the Arab press are reflected in the main issues dealt with by these papers: self-determination, preservation of Palestinian identity, and "steadfastness" under Israeli occupation. 60% of the news items, articles, translations and analyses are devoted to the West Bank and Gaza, 30% to Israeli internal matters and only 10% to international issues. There is no compartmentalization in the Arabic papers. All sections reflect the main political motif. The Arabic editors' perceptions of their role in publishing mobilized papers, and of their relations with the censor, are reflected in the following symposium, published in February 1980 by the Jordanian daily, al-Dastur. The Palestin-

ian participants are two former editors of the more radical Jerusalem dailies: al-Fajr and a-Sha'ab:

"Question: What has been the task of Palestinian journalism in the occupied territories since 1967? And has it carried out that task?

"Ma'amum a-Sayyid: Our task has been to consolidate and translate national activity which has flourished and grown up against the occupation. There are narrow margins between what the occupation wants for us and what we want. Within those narrow margins we emphasize national institutions and activities, and we fight against actions which contradict it. Similarly, we bring out Palestinian national culture and concentrate on the historical and national depth of the Palestinian problem in an effort to make the voice of Palestine heard from the conquered lands in the entire Arab world and in the international arena. We do all that by playing a game of cat and mouse with the censor. We do not claim that we have carried out that task fully in that it is impossible. But that does not mean we should cease from our actions. Moreover, we continue in our work in order to remove whatever is possible from the censor's books by force. On the other hand, we have coordinated and attempted to strengthen cooperation with the other national newspapers in order to carry out our task in better fashion. Even if that causes us to open up a broad front against the military censor.

"Question: The existence of a press without freedom is difficult. How do you explain the existence of a national Palestinian press in the shadow of the occupation?

"Ma'amun a-Sayyid: There is a clear contradiction between the terms "national press" and occupation.

"Since, in the shadow of the occupation, the national press is unable to fulfill the task demanded of it fully, and

that task is to mobilize the masses against the occupation, and the escalation of national activities in that struggle. That is a task best fulfilled by the secret pamphlet. On that basis we see our task in the newspaper al-Fajr as a result of the conditions of occupation, as reduced to the marginal minimum, since we are struggling against the occupation by means of words authorized by the censors of the occupation.

"Akram Haniyya: Freedom of the press is impossible under the occupation. By permitting the existence of newspapers, the occupation wishes to let off steam and divert the people's gaze and efforts from other means of expression, which the occupied nation might resort to, such as printed matter and posters. Thus our task is to exploit the margins allowed to us by the occupation and to work within them.

"Question: Recently an agreement was signed with the Egyptian authorities and those of Israel according to which the (Jerusalem Arabic) newspapers al-Quds and al-Anba will be distributed in Egypt, and at the same time Egyptian newspapers will be distributed in the occupied territories. Do you think that it is your duty to condemn the non-national press which works against the Palestinian cause?

"Ma'amun a-Sayyid: It is our basic duty to expose the non-national newspapers which constantly work against the Palestinian cause and join the conspiracy against it.

"When the crisis involving the East Jerusalem Electric Company arose, al-Quds played a clear role in withstanding the demands to the extent of inciting against them. Time after time we rose up against the attacks and rumors which were spread by al-Quds, the aim of which was to fragment national unity and strike at the Palestinian liberation movement whether by attacking the national mayors or by spreading rumors about the communists or by taking a positive attitude towards Sadat's initiative.

"Akram Haniyya: The task is demanded of us and we have already done our duty in al-Sha'ab. I should point out that we call al-Quds, "The Jerusalem al-Quds" (n.b.: an appellation intended to impugn the newspaper politically). We constantly do battle against the venom which al-Quds attempts to spread, and especially in the following three areas:

"1. To find ways of attracting support for the American role in the region.

"2. The attempt to undermine the independence of the Palestinian national personality.

"3. The constant effort to cast doubt and suspicion upon the national institutions and forces within the occupied territories, and the attempt to strike out against national unity. By means of coordination with al-Fajr and other national newspapers we were able to pressure the city councils and the other national institutions to take a united stance which was accepted at the Beit Hanina conference in 1978, and to boycott al-Quds from the point of view of propaganda and news.

"Adil Samara (Palestinian journalist): There is no alternative to unmasking the newspapers which are agents of the occupation, especially those whose loyalty is generally divided between the Israeli occupation and Jordan. Our duty is:

"1. To silence the suspect forum.

"2. To show them up for what they are to the Arab man in the street.

"3. To maintain political awareness, to strengthen and unite the progressive forces in this war.

"Abed al-Latif Ghit (Palestinian journalist): It is only natural that non-national newspapers exist under the occupation, that is a well known fact. However, the matter to which the national press and the national forces must give their attention is that

their task is not only to condemn the non-national press which is an agent of the occupier, but also to look to the future, so that it won't fall into the trap of seeing the appearance of a non-national press in national "disguise," even for a limited time. Since the non-national press, in the future, at the appropriate and critical time, after it has achieved "national prestige," will show its true colors in order to play the role which was prepared for it in the past.

Question: Are there enough professional journalists for the newspapers in the occupied territories?

Ma'amum al-Sayyid: At the moment there are not journalistic cadres with the requisite abilities to bear the burden of the existing newspapers. A large number of journalists who work on the editorial staffs of the Arab newspapers in the occupied territories are not professionals. They gained their knowledge of newspaper work through experience and not by studying in a school of journalism. On the other hand, many well trained journalists have gone abroad for two reasons:

"- the inability to express themselves to the necessary extent under the condition of the occupation.

"- The inability of the local newspapers to pay them an appropriate salary, or at least one that will permit them to live without taking on other work for other institutions.

Akram Haniyya: In that the owners of the newspapers have a traditional (i.e., conservative) outlook, the profession of journalist has become unattractive, and in that sense the number of full time professional journalists in all the occupied territories since 1967 is no more than fifteen. So that the newspapers have to depend on part-time staff. We must remember that the interference of the occupation authorities in the lives of educated people, either by means of arrest, as has happened with some

of the journalists, or by exile, as was done to Ali Al-Khatib, as with the former editor of al-Fajr, Yussef Naser. All of those together have made us unable to find the journalistic cadres needed to raise the level of the press.

"Adel Samara: The basic problems confronting the press are:

"1. Scarcity of commentators on the news and political or economic commentators.

"2. Emigration of journalists and the inability of the newspapers to attract journalists from abroad to work for them.

"3. The economic problem and the poverty of the newspapers.

"4. Changes made by some of the newspapers in their staffs from time to time convince the journalist that the newspapers are not secure places to work.

"Abed al-Latif Ghit: When we discuss journalism in the conquered territories, we are talking about an attempt that derives from fixed conditions. The press about which we are speaking grew up and developed after the occupation, and therefore it suffers from various problems, professional, economic and problems of knowledge. The press here is an attempt at national expression, and every person with national sentiments also has ambitions in that area. For us the press is not a profession, nor is it a hobby, but a need and a means of expressing national problems. Those conditions brought about the creation of an embryonic national press which is growing and developing.

"Question: Is Palestinian journalism in the territories to be considered a guided or guiding press in the context of the Palestinian Arab nation in the territories?

"Ma'amum Al Sayyid: We see two points in our journalistic work and they are entirely connected to each other:

"1. We attempt to be the voice of the "interior" for the "outside," and the voice of the "outside" for the "interior" (n.b.: in Palestinian parlance "the outside" is the PLO, and "the inside" is the territories). The national press has no choice but to be guided by the masses and by the national leadership above all.

"On another level the national press has no choice but to seek the outlines of the future and to attempt to make those expectations for the future public in the widest possible mass framework. As long as the Palestinian goal is clear and determined and connected with a clear political strategy in the framework of national unity our guidance will be clearer.

"Akram Haniyya: We are trying to bridge between our nation in the homeland and the diaspora. In that framework we see the need for the existence of dialectical reactions in that area. We constantly endeavor to be inspired by the lofty expectations and goals of our Palestinian nation.

"There is a point which I would like to emphasize, and it is: The character of the daily confrontation with the occupation authorities in the homeland at some times -- and as a result of our constant struggle here in the interior -- sometimes we have the possibility of expressing political positions which it is hard to express in other concentrations of Palestinians. I wish to point out that in many cases we have played the role of guide and navigator especially in connection with the Bassam Shaka'a affair. We try to make a place for positions and opinions which nevertheless remain within the fixed framework of the national movement of the Palestinian nation, and which are expressed in political programs of the Palestinian national councils and which were approved by all the Palestinian forces.

"Adil Samara: There is no way of avoiding mutual influences between the inside and the outside at least from the point of view of the unity of the people and the unity of

the struggle. That is the reason why there is a meeting of minds in the general framework. The clarity of the presentation of the Palestinian position abroad plays a basic role in the clarity of its presentation at home, and the lack of clarity abroad affects its presentation at home adversely. The journalism on the inside has an advantage in that it is closer to events and it can verify the smallest details. Therefore one must be interested in receiving the opinion of the national interior, especially with regard to the problems of domestic communications. Therefore the Palestinians must have the right to present their positions both on the inside and the outside in the general national framework.

"Abed al-Latif Ghit: There are a number of points which I want to emphasize:

"1. In fact there is a mutual relationship between the inner and outer centers of influence.

"2. But, at the same time we find in general that the inner press derives its inspiration from the bywords and basic principles of the Palestinian revolution and it does not formulate anything new in opposition to the exterior.

"3. The activities of the interior press must be kept from automatically following the line dictated from the outside. That is, it must examine its own experience and enrich it.

"4. The interior press represents the general framework and the minimum aims of the Palestinian revolution, but it does not represent all the voices or the viewpoint of all the basic Palestinian currents."

The Israeli authorities accept the self-image of the Arabic press at face value, but carry it ad absurdum. For the Israeli censor, the nationalist stance of the Arabic papers means "the Palestinian covenant, the destruction of the State

of Israel, refusal to recognize the national existence of the Jewish people and its national rights" (see below) and their style is merely a "secret call for armed struggle."

The Israeli censor's perception of the Arabic press is clearly reflected in the following excerpts from an affidavit submitted to the High Court of Justice in August 1982:

"This testimony (the above symposium) clearly shows that the newspaper views itself as one of the arms of the struggle of the PLO, with all its aims and means. The newspaper says that its role is identical to that of a secret pamphlet, the role of mobilizing the masses against occupation. And it only admits that its effectiveness is reduced because of the conditions of the occupation the problem of being censored. That identification is sufficient to clarify the character of the newspaper as a direct expression of the motivations of its editors. However in our opinion, with regard to the subject of the supposedly reduced effectiveness because of the censor, the editors of the newspapers have solved the problem and fulfilled their role according to their own views by violating the regulations of the censor.

"That symposium shows the identity of the goal and the means which must be taken to achieve it, between the newspaper and the PLO, according to the testimony of the very people who are involved in the matter-

"The goal is that of the PLO as defined by the PLO, and formulated in the Palestinian Covenant: the destruction of the State of Israel, refusal to recognize the national existence of the Jewish people and its national rights, the establishment of a Palestinian state in place of the State of Israel. The means of struggle to achieve that aim is terror ("the armed struggle.") The newspaper takes both the goal and the methods upon itself and acts with its journalistic means to influence

readers in that direction. It is important to point out that the violent struggle against Israel and the Civil Administration is not the coincidental outcome, undirected and undesired, of the material published in the newspaper, but it is the declared aim of the newspaper according to its own testimony. That aim has been fully worked out, as is clear from an examination of what is published.

"The point of principle -- that is to say-- the unity of aims between newspaper and the PLO is important, because above and beyond the technical question of how the newspaper does what it does, the very strategic attitude which is identified with the PLO and its method raises a question of principle with regard to its publication.

"In the testimony of those involved they themselves explain (in the above quoted symposium) how they wage their struggle against the censor and present it as a 'game of cat and mouse.'

"The items were published as news items describing events, facts, and the statements of public figures and institutions, and therefore it was claimed on the part of the publishers that they should be judged according to their truth or falsity as a condition for their publication. But, it is clear that in the present circumstances the publication of the declaration of a strike, a call for opposition to the Civil Administration, or of unity with the PLO in the Palestinian struggle are not simply descriptions of events that bear upon processes, the decisions of institutions, or personal opinions, but essentially a call for action. Their actual effect upon readers is just that. Therefore their publication is not simply to provide innocent information about a true fact, but rather an effective and intentional call for action to disrupt the public order, for violence against the Civil Administration, the IDF, and the State of Israel. Therefore its publication in a newspaper is tantamount to a poster calling for that action.

"Thus, for example, when a news story is published about a decision that has been made to hold a strike in Beirut, Hebron, or Nablus, that is not the simple reporting of a fact, but actually instruction to carry out the strike, a demand to strike authorized by the decision-making bodies. Thus one should not judge the publication as if it were of a fact. It should be judged as a call for action published under the pretense of being a newspaper report, and it should be treated just like a pamphlet inciting to strike.

"Or, take the example of an inflammatory and illegal pamphlet the distribution of which has been forbidden in Judea and Samaria which is transmitted to the Israeli press and published as information. After its publication in Israel, it would not be conceivable to permit its distribution in Judea and Samaria as a quotation of the Israeli press, for it is clear to any reasonable person that its publication as a quotation is actually its circulation, with all the results which follow from it, because of which its circulation as a pamphlet was forbidden in the first place. It is completely clear that the question of the truth of the quotation is not at all relevant, for the quotation was judged not as a report, but for its influence on the readers under the existing circumstances.

"Those publications and other like them, which are published again and again, create community norms and community and political pressure on bodies, institutions, and public figures to act like those whose actions were reported. If they do not so, they will be viewed as if they did not fulfill their national duty. Those who act otherwise, that is, the ones who do not boycott the Civil Administration, who provide services in an orderly manner in conjunction and cooperation with the central authorities, are thought to violate a national, community, and political norm, with all that such violation entails -- ostracism, bans, threats, mistreatment and physical attacks which have even reached the level of assassination.

"Other publications were intended to inspire active identification with the members of the PLO who were fighting in Lebanon and to open a second front against the IDF in Judea and Samaria. It should be emphasized that according to the information in our hands, the PLO ordered all its members and supporters in Judea and Samaria to make every effort to provoke a general uprising in the territories in order to open a second front. Al-Fajr took part in that effort through its communications activities, including a report on the volunteering of prisoners (even!) from Kuwait for the PLO war effort (an item which was banned by the censors in another newspaper but published by Al-Fajr, without being submitted to the censor).

"With regard to those publications the censor used the criteria necessitated by the circumstances of the sensitive and tense situation and banned reports the purpose of which was to create the impression of a general uprising in Judea and Samaria. If such an impression were believed, it would act like a fuse and impel others to join in the general uprising which was supposed to be taking place.

"It should be pointed out that in those publications there were repeated expressions of support for the PLO.

"Those publications occurred in the time of war and also under the existing circumstances and constitute real incitement, bringing about violations of public order and blows to Israel's defense.

"Other publications deal with members of the PLO who were killed, such as: a young man from Nablus, one of the representatives of the PLO who was killed in Rome, and the terrorists who were killed in Lebanon.

"The ways in which their deaths were reported and the death announcements appear in a style and content which provide an example for inciting the population to active community and political mobilization.

"The style of the death announcements (in the name of individuals, bodies, and institutions) refer to the person who was killed and his activities as a national example which should be imitated. The announcement of the death is presented "with pride" and a feeling that one has been honored.

"The report constitutes the beginning of a structure of memorials and political and community activity in the framework of which a "house of consolation" is opened, to which the readers are invited and in the mosques, a gathering that becomes a nationalistic event and frequently degenerates into public disorder. Sometimes a symbolic funeral is held which quickly becomes a violent demonstration.

"Therefore, one cannot consider those death notices as simple announcements on the part of the bereaved family, but rather as a link in an organized framework and habitual technique for the mobilization of the population and community activity, frequently violent. It should be pointed out that the accepted formula in Al-Fajr for those killed is "fallen in the holy war."

"Under the circumstances of the War in Lebanon and under the permanent circumstances in Judea and Samaria, when the communications media refer to those who were killed in such a way, it constitutes direct encouragement to follow in their footsteps."

The "cat and mouse" Zero Sum Game between Arabic papers and the Israeli Censor takes place every evening. The Arab editors submit all material meant for publication in the morning paper (including photos, advertisements, crossword puzzles) the editor visits the office of the censor twice: at 8 p.m., and again at 10 p.m. when the first batch is returned. The censor may censor a whole item or part of it (for examples, see

below). The paper is not permitted to leave empty spaces to indicate that an item has been censored. The censor may order an immediate closing of a paper, without showing cause (see above); however, it is customary to issue "warnings." Many Arabic papers were closed for short or long periods. In July 1983, the license of a-Shira'a (one of the papers in our sample) was revoked. The Israeli authorities maintain a dual system of censorship. Although the Arabic press is subject to full Israeli censorship, the Military Government may decide to cancel permits to distribute a paper in the West Bank. Under Military Order 50 all papers distributed in the West Bank need permits which must be renewed frequently, and are frequently revoked. Arab journalists and editors have been detained or have been under house arrests for long periods. One editor was expelled to Jordan.

The present survey attempted to analyze censored items in the Arabic papers, by sampling the items, organizing them by subjects and reproducing examples of censored items, by subjects.

C. The Sample

a. The Arabic daily newspaper al-Fajr was chosen because its records and files of censored articles are complete and organized. The sample is from the year May 1982 - April 1983; in that year, 36 days were chosen by the following method:

May 1982 - first week	Monday, Wednesday, Friday
June 1982 - second week	" " "
July 1982 - third week	" " "
August 1982 - fourth week	" " "
September 1982 - fourth week	" " "
October 1982 - third week	" " "
November 1982 - second week	" " "
December 1982 - first week	" " "
January 1983 - first week	" " "
February 1983 - second week	" " "
March 1983 - third week	" " "
April 1983 - fourth week	" " "

b. A second Arabic daily, al-Sha'ab was chosen as a reference. From al-Sha'ab 12 days were chosen, one day per month (May 1982 - April 1983) at random. Total items translated - 40.

c. Six articles chosen at random from the bi-monthly ash-Siraa', to represent magazines.

d. Censored articles from the English weekly al-Fajr from May, June, July, August and September 1982 were added to represent Arabic publication in foreign languages.

D. Statistical Analysis

TABLE 1: Distribution of Censored Items by Subject and Paper (%)

Subject	Al-Fajr (Arabic)	Al-Fajr (English)	Al-Sha'ab (Arabic)	Al Shiraa (Arabic)
PLO, Palestinians	14.5	18.0	10.0	
Israeli Coercive Measures	22.0	10.0	21.0	
Resistance, Terrorism	2.4	4.0	--	
Demonstrations, Strikes	5.5	15.2	8.3	
Civilian Government- Population Relations	3.4	6.3	10.4	8.3
Land Ownership	3.7	--	--	
Water	0.5	--	--	
Israelis-Arabs	1.9	1.3	--	
Palestinian-French Relations	1.6	--	--	
Vigilantes and Israeli Violence	1.6	5.0	--	
Golan Heights	0.8	1.3	--	
Censorship	1.6	--	--	
Death Notices (ad.)	1.6			
Lebanon War	16.0	22.0	42.0	16.7
Universities	4.8	3.8	--	
Zionist Propaganda	--	--	2.0	
Settlements	4.3	--	--	8.3
Taxation	0.5	--	--	
Holy Places	1.1	--	--	
Arab Lobby in U.S.	0.3	--	--	
Trade Unions	1.6	--	--	

Table 1 (cont.)

Subject	Al-Fajr (Arabic)	Al-Fajr (English)	Al-Sha'ab (Arabic)	Al Shiraa (Arabic)
Village Leagues	1.9	0.5	--	--
Israeli Demonstrations	0.8	1.3	--	
Foreign Support for Palestinians	1.4	--	2.0	50.0
Israeli-Egyptian Relations	0.3	--	2.1	8.3
Arab League	1.1	--	--	
Rabbi Kahane's Activities	0.5	--	--	
Prisons	0.8	--	--	
Courts	2.7	--	--	
Voluntary Social Work	0.5	--	--	
Peace Plans	--	3.8	--	
Poems	--	0.5	--	
Communist Ideology	--	--	--	8.3
Letter to Editor	--	2.0	--	--
Miscellaneous		5.0	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Sample

TABLE 2: Arab Press, Censored Items by Papers and Source (%)

	Al-Fajr (Arabic)	Al-Fajr (English)	Al-Sha'ab (Arabic)	Al Shiraa (Arabic)
Own	58.3	33.3	45.6	27.0
Editorials	2.0	6.0	10.4	18.2
Arab Sources	3.1	6.0	17.4	
Israeli Sources	3.4	10.6	4.3	27.0
Foreign Agencies	10.4	12.0	6.5	
Palestinian Sources	18.0	27.2	15.2	18.2
Israeli-Arab Sources	--	6.0	--	
Druze in Golan Sources	--	1.5	--	
Advertisements/Notices	4.2	--	--	
Letters to Editor	0.3	--	--	
Poems	0.3	--	--	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source: Sample				

TABLE 3: Papers Own Records of Censored Items

	As-Shira'a Magazine 1982/83		Al-Fajr English 1982	
	Items	%	Items	%
Total Items	760	100.0	1077	100.0
Totally Censored	220	29.0	367	34.0
Partially Censored	139	18.3	214	20.0
Permitted	401	52.7	417	38.7
Returned, Unused	--		79	7.3

Source: Papers own records, unchecked

E. Translations of Censored Items

Examples of items, organized by subjects, as appearing in Table 1. Last section - photostats of actual galleys and censor's markings.

PLO - PALESTINIANS

As-Shaab Daily - May 26, 1983

Abu Jihad: Palestinian Internal Disputes Will Be Solved Organizationally

...That the PLO will not withdraw from Lebanon except with the following four conditions:

1. The agreement must provide an opportunity for a political activity inside Lebanon for the Palestinians.
2. The agreement must provide for a full proof guarantee of protection for the Palestinian civilians living in Lebanon.
3. The agreement should provide for a principle of a military presence for the PLO after a withdrawal in accordance to the PLO requirements of last summer.
4. The agreement should make direct negotiations between Lebanon and the PLO possible.

Arafat Heads PLO Meeting

Beirut - agencies - Yasir Arafat headed late the day before yesterday a joint meeting for the executive committee of PLO and representatives of the Palestinian organizations. In the meeting discussions centered on the Palestinian-Syrian meetings and the preparation for a joint strategy.

Habash Call for Continuation of Struggle

Beirut - The Palestinian wire service said that Yasir Arafat, the Executive Chairman of the PLO, called on all Arab countries to intervene and stop Israel from invading Beirut and

explained that the Israeli troops are now 20 klms. from the city and said that Israel, with the help of the U.S.A, is pressing a hand on the Palestinian peoples.

The Separation (an editorial)

This is the test and the final separation. If any Arab regime believes it is possible to escape this period without a practical stand and expect that they will be able to continue to hold a national appearance, they are wrong. It is the real separation...either the peoples tunnel in Lebanon or the sphere of the United States...if the stand of America's Arabs towards the Israeli invasion are not new or expected the regimes of the steadfastness and confrontation front's attitudes is what brings pain and anger to us.

The steadfastness of the Lebanese and Palestinian people will leave their clear marks on the future of the Arab world. This steadfastness will be the beginning of a new trip in which the rotten regimes no matter what its titles and address will fall. The Arab windows have blocked it and protected it but these chains which have kept it from the victory and in helping the victory of the Palestinian and Lebanese people will be destroyed. The separation will be for those regimes trying to dance the tight rope and who had better realize that this game is very dangerous.

As-Shira'a, July 1982

As-Shira's Word (an editorial)

Change in human society always calls for a period to be replaced by another period which is beneficial to the improvement and advance of the human being. A revolution's aim is change and seeks to accomplish a historical necessity that destroys the wretched past and builds an advanced new. How is change accomplished and what are the means for that? Experience teaches us the advance of peoples and nations comes only by revolution. All other ways are doomed to fail. Weapons are an ally to any revolution and leaving it removes the reason for the revolution's existence. An existence which is aimed at moving mankind from his fight with other humans to his fight with nature in order to channel it for the better of human beings.

What can we write in the time of war and at the same time the silence of the Arab leaders, not only silence but open conspiracies. Friends and foes are all watching and are satisfied with their statements of condemnation and criticism which we have been hearing for tens of years.

What can we write while the joint forces are facing the attacks alone...they are defending their very existence and defending the legitimate rights which the Arab rulers gave up. Defending the dignity because there is no dignity to a people without a homeland.

We can tell the residents about the conspiracies that we face.... You are the makers of history and the masses will settle their accounts with the Arab rulers.

We on the pages of As-Shira can only record the conspiracies of those and we are confident that uncovering their pages is an important duty in this difficult period of our history.

August 24, 1982

Fahoum: The PLO is the Palestinian Entity and His Identity

Amman Damascus - Khaled el Fahoum, head of the Palestine National Council, has assured once more that the PLO is the entity of the Palestine people and it represents the people's identity. He continued in a statement given yesterday in Damascus that the struggle of the Palestinian people, whether it be military or political, will continue and escalate as long as the occupation continues. He said that the presence of the PLO in Beirut was only temporary and that the Palestinian leadership agreed to leave the city in order to save from destruction and injury to the Lebanese people who fought heroically with the Palestinians. He also noted that Palestinians who were in Lebanon before 1948 will stay there.

Losali Newspaper: The PLO Has Become Stronger Internationally

Dakar - The daily Losali newspaper said that Israel tries to get any kind of victory over the PLO but in all its battles and despite the great loss in Beirut the PLO has lost nothing instead it has gained and increased its standing in international circles. The Dakar-based daily paper, in its editorial entitled "After Beirut," said that the Israeli had hoped to liquidate the PLO completely but have failed despite the use of all means available to it.

Arrest of Parents of Three Girls at Dheshieh

Jerusalem - The Israeli authorities arrested the day before yesterday the parents of three girls from the Dheshieh refugee camp on the pretext that the girls had not paid fines imposed on them by the Israeli military court, for demonstrating. In their news, the Ramallah court fined Jamal Hamash from Dheshieh camp with a fine of IS 20,000 and imprisonment for two years.

Libya Calls for the Downfall of Reactionary Governments

Tripoli - AFP - The Libyan Arab Republic called upon the Arab soldiers, students, farmers and peasants to use popular revolutions in order to bring down reactionary governments who participated in the execution of the fierce conspiracy against the Palestinians. The Libyan public relations office said that the acceptance of Arab countries with the exception of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan to receive Palestinian fighters is considered a restriction to the weapons and is considered grand treason towards the Arab nation and the Palestinian people.

Arafat Speech

...and Arafat assured in his speech that it is impossible to bypass the Palestinian rights and the Palestinians sole and legitimate representative the PLO. He said that we must be ready to face all the options in regards to the threats of an attack in the Pega'a valley. He said that the PLO rejects the Israeli Lebanese agreement. Arafat said this after completing a tour in the Pega'a Valley accompanied by Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) Farouk Qadoumi and Abu Houl, all members of the central committee of Fateh in which he met with cadres of Fateh and headed a meeting for the Palestinian Military Council.

On the other hand, Arafat received telegrams of support from the fourth Annual Conference of Women, which completed a session in Kuwait. The telegram assured the Palestinian of support in facing the conspiracies, in facing the Palestinian problem. The telegram also praised the steadfastness of the Palestinian people inside and in Lebanon.

Al-Shira'a, September 1982

The Comprehensive Solution

...This deal will only be on the account of the Palestinian people so that the Arab reactionary forces will come out with what it long hoped to accomplish, which is to contain the PLO and start extracting concessions like recognition of 424, or the announcement of readiness to recognize, negotiate or amend the charter.

The present period is full of divisions between the PLO and the national bourgeoisie on the one hand and the PLO and the Soviet Union on the other hand. This will make it easy to jump into the lap of the U.S. and its Arab followers. Moreover, it will make a deal or a defeatist compromise possible.

The comprehensive solution, which is suggested, is only a new song and dance act which was the result of the Lebanon situation. Let us look at what it entails:

- a. It will not result in the attainment of the legitimate rights. Instead, it will increase the Israeli control in the West Bank, Gaza and in Lebanon. ...This is why what is expected now is to stand up to this dangerous period which is aimed at placing a state of confusion among the nationalists of the Palestinian people.

ISRAELI COERCIVE MEASURES

French Embassy Interferes to Release of Arrestees

Tel Aviv - The Lod Airport police arrested yesterday the members of the French delegation which participated in the seventh annual work camp at Nazareth. The seven member delegation was arrested as they were climbing up the ladder to their airplane. Police said that they were arrested because they possessed materials relating to the PLO as well as national songs on cassettes and political material recorded or collected at the work camp. Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad immediately called the French ambassador who interfered directly with the authorities.

Qatar: Leaving Beirut is a New Beginning

Duha - The state of Qatar asserted yesterday that the departure of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut is only a new beginning for the PLO. Qatar also insisted on its basic unchanging stand of support to the PLO in fulfilling its ambitions of national rights to the Palestinian people.

Israeli commander says Strike at Arabs so that we can accomplish our goals. The actions of the soldiers cannot be described only as illegal.

By Tve Barel-Haaretz

On March 24, 1982, the body of an Arab youth was taken out of the dead corpse room, at Aliya Hospital. The Israeli officer in charge beat the youth's father and family because they refused to allow the body to be taken to Abu Kbir Hospital for autopsy. The youth was killed by security bullets. The Israeli officer, Logas Shalom, also instructed his soldiers to hit the local residents fiercely. These are some of the 24 complaints presented by Peace Now reserve officers in regards

to the officers treatment of Arabs (a long article discussing the actions and operations of the officer).

Arrest of Ten Residents in the West Bank

The Israeli authorities placed the refugee campe of Fawar under curfew after demonstrations that took place there. A number of residents were arrested.

RESISTANCE TERRORISM

A Military Vehicle Stoned at Dehashe Camp

Dehashe Camp - Some young Palestinians threw stones at a military vehicle when it passed Dahasheh Camp on the main Road between Bethlehem and Hebron.

The military forces closed the main road and began searching for the ones that threw the stone.

January 6, 1983

A Bomb Explodes in Front of the Department of Motor Vehicles in Hebron

West Bank - Yesterday morning a time bomb was found in front of the Motor Vehicles office. Israeli specialists were called to the place and exploded the bomb. As a result, the glass windows of the office were broken.

Three Bombs in Haifa School in Jenin

Jenin - Two bombs were discovered in front of the northern and southern entrances to Haifa secondary school in Jenin. An Israeli force arrived and exploded the bombs.

A third bomb was discovered in the kitchen of the same school. It was detonated. School did not proceed in Haifa and in El Din Preparatory school in Jenin because soldiers prevented students from reaching their schools.

Jenin education department sent news to all schools asking them to check the yards and kitchens of schools for possible bombs.

DEMONSTRATIONS - STRIKES

Stone Throwing Demonstrations in Ramallah

Ramallah-el Bireh - Students from the boys and girls school in Ramallah demonstrated yesterday against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The students burnt tires and put up stone blockades on the roads leading to and from their schools. They also lifted up national slogans and hung up Palestinian flags. When the Israeli army came, the students ran into their schools for protection. A group of students continued to stone military vehicles resulting in the shattering of military vehicles. Another military vehicle was stoned in the afternoon when a stone hit its windshield.

LAND OWNERSHIP

Release of a Nablus Student

Nablus - The Israeli authorities released yesterday Adalel Khalil after a two-month arrest. Her brother Ismat was also released. He had been arrested a week ago.

Tens of Thousands of Dunums in Sourif Expropriated

West Bank - Special to Al-Fajr - Ahmad Mustafa Subh, the head of the Sourif local council, has stated that the Israeli authorities have notified, three days ago, the heads of the village that they are planning to expropriate land in the northern sections of the village near Thaher Mageeneh Khirbet Nasergha and Qurbanat which measures in the tens of thousands. Landowners were given a period of a month to prove their ownership of the land. The head of the council said that an emergency session for the council was held in which they have requested the residents of the village to prepare their documents that prove their ownership of the land in order to go to court and stop the expropriation.

ISRAELIS-ARABS

October 7, 1982

Sunday

A large demonstration in the city of Nazareth denouncing the aggression and the attack on the civilians.

Nazareth - Three large demonstrations started in W. Nazareth in which thousands of Arab Palestinians inside the green line protested against the aggression of Lebanon, denouncing the repeated attacks on native civilians in the country.

The demonstrators lifted banners calling for real peace in the district and the rights for Palestine to decide their destiny and the right for the P.L.O. as the legal representative of the Palestinian peoples.

The Israeli police stood against the demonstrators and dispersed them, arrested a large number of the natives from amongst them -- the engineer Ramis Jiraisy deputy to the Mayor of Nazareth, Mr. Munem Jarjura a member of the Nazareth council and Mr. Sameh Aanawa the Executive of the Central Communist Party in Nazareth.

After these arrests hundreds of people gathered in the streets demanded the release of those arrested lifting up banners saying "No Fascists, the Palestinian peoples are alive their blood will never become water."

In the afternoon a general meeting was called for in the Arab city of Nazareth which came as a request from 150 Palestinian personalities from Galilee and the Triangle to bring to the understanding of a million Palestinians who live inside the Green Line what is taking place in Lebanon.

Arafat Receives a Letter from China's Minister

Peking - The Chinese Prime Minister assured anew that his country stands with the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggression and Mr. Zahawi Young blamed the USA for plotting with Israel in attacking Lebanon in a letter sent to Yasir Arafat the P.L.O. leader.

The Prime Minister said that his country is firm in saying that no lasting peace can ever be obtained in the Middle East district until an equal, complete, and just solution is obtained for the rights of the national Palestinian people and the recognition and rule of all Arab lands.

He also denounced the Military Israeli aggression into Lebanon.

Ruha Area Closed for Confiscation

Um el Fahm - from Bassem Daoud - The Israeli military authorities have notified the Um el Fahm local council that the

area of Ruha is closed. According to this no one will be allowed into the area unless he has a special permit. Observers see from the closing order a preparation for confiscation of thousands of dunoms.

Demonstration Call in Haifa

Haifa - From Bassem Daoud - The Arab students committee has called upon students and lecturers to participate in the demonstration that is expected to take place at two in the afternoon of tomorrow Wednesday in the University as protest to the oppressive acts carried out in the occupied Arab territories. The committee's statement said that the Arab masses in Israel have reached a crossroads as a result of what is taking place in the occupied territories. The statement explained that history has shown us that there are two alternatives in a situation like this: one going in the direction of fascism and dictatorial rule and [ended here]

PALESTINIAN-FRENCH RELATIONS

Sous Suggests Twinning with a Palestinian City

Paris - Ibrahim Sous, the PLO rep. in Paris has suggested that a Palestinian city like Bethlehem be twinned with the French city of Rennes. This was suggested in meeting with Edmund Herth, the French energy minister and the mayor of the city yesterday.

French Communist in Favor of an International Conference

Paris - AFP - The leaders of the French Communist party supported the idea of an international conference in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Maurice Gremtis, the secretary for the central committee said in a press conference that "a stronger solidarity from all the powers of concern in the area with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian and Lebanese people could stop all attempts by the forces who are trying to stop this accomplishment."

VIGILANTES AND ISRAELI VIOLENCE

Settlers Destroy Windows in Nablus

Nablus - Israeli settlers destroyed the windows of several houses in the old city of Nablus yesterday. This action is

part of a campaign of provocation against the Arab population in the occupied territories. Sources in Nablus pointed out that settlers opened fire in the air in order to scare the residents.

GOLAN HEIGHTS

Atrash Memorial Turns Into a Demonstration

Golan - AFP - Thousands of Golan residents from the villages of Majdal Shams and other occupied Syrian villages demonstrated in protest of the Israeli law to annex the Golan. The demonstration took place while the attendees were carrying out a memorial vigil for the soul of Sultan Pasha Atrash after the passing of the forty day period after his death. Israeli radio said that the religious gathering quickly took a political meaning since Atrash was considered the leader of the French revolt against the colonial rule of the French.

CENSORSHIP

Al-Fajr, May 7, 1982

Delays and Censorship on Plays in Gaza

Gaza - from Hussein Atar - It has been noticed in the past few weeks that the Israeli authorities in Gaza have taken actions to delay any attempt to hold cultural discussion or a performance of a play. Play texts have been refused or a long time passes before the authorities reply on a permit request. Members or participants in plays or discussion sessions are often called in for questioning.

Confiscating the Map of Palestine and Other Books from the Women's Club in Gaza

Gaza - The Israeli forces attacked the Palestinian Women's Club early in the week and confiscated the map of Palestine which had been there since 7/2/64. Many Israeli personalities had visited the union several times in the past and no one had ever objected to the map. The authorities also took 64 books, amongst them "The Palestine Rules and Laws" and another book with the word Palestine in the title. When the director objected to their actions, the responsible personnel told her the books would be examined and returned, but so far no books have been returned.

Charge Sheet Against Abu Kishek

Nablus - The Israeli military prosecution has issued a charge sheet against Ghazi Abu Kishek the owner of Wehedeh Bookstore. The charge sheet accuses Abu Kishek with possession of slogans and photos considered by the prosecution as affecting "security."

DEATH NOTICES (AD)

Mourning a Palestinian Leader

Jerusalem - Al-Husseini, a family in the homeland and the diaspora mourns with deep sorrow the late second lieutenant Sa'ed Saeel (Abu Walid).

LEBANON WAR

August 21, 1982

Palestinian and Lebanese Masses Salute the National Unity

Beirut - AFP - A Palestinian fighter stood near the entrance of the municipal stadium screaming in a loudspeaker praising the heroic Palestinian resistance saying "We will never forget you Beirut and we will never forget the history of its heroic people." Some of the fighters belonging to the "Bader heroes" unit of the Palestine Army left Beirut yesterday by way of sea carrying with them their personal suitcase, other equipment and as military men, their most treasured possession, their personal weapons, the symbol of the long and honorable Palestinian struggle. One of them said in a voice full of feeling, "we are military not political men and we will continue the battle with our spirits high."

Advertisement - The General Committee of Government Teachers

The Israeli authorities have begun an arbitrary campaign that is aimed at weakening dedicated teachers. The authorities began by firing and placing on early retirement a number of dedicated teachers. The committee has ample information that shows that the situation will get even worse. The Government teachers committee thereby denounces these actions and requests from the Israeli authorities to rescind these acts in order to safeguard the teaching structure.

Gaza Clubs Refuse to Continue in Tournament

Gaza - The athletic clubs in Gaza have taken a decision to stop participation in the annual tournament because of the situation in Lebanon. The clubs asked for a postponement of the tournament till a later date.

An Independent International Team Investigates Israeli Violations

London - AFP - An independent committee headed by Sean MacBride has been established recently to investigate the violations of Israel to international law during its invasion of Lebanon. The committee said in a paid advertisement in the Financial Times that "it is independent of governments, parties or institutions and calls upon all those of good will to cooperate with it."

Extension of Town Arrest

Jenin - The Israeli authorities have decided to extend the town arrest order of Awad Jamal six more months. He has to prove his presence at the local police station twice a day.

Town arrest for Lila Mere', a member of the Bir Zeit University student council was also extended six months.

August 24, 1982

Abu Iyad Vows the PLO Will Continue on Its Path

Beirut - Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), member of Fatah's central council, has asserted that the military struggle will continue inside the occupied homeland which will cause the hairs of prime minister Begin to stand. He continued in an interview with the Lebanese wire service "what I have said in the past, I will repeat again. We will not recognize Israel, and we are certain that we have no other alternative except the military struggle."

Beirut - Mr. Nimir Saleh-Abu Jihad - member of the executive central committee of Fatah assured that the fighters will stand steadfast and face the continued occupation of the Lebanese lands. He also affirmed to the newsmen that the Palestinian firm stand creates a new world thinking to determine their national rights for the Palestinian people.

He also said that those who bet that the Israeli Forces are capable of holding the M.E. with their troops have lost the bet. He also said that the American policy is against the Palestinian people and have their rights and said that this policy is doomed to fail before those steadfast Palestinian soldiers and those struggling for Lebanon and the Arab Nations.

Joint Forces Accelerates Its Operation

Sidon - The Palestinian and Lebanese operations against the Israeli forces in Lebanon during the past 24 hours, have accelerated. The joint forces attacked an Israeli military caravan near the town of Bashamoun in the Shouf mountains. They used their automatic guns against the Israeli caravan which caused the death or injury of eight Israeli soldiers. The joint forces also set up a road mine in the same area that led to the injury of an Israeli commander of the area. In Sidon a tense atmosphere prevailed as two soldiers had been injured as a result of a bomb blast.

CONDOLENCES (ADVERTISEMENTS)

Bir Zeit - Students Society B.Z. University

The members of the student body send their condolences for the death of "Saed Sayyel Abu El Waleed" who fell on the Lebanese soil as he was doing his duties.

"We are from God and we return to Him."

September 18, 1982

Editorial

The dangerous military developments in Lebanon show clearly that Israel has turned things upside down using its military machinery to insure instability all on the account of the Lebanese people's suffering and pain. The Israeli invasion to West Beirut which is considered a clear violation to all the guarantees of the U.S. envoy Philip Habib and a challenge to all the forces of the multinational powers present. This entry to West Beirut which was initiated in order to paralyze the official Lebanese power and can be considered an expropriation to the legitimacy and independence of the Lebanese government.

The excuses used by Israel in justifying its entry to West Beirut proved by Israeli practice in the short past that it is worthless.

October 2, 1982

Tishrin Call for a Lebanese National Unity

Damascus - AFP - The Syrian paper Tishrin called Lebanese to strengthen their national unity which is the only guarantee to return peace and tranquility to Lebanon and would be responsible for obtaining an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. The paper went on that "those who expect a magic solution from Washington will only get pain and destruction." It continued "the only Israeli solution will be provided to them -that is occupation and a peace treaty."

[date?]

The Advance of Israeli Forces Does Not Mean Defeat

Beirut - George Habash the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestinian affirmed that the advance of the Israeli Military forces in South Lebanon does not mean defeat and added saying, "...we are fighting forces and not just rebelling men. Although we are not an organized army, we shall continue our struggle."

An Air Raid Outside Damascus

Monte Carlo radio quoted the Syrian news agency as saying that at a late hour last night, the Israeli air force attacked the area known as Damur on the outskirts of western Damascus. The raid resulted in the killing of eight and injuries to 47 in addition to the material damage.

As-Shira', August 1982

The Last Wave (an opinion)

Beirut was one of the greatest events of the second half of the 20th century. Beirut was everything. How it grew up until it became a danger for north and south as well as east. Beirut wrote history. It also changed Arab history which was used to denouncing, condemning and settling. Beirut, we did

not know that you were so beautiful that they wanted to divide you in pieces. You fabulous thing, you pull all the politicians to you, you draw children to kneel to you but you never kneel to anyone. Beirut how can you be sieged at the same time and siege others also at the same time. You are sieged by thousands but you have sieged millions of masses, leaders and parties. You Beirut were the leader and you destroyed all others around you. You Beirut are the lesson for the Arab world which has been small because of the wester dominance there. What after Beirut...you turned the balances and the equations. You forced the engineer of the world's imperial power to resign at your feet. Beirut is the second breast which will feed us as long as the first breast has been unavailable. We will not burn or dry out but instead we will burn others in order to prepare the scene for others. O smell of children, corpses, pain, hunger, sickness, you will open the mouths of the Arab cities in order to bring down the Arab regimes one after the other.

UNIVERSITIES

House Arrest for a Bir Zeit Teacher

Jenin - The Israeli occupation authorities have placed Hassan Abu Libdeh, a professor of mathematics at Bir Zeit University and the secretary of the University Teachers Union, under town arrest in the city of Jenin from September 22, 1983 till March 22, 1983.

Deporting Another Najah Professor

Nablus - Dr. Hashem Abu Rmeleh, professor of History and Archeology at Najah National University will be forced to leave tomorrow. With this, the number of deported professor from the University will reach 12. 16 other professors and responsible staff members are threatened to be asked to leave.

August 10, 1982

House Arrest for a Bir Zeit University Professor

Jenin - The Israeli authorities ordered a house arrest against Hassan Abu Libda professor of Mathematics at Bir Zeit University and Secretary of Teachers Union, in the town of Jenin for a period of 6 months starting 22-9-1982.

ZIONIST PROPAGANDA

The Israeli Activity...and How to Reply to It in the United Kingdom

The few examples of Israeli activity in the United Kingdom known to the general public are only a tiny portion of the real activities that take place there. It is important for us to know about all the movements of the Israeli organizations and the methods that would be successful in replying to their moves. It is necessary to find styles and methods in which lies and innuendos can be cleared up and in order for our opinions to reach the general public. This reminds me of what the head of an Israeli-British organization had to say "We must realize that the methods that must be adopted by the information department in the diaspora must be loaded with the best arguments in order to defeat our enemies. In order to do that we must know the opinions of the other side." As we can see from the above, the media in Britain are active and are being run in an organized and scientific manner for the following reasons:

1. The roots of the Israeli presence in the United Kingdom go back hundreds of years.
2. By obtaining important jobs and posts in the business and politics fields as well as the media, which helps in giving them strong contacts.
3. There is a permanent coordination between the Israeli embassy and the Israeli organizations in which the embassy makes use of its media office to attack Palestinians and Arabs.

During the near past, the Israeli embassy has published in its daily bulletins attacks against the Saudi government especially in concern with the Awacs trade. What is more important is that Jews and Zionists believe that they have a case and a goal to fight

[ends here]

SETTLEMENTS

Al-Fajr, November 13, 1982

Al-Fajr Meets with Palestinian Personalities

In a West Bank and Gaza poll conducted by Al-Fajr with

leading national personalities there it was concluded that they support: right to self determination - Israeli settlement in the occupied territories rejected by all sorts. The Al-Fajr interviews came as a result of the Israeli decision to build 20 new settlements in the West Bank and that by 1985 forty new settlements will be established. Following are comments of Palestinian leaders:

Bassam Shaka'a - speaking from his hospital bed at Maqaseed hospital. Shaka'a said the latest settlement drive is not new, it was announced by the Israel government a long time ago. If the Israeli public announcement means anything it means that the Israeli government does not care about international resolutions, the UN or any human rights treaty.

Karim Khalaf - I am not surprised by the decision. Israel has already settled in Lebanon and I think it will settle in the Arab world if Arabs can stay like they are now.

Lawyer Jireys Khoury - I think that the Begin government has taken a decision which it cannot retract from, rather a policy which is irreversible.

Engineer Ibrahim Daqqaq - You cannot look at the settlement problem without first looking at the social and political problems and roots which is also based on American support to it. The basic problem is not restricted to the Israeli settlement plans but to the American aid which is backing the settlement drive.

Dr. Haider Abdel Shafi - The settlement drive is in line with Israeli policy of finding obstacles to reaching a comprehensive and just peace for the Palestinian problem.

Rashad Shawwa - Israel's actions are part of its policy of stealing our land and causing our people to leave in order that there will be no one for a Palestinian state.

Yusra Barbari - The settlement drive is an attempt to quietly annex the occupied territories without public opinion giving them trouble.

December 13, 1982

Dismissal of Zatar Local Council Head for Objecting to Expropriation

Bethlehem - Zatar - The Israeli authorities have informed Musa Mahmoud Mihsen, the head of the village's local council of the decision to remove him from the position as of Dec. 12.

The authorities had earlier removed his credentials as village mukhtar. It is well known that Musa Mihsen was elected to his post seven years ago and has fulfilled his duties without any blemish. Under his leadership the village accomplished a number of projects including bringing water, electricity and paved roads to the village. He has also made plans to establish ten classrooms for a secondary school. Mihsen had also protested in a written complaint the expropriation of lands whose ownership belongs to villagers.

October 7, 1982

Israeli Bulldozers Work Near Jenin

Jenin - Israeli bulldozers began yesterday working near a forest known as "Saadeh" on the West Side of Jenin near Wadi Barqien. The nationals living there say that the work is for the purpose of establishing a new settlement there.

Restrictions on Land Sales

West Bank - Reliable sources in the West Bank have noted that the Water and Land Departments in the West Bank will ask anyone who intends to buy or sell land to bring with him a document from the customs and tax office showing that he has paid his taxes.

The sources explained that from a practical point of view this means that every resident will have to pay all his taxes since the beginning of the occupation. Any resident intending to buy or sell land will have to also pay 15% of the cost to the Land Department.

ARAB LEAGUE

Al-Fajr, June 4, 1982

Qulibi Demands from Reagan

Tunis - AFP - Shathli Qulibi, the general secretary of the Arab League, stated that the Reagan administration must rid itself of all the inheritance from the Carter administration's Camp David. He assured that this policy has not worked in the past and has only succeeded in the return of Sinai, but the wars between the Arabs and Israel took place for the Palestinians and not for Sinai.

Libyan Jamahireh Ready to Face Israel Aggression

Tripoli - AFP - The Libyan Jamahireh has declared its willingness to defend Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution in order to stop the Israeli invasion. According to the foreign ministry's press release, Libya will guarantee to protect the Lebanese skies in order to stop Israeli attacks.

RABBI KAHANE'S ACTIVITIES

Kahane Threatens to Drink the Blood of Moslems and Christians

Jerusalem - The Supreme Islamic Council received new threats from Kahane the leader of the extremist Jewish organization -- Kach -- in which he threatened that "it has been decided to raid Al-Aqsa mosque in or to pray there even if force needs to be used." He warned that "even if we have to drink your blood and fill our cups as well as the cups of all the Jewish people with Moslem and Christian blood -- O dirty Arabs -- we could be happy to do that," the statement said. Kahane concluded, "you will soon see your death or prayer."

PRISONS

May 26, 1983

Release of Three Jenin Area Residents

The Israeli authorities released the day before yesterday three residents from Arrabeh in the Jenin district.

Congratulations

Hebron - Yesterday Thursday Bilal the son of the merchant Hashim Abdel Naby El Natsheh was released from prison after spending his sentence for security violations.

In this happy occasion the father, mother, brothers, friends and relatives send their sincere wishes to Bilal wishing him strength and good health.

Congratulations

The Student Body Committee of the Bir Zeit University sends best wishes on the release of Abdel Aziz Shaheen.

(so does) Um El Ziabi.

(so does) the Palestinian prisoners in the different Israeli detentions.

(so does) the Prisoners' Committee, their friends and relatives.

Condition of a Prisoner Deteriorates

The health condition of Sami Yousef Mateer who is detained in Hebron Prison has deteriorated since his arrest five months ago. He had lost his ability to speak after the fifth day of his arrest. The Israeli authorities blamed him for having attacked an Israeli soldier.

COURTS

Al-Fajr, May 26, 1983

Arrest of 21 Residents from Jenin and Beit Jala

Jerusalem - Israeli forces raided a number of homes in the villages of Jaba', Misloun and Sanour in th Jenin district and arrested about 20 residents in the aftermath of a fist fight between the residents and members of the village leagues. Photos of Arafat were seized in these villages. In Peit Jala, Daoud Matter who had been requested to come to the military command in Bethlehem was arrested. (from Al-Itihad May 25)

Congratulations (an ad)

Salfit - Friends relatives and loved ones from Salfit extend warmest congratulations to the son of Salfit Abed el Jawaad Yousef on the occasion of his release from prison after he spent five years there. Best wishes in the future and in serving your homeland.

Congratulations (an ad)

The brothers Qadri Abu Baker and Ibrahim and all the prisoners at Tulkarem jail extend warmest congratulations regards to Abed el Jawaad Yousef and Salfit on the occasion of his release from jail after serving a five-year term. Best wishes for the future and in serving your homeland.

Dheshieh Camp Residents Fined

Ramallah - The Israeli military court decided to fine the nurse Adleh Hussein Atieh IS 18,000 and her sister Rihad IS 12,000 for charges of attacking an officer of the border patrol guards last April. Both are from the Dheshieh refugee camp.

Delay in Court Case

Jerusalem - The Israeli magistrate court has postponed the session for looking into the case of 31 Arab youths from Jerusalem accused of demonstrating and stoning Israeli military vehicles in the beginning of the month; the youths' names are (a list of the names).

TAXATION

The Chamber of Commerce Requested the Cancellation of The Tax Known As "Peace of Galilee Loan"

Jerusalem - The Chamber of Commerce of Arabs sent a letter to the Israeli Ministry of Finance calling for the cancellation of the government tax imposed on the residents of the city under the name of tax for the Peace of Galilee.

In the letter of the Chamber of Commerce it said that the Arab citizens of Jerusalem received invoices lately to pay large sums of money as a new tax the named "Peace of Galilee Loan."

The Board members discussed this case of imposing this tax on the Arab citizens of Jerusalem. It was refused for the following reasons:

- * The imposing of such a tax on the Arab citizens of Jerusalem is against the rule of law as the inhabitants of Jerusalem have nothing to do with Galilee or the military expenditures and arm activities which are mainly political and was the decision of the Israeli Government.
- * Imposing a loan on the Arab citizens is against the international convention of Geneva and is opposed to the agreement of U.N. Therefore we request that the Government reconsider this decision and cancel this new tax as it is not constitutional.

HOLY PLACES

Question (A Column by Atalla Najjav)

Israel announces in all occasions that it refuses to withdraw from holy Christian and Moslem sites in Arab Jerusalem under the pretext that under Jordan's rule Jews were not allowed to see Jewish holy sites -- especially the wailing wall, while these sites were open for Christians and Moslems.

Israel adds that after 1967, the principle of free access to holy sites was assured to all. Here we ask: Does the arrival of extremist Jews to the Aqsa Mosque, now and then in order to attack it and desecrate it as well as turn it into holy Jewish site as part of this Israeli official policy which opens holy sites to all?

ARAB LOBBY IN THE U.S.

American Arab organization Demands Commercial Boycott of Israel

Washington - The Arab American League has appealed to the U.S. and to all the peace loving countries of the world to take collective actions against the war of annihilation being carried out by the Israeli authorities against our people in the occupied territories. The league requested, in the end of its tenth annual conference, member countries in the UN to place sanctions against Israel and if the resolutions are not executed then Israel should be kicked out of the UN.

VILLAGE LEAGUES

February 10, 1982

Advertisement/Notice - Explanation to the Public

El Thahrieh - Hebron - I, Hassan Abdallah Eljabareem from Thahrieh in the district of Hebron declare to the public opinion inside and outside, that I have never been a member of village leagues neither near nor far-signed, Yousef Abdallah El Jabareem 98190589.

Bethlehem Village Leagues Joins in a Search

Bethlehem - An armed group belonging to the Bethlehem Village Leagues joined the regular police at a check post on the

entrance of Bethlehem and they helped the police in searching the residents.

Nablus Residents Complain of Raids

Nablus - Residents from the city of Nablus have complained that Israeli army personnel carry out all types of harassment against them. These include raids of homes at night, and arrest of the house residents for a number of hours at which time they are beaten.

Five brothers arrested in Balalte Camp.

ISRAELI DEMONSTRATIONS

A Demonstration in Tel Aviv against the Israeli Aggression on Lebanon

Tel Aviv - The Israeli paper Al-Hamishmar said that the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit Univ. arranged a demonstration yesterday in Tel Aviv against the Israeli aggression of Lebanon in front of the home of Sokolof in Tel Aviv. They carried banners as they walked the streets. These banners were against Israel against more bloodshed. There were some arrests.

FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS

Qaddumie & Gromyko Denounces the U.S. Policy against the Palestinian

Farouk Qaddumie the head of the Political Department of the P.L.O. and Andre Gromyko Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union denounced the American policy which stands against the Palestinian peoples and supports Israel and its policy. This was declared New York when they met to discuss the latest news of Southern Lebanon and the Israeli aggression.

Tass News Agency declared that Gromyko assured Qaddumi in their meeting that the Soviet Union is standing firm on the side of the Palestinian people in the struggle against the aggressors.

Qaddumin thanked Gromyko on behalf of the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people.

Qaddumin and Gromyko met in New York at the 2nd session of the general meetings of the UN for disarmament.

MacBride Calls for Protection on the Palestinian Educational Heritage

Tokyo - The general Arab Union office in Tokyo published the day before yesterday a poem written by MacBride who had obtained a Nobel prize in the year 1974 calling for the saving of Beirut.

This Irish writer is the head of the Institution Committee for the preservation of Palestinian Educational Heritage.

In his poem Sean MacBride calls on all the people of the world to preserve the character of the Palestinian Education Heritage from complete destruction. He wrote also that there is a people which is threatened of annihilation and a wide plot is prepared for destroying its education existence.

Kreisky: Israel is the Biggest Instigator in the World

Vienna - Austria's chancellor Bruno Kreisky has assured that Israel is the biggest instigator of disturbances in the world. He said in a press conference in Vienna that Israel is a military state in the true meaning of the word, but her military power did not bring her any results as witnessed in the war in Lebanon. He said that Israel refuses to negotiate in the same manner as some Arab rejectionists refuse. He assured that the PLO is serious in its quest for a true and just peace.

Greek Promise Not to Recognize Israel

Damascus - A political Palestinian source in Syria has stated that the PLO has received official promise from the Greek government not to establish any diplomatic relationship with Israel. The source said that the Greek government will resist all pressures from the European parliament as long as the Palestinian problem and the Middle East's problems are not comprehensively and justly solved.

June 10, 1982

Arafat Receives a Letter from Castro

Beirut - Yasir Arafat the executive head of the P.L.O. received a letters from the Cuban leader Fidel Castro which explained his position and the non-aligned countries towards the P.L.O.

Austria Assures: No Peace in the Area Without Granting
Palestinian Rights

Vienna - AFP - The Austrian foreign minister has assured again Vienna's position in regards to reaching peace in the Middle East. He explained that only by recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination will there be peace.

The Austrian foreign minister in the speech he gave to the Austrian-Arab society in Vienna, criticized Israel's expansionist policies.

ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS

The Egyptian Medical Delegation is Robbed Tel Aviv

Tel Aviv - One of the members of the Egyptian medical delegation visiting Israel was robbed when he discovered that \$15,000 which had been in his hotel room had disappeared. Israeli radio's Hebrew news reel said that the Egyptian doctor returned to his room after midnight and discovered that his wallet was missing. He immediately informed the police.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK

Al-Farj, May 22, 1983

Voluntary Work

Just like all the youths of the occupied territories the Dheshieh youth club carried out the following activities:

- * Helping one of the members to put the roof on his house. He had spent 6 months in jail.
- * The committee put asphalt by the house of the martyr Hussein Abdel Fatah and extended electricity to his house and brought his family a stove.
- * The committee distributed gifts to the mothers of martyrs and imprisoned on the occasion of Mother's Day. The number of mothers whose sons are in jail was 36 in addition to two women prisoners and two martyrs.
- * The committee participated in laying the cement work for a house which was destroyed by the Israeli authorities. 30 members participated in this event.

POEMS

Martyr of Lod Operations (poem of remembrance)

In the tenth year for your martyrdom o Ali Tahawe might
not hear your voice or see you
but your voice will stay in our inner beings
your voice the voice of birth
the voice of heroism
the voice of sacrifice
the voice of martyrdom
maybe they closed your file
maybe they threw it out
maybe they burnt it
but your memory opens the files of our cause
your brothers

Suheil and Muhammad Taha

NEWS ITEMS

Short News

- * Ramallah nationals protest the continuous house arrest of their mayor Mr. Karim Khalaf and not allowing him to return from the city of Jericho.
- * A meeting will be held soon between Yasir Arafat and the president of Syria Hafez El Assad in order to place the last points on the Strategy between Syria and the P.L.O.
- * Israeli authorities changed several times the Israeli accountants appointed to look after the finances of the town in which Arab Mayors had been removed and Israelis had been placed in their stead.
- * The reason for the delay in monthly payments to the employers was that their checks had to be reprinted with the address (Civil Adm.).
- * A number of employers in Ramallah city hall were called to the Israeli authorities and remained detained until the eleventh hour at night.
- * The Israeli authorities requested a number of Arab employees in departments belonging to the military government to do some work for the city hall after the strike of the employees.

- * Television crews, spent one hour in one of the city halls waiting to see any Arabs coming to that hall for needs or questions in which the Mayors had been removed but no one came.
- * The personalities of the city of Anabta stood firm in the city hall and their attachment to their Arab Mayor Wahid El Hamdallah.
- * Most schools in Anabya closed down when they heard that their mayor was removed from his position.
- * News was repeated in the papers in the capital city of Amman that Abu Ammar was about to make a visit to Jordan in order to discuss the situation of the occupied territories with the Jordanian authorities.

As-Sha'ab (daily newspaper)

May 17, 1982

Release of Hebron Residents

Ramallah - The Israeli military court released the day before yesterday, Adel Taiser Ja'bari from Hebron on bail after an arrest which lasted three weeks for a security offense. The court allowed his release with a IS 10,000 bond because there was no legal reason to keep him incarcerated. The court also release Yasir Tawfiq Dweik after a bond of IS 3,000 was placed for him. Lawyers Hussein and Hijazi Shuikhy defended them.

New Israeli Jails in Fara' and Jericho

Tel Aviv - Reliable sources have mentioned that the Israeli authorities have established military prisons in the Fara' and Jericho area to hold Palestinian prisoners after Israeli prisons have become overloaded. Israeli authorities have already transferred a number of prisoners to these camps which have been described as consisting of terrible health conditions due to the extreme heat and the humidity all in addition to the inhuman treatment that is given to the prisoners.

Prisoners have appealed to international agencies to interfere to save their lives to stop the oppressive acts against them.

In Facing the Trojan Horse (editorial)

...Palestinian and Syrian officials have assured that they are not against Egypt's return to the Arab fold provided that Egypt rid itself of the U.S. chains...but the Mubarak regime seeks to play the role of the Trojan horse for the elements of Camp David in the Arab world. (censored till the end)...the movements of the steadfastness and confrontation powers is an important matter which is able to confront many and provide better environment for an Arab national awakening that will confront the enemy plans. (end of censorship).

January 11, 1983

Continuation of Arrest in the West Bank

West Bank - Arrests are continuing in the West Bank and refugee camps, the Israeli authorities had arrested a large number of the inhabitants of Ramallah, Nablus, Tulkarem and the refugee camps at Deheisheh Balata & Amary and put them at Faraa prison. The number of arrested enumerated to more than 200.

Jamal Banura the Story Writer was Arrested

Jerusalem - The Palestinian story writer Jamal Banura from Bethlehem is still under arrest. He is at Faraa prison near Nablus. He was arrested last Friday. The Israeli authorities summoned him to Bethlehem last Friday morning for more questioning. The lawyer Felicia Langer will defend him and will try to release him on bail.

Releasing Two Students From Bir Zeit University

Two students of Bir Zeit University were released yesterday. They are Abdullah Alawneh and Ghassan Alawneh who were detained for the last 14 days at Faraa prison near Nablus.

Imprisonment for Three Young Men

Jerusalem - Ramallah Military Court convicted three young men last Tuesday and they are Nizam Arafat El Shalalkeh 21 years old for 9 years; Abed Rabo Aassan El Shalalkeh 23 years for 5 years and 2 years suspended sentence; and Wael Issa El Shalalkeh for 17 years and 3 years probation. They are charged with membership in Fateh organization.

Events of January 1982

- * Intensive meetings between Palestinian leaders with Yasir Arafat and Nasir Mohammad, president of S. Yaman to discuss the present issues in the district.
- * The P.L.O. calls on the U.N. to continue the policy of partition and calls for a chair for the Arab nation of Palestine.
- * The Israeli government decides to erect 35 more settlements in the West Bank and increase the number of settlers to 50,000 during the 3 coming months.
- * The Palestinian troops in Borth Yeman help in the rescue teams after the big earthquake.
- * The first conference opened in Tunis to preserve the Palestinian History and entity.
- * F. Zaktala calls for the preservation for all the seats at the student boy at Bir Zeit University.
- * A young man was killed in Nablus - Demonstrations and curfew.
- * A new geological project in Israel search for oil.
- * The green patrol moved away 800 families and confiscated 7 million Dunom in six years.
- * The Israeli forces closed up the road between Beirut and Damascus.
- * Three homes were demolished in Hebron.
- * Eight years imprisonment for the teacher Khitam Ibrahim Atwa Khattab from Jerusalem.
- * Arafat heads a meeting for the Executive Committee and takes some decisions.
- * 100,000 persons demonstrated in Tel Aviv against Israeli aggression in Lebanon.
- * 10,000 persons demonstrated in Jerusalem and denounced the Israeli aggression in Lebanon.
- * France agrees to send troop to Beirut.

February

- * The citizens of Abboud Village protest the taking of 800 dunoms of their land.
- * Israel diverts 70% of the Jordan waters to their lands.
- * The Military govermenet closes three Arab homes with cement. Two in the city of Hebron and one in the vil- lage of Qatanneh, north of Jerusalem.
- * House arrest was imposed on the student Mohammed Mussa Atreh Elmunasra from Bir Zeit University, a resident of Wadi Thuseen Village.
- * Plans for building 11 new settlements in the suburbs of Rafah.
- * Israeli companies warn 8 Arab homes to evacuate their houses at Mt. El Makabbu in Jerusalem.
- * The Military governor in the Middle District decides to close Bir Zeit University for 2 months.
- * More demonstrations in the towns and villages of West Bank. A strike of the city hall establishments protest the closing of Bir Zeit University.
- * The Ministry of Housing and development begins building 3,000 units for settlers in the West Bank in the budget of 1983.
- * For the fourth time, hand grenades were thrown at the home of Saed Darnia in Hebron.

March

- * The death of the inmate Mahmoud Saedi Naji El Qaqasmy in Beir Shelbha prison.
- * Walid Jumblat says no power in the world can demolish the P.L.O.
- * House arrest imposed on the Ali Janmal for 16 months that came after his release from prison and his admin- istratvie arrest which remained for 7 years.
- * 30 Citizens of Qalgilia find out that their lands were sold in a fraud deal.
- * Student demonstrations at Nablus. Two persons were wounded as a result of bullets fired by the army.

- * The Islamic council denounces the attack of the Mosque of Jerusalem.
- * Diverse settlements against the West Bank students.
- * Confiscating 20,000 donums of land in the sureef, in the Hebron district.
- * Military orders against 4 citizens from Gaza and Khan Yanis. Curfew on Jenin and Rafah.
- * Three walk out from the district of Dai Hanna, Kufur Kanna and Taibeh.
- * Three died in Jenin, Benny Inaim and Khan Yinis. Curfew at Jenin and Rafah.
- * Deposing the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, Shakaa and Khalaf.
- * Demonstration in the towns and cities of West Bank and Gaza strip.
- * Protest from the newspapers Al-Fajr and Al Shaeb for the severe censorship imposed on them.
- * Deporting some teachers from El Najah University outside the West Bank.

April

- * Confiscating land in order to build 40 new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza strip.
- * An order for deporting the prisoner Abdel Aziz Ali Shaheen
- * Finding of the body of a Pelestinian near the settlement of Shilo.
- * The PLO refuses the reciprocal acceptance that the Egyptian plan brought out.
- * A group conference for all societies in Jerusalem condemning the aggression made against the Aqaa Mosque.
- * Inmates at Nafha prison request better treatments.
- * Kahane group attempts to enter Al Asqsa Mosque for prayer.

- * Wiring tens of thousands of dunoms as private land owned by the Supreme Council.

May

- * The mayor of Anabta "Wabeed Hamda Hilah was removed from his office.
- * Hundres of Moslems and Christians sit in at the Holy Sepulchre protesting against the Israeli actions against the city councils and the Civil Administration.
- * Confiscation of 1,000 dunoms of land at Kufur Eddeck and Deir Ballout
- * Confiscation of 3,300 dunoms from the land of Bany Neam, Hebron.
- * At the celebration of 15th May a young man from Nablus was wounded and curfew was imposed at Rafah, Balata Camps.
- * The court convicted the Hation Mahmoud Jadia El Qawamy from the Thory district for 18 years imprisonment. His crime was that he placed explosives and trained others to carry weapons.
- * Five young men were imprisoned from 7-9 years from Beit Sahour for throwing bottles and belongs to Fateh.

June

- * Israeli bulldozers destroyed many houses in the district of Abu Dies and in Jerusalem.
- * A large attack of Israeli troops on S. Lebanon. Arafat sends message to Arab leaders and supporters of our cause.
- * The Arab mayors in the West Bank and Gaza strip denounce the Israeli aggression and support the PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people.
- * Life imprisonment against three young men from Jerusalem for security offenders they are Faud El Razin, Adman Daoud Abu Sneineh, Mussa Odeh.

July

- * The Arab workers union denounce the aggression of Lebanon and support the PLO.
- * Chysson says that France considers the PLO the representative of the Palestinian people.
- * A student conference at Najah University denounces the closing of Bir Zeit University.
- * Arafat presents to Shafeek El Wazzan Prime Minister of Lebanon the least acceptable terms of the Palestinians.
- * Life imprisonment of Hamdy Abdel Aziz Ahmad Wazuz as he was accused of taking part in a bomb near New Gate Jerusalem.
- * Confiscating 5,000 dunoms in Husan.
- * El Fajr daily paper is forbidden in the West Bank and Gaza strip.
- * The discovery of two Palestinian groups that are working against Israel in the West Bank.
- * Gush Emunim opens a new settlement called "Daniel" near Bethlehem.
- * A young man from Tulkarim does volunteer social work in the town.
- * Arafat signs a document in which he accepts all the U.N. resolutions concerning the Palestinian problems and it was stated in English in black ink and he signed it on 25/7/83.
- * Haj Amin Nasir and the village council in Qalqulia were dismissed for their refusal to meet Manahem Milson.
- * The judge made a verdict of 20 years imprisonment on the Alladin Ahmad El Bazian.

August

- * 180 shells fall on Beirut in one day.
- * Wafa newspaper lists 430 Israelis killed in Lebanon.
- * Members from Kakj settle in Hebron Mount.

- * A responsible Palestinian assures that the retreat from Lebah will not come as a result of a military defeat.
- * The Palestinian forces leave Beirut. Abu Jihan promises to continue the struggle.
- * The PLO agrees to release the pilot who was detained by the Palestinians at the beginning of the Israeli aggression.
- * Qaddumi assures the freedom of the Palestinian decision no matter what pressures there are.
- * Abu Ammar praises the United Forces and affirms the Palestinian decision to regain their rights.

September

- * Abu Ammar Leaves Beirut in an official departure. He goes to Greece and he is received by the ministers of Greece and high officials.
- * Arafat declares that 5,000 martyrs fell and 4,800 wounded after the aggression.
- * The Arab ministers protest against the Arab conference at Fez.
- * The settlement at Afrata claimed to be a settlement city.
- * Israel decided to build 7 new settlements in West Bank and Gaza.
- * The Palestinian forces capture 8 Israeli soldiers and killed 3 others in the Beqaa Valley.
- * Students in West Bank who wish to register in any university were asked to sign a document stating that they do not support the PLO.
- * Israel declares not to accept the decision of Fez Conference and described that they are a warning to their very existence.
- * House arrest was imposed on Ibrahim El Taweel, the mayor of Bireh, and Samiha Khalil, the president of the society for poor families' preservation in Bireh and Bashir El Barghuty, the editor of Talia newspaper.
- * The elections of Executive Committee for youth in the West Bank.

- * Horrible massacres against the Palestinian refugees in the camps of Sabra and Shatella.
- * Establishments, personalities, workers unions and national societies in the occupied territories condemn the horrible massacre.
- * The Israeli army takes over the Palestinian research center and confiscates books and documents.
- * Menaham Wilson resigns from the position for which he was appointed.
- * The Israeli Knesset refuses to examine the slaughter at Sabra and Shatell.

Arrests among Palestinian in Galilee and the Triangle.

October

- * The martyr, the Colonel Saed Sayel, the head of the operation room of the PLO during his rounds among the wounded in Beqaa Valley of Lebanon.
- * The finding of 1,500 bodies of the martyred in the camps of Sabra and Shatella.
- * A judicial committee in Israel to look into the massacres of Sabra and Shatella.
- * A young man dies as a result of a bullet from the Israeli army. A curfew was imposed on his town.
- * Arafat denounced the fierce attempts made by the Lebanese against the Palestinians in Lebanon.
- * A fire destroys the Baptist church in Jerusalem.
- * A Palestinian magazine arises anew after being detained for a month.
- * Plans to locate 80,000 new settlers in the West Bank.
- * Arafat visits Amman to discuss the present situation and the political steps to be taken with King Hussein.
- * Abu Yad assures that the fighting in Beirut brought a lot of political gains.
- * The civil administration freezes the military law at No. 854 for some time.

- * The authorities refuses to allow citizens of the occupied territory from taking part in any Palestinian conference.
- * The destruction of several buildings in Hebron.

November

- * The struggle of the citizens of Galilee against the confiscation of Arab lands to be used for settlements.
- * Israel refuses to accept the request of America to freeze the building of settlements in the occupied territories.
- * The Executive Committee for the PLO resolves to add 60 other new members to its national committee.
- * A plan to erect 60 new settlements in the West Bank.
- * Exploding the Israeli military compound in Tyre killing 70 soldiers and wounding 28 others.
- * There are 6,281 inmates imprisoned at Ansar, most of them Palestinian.
- * Arafat attends the Educational, Intellectual Conference of Palestine in Amman.

May 7, 1982

Letter to the Editor

The light of the dawn has come out against and Al-Fajr is still the successful newspaper. Successes in any work can be judged by how much one reaches his goals. Al-Fajr has always attempted to be the light post for its readers, and despite the attempts of the haters of the paper to keep it away from us, they have not succeeded. The eyes of the haters almost burst when the paper dawned on us again. Welcome O tongue of the people and good luck to you.

Yousef Tartouri
Hebron Secondary School

Photocopies of the Censor's Work

Explanation of Censor's Stamps:



Passed with marked alterations



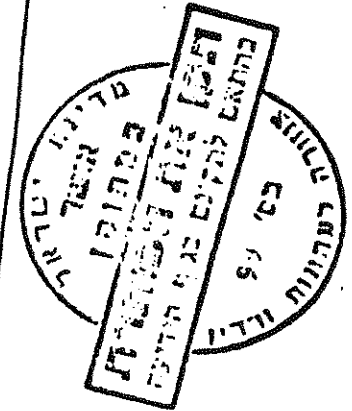
censored

Protest meeting in Sakhnin

On July 17, about 1000 Palestinians attended a meeting in Sakhnin village, Galilee, organized by the Progressive National Movement and Abna' al-Balad to protest Israeli attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Speeches made in the meeting, condemned the Israeli invasion and praised the "heroic steadfastness and resistance of the Palestinian freedom fighters." Participants also heard a report about the conditions of the wounded Lebanese and Palestinians who are being treated in Israeli hospitals from Khaled al-Sheikh, an active member in Um al-Fahm Abna' al-Balad movement. He conveyed the greetings of those wounded to the meeting.

The closing speech was delivered by Jubran Chaqour, for the Progressive Movement. In his speech Jubran called, on the conference, to organize Palestinian demonstrations and strikes to protest of the "Israeli massacres."



116/8
July 18



August 24

Artillery and rocket fire was exchanged between the Palestinian and Syrian forces on one side, and the Israeli and Phalangist forces on the other, along the Beqa'a Valley confrontation lines.

In and around Beirut a wave of violence broke out in protest of Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel's election to the presidency. The violence also spread to Tripoli in the north.

Meanwhile, the fourth Palestinian group of 1,200 fighters, left Beirut en route to South Yemen and North Yemen.

The artillery duels, the first heavy fire engagement in weeks, began in the morning and continued through mid-afternoon before dying out. An Israeli military spokesman denied that his country's troops were involved in the Beqa'a fighting. He said that the fighting was between the Syrians and the Phalangist. Similarly, the Phalangist radio station, which reported the fighting, insisted that it was the Israeli which duelled with the Syrians. Syrian radio as well as a number of Western news-reporters, said that both Israeli and Phalangist forces fired at the Syrian lines near Ras al-Harf and Qibliyeh east of Beirut on the Beirut-Damascus highway.

Israel Television reported that the Israeli army will start work, Aug. 25, on uprooting orange and grapefruit orchards 50 metres on both sides of the Tyre-Sidon highway. The TV report said that destruction is to prevent PLO commandos from attacking Israeli army cars on the highway. Earlier, Israeli military sources said that an estimated 1,000 PLO guerrillas are still operating in that area.

Lebanese civilians continue to show their opposition to the Israeli occupation of their country. The Jerusalem Post quoted Israeli soldiers stationed in the villages of Kand al-Luz, Jib Jan, Mansoura, and Amiq, complaining of 'hostile' behaviour from the villagers. Israeli sources reported anti-Israeli graffiti, such as "Zionist invaders go home" on village walls in South Lebanon.

In Beirut, the wave of violence which broke out after the presidential election, Aug. 21, escalated sharply. A total of 11 houses belonging to MP's who supported Gemayel were blown up. Homes of former President Sureiman Franjeh occupied three Lebanese army bases in northern Lebanon. The militia men also blocked the roads to rival Phalangist-controlled villages.

Leftist leaders continued to hold consultations for organising a coalition to confront the Israeli occupation and the Phalangist 'president.'

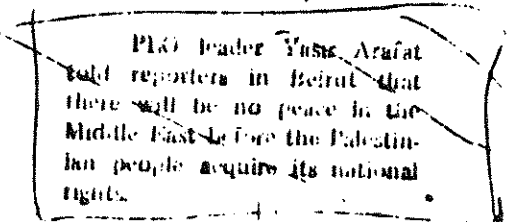
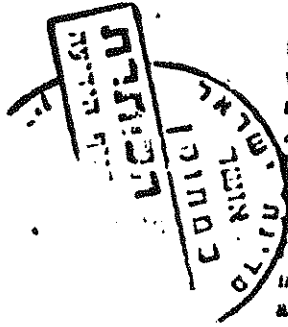
On the Beirut dock, 1,200 PLO fighters said goodbye to their families, who waved Palestinian flags, while their PLO comrades fired shots in the air to salute the departing group.

Diplomacy

PLO leader Yassir Arafat told reporters in Beirut that there will be no peace in the Middle East before the Palestinian people acquire its national rights.

UN Secretary-General de Cuellar echoed Arafat's sentiment that the Palestinian fighters' departure from Beirut does not mean an end to the crisis in the Middle East, or an end to the Palestinian problem.

Meanwhile, the Phalangist 'president' Bashir Gemayel said in an interview with Israel Television that he intends to form a new government, whose task will be to conclude a "peace treaty with Israel."



Handwritten notes: 421/20, 8/25



**BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY
MAY 4**

Arabic calligraphy has been on show this week at Bethlehem University. The four-day exhibition (May 3-7), includes handwriting classes and a seminar on calligraphy past and present. It was organized by the university's Arabic Department, and was opened on the first day by Brother Tom, vice-Chancellor of the university. Brother Tom told *Al Fajr*: "This exhibition will deepen the appreciation of our contribution to culture, and also increase the students' pride in their cultural heritage."

Calligraphy, known as the 'art of writing' in Arabic, has a fundamental role in traditional and modern Arab art. This is perhaps due to the early religious ban on representing images of people and animals, which caused artists' attention to be focused on non-representational art forms.

Although the meaning of the written sentence is significant, the beauty of the line itself is equally important. Most of the texts in the exhibition are selected from the Holy Qur'an, with others from the Bible and modern poetry. Often the letters are twisted into peonometric or animal forms, for example crescent, pear and bird shapes.

On show are seven traditional styles of calligraphy, plus two modern. The original works have been collected from the West Bank, and there are also prints from various Arab countries. The well-known Beit Sahour artist, Samir al-Yatim, has been a calligrapher for 30 years, and he is exhibiting many different styles of writing here. Also represented are less famous amateurs, including two students from the university itself and a teacher from Bir Zeit University.

Four Bethlehem University students were arrested and detained for several hours today (May 4) after students attempted to stage a sit-in at the Church of the Nativity in the town. Students decided to demonstrate against the recent threats against churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. About thirty students arrived in the courtyard of the church when police moved in and refused to let them enter the church itself. Within minutes an army jeep appeared and dispersed the gathering students. The four students were taken to the Bethlehem military governor's office, for seven hours and were then released.



105/31
May 5

WHY...WHY...WHY???

Why is the sky still blue
and the sun still shine

when day has turned to night?

Why do the birds still fly
and the wind still blow

when justice has taken flight?

Why do the shoes still open
and the workers still strive

when their comrades have to fight?

Why does the world stay silent
and all its people dumb
when darkness covers light?

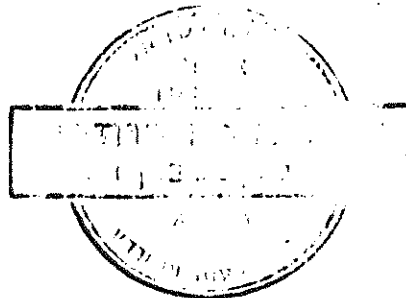
Why do oppressors never learn
that their victims do not fall
despite the use of might?

Why do generations struggle
and have to face the sword
to gain what's theirs by right?



111 / 1

Jan 11



From the South

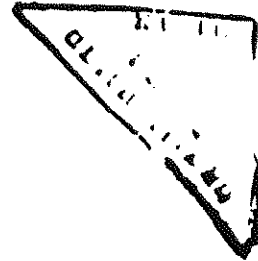
The sun eats their flesh
But they resist stubbornly.
From the womb of the earth they come
From the sun's eyes they come
From the moon's face.
Indeed they are from the South
Indeed they are from the South
They plant love, corn, tobacco, bullets.
They toil.
Destitute, they toil.
Their night is long
Their path is long
Although
In their eyes a thousand wait.
A thousand thousand curses
On the adulterous dogs
Whose dogs scheming.

The Sun eats their flesh
But they resist stubbornly.
From the womb of the earth they come
From the sun's eyes they come
From the moon's face.

They embrace spade and pickaxe
They launch salvation
And creep to the field
They creep.
Their field is dying,
Their buds are dying.
Life's color in their blood.
A thousands thousand curses
on the adulterous dogs
Whose dogs scheming

The sun eats their flesh
But they resist stubbornly.
From the womb of the earth they come
From the sun's eyes they come
From the moon's face.

Indeed they are from the South



112/12

June 22



Beit Kahil

One person was killed and nine were wounded, June 19, in Beit Kahil, near Hebron, after a group of Hebron Village League members broke into the village to connect the village with the Israeli electrical grid. A majority of Beit Kahil residents had opposed the project as they have their own electric generator which, a spokesman for the villagers told *Al Fajr*, satisfies the power needs of the community.

The scheme had been designed by the league with the cooperation of two local mukhtars — both Israeli appointees — in the face of strong local opposition.

Clashes developed in the village after Mohammad Nasir — a Hebron contractor, leading league member and son of the league organ, *Um al-Kura* (Mecca) — sent labourers to erect pylons in the village, June 17. Five Village League members, escorting the workers, beat up one Beit Kahil resident who stopped them working on his land. Mohammad Nasir, who, as well as having business and financial interests is an assistant to the Israeli officer in charge of electricity in West Bank, led group of labourers, two days later, in their second attempt to put up pylons. The work was halted when women and children grabbed the workers and refused to let them work. Nasir then left the village to return shortly afterwards with two jeeps of armed Village League members. The leaguers beat-up the women and children.

At this point, Da'oud Mohammad Abd al-Hadi Attawneh, who was passing with his mother, started arguing with the league boss. He reportedly told Nasir that "beating women and children is a manly action." The armed men turned on him and he fled to a nearby house. They closed the door but Mohammad Nasir, with Fayez and Khaled Attawneh, two local Village League members, broke in through the roof.

According to eyewitnesses, Mohammad Nasir shot Daoud Attawneh to death, while his associates broke his mother's arm. The leaguers left the house shooting in all directions, wounding nine people. One of the wounded, Omar Daoud, was taken to Village League HQ in Hebron.

Immediately after the shooting the general prosecutor in Hebron began an investigation. It was halted, however, the same day after Israeli occupation authorities took the files from the Palestinian prosecutor. The military reportedly informed the prosecutor that the shooting was "a military matter."

National institutions in the Hebron area held a meeting June 20, and issued a statement denouncing this attack. On the same day several persons from the village filed a writ with the High Court demanding an investigation of the murder.



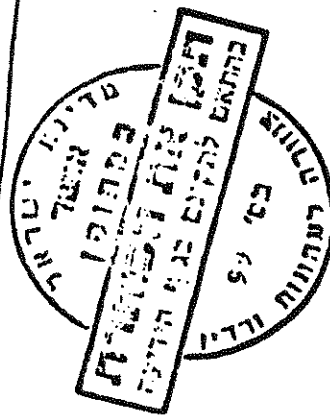
June 23

Protest meeting in Sakhsin

On July 17, about 1000 Palestinians attended a meeting in Sakhsin village, Galilee, organized by the Progressive National Movement and Abna' al-Balad to protest Israeli attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

Speeches made in the meeting, condemned the Israeli invasion and praised the "heroic steadfastness and resistance of the Palestinian freedom fighters." Participants also heard a report about the conditions of the wounded Lebanese and Palestinians who are being treated in Israeli hospitals from Khaled al-Sheikh, an active member in Um al-Fahm Abna' al-Balad movement. He conveyed the greetings of those wounded to the meeting.

The closing speech was delivered by Jubran Charjour, for the Progressive Movement. In his speech Jubran called, on the conference, to organize Palestinian demonstrations and strikes to protest of the "Israeli massacres."



116/8
July 18



Explosions of Israeli ammunition.

Explosions of ammunition in Israeli arms stores in lower Galilee shocked the area north-east of Nazareth, for more than four hours, July 18. Shells scattered over a wide area hitting populated areas causing damage to property and injuring several people in both ~~Israeli~~ ^{+ Jewish +} and settlements and ~~Arab~~ ^{+ Arab +} villages.

Exploding shells, which caused blazes elsewhere in the region, covered the whole area with smoke. People living in the area said it was like being at war.

~~Arab~~ ^{+ Arab +} ~~Palestinian~~ from Atlaboun, Deir Hanna, Tur'an, ~~Mishnd~~ and Kufur Kana, and ~~Arab~~ ^{+ Jewish +} from Tiberia and neighboring settlements thought immediately of the war. "I thought it

was a war between the Syrians and the Israelis," said one Palestinian from Atlaboun.

An Israeli military source said that the ammunition which exploded was captured from the PLO fighters in Lebanon, and had been stockpiled in Nazareth area - they refused to reveal the exact location. During the explosions, the roads surrounding the area in which the stores are located were closed immediately. Large fire-fighting forces and planes were called to extinguish the blazes.

The Jerusalem Post, quoting an unnamed 'military source' ruled out guerrilla activity as the cause of the explosions.

Jordanian TV reported that the whole explosion was caused because the Palestinians had left time-bombs in the arms captured by the Israelis.

116 / 15
7 / 19



UNRWA Report War on Lebanon: its consequences on refugees

To Q 122

Refugee camps have been destroyed: schools, hospitals, offices belonging to UNRWA have been destroyed or hit. US \$39,000,000 is the cost of the programme for emergency aid to refugees. Reconstruction camps will cost many millions of dollars and last for many years. These are the consequences of the war in Lebanon.

UNRWA has begun applying several plans to provide services of health and offering provisions. Olof Hedrick, the UNRWA General Commissioner, ordered 50,000 blankets, 218,000 cans of meat, 30,000 bars of soap to Lebanon as soon as the war started. Some of these materials were sent to Cyprus because of the closure of the Beirut airport.

All UNRWA stores in Lebanon, Damascus, Amman, Gaza and Jerusalem were diverted to Lebanon. Regular refugee rations have been stopped in Jordan and visions of aid started June 13, for 4,000 refugees in South Lebanon and around Beirut. 300 refugees reached Tripoli in Northern Lebanon, but there is no contact between UNRWA offices in Tripoli and Beirut. The UNRWA regional office in Damascus took the responsibility of providing services to Tripoli.

Refugees in South Lebanon and around Beirut. 300 refugees reached Tripoli in northern Lebanon, but there is no contact between UNRWA offices in Tripoli and Beirut. The UNRWA regional office in Damascus took the responsibility of providing services to Tripoli.

15,000 Palestinian refugees in Beirut and the Beqa'a valley received aid June 18, as the number of refugees in Tripoli rose to 610. There are now over 300 refugees in Damascus.

The first caravan of trucks loaded with provisions reached Sidon July 20. It was followed by several convoys. Mobile teams have been formed to distribute rations in the area. The first officials who entered Ain al-Hilweh found that the camp has been completely destroyed. When UNRWA officers in Jerusalem received a license, June 22, to send aid to South Lebanon, a group of three officials set out for Lebanon to estimate destruction and needs.

The group found that UNRWA's office and distribution center in Tyre were seriously damaged. A store, and several vehicles were also destroyed. Two thirds of refugee houses in Rashidya camp were destroyed and UNRWA buildings were also seriously hit. Half of UNRWA refugees' homes were destroyed in al-Bus camp, and one-third of the houses in Dar al Shamali. Ten trucks, loaded with provisions left Jerusalem, July 1 to Lebanon. Another one reached Tyre, July 3, followed by other caravans. Some provisions have been sent on to Sidon as the offices in Beirut cannot ship things to Sidon because UNRWA stores in Beirut are already emptied.

47,000 New Refugees, At Least

UNRWA estimates the number of the new refugees, taking into consideration the number of those who live in UNRWA camps and the number of houses which have been destroyed there, to be 47,000 from Tyre and Sidon, including 12,000 from Damascus. The number of refugees still living in camps is equal to the number living elsewhere.

groves, schools and deserted buildings. Several thousands fled to the Beqa'a, Tripoli and Beirut.

Emergency Programme for Six Months

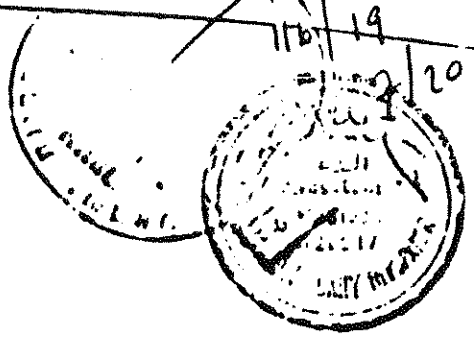
140,000 Palestinian refugees have registered with UNRWA in Lebanon, to date.

UNRWA has called on the world to provide US \$39 million to meet its need for the next six months alone. Another separate appeal is expected to be sent out soon for reconstruction aid.

Series of Disturbances

The latest Israeli invasion is only one ring in the chain of disturbances which have damaged the regular life of refugees during the last eight years. In 1971, Nabatya camp was destroyed and thousands of refugees in South Lebanon fled to the north, following Israeli bombardments from sea and land.

During the civil war of 1975-76, two camps near Beirut, Jisr al-Basha and Dukwanch/Fel az-Zaatar were destroyed, and several thousands of refugees fled to the south. They are now outcasts again after this war. 70,000 registered refugees fled north following the Israeli invasion to South Lebanon. During the last three years, almost constant clashes between armed groups and factions in Beirut, Sidon and Tripoli, as well as Israeli bombardment have affected the refugees. When UNRWA started offering its services in 1950, the number of registered refugees in Lebanon was 100,000. They fled in 1948 from north and coastal regions of Palestine. The number of refugees in Lebanon now is 247,000, half of them living in thirteen camps. This was before the onset of the current Israeli invasion.



July 19

The ceasefire sags on with more violations reported today. Several bouts of fire were reported around the southern areas of Beirut, near the international airport. Foreign reporters on the spot reported both sides used artillery fire with Israeli adding its tank fire to the fray. There were also some reports of light arms exchanges.

In the Beq'a Valley, both the Syrians and Israelis reinforced their entrenched forces. Reporters on the spot said the number of troops moving forward threatens an imminent showdown. A new flare up could be provoked by any one of the light arms clashes which were sporadic again today.

An Israeli military spokesman said that an Israeli patrol discovered three land mines in a dirt road near the village of Jib Jaun in the Beq'a. The spokesman claimed that the mines were dismantled without any casualties. An Israeli officer told a reporter of *The Jerusalem Post* that PLO commandos are conducting daily raids against Israeli lines.

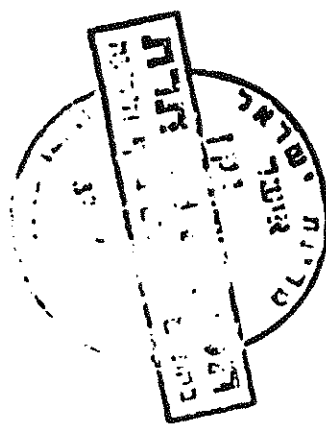
Diplomacy

The major news of the day was a Damascus announcement by President Hafez al-Assad that Syria will not withdraw its troops from Lebanon before Israel leaves the country.

In Beirut, chairman of the PLO executive committee Yasar Arafat, told a German TV reporter that the only solution to the Beirut crisis is recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. In the Knesset, Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, told MKs that "one way or another the PLO must depart Beirut," and from Tel Aviv, the Israeli premier sent a letter to the US President concerning the failure of US Special Envoy Habib's mission, to arrange a settlement of problems caused by Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Begin also pointed out that no progress was achieved on the issue of "Palestinian departure from Beirut," and that actually the talks have been suffering from continuous setbacks.

(2)

In Sidon, there were a series of demonstrations against Israeli occupation. Israeli papers reported that dozens of women and children marched in the streets demanding the release of male relatives from Israeli jails and denouncing the Israeli occupation. One Israeli Border Patrolman was beaten up by the women and children before soldiers used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.



116/22
7/20



Palestinians' opinions

West Bank mayors, newspaper editors, activists and Palestinian residents of the occupied territories in general had strong reactions to the term "Arabs of Eretz Israel," a new phrase used by Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, Aug. 21, to designate the Palestinians of the occupied territories. It is believed that this name indicates a total denial of Palestinian identity and right of self-determination.

"This is not a new Israeli policy," Ibrahim Tawil, mayor of al-Bireh and the first to be deported, told *Al Fajr*.

Palestinians of the occupied territories believe that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative for the 4.5 million Palestinians in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the world over.

"The term 'Arabs of Eretz Israel' reveals the intention of the Israeli government to annex the West Bank and to uproot our people from their land by wiping out their culture, political objectives and economic status," said Bassem Shaka'a of Nablus, the second mayor to be targeted along with Ramallah's mayor Isam Khudaf, last March.

"General Sharon and Israeli government officials have many illusions in their minds. They imagined they were able to destroy the PLO's military infrastructure and to put an end to the Palestinian cause," Akram Haniyeh, editor-in-chief of *Al Sunna* newspaper, told *Al Fajr*.

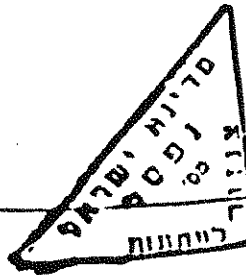
"Despite the PLO withdrawal from national-level issues, PLO fighters gained a great military victory," according to Samirha Khalil, head of Ibad al-Uzza (Family Preservation Society), "They have already achieved great advances in all directions," Um Khalil added.

mean and that Palestinians and Lebanese progressives will continue fighting the latest Israeli occupation. However, some Palestinians are ambivalent about Syria's attitude towards the Palestinian cause in the future.

"US imperialism will attempt to pressure Syria in all aspects -- militarily, politically, diplomatically and even economically -- aiming at annexing Syria to the 'settlement train.' Therefore Syria has to choose between surrender or opposing American policy in Middle East," Akram Haniyeh commented.

In their political discussions, West Bank Palestinians speak in terms of an Israeli defeat and PLO victory in Lebanon. They mock the fact that the Israeli army is equipped with the most sophisticated US weaponry and that it is the fourth-ranked army in the world. "But still it cannot defeat or liquidate a few thousands PLO fighters in Lebanon. The Palestinian cause has imbedded itself in the international conscience and the political international theatre," Haniyeh told *Al Fajr*. "Despite this, the US attitude will not be changed because of the nature of US imperialist policy in the Middle East and the collaborationist attitude of the Arab regimes. We do not expect anything new from the United States," Akram Haniyeh said in criticism of US policy.

"The Palestinians, PLO fighters and its organizations and associations will have a difficult time in the future, but all PLO experiences in the past and the nature of the war in Lebanon have proved that the PLO is the perfect leadership for our people. Ultimately, inevitably, it will gain its just objectives," Bassem Shaka'a continued.



121/13
Aug 24

123/26

Kidnapping or Arrest

SHORT

A seven-year-old child and his mother were forcibly abducted from an al-Birch street by Israeli civilians after stone-throwing incidents September 7.

Eyewitnesses said that civilians, possibly from nearby Jewish settlements, forcibly took Ahmad Ibrahim Gholi, 7, from the Sharafeh area in al-Birch after their car was stoned. Ahmad's mother who ran to the settlers to plead with them not to take her son was also put into the car. Family members called *Al Fajr* newspaper requesting help in locating the two. The Hamallah and al-Birch police told *Al Fajr* that about three hours after their abduction, at 4:15 pm, the settlers brought the mother and child to the police station. Police officers brought them home without questioning.

Israeli settlers, under a vigilante provision in military regulations governing settlements, have the right to arrest any resident for 24 hours.

123/26
9/7



3

Arar
In Arar village, in the Triangle, the local parents committees called a strike in its two schools, September 1, after the ministry of education reneged on its promise of rehabilitating the two schools and building toilet facilities.

2

In the Galilee village of Arrabeh, several teachers were forced to conduct classes outside for two days until the school administration could organize a place for them. "The conditions of the schools in Arrabeh are tragic in the full sense of the word," said Abdel Raouf, a member of the Arrabeh local council.

There are 3000 elementary school students in Arrabeh and only one high school which enrolls 600 students. Since the local council has not received funds to build a new elementary school, it has opened a make-shift school whose 25 rooms are scattered in different parts of the village. Libraries, play yards and assembly halls are non-existent.

Nazareth schools face a shortage of 200 rooms, Umm al-Fahm, 75, Kufr Yasif, 11 'Arara, 9, Taybeh, 18, Tamra 17, Be'na 12 . . . and the list goes on.

According to Nazareth

ARAB
Palestinian schools in crisis every year

1
About 200,000 Palestinian students in Israel were not off to a new start as they began the current scholastic year.

A shortage of schoolrooms and the poor conditions of a large part of the existing schools have been major problems in the education system for Palestinian for the last 34 years. The Israeli ministry of education admitted last year that 3000 classrooms were required in the 'Arab sector.' But Palestinian local councils put the figure at 5000 rooms.

2
In early 1982 several schools declared strikes and others were forced to teach outside under trees because of the shortage in facilities. The problem was 'remedied' by simply raising the number of students per class to 35-42.

3
In Zafefeh village, about 160 pupils still study under the trees. They do not fit in the single eight-room elementary school and eleven rented rooms which are totally unsuited for study.



123/32

7/8

A Palestinian youth shot and killed by Israeli.

Armed Israeli civilians and soldiers shot and killed an 18-year-old Palestinian youth from Nur Shamsa refugee camp near Tulkarm September 6. The incident occurred during a search for suspected Israeli travelers from an armed bus were conducting in the area for suspects who apparently fired a gun at the passing bus.

Najeh Mustafa Abu Shalhi and three friends were herding sheep half a kilometre east of the camp when they were surprised by a group of Israeli bearing automatic weapons. The Israeli ordered the youths to "freeze" and take their hands. Three of the youths did so, but Najeh began to run away. The armed Israeli shot at him, and killed him instantly. Israeli soldiers stationed to the area immediately imposed a curfew on the villages of Bal'a and Khatib.

The Israeli transported the three youths to Tulkarm military compound, where they were interrogated and released. Soldiers took the body of the dead youth for military autopsy.

Later an official Israeli announcement said that a bus passed near the camp and was fired upon by unknown people. According to the announcement, passengers reportedly shot at one youth, and killed him on suspicion of being at the bus.

Camp residents insist that the youth was not warned before he was shot, and that he ran away out of fear of the armed men. Contrary to a report in *The Jerusalem Post*, residents insisted that the youth was not one of a group who attacked the bus, but that he was merely herding his sheep.

123/24
9/7



Nasr: "Concerning the US role in the region, it is cause for despair because of the lack of justice in finding a solution to the Palestinian cause. What concerns the United States is to maintain Jewish votes. We estimate that 30 American pilots participated in bombarding west Beirut. They made flights from CA-16 wearing Israeli military uniforms."

Hanly: "The US attitude began to gradually change concerning the Palestinian cause. The American media played a great role in this issue. They reported the violence and the brutality of Israeli bombardments on west Beirut and the material and human losses caused by Israeli air raids. Americans got into the habit of watching television as the destruction in Beirut."

"The replacement of Alexander Haig as Secretary of State is perhaps an additional factor for change in US policy."

By the end of the meeting Nasr confirmed to the British Consul General that the PLO will remain the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. "We will never surrender to the Israelis put up or us to accept the scheme of civil administration. The Palestinians will continue in struggle to establish their own independent state and to achieve their right for self-determination. We are now tied strongly to the PLO after the heroic battles that PLO fighters waged against the Israeli invaders."



Nasr: "What is the role of Britain in finding a solution to the Palestinian cause? What is its attitude concerning the dissolution of West Bank's municipalities and appointing collaborators and Israelis as mayors to replace the deposed ones?"

Hanly: "Britain's role concerning the Palestinian cause is very clear. Britain, along with the EEC countries in Venice, demanded a just solution to the Palestinian cause and affirmed the Palestinians' right of self-determination. In addition Britain opened an office for the PLO in London."

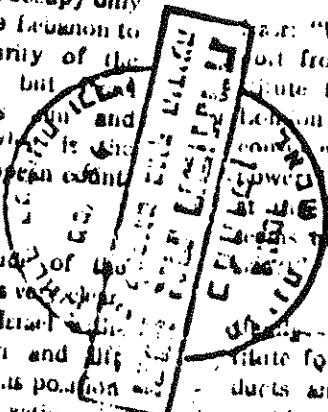
"Concerning the mayors of the West Bank, we are still regarding them as the authentic elected mayors representing their towns. My visit is real evidence of this."

Nasr: "What is Britain's attitude concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state in the region?"

Hanly: "Britain supports this demand for the sake of carrying out Palestinian self-determination."

Nasr: "Since the beginning of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the Israeli government declared that the Israeli army will occupy only 10 kilometres inside Lebanon to guarantee the security of the Golan Heights, but went beyond this and besieged Beirut. What is the attitude of the European countries?"

Hanly: "The attitude of the European countries is very clear. They demand that Israel withdraw from Lebanon and lift the siege from Beirut. This position was shown by their actions in the UN Security Council. Denmark's representative in EEC recently declared the same attitude."



Haj Amin Nasr Interviewing

Qalqilya Mayor Haj Amin Nasr received the British Consul General of Jerusalem, Ronald Hanly, at his home Aug. 18.

During the meeting Nasr discussed the restrictions imposed by the Israeli authorities on the elected municipal council which prevented it from carrying out development projects during the six years prior to the council's dismissal July 20.

Haj Amin Nasr also spoke about restrictions imposed by the Israeli authorities on his movements. Mayor Nasr explained to Hanly the conditions of his six-month town arrest imposed July 20 which include a daily sign-in at the Qalqilya police station. Nasr also explained to Hanly that Qalqilya residents are behind the elected municipal council 100 percent and reject the committee appointed by the military authorities to run the municipality's affairs.

Mayor Nasr also took the opportunity to ask Council Hanly some pointed questions:

Nasr: "What was behind the report from the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London in which Israel was condemned and the fourth intifada was predicted as the next step in the world, especially at this juncture so that Israel's lies are even bigger than its real actions?"

Hanly: "The International Institute for Strategic Studies conducts an annual evaluation of world armaments. The announcement of the report only coincidentally coincided with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon."

12/22
Aug 25

צבא הגנה לישראל

תקנות ההגנה (שעת חירום), 1945

צו בדבר איסור פעילות ותעמולה עויינת (יהודה והשומרון)
(מס' 101) תשכ"ז-1967

צו בדבר פרסומים אסורים

בתוקף סמכותי לפי תקנה 88(1) לתקנות ההגנה (שעת חירום) 1945
וסעיף 8 לצו בדבר איסור פעילות ותעמולה עויינת (יהודה והשומרון)
(מס' 101) תשכ"ז-1967 והואיל ואני סבור כי הדבר דרוש לצורך בטחון
האזור והסדר הציבורי, אני מצווה כזה לאמור:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| פרסומים אסורים | 1. אסורים כזה יבואם, הדפסתם או פרסומם של הפרסומים המפורטים בתוספת לצו זה. |
| תחילת תוקף | 2. תחילתו של צו זה כיום ה' בטבת תשל"ז (26 בדצמבר 1976). |
| כיטול | 3. כל הצווים בדבר פרסומים אסורים שקדמו לצו זה - בטלים כזה. |
| השם | 4. צו זה ייקרא "צו בדבר פרסומים אסורים (יהודה והשומרון) תשל"ז-1977". |

כ"ח בטבת תשל"ז (18 בינואר 1977)

יהושע בר דוד
ה צ נ ו ר

- | |
|--|
| 1. פורסם בקמ"מ מס' 6, עמ' 227. |
| תוקן בצו מס' 718, קמ"מ מס' 41, תשל"ז, עמ' 142. |

תוספת

(שמות הפרסומים יבואו בנוסח שבערכית כלכד)

حيث الدفاع الاسرائيلي

انظمة الدفاع (حاله الطوارئ) ١٩٤٥

امر بشأن حظر اعمال الدعاية المعادية (رقم ١٠١) لسنة ٥٧٢٧ - ١٩٦٧
(يهودا والسامرة)

امر بشأن المطبوعات المحظورة

استنادا الى الصلاحيه المحوله لي بموجب المادة ٨٨ (١) من انظمة
الدفاع (حاله الطوارئ) ١٩٤٥ والمادة ٨ من الامر بشأن حظر اعمال
الدعاية المعادية (يهودا والسامرة) (رقم ١٠١) / لسنة ٥٧٢٧ - ١٩٦٧ .
وبما اني اعتقد بان الامر لازم لانعراض الامن والنظام العام في
المصطفه اصدر الامر التالي :-

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| ١ . يحظر بهذا استيراد او طبع او نشر المطبوعات المفصلة في الدليل
لهذا الامر . | مطبوعات
محظورة |
| ٢ . يسرى مفعول هذا الامر اعسارا من ٥ طيب ٥٧٢٧ (٢٦ كانون تاسي
١٩٧٦) . | بشأن
سريان |
| ٣ . يلغى بهذا كافة الاوامر بشأن المطبوعات المحظورة التي صدرت قبل
هذا الامر . | الفا |
| ٤ . يطلق على هذا الامر اسم "امر بشأن المطبوعات المحظورة (يهودا
والسامرة) لسنة ٥٧٢٧ - ١٩٧٧" . | الاسم |
- ٢٨ طيب ٥٧٢٧ (١٨ كانون الثاني ١٩٧٧)

يهوشع بردافيد
المراقب

١ . نظري م . م . ا . ت . العدد ٦ ، ص ٢٢٧ .
وعدل في الامر رقم ٧١٨ ، م . م . ا . ت . العدد ٤١ ، ١٩٧٧ ، ص ١٤٢ .

الدليل

(نورد فيما يلي اسماء المطبوعات باللغة العربية فقط)

اسم الكتاب	اسم المؤلف	دار النشر
وحركة المقاومة البيف وقصبة فلسطين - الجزء الثاني ١٩٤٩ - ١٩٦٤	غير مذكور	بيروت - دار الطليعة
البيف وقصبة فلسطين الجزء الرابع ١٩٥٩ - ١٩٦٤	غير مذكور	بيروت - دار الطليعة
في السياسة العربية	مسيل علقى	بيروت - دار الطليعة
في سبل الشعب	مسيل علقى	بيروت - دار الطليعة
عظمة البدايه - احاديث بعد الخامس من حزيران	مسيل علقى	بيروت - المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر
البيف والوحده	مسيل علقى	بيروت - المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر
في التنظيم والبريه الحرية	حرب البف العربي الاسراكي	بيروت - دار الطليعة للطباعة والنشر
العرب واليهود بن التاريخ	الدكتور احمد سوده	دمشق - العربي للاعلان والطباعة والنشر
الوحده العربية آتت من الليل الى السحر	اربولد بوسى، ترجمه عمر الدراوى ابو حجله (١٩٦٨)	بيروت - دار الاداب (نيسان)
احزان حزيران سلاح الحو الاسرائيلي	سلطان فاض رياض الاسفر	بيروت - دار الاداب بيروت - المؤسسة العربية للدراسات القطنبيه
الخطر والعقده والمقابل - العدد الاول - فبراير ١٩٧٠	مدير اداره التوجيه المصوى للقوات الصلحه	اداره التوجيه المعنوى للقوات الصلحه
مسير الطائرات العدد السابع ديسمبر ١٩٧٠ The Water problem in Israel and its repercussions on the Arab Israeli conflict	احمد علي ابراهيم Subhi Kahhieh	اداره التوجيه المعنوى للقوات الصلحه Beirut - Institute for Palestine Studies
الاستعمارات الاستطاعه الاسرائيليه في الاراضي المحتله ١٩٦٧ - ١٩٨٠	وليد الحمفري	بيروت - المؤسسة العربية القطنبيه
ارمه الدبلوماسية العربية من المدحه الى ساحه الدعوه	عبد الرحمن ابو عرفة الدكتور بطرس بطرس عالي	عمان - دار الجليل للنشر، الطبعة الاولى، ١٩٨١ مصر - دار الكتاب الجديد الاسكدرية - دار الدعوه

اسم الكتاب	اسم المؤلف	دار النشر
خط النضال والفعال وخط التسوية والصفاة	ناجي علوس	بيروت - دار الطليعة الطبقة الاولى ١٩٧٦
ادب المقاومة	غسان كنفاني	بيروت - منشورات دار الاداب
فناء البحرين	سمير جبور وآخرون	بيروت - مؤسسة الدراسات
الموسم والميت		
المشروع الاسرائيلي واحطاره		بيروت - مؤسسة الدراسات الفلسطينية الطبقة الاولى ١٩٨١

اصافه رقم (٥٤)

من التاريخ ١٥ آب ٥٧٤٢ (٤ آب ١٩٨٢)

طور الابدولوجة العربية الثورية (الفكر القومي)	الدكتور الباس فرح	بيروت - المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والسر
مقارفة الادبان والاستران	الدكتور احمد تليبي	مصر - معهد الدراسات الاسلامية
وجع في قلب اسرائيل	انيس منصور	مصر - المكتب المصري الحديث
الفلسطينيات - الجزء الرابع	سليمان طاهر	صيدا - بيروت - المكتبة المصرية
افغانستان النورة	حنا صالح	بيروت - دار الفارابي
مقاتن الصحراء	سكيب الاموي	مصر - دار الفكر العربي
هاغاناه، اسئل ليجي والعلاقات بين التنظيمات الصهيونية المسلحة	عبد الحميد محارب	منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية - مركز الابحاث
١٩٢٧ - ١٩٤٨		
تاريخ العرب الحديث	الدكتور راهية قدوره	بيروت - دار النهضة العربية - ١٩٧٥
الاستراتيجية الاسرائيلية	اسامه العزالى حرب	الفاهره - الاهرام ، مركز الدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية
والمقاومة في الارض المحتلة	الدكتور السيد عليوه	الفاهره - الاهرام ، مركز الدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية
فرار الحرب في السياسة الاسرائيلية	ناجي علوس	غير مذكور
حول الحرب الاهلية في لبنان سلطة النفاة النعبه	ناجي علوس	بيروت - دار الطليعة
نحو نورة فلسطينية جديدة	محرى صالح	بيروت - دار العودة
القصة الفلسطينية العصريه		
في الاراضي المحتلة		
الولايات المتحدة	الدكتور محمد شديد	بيروت - المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والسر
والفلسطينيون بين الاستيعاب والنصفية		

PART TWO

BOOK CENSORSHIP

The authority to censor books and other publications is based on article 88(1) of the Mandatory Defense Regulations (1945) and Military Order (West Bank) 101 (1967) as amended by order 718. Order 101 as amended is quoted below in full, because it describes the severe restrictions on freedom of expression in the Territories:

Military Order No. 101

(as amended by Order No. 718)

Concerning the Prohibition of Incitement
and Adverse Propaganda

Whereas I believe this proclamation is necessary for the Security of the area and for the maintenance of peace and order, I hereby make the following order:

1. Definitions:

In this order:

"Area shall mean the West Bank.

"Meeting" - a congregation of ten people or more in a place where speech is heard on a political subject or on a subject which can be explained as a political subject or who are gathered for the purpose of deliberating on such a subject.

"Police force" see definition in Order No. 52 on the police forces working in cooperation with the Israel Defense Forces.

"Printing includes carving stone, typing on a typewriter, copy-

ing photographing or any other manner of representation of communicating expressions numbers, symbols, pictures, maps, paintings, decorations or any other similar material.

"Newspaper," any publication which contains news, information, sequence of events or any observations, deliberations, journalistic reporting or clarifications of news, or information, or of the sequence of events or of any other matter of interest to the public which has been printed in any language and published in Israel or outside for sale or distribution free of charge at fixed or unfixed times.

Publication includes newspaper, scroll, series or book, and any other document which has been published or is prepared for publication even if only once, and the document shall be presumed prepared for publication unless the contrary is proven.

Publishing includes broadcasting, distributing, handing over, announcing, supplying or submitting to any person whatsoever.

"A march," is a march or ten or more people together; or the assembling for the purpose of marching together from one place to another for a political purpose or for a matter which can be interpreted as a political matter whether or not they were in fact walking and whether or not they had congregated.

Every expression appearing in this order which has been defined in the order concerning security regulations has the same meaning that it has there unless expressly stated otherwise.

2. The military commander may authorize any soldier or policeman to exercise his rights in accordance with this order.

3. It is not permitted to carry out any march or convene a meeting except with a permit issued by a military commander.

4. The military commander may order the owner of any cafe, club or place of public meeting to close that cafe, club or place of public meeting. If such an order is given, then any one who is found in the closed place is considered to have contravened this order.

5. It is forbidden to raise, exhibit or attach any flags or political emblems except after obtaining a license issued by the military commander.

6. It is forbidden to print and publish in the area any publication, advertisement, proclamation, picture or any other document which contains any article with a political significance except after obtaining beforehand a license from the military commander in the area where the printing or the publication is to be carried out.

7. Any person who

(a) tries whether verbally or in any other manner to influence the public opinion in the area in a manner which might endanger public security or order, or,

(b) carries out any action with the intention of carrying out or of facilitating the carrying out of

any action mentioned above shall be charged with committing an offense contrary to the provisions of this order.

8. The military commander and anyone appointed by me shall have the powers of "inspector" in accordance with the Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945.

9. Without derogating from the powers given to soldiers by virtue of the order concerning security, every soldier shall have the power to use the necessary force to execute any order issued by virtue of this order or to prevent the commission of any offense which is contrary to this order.

10. (a) Anyone who organizes a march or a meeting with a license or who call for or instigates them or encourages them or participates in them in any manner whatsoever, or

(b) Anyone who contravenes the provisions of this order or any judgment made by virtue of it or who undertakes any action which it is stated in an order is an offense, shall be punished with ten years of imprisonment or by a fine of 10,000 Israeli Liras or by both punishments.

11. This order shall commence from the 27th of August, 1967.

12. This order shall be called the order concerning the prevention of acts of instigation and adverse propaganda (For the area of the West Bank) No. 101 for the year 1967.

Aluf Ozi Narkis
Military Commander of the West Bank
August 27, 1967

In October 1981, Order 938 amended Order 101 and added the following article:

Support for Hostile Organization

7 (A).

1. Publishes verbally or in writing words of approval or support for a hostile organization, its activities or goals; or
2. Carries out an activity that tends to reveal or indicate solidarity with a hostile organization or its activities or raising its flag or emblems and slogans, or making heard a national anthem or symbol as mentioned hereinabove, all of this in a public place or in a condition whereby people gathered in a public place can see or hear such action as being an action of support, or solidarity, shall be in violation of this law.

(B) In this article, "hostile organization," as defined in the Order Prohibiting Training or Contacts with an Enemy Organization outside the Area (Judea and Samaria) No. 284 for the year 1968, or an illegal union as defined in Article 84(2) of the Defense Regulations (Emergency) for the year 1945.

By virtue of article 8 of Order 101, the Military Governor has appointed an "inspector," (officially called "censor") to issue "orders" concerning Prohibited Publications." In the West Bank, the titles appear only in the Arabic; in Gaza, a

Hebrew translation is included. Sixty orders, including more than 1,600 titles, have been published. The latest (order or "amendment," No. 60) was published in March 1983.

Until September 1982, there was no master list of censored books and military government officials issued lists of titles in which permitted and banned books were jumbled together. That list came to the attention of journalists, including Anthony Lewis of the New York Times, who published the fact that books like George Orwell's 1984 are prohibited in the West Bank. As a result, the embarrassed censor cancelled all orders issued prior to January 1977 and issued a corrected master list in September 1982. That list, containing 1,002 titles, serves as the source of the present study. Although some 600 titles have been banned since, we decided to rely on a printed, proof-read list, rather than on the mimeographed, error-ridden lists that have appeared since the publication of volume 50 of the "Corpus of Military Orders (West Bank)" (Tel Aviv, 1982) which contains the amended 1967-77 list of banned books. (See attached photocopies.)

A similar (though not identical) list of censored books exists for the Gaza Strip. The present survey deals only with the West Bank banned books.

Any bookseller or institution that wishes to import to the West Bank any publication must submit a request that includes the title. The material submitted to the staff officer in the Military Government is forwarded to the censor's office for inspection and decision. Most titles are approved. According to

Military Government sources, 4,624 Arabic titles were imported in 1977; 8,055 in 1980; and 21,342 in 1981. The phenomenal increase between 1980-1981 results from the opening of the border with Egypt. Compared with such a volume of imported publications, a list of 1,500-2,000 banned titles seems insignificant. However, the quantitative approach cannot measure the significance of censorship. It may be that only 3-4% of imported titles are censored, but the titles censored represent 100% of all works that express, instill, or foster Palestinian-Arab national feelings and national heritage. For a politicized community like the Palestinian community in the occupied Territories, this evokes an intense response.

This analysis of censored publications takes a qualitative approach. Our case study focuses not on what the Palestinian community is allowed to read, but rather what -- in the opinion of the censor -- constitutes a threat to public order, and to the security of Israel. From the banned books one can reconstruct the censor's world-view, and perhaps also the value system of the political milieu in which he operates. The survey is based solely on the lists of banned books, and no attempt has been made to interview censors or ask for explanations. It is an ex post facto study, to understand motivation through actual actions, rather than through expressed intentions.

1. The classification of books by subject, Table 1, was done by titles as they appear in the censorship list. The subjects of 12 books were unclear from the titles, therefore they

are classified as miscellaneous. Fifty-six books are school testbooks (5.6%). These titles were subtracted and the following analysis is based on 946 books.

TABLE 1: Censored Books by Subject

Subject	Number of Books	%
1. Fiction, Poetry	256	25.5
2. Religion, Islam, Christianity	93	9.3
3. Literary, Cultural Research	81	8.0
4. Military, Historical Research	73	7.3
5. Political Studies	75	7.5
6. Israel, Judaism, Jews	56	5.6
7. Textbook	56	5.6
8. Israeli-Arab Conflict	57	5.7
9. Arab Nationalism	44	4.4
10. Translations	35	3.5
11. Palestinian Nationalism	35	3.5
12. Zionism	35	3.5
13. Terrorist Organization	35	3.5
14. Sociological-Ethnic Studies	25	2.5
15. Psychology, Education	21	2.1
16. Miscellaneous	12	1.2
17. Superpowers - Arab States	9	0.9
18. Translations from Hebrew	<u>4</u>	<u>0.4</u>
TOTAL	1,002	100.0

Source: Master List, 1982

2. The censorship list is classified also according to publishers. Sixty-three books appear without mention of a publisher. Of the remaining 883, 267 publishers appear with one title (78.3%) and 74 publishers (21.7%) appear with two books or more. Total number of publishers - 341.

Table 2 shows the distribution of censored book by publisher (more than four books).

TABLE 2: Censored Books by Publisher (More than 4 titles)

Publisher	No. of titles	% of Total Book (946)
1. Beirut: Center for Palestine Studies (PLO)	89	9.4
2. Cairo: Bayt al Ma'aref	35	3.7
3. Beirut: Dar al Anda	34	3.7
4. Beirut: A Tali'a	31	3.3
5. Beirut: Al Adab	26	2.7
6. Beirut: The Arab Institute for Research and Publications	23	2.4
7. Beirut: Ibn Khaldun	21	2.2
8. Cairo: Al Ansar	20	2.1
9. Beirut: Bayt al Ktab al Arabi	16	1.7
10. Beirut: Masassat al Risalah	15	1.6
11. Cairo: Al A'atsam	14	1.5
12. Cairo: Bayt al Mashruk	13	1.4
13. Cairo: The Egyptian General Council	12	1.3
14. Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Library	10	1.1

TABLE 2: Cont.

Publisher	No. of titles	% of Total Book (946)
15. Beirut: Kabani	9	0.95
16. Beirut: Science for Millions	9	0.95
17. Fisastin a Thaura	8	0.85
18. Beirut: Al Afarabi	8	0.85
19. Beirut, Sidon: Modern Library	8	0.85
20. Cairo: National House	8	0.85
21. Amman: Cooperative Printing Workers	7	0.75
22. Beirut: Dar al Jill	7	0.75
23. Beirut: Dar al Masirah	7	0.75
24. Beirut: Dar al Banan	7	0.75
25. Beirut: Al A'dria	7	0.75
26. Beirut: al Sharuk	6	0.63
27. Beirut: Dar Al Fakher	6	0.63
28. Beirut: Dar al Audah	6	0.63
29. Cairo: al Hillal	6	0.63
30. Beirut: Arab Institute for Research & Studies	5	0.53
31. Cairo: Bayt al-Nahdah al Arabiyya	5	0.53
32. Beirut: Dar al Nufaas	5	0.53
33. Beirut: House of Books	5	0.53
34. Dar Ibn Rashad	6	0.63
35. Beirut: New Horizons	5	0.53
36. Moscow: Dar al Taqqudum	4	0.4

TABLE 2: Cont.

Publisher	No. of titles	% of Total Book (946)
37. Beirut: House of Literature	4	0.4
38. Beirut: Al Ma'aref	4	0.4
39. Cairo: Blue Library	4	0.4
40. Cairo: Cairo House	4	0.4
41. Beirut: Al-Quds	4	0.4
42. Beirut: Dar al Nurs	4	0.4

From the classification of books by publisher, it appears that a publishing house provides a censor with an indication of the contents of a book without requiring him to read it. The disproportionate number of books published by the PLO Research Center and a Communist publishing house (A Tali'a) are examples. However, this disproportion may merely reflect the fact that nationalist-radical publishing houses tend to publish titles that the censor considers objectionable.

The distribution of subjects by major publishers is, in that respect, illuminating.

TABLE 3: Distribution of Subjects by Major Publisher

Subject	PLO Center Dar	Ma'aref (Cairo)	al Al Anda (Beirut)	Al Tali'a (Beirut)	Al Adab (Beirut)	Arab Insti- tute (Beir)	Ibn Khaldun (Beirut)	Al-Ansar (Cairo)
Total	89	35	34	31	26	23	21	20
Fiction								
Poetry	11	8	21	6	18	5	8	1
Literary Research	3	2	6	3	2	1		1
Military Historical	6	2	1	2	1	2	1	1
Political	7	2	1	6	-	3	4	-
Israel Judaism	15	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
Israeli-Arab Conflict	16	5	-	4	2	-	2	1
Arab National Palestinians	6	4	1	3	2	1	2	2
Translations	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
Zionism	6	4	1	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorism	2	2	1	4	-	-	-	-
Sociology	5	2	-	2	-	-	2	-
Education	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arab States	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hebrew	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Islam								
Christianity	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	11

Table 4: Distribution of Titles by Major Authors

Author	Fiction Poetry	Literary Research	Military Historical	Political	Israel Judaism	Israeli/Arab Conflict	Arab Nationalism Palestinians	Translations	Zionism	Terror	Sociology	Education	Arab States	Hebrew	Islam/ Christianity	Total
Anwar Al Jundi	1	1				2	2								15	21
Chassan Kanafani	9	3							2							12
Nazar Qabani	10		1			1										14
Samikh al Kassam	9															9
Mahmud Darwish	7															7
Najib-al Kilany	3					1										6
Yuseef Sibai	6															6
Najji Alush	2		1			1			2							6
Izz-adin-al Mansara	5									1						6
Ihsan Abd al Qabus	5															6
Kadri Kaalaji			1													6
Soger Taimal											1					5
Ahmed Sidqi-al Dajani	1														3	5
Muhamad Atiyya al Barashi	2	1							1							5

3. The classification by authors shows that 653 authors were censored. 568 authors appear only once (87%). Eighty-five authors appear more than once (two or more titles), with a total of 301 books. Seventy-seven titles appear without authors' name. Twenty-six authors appear more than four times and represent 4% of total authors. Their work (161 books) represents 20% of all censored books. The distribution of authors (more than five books) by subject is shown in Table 4.

The high percentage of fiction and poetry works censored (25.6%), and the high number of poets and novelists censored, point to the importance the censor attaches to that type of literature. This is not surprising, since poetry is traditionally a means of expressing national feelings. That sort of nationalistic literature is apparently more objectionable to the censor than political books because of its greater influence on the West Bank readers.

4. The Sample

The sample was chosen in the following way:

1. Fiction and poetry: Titles were divided into two groups:

(a) works of authors that appear more than twice on the censor's list.

(b) all the rest.

From the first group, a sample was taken by author: Authors with more than 6 works -- two books and two reserve; authors of between five and two works -- one book and

one reserve.

From the second group -- by random choice of books* -- 21 books and 21 reserve.

2. Islam and Christianity: Out of 93 titles, 20 titles plus six reserve, chosen at random.*

3. Literary and cultural research: Out of 81 titles, 16 titles plus 4 reserve, chosen at random.*

4. Military and Historical research: Out of 73 titles, 15 titles and four reserve.*

5. Political studies: Out of 75 titles, 15 titles plus four reserve.*

6. Israel and Judaism: Out of 56 titles, 12 titles plus four reserve.*

7. Palestinian Nationalism and Zionism: Out of 35 titles in each subject seven titles and two reserve (in each subject).*

8. Translations: Titles were unavailable in Israeli public libraries and therefore not read. Translations of titles seem sufficient to establish the books' contents. Almost all translations are of anti-Israeli or anti-semitic works.

List of Titles Translated from European Languages

- 1) Israel Should be Eliminated
- 2) The Secret Government in Britain
- 3) The Jewish Threat

* Numbers drawn from a hat.

- 4) Zionism, Its Origin and Its Social Influence
- 5) Fabian Action
- 6) Arab Boycott and International Law
- 7) Jewish Designs on World Nations
- 8) Jews in the History of Culture
- 9) The Problem of Arab Refugees
- 10) The Secret of Government Revealed
- 11) Afghanistani Literature
- 12) The Naked Peace
- 13) Arab Unity from the Nile to Nigeria
- 14) The New Imperialism in Africa in the 1970's
- 15) Palestine in the Light of the Truth and Justice
- 16) Israeli Espionage and the Six-Day War
- 17) The Jew of Malta (Christopher Marlow)
- 18) The Fifth Column from Zion

5. Reviewing

Three expert readers were chosen: two Israelis and one Druze. All three are fluent in Arabic. One Israeli has an M.A. degree in Arab Literature. The Druze reader is a lawyer and an Arab poet. The books were allocated at random, so that each reader reviewed titles in all subjects. Time allocated for reading was set at one hour per title. The time limit corresponds to the reported average time actually spent by the censor in inspecting a book.

The reviewers were asked to write the review, and guess why, in their opinion, the book had been censored.

Translated reviews, organized by subject appear below.

6. Debriefing

When the reviewing stage was concluded, a debriefing session was held. The impressions of the reviewers are the following:

A. The censor is systematic, consistent and knowledgeable. Although he may censor titles because of a single sentence, one can understand his concerns which are not arbitrary. A sentence, "from the Golan Heights I look at the green valley and see my father's home," included in a three volume work is sufficient to ban the whole work.

An encyclopedia that included one anti-semitic item (The Protocols of the Elders of Zion) is banned.

B. Subjects which include in the title: Nasserism, Zionism and Palestine are automatically censored; titles connecting Zionism with imperialism and/or Communism are banned.

Translations from foreign languages which include in their Arabic introduction one objectionable sentence are completely censored.

C. The censor bans every subject which deals with Arab partisan perceptions of controversial issues, even if the work is a serious study in geography, history (including Arab history), Judaism.

D. The censor automatically bans books that depict Israel as a product of imperialism; that deny the right of Israel to exist; that deny the sanctity of the Bible; question

Jewish morality; describe Israel's weakness in wars or the Israeli Army as cruel; describe Israel from a marxist point of view; state that there is a chance Israel will be destroyed; that include fundamentalist Islamic rejection of Western ideologies; that glorify Arab leaders who fought Israel.

E. Anti-semitic references, such as Jewish stereotypes: long nose, bad teeth, greediness, etc., are banned even if they appear in a single sentence.

F. Poetry and fiction connected even indirectly and symbolically with Palestine is banned. Themes like longing for one's home, landscapes of youth, grief over loss of a dear one in battle, bitterness about betrayals. Practically the entire range of human emotions connected with the Israeli-Palestinian struggle is perceived as a "call for action." It seems also that the mere notion that a Palestinian is capable of expressing human feeling is objectionable to the censor. All areas that constitute national awareness, intellectual, emotional and factual, are perceived as seditious and therefore banned.

The censor defines his role as "the protector of Israel and public order." By "banning of books which are pro-PLO, anti-semitic and seditious" -- he believes that he "prevents the creation of hatred in the territories." (Jerusalem Post, 4/9/82). His Zero Sum perceptions of the national conflict are clearly reflected in his decisions. He genuinely believes that one can stifle nationalist feelings by preventing the reading of works that directly or indirectly indicate that such nationalism exists.

Reviews of Random Examples of Censored Books

Fiction, Poetry

Usamah Tobi: My Great Love (poetry) (Beirut, 1972)

About the book: It contains 38 poems. The cover attracts the eye. There is a map of "Greater Israel" embraced by a heart made of two arches of the crescent, in colors red, green and black. These are the colors of the flag and the symbols of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Contents of the poems: They discuss national themes, the ruined country. These are poems about misery, destitution and tears of adolescent children growing before their time.

One of the poems, "The 15th of May," tells about the month of May, a month of humiliation and betrayal, a month of trails of uprooted people in mourning. Another poem, "The Thousand of Judah," talks about the personality of Judas as a traitor. Another poem mentions the need to bring a sacrifice for the homeland. These are poems of expected return, of revenge on whoever committed a crime, and of the need to hoist the flag until victory appears.

Censorship: Judging from the outside design and the content of the poems, the book discusses Palestinian nationality, using motifs of love and yearning for the homeland. There is the necessity to gain liberty. The book discusses the way to develop national pride in response to the humiliation inflicted on anyone who had been uprooted.

Sallah Gudat: Songs on the Nile (1962)

Collection of poems, most of them written on the background of political events in Egypt, named: national songs. The rest -- emotional love songs.

The national songs are like impressions of events: The visit of a famous personality, words for Memory Day, things that took place in Egypt during the rule of Nasser.

Poems relating to Israel, the Jews, the conflict, are not to be found. Few poems contain any relation to the problem. For instance: the song entitled, "Poem of the Revolution," written in 1958, reviews the history of Egypt's national struggle. It contains a chapter on the Sinai Campaign, praise for Port Said, "The Land of Heroism and Sacrifice." Among other heroic tales of Port Said, he tells "She is not surrendering to the Zionists nor to those who go down the abyss" (meaning the paratroopers, p. 18). In another song, "The Unknown Fella," a song written for the occasion of the first convention of the "National Union," the Jews are mentioned in the section talking about conquerors coming occasionally to Egypt, but withdrawing without being able to hurt: "Oh, those who call for aggression: Why are you crying out? Oh! The dogs of the Jews, why the barking?"

The book itself is dedicated to Abd-el-Nasser.

Poetry

Samikh Al Kassam: I Love You Like We Want Death (Acre, 1980)

This book is a collection of love poems and there are some

poems touching other subjects which may be the cause for
censorship

The conquerors will not defeat our people
Because I love you
They will not tame our homeland
Since you love me (p. 47)

I know my love
that the blood of the rebels
Hammers in the veins of the day
Let us light the fire
On the mountains of death (p. 65)

My free beloved
The apple of my eye
The flower of the problem
On her head the "kefiah" of the revolution

Mahmud Darwish: Attempt No. 7 (Acre, 1977)

Poems of the exiled poet who left the country in 1969.

All the poems are concerned with the Palestinian problem.

Here they murdered you
Here they murdered me
.....
Every day we have a corpse
Every day they have signs (p. 8)

Here he manifests his bond to the country he had left:

Even if I love all the countries I love
Even if I love all the women I love
A branch of pine of the burning Carmel
Is worth all the women's hips
And all the capitals...
Even if I love all the areas I love
Even if I love all the orchards I love
A drop of water in the mouth of a bird in the stones
of Haifa
is worth all the seas
and purifies me from all the sins I shall do...(p.
29)

In his song, "Happy is the Thing that did not Arrive," he
says:

This is the wedding that does not end
In a square without end
In a night without end
This is the Palestinian wedding
The lover does not reach his beloved
But falls or is uprooted. (p. 91)

He goes on and tells:

Shall we see you, my homeland
Since in their eyes you are a vision and not a
problem?
Shall we see you my homeland
Since their bosoms are the dwelling of the birds of
the Galilee
Shall we see you, my homeland
Since the fingers of the fallen lead to Safed
A prayer or an identity...(p. 101)

Mahmoud Darwish: I Love You or Not (Beirut, 1972)

Poems written by a man who loves his people and his
country; the trees, the birds and the sky in his homeland. In
his first poem, "Psalms," he writes:

When the soldiers get off my feet
I shall write something
And when the soldiers get off my feet
I shall walk a little
And when they move away from my night...I shall see
you
And I shall see my stature again (p. 10)

Ho, my homeland always mentioned in pogroms and in
poems,
How shall I smuggle you from one airport to another
Like opium
and white ink and a transmitter?
I want to draw your lines
You, who are scattered in files and surprises (p. 13)

The history of the Arabs does not include any more
a name to ask about it
And to infiltrate through it to your secret windows
All the secret names are taken
In the air conditioned drafting offices
Would you have my name?
My only secret name is Mahmoud Darwish
While my real name

Is announced by whips of the police and the pines of
Carmel (p. 15)

Samikh Al Kassam: If the Thunderbird Returns (1969)

Poems expressing criticism of different Arab policies.

Everything that has been said
Is worthless
Unless the men perform

He criticizes the suppression of the freedom of speech:

I meant to tell you about a bird
Who died
I meant to tell you a story
Had not my lips been cut (p. 64)

Some poems could be a reason for censorship:

It happened on the fifth of June

The reader remembers or does not remember
However in order that all the people will understand
what I have said
I repeat:
On the fifth day of June
We were reborn (p. 140)

A poem talking about immortality:

I go out of the rain
I walk in the blue lightning...
In the light wind and the tempest

In the midst of a wall...
I walk out from the governor's signature on the
bottom of a letter
From the shade of a policeman's stick
From the heart of the ravished earth
From the hatred of a burnt language
From an ongoing party demonstration
From throwing stones and glass
In the face of the cruel wind (p. 41-42)

Nazar Qabani: Poetry (Beirut, 1973)

The book consists of essays and fiction about poetry, love
and the task of authors in the society. No essay relates

directly to a political theme. However, there is one poem that might be the cause for censoring the book, "The Guns and the Black Eyes."

The poet is talking to a girl soldier who came back from a training camp: "My friend, you are coming back from a training camp, the flag is tired like the boat returning from a voyage to glory." (p. 130)

Later he mentions how women succeeded in refuting the sentence, saying, "A woman gives birth twice: once for her husband and once for the grave."

About the fight in Port Said in 1956, he says, "The poems found their place in the bunkers, under barbed wires and fought with all the strength of the letter. The guns, the songs and the black eyes all became burnt charcoal in the night of the battle." (p. 137)

Later on he criticizes the writers who yield to the ruler or the prince: "I am against slavery in the rule of literature, a rule that caused thousands of poems to bend down and stoop to the ruler's or the prince's shoes." (p. 125)

"Literature cannot live under the shade of dictatorship, be its aims elevated as can be." (p. 127)

Nazar Qabani: My Beloved (Beirut, 1973)

A collection of love poems, and only in three of them the censor found fault. In the poem, "Love and Oil," a girl reprimands an Emir who wanted to make love to her:

The night caves of Paris erased all your good

qualities
Under the feet of a whore you buried your vengeance
You sold Jerusalem, God...
As if the swords of Israel did not cause your sisters
to miscarry

And our houses were not destroyed
And the Koran was not burnt
And the flag of Israel was not hoisted on the
remnants of your flags
As if every crucified on the trees in Jaffa...in
Haifa
In Beersheba is not one of your descendants...
Jerusalem is rolling blood
And you are the prisoner of your lust... (p. 143-44)

Letters written by a soldier in the Suez Campaign:

We finished the rest of the paratroopers
Father, had you seen them falling
Like the fruits of an old apricot tree.
Falling!
Dangling
Under the parachutes
Like a quiet hanged man (p. 154-55)

Omar Abu Risha: Poems, Part I (Beirut)

A collection of different kinds of poems on many subjects.

I thought that the buildings of the Arabs are strong
and standing against troubles
But there, the builders sleep on pillows of
humiliation forgetting the
slaughtered honor

Another poem, written in 1949, named, "Ho, the Holiday"
describes the sad Arabs on a holiday:

Our flags are ashamed and put down, and how many in
Jerusalem who yearned to
Celebrate are not celebrating the holiday.
Our night will leave behind it a dawn of battles
where we will be the smile
(p. 95)

Nazar Al Malaeka: Problems of Contemporary Poetry (Beirut)

This book, of 312 pages, treats different subjects related

to modern poetry. The author, a well known Iraqi poet analyzes poems and criticizes them.

The book deals with general problems of modern poetry. One of the analyzed poems is Nazar Qabani's poem, selected by the author only because of the rhythm:

I write for the youngsters
For the young Arabs wherever they are
For those who will be born, I write
I write for the youngsters
The story of Beersheba, Latroun and the Galilee
And my killed sister...
Since we had a house in Jaffa
And a garden...(p. 107)

This is the only paragraph that could provide a reason for censoring the book, but one has to bear in mind that the above paragraph was cited only to demonstrate a certain fault in the rhythm, caused according to the author, by the poet being carried away by his thoughts and the trend favoring the new free poetry in Arab poetry.

Taufik Fiad: House of Madness

This is a short play about Sami, the literature teacher. The whole play takes place in Sami's room, on the beach of Haifa. During a heavy storm, Sami talks insolently against some country, some unknown king and the constitution of this country. He thinks that his freedom was taken away from him and so were his family and his beloved, in the course of a certain war of this country. (One might understand that the play is against the founding of the state of Israel and the War of Independence.) (See pp. 27, 51)

Fadua Tougan: I Found Her

The book is full of poems about yearning for Palestine (A call for the Land, and for Jaffa) (p. 5).

It includes also a poem calling for Palestine. (He and She, p. 155).

Ahmad Abass: Bleeding Jerusalem

1. The book starts with a call "For my Palestinian brother" to join the struggle for Palestine and adopt it as a profession.

2. "Holy Jerusalem never suffered so much as she did during the Israeli conquest." (p. 6)

3. The Jews desecrated the Holy Places, and meant to ruin El Aksa in order to build their Temple.

4. The Jews want to reschedule the map of the Jewish State mentioned in the Bible. Prof. Mazar's words serve as proof. (p. 6)

5. Palestinian force will redeem Jerusalem and it will be a spearhead in front of all the Arab camp. (p. 7) A call for the young Palestinians to join the armed Palestinian revolution (p. 8). This will be a pan-Islamic revolution, since every Moslem is obligated to guard al Aksa. (p. 8)

6. In the chapter, "The Goal of Israel - The Destruction of the Holy Places," it is claimed that the goal of Zionism is erecting a "Big State" and the "Temple of David." (p. 112-14)

7. The aim of the book is to prove that Israel performs crimes against Islam and Christianity and against the

Palestinian people. It tries to persuade people to join the Palestinian revolution.

Ahmad Al² Sharbassi: Memories of a Counsellor Prisoner

1. The book focuses mainly on the memories of a teacher from Al Azhar who belonged to the "Moslem Brothers" and was imprisoned, apparently because of this, by the Egyptian authorities in 1949.

The author mentions that in a certain part of the prison were "Zionists" whom he names "enemies." (p. 41)

2. In another place he mentions the liberation from jail of some of the Zionists, and talks about the founding of the State of Israel. He claims, sarcastically, that the Jews do not have to worry because their new state will liberate them. (He himself wouldn't be liberated since he is an Egyptian citizen). (p. 96)

3. On the liberation day of the Jews (17.6, 1949), the author wrote that while the Arabs were fighting in Palestine, the Egyptian Government (the "hypocrite") liberated the Jewish prisoners, so they could come back to the front. (p. 118)

4. The prison is in A-Tur. The day of the liberation, the director of the prison apologized for having freed the Jews, while Moslem Egyptians had to stay in it. (p. 118)

5. It is unclear why the book was censored, unless the author was suspected of being a Moslem Brother.

Anwar Al Jundi: Thousand Personalities (1957)

1. Hitler was born in Vienna and was pro-German. He declared that his aim was to return to Germany its honor in the eyes of the nations. He was a nationalist-Socialist, and considered himself a workers' leader. After the revolution in Bavaria, he was thrown into jail. After being liberated, he organized a great revolution that ended with his being elected the head of state of the Third Reich. He was the cause of the Second World War. He won several victories and then was defeated and died in 1945. (p. 250) Note: there is no mention of exterminating Jews with gas.

2. Amin El Husseini - quotation: "The reason for the disaster that hit the Palestinians is the neglect of the Arabs and the Moslems and their yielding before the Jewish colonialist state erected in Palestine." The author notes that this was the problem of the Mufti of Palestine and the commander of the war against Zionism for 40 years. (p. 76)

3. Einstein (p. 151) (Part I) and Freud (p. 155) are mentioned but their Jewishness is generally ignored. It says that Freud was exiled from Austria during the Nazi rule, but there is no explanation. The Jewishness of Karl Marx is mentioned. (p. 206, part III)

It seems that the author's intent is to belittle the Jewish point. Maybe this is the reason for censoring the book.

Ghassan Canafani: Returns to Haifa (Jerusalem, no date)

This is the story of a man from Ramallah arriving in the

summer of 1967 for a visit in Haifa, his native town. He visits his former house in Halissa, a house inhabited presently by a Jewish family who came to Israel in 1948.

The visitor with his wife, evoke memories about the past in Haifa, about the days of war, and think about the significance of the present situation.

The ride evokes memories about the war, about Arabs who were killed and their property looted. The visit in the house in Haifa raises sad thoughts about the question: to whom does this house belong?

The story tells the history of the Jewish family as well. They arrived through the Jewish Agency and got their house from the government.

Censorship: The theme of being uprooted from one's natural place (The Arabs) and the settling of Jews in the empty space. There is the discussion of the Palestinian nationality and the state of the Palestinians in view of the new circumstances created by the State of Israel and its Jewish inhabitants.

Ghassan Canafani: The Blind and the Deaf (Accre, no date)

A story about a blind man and a deaf man in some unknown camp. The story discusses the essence of Arab Palestinian society and its problems, particularly among the refugees. There seems to be an adoration of saints as a healing means (no direct political mention of the Palestinian subject).

This is a society whose sicknesses and difficulties are

centered symbolically in the cult of saints, but they cannot heal basic sicknesses like deafness and blindness.

About the book: On the cover of the book, the Egyptian writer Joseph Idris wrote that Canafani's stories should serve as the Koran of the Palestinian people. He defines them as works of "creative men." The publishing house presents Canafani as one "fallen on the altar of the Palestinian struggle."

Censorship: The encouragement of Palestinian nationalism referring to the pain and misery of present Palestinian society. The words appearing on the cover of the book are an encouragement to continue more intensely the "Palestinian struggle" against cultural oppression.

Nabil Khuri: Our Night is Wine (Beirut, 1958)

The book contains nine short stories, most of them connected with miserable people. The stories tell about deceptions, and about the frustrations of the individual in society. Some of the stories deal directly with the Palestinian subject, the dimension of detachment, the uprooting, the feeling of not belonging. Some stories talk about the need to come back, to revenge, to build.

The story, "Night of Wine," is of a letter addressed to a friend. In it he tells about a night of drinking in a club, with a strange girl, who started asking about the homeland, Palestine. The essence of the story is that the man couldn't endure her questions and chased her away. He finishes his

story by requesting the friend, "After you are drafted, please shoot the first shot into the enemy's heart in my name, for the sake of the fallen country."

Hidar Hidar: Stories of the Migrating Bird (Publication of the Ministry of Education and Tourism, Damascus, 1968)

A collection of short stories, Syrian, partly allegorical stories, stories charged with symbols, with a significant inner social and political criticism. The story Nightmare on a Scorching Day is about a soldier at the front, about his unit sitting in trenches overlooking the green valley, the blond soldiers with their girlfriends making love in the wet grass.

The soldier dwells on what is happening, evokes memories from his military school. There he was taught, "Be cruel to your enemy and human to your soldiers." In the course of the story, an enemy attack on the trenches takes place (the Six Day War). The story describes the Syrian unit as a brave fighting unit, strong as iron. The enemy is described as fierce and loaded with enmity.

Ihsan Abd al Kudus: Do Not Turn Off the Light (Nazareth, 1960)

A three volume novel dedicated to his wife.

The main character is Ahmad, a graduate of the Faculty of Law, a clerk disappointed with life, looking for some excitement to flavor his life. Towards the end of the story, he is drafted into the National Guard, then to the "Fedayeen," and is killed in the Sinai War.

The section dealing with the Sinai Campaign deals also

with the difficulties of war, from the Egyptian soldiers' points of view: physical difficulties, emotional ones, the remoteness from home and from beloved persons.

Censorship: Maybe because of the chapters dealing with the Sinai Campaign. (The book does not contain any instigation and does not deal with national themes, conflicts, etc.)

Yussef al-Sibai: Night With An End (1970)

This is a novel about a Syrian family in Damascus. Al-Sibai writes that this is his fourth novel written as a reaction to political events and, this time, the background is dissatisfaction with the Egyptian-Syrian Union. He states that his writing is not political as such; rather he feels involved in everything that takes place and he feels the need to express himself as a writer, using artistic devices and as a free person.

The hero is a crippled girl writing her memoirs. The reader learns about political events in the background, and the different characters express their ideas about these events in Syria, and about the relationship between Syria and Egypt.

What attracts our attention is an evening of national songs; a group of youngsters visiting the front (the Golan Heights). They are looking over "Palestine." Someone explains that there in the valley is his home:

It is impossible that such a crime could take place
in the 20th century
That an entire homeland would be usurped, in order to
hand it over to a riffraff gathering from all the
world.

This is like a thorn. Peace will not come until we pull it out and destroy it." (p. 474)

Censorship: Nothing justifies censorship -- contents or language. The quotation, p. 474, might be a decisive factor.

Military - Historical Research

Mahmoud Al Haras: A Jordanian-Palestinian Bibliography (Amman, 1972)

This is a bibliographical book including a list of books and essays published in the years 1900-1970.

The editor used catalogues of the Institute for Palestinian Studies in Beirut and also catalogues of the PLO Research Center. (p. 16)

The book includes a lot of censored items, such as the list of Ghassan Canafani's books. (13 books) (pp. 17-18)

Mahmoud Abd Al Halim: The Moslem Brothers: Events that Made History

The author belonged to the "Moslem Brothers" in Egypt. Here, he describes the history of this movement during the years 1928-48 (Part A) and 1948-1952 (Part B).

The book contains the history of the Moslem Brothers' struggle within the Egyptian Army, during the War of Independence the South and Hirbat Hiza'a (pp. 409-14). These subjective descriptions throw a negative light on the behavior of the Jews on the battlefield. In view of the heroism of the Moslem Brothers, the Jews use indecent and foul methods of war.

Ibrahim Amin Ali: Egyptian Sinai in History (1976)

1. The book pretends to be scientific research on Sinai from a geographical, historical and social point of view.

2. The author claims that after the conquest of Sinai in 1967, attempts were made to reveal signs of the existence of Jews in the peninsula, but in vain. Nothing has been found, no remnants of the Children of Israel in the desert, since Sinai belonged to Egypt and to the Arabs. (pp. 7-9)

3. The author claims that the "Zionist Threat" on Sinai appeared after World War II. Without mentioning the War of Independence, he talks about the signing of the armistice and that since then, Egypt had to cope with tension on its borders with Israel in addition to inner tension. (pp. 315-16)

4. After the Six Day War, the Jews adopted a policy of "creeping expansionism" in Sinai, building settlements, tourist sites, etc. (For instance, the chasing of 10,000 Bedouins off their lands in 1969).

5. The author intends to expose the basic imperialist assumptions of Zionism which are guiding the Israeli government at present.

Dr. Abd Al Wahab Al Khiali: A Resume of Palestine's Modern History (Beirut, 1971)

1. The book is dedicated to the people who fell for the defense of Palestine, during the war for its Arabism, and for the new generations who will join the war.

2. The purpose of the book is to present general outlines

of the Arab struggle against Zionism, hoping that it will help consolidate the struggle for liberation. (p. 8)

3. "Terror acts of the Jews" against the British in Israel, during the years 1939-1942, were not performed only by the Stern Gang, but they were the outcome of the plans of the Zionist leadership.

(The murder of Lord Moyne was a result of this policy) (p. 187)

4. While England initiated a pro-Zionist policy in 1946, intended to satisfy the Zionists' wishes, they declared a general uprising against the British. The Zionists used terror and killed without mercy. (p. 192)

5. When the U.N. decided to abolish the British Mandate, the Zionists were well equipped with arms and well trained, while the Palestinians were unarmed and without leadership. The Arab states betrayed them. (p. 194)

6. The situation of the Palestinians, on the eve of the War of Independence, should serve as a warning for "the next Arab generations who should continue their struggle for returning to Palestine and restoring the country."

Kadri Kalagi: Feisal and the Arab War of Honor (1974)

1. The book opens with a presentation of the October War as a victory won thanks to Arabs returning to their traditional roots and leaving behind foreign ideologies, such as communism. (pp. 7-8).

2. According to the author, Arabs should stick to a poli-

cy such as King Feisal's. He is interested mainly in rejecting revolutionary ideologies and in following Arabism and Islam. Thus, it would be possible to defeat Israel "the base of world Zionism and Imperialism." (p. 25) The King was the first to initiate this policy and only Sadat, having implemented it as well, was able to win the October War. (p. 29) It was Saudi Arabia, then that came forward in front of all the Arab states in their war against Israel. (p. 30)

3. The climax of Saudi Arabia's policy is the oil embargo inflicted during the October War. (p. 39)

4. Analysis of the embargo and its effects. (pp. 106-11)

5. The general trend of the book is to glorify King Feisal and his country in the struggle against Israel. The author means to present the King as heading the Arab states in this struggle and as holding the most influential weapon -- oil.

Muhamad Kamal Abd al Hamid: The Middle East Within the Strategical Balance (Cairo, 1972)

1. Analysis of the strategic situation of Middle East countries, including Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Pakistan and "the countries of the Maghreb." This is an analysis of the military, economic, social and cultural situation of all the Middle East countries. (pp. 4-5)

2. Israel is not included in the countries belonging to the Fertile Crescent such as Lebanon and Syria. The author uses the name, "conquered Palestine." (p. 18)

3. Talking about Palestine, the author says, "She was taken by the Jews who arrived as immigrants, especially after Hitler's coming into power. The Zionist movement was Britain's ally (Balfour Declaration). After World War II, there were terrorist gangs in Palestine-the Haganah, Etzel, The Stern Gang. They fought against the Arabs and against the British, who used it as an excuse to abolish their Mandate." (p. 204)

4. Since Palestine had been conquered by Zionism, in 1948, Israeli strategies were based on fulfilling the promise given to Abraham about the "Promised Land" which will belong to the Jews when they gather together from the Diaspora. (p. 205)

5. The Johnston Plan for distributing the waters of the Jordan, sought to produce economic cooperation with Israel, that in its turn will cause Arab recognition of the State, and acceptance of its existence. However, this was totally rejected by the Arabs, whose ambition is to wipe out the State. (p. 262)

6. The solution to the problem of Israel rests solely in the hands of the Arabs. They must unite and strike first at the sources of imperialism, as Egypt did in 1956. Once the victory is achieved, "the story of Palestine will be completed and the Arabs' rights fulfilled." (pp. 271-72)

Israel, Judaism and Jews

Ali Muhamad Ali & Ibrahim Al Hamzani: Israel as a Hostile Base
(Cairo, 1964)

The book tells us about imperialism which placed Israel in

the heart of the Arab homeland, in order to become a base for its attack on the Middle East. Identification between Zionist and imperialist goals is the condition for the existence of Israel. Zionism is a racist and terrorist movement. The Zionist idea was created in order to fulfill the plan of the "Elders of Zion" to be found in their well-known protocols. (p. 31) The purpose of this book is to prove the identical interests of imperialism and Zionism, by presenting the debates of the U.N. Security Council. (p. 4)

In the second chapter, the authors try to prove that Israel rose with the aid of the Western powers -- England, West Germany and the U.S. -- with money and political assistance. Among other things, the authors claim that the State of Israel had no right to get restitution money from West Germany for its citizens who were injured by the Nazis, because Israel did not serve the interest of European Jewry. Most people who suffered because of the Nazis have no ties with Israel and they live in Europe. (p. 21) The authors review declarations of important Zionist leaders (Weizmann) to prove their connection with imperialism. They discuss the underground organizations in Israel to prove their hostile tendencies (i.e., Etzel and Begin). (p. 35)

The authors also discuss Israel's "provocations at the U.N.," the "acts of slaughter" that she has performed and the "hostility acts" concerning the diversion of the sources of the Jordan.

The book ends with a review of the "Heroic Acts" of the Palestinians in their war against Israel.

Mustafa Mahmud: The Torah (Cairo, 1972)

The author intends to damage the sanctity of the Torah. He does it, by showing the difference of opinion between the Jews, the Samaritans, the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Moslems, concerning different parts of the Bible. A part of what is written in it stems from the Pharoahs. Hence, the Torah was not given by Moses, but was written by the Jews. (p. 13)

The Bible has clear political intentions: Noah's cursing Ham to be a slave for the sons of Shem is intended to present the Philistines and the Egyptians (Sons of Ham) as slaves of the Semitic Jews. (Note: The pun between Philistines and Palestinians is very common in Arabic, since there is no difference between the two terms.) (p. 16)

Jacob is the greatest of the prophets, but the Torah describes him as naughty, a thief and a cheat. This is not logical, hence the Jew who wrote it wanted to cheat his readers. (p. 22)

The God in the Bible is "materialistic" because he loves the smells of the sacrifices. (p. 26) This is a wrong description of God. The Bible turned the nation of thieves and cheats, the Jewish people, into the so-called Chosen People. (p. 30)

The Book of Kings describes the wars of the Kings. It is

unclear what is the connection between the Song of Songs and the religion. (p. 38)

The Bible describes God in an erroneous and contradictory fashion. Usually he repents and understands that he did wrong. This is a materialistic God, enjoying the spirit of war on the altar. He gets tired after having worked for a while and needs some rest. This is a Canaanite God who prefers the Children of Israel to his other creatures.... (p. 47)

To sum up, the Bible may be good for the Jews, but the Arabs have to turn to the New Testament or the Koran, since these are more trustworthy. (p. 116-17)

Terror, Terrorist Organizations, Revolutions

Ahmad Shukeiri: Defending Palestine and Algiers (Beirut, 1962)

This a collection of Shukeiri's speeches in the U.N. (He was the head of the Saudi Mission.)

His first speech was delivered as an answer to Israel's Foreign Minister in 1960, Golda Meir. (p. 7)

He claims that "there is a problem of a people whose country is Palestine, where he lived in the past and from whence he had been sent to exile by the Jews who captured his place." (pp. 11-12)

The problem of the Palestinian people -- the problem of Palestine, is not related to the question whether Israel should attack Arab states or vice versa. Only the Palestinian people have the right to decide their own fate. (p. 13)

The Palestinian people existed before the State of Israel and its sovereignty cannot annul the right of existence of the State of Israel and rejects the offer of guarantees to avoid attack between the Arab countries and Israel. (p. 15)

The State of Israel is based on expansionist ambitions and it is a result of hostility. The solution to the problem of Palestine is to be found in the return of the Arab refugees to their homeland.

The Arab states will never recognize the State of Israel because it is a stumbling experience. Even the Israelis are beginning to grasp this, and the proof, the increasing number of people who leave the country. When Jews in Israel will be able to leave the country the problem will be solved. (p. 20)

In independent Palestine, Moslem citizens shall live, alongside Christians and Jews (those who were before Zionism). (p. 21)

Mahmoud Ghanim: Under the Shade of the Revolution (Egypt, 1961)

This is a book of poems. In the second poem, "The Nationalization of the Canal" (Suez in 1956) the poet names the U.S., "the nation of dollars," and the Jews, "a nation of slaves," i.e., the slaves of the Americans. (p. 17)

In the poem, "Egypt and Syria" (in honor of the unification of 1957) the poet condemns "the Triple Attack on Port Said." He means the Sinai Campaign and the failed operation of England and France in 1956.

He glorifies, as well, the unification and the armies of the two nations. (p. 22)

The book contains, by and large, poems glorifying Egypt, Nasser, the revolution, etc.

There is no doubt that this book should be classified as a literary book.

Abdallah Al Rimawi: Nationalism and Unity in the Modern Arab Nationalistic Movement (Cairo, 1967)

From a theoretical point of view, this book discusses the national problem on a marxist basis.

There is nothing justifying censorship. However, the book starts with the dedication: "Before this book was published, our history saw a part of an imperialistic, Zionist, reactionary new big plot."

Ahmad Al Shibani: The Foundations of the Revolution (Damascus, 1958)

The book is dedicated to the Egyptian-Syrian unification and claims to furnish its ideological legitimation. The catastrophe of Arab nationalism in Palestine, encouraged the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the Arabs, for they had sensed the danger emanating from Israel on a material and spiritual level. (p. 41)

The purpose of the author is to present an ideology to the National Arab revolution which, according to him should cause the founding of the big united Arab State.

Towards the end, the author says, "There is no place for

Israel in our world, and Zionism must not exist in our country. We shall conquer Israel sooner or later. Our slogan concerning Israel is like the slogan of the Roman leader, Fabius, "Do not forget Israel, exterminate Israel." (p. 203)

Israeli-Arab Conflict

Ahmad Baka'a: Israeli Matters and What Stands Behind the Aggression (1979)

Preface: The author relates to Israel, as a "cultural challenge to the Arab states," unlike the accepted attitude, relating to Israel as "aggressive and conquering a part of the Arab land." (p. 5)

In the first chapter, the author mentions the theory of Allan Taylor, whereby Zionism succeeded in using American policy as a tool for reaching its aims (like the recognition of the State of Israel by Truman). (p. 39)

In the fifth chapter, the author discusses Yael Dayan's book, New Face in the Mirror. He comes to the conclusion that Israel was founded by people who ran away from home and wanted to go beyond European society. Israel nurtured the idea of creating a new man, superior to humanity, "the Sabra."

The author thinks that the idea of creating a new person is a Nazi idea. The ideas of "force," "aggression," "expansion and hostility" are the very basis of the existence of the State of Israel. (p. 89)

In the last chapter (The Return of the State of Palestine), the author claims that the slogan today should be

to return to the 5th of June 1967. The first condition should be the establishment of a state named Palestine, that will include the two banks of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. (pp. 256-58). The author does not mean the construction of a political entity, but advocates that all the areas should be named Palestine. Then, one should encourage all the Palestinians to come back to this area and to create a "return" movement to the homeland. The author suggests also bestowing Palestinian citizenship on all Palestinians, even those who emigrated abroad. As far as refugees are concerned, he suggests that they leave their present situation and study and become strong in order to be "a powerful environment" around the borders of Israel. To explain his suggestion, he mentions the acts of the first Jewish new immigrants, who settled on any vacant piece of land and founded the "colonies" that became a power base. (pp. 259-62)

Abd El Halim Hariba: The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the People's War of Independence (Cairo, 1973)

The book discusses "Israel's activity and her expansionist ambitions in the Arab territories, "a study of the four wars with the enemy, and the reasons for it; the people's War of Independence as a means of fighting the enemy." (p. 8)

The book starts with a description of the expulsion of the Jews from Iran, England, Spain, etc. The reasons for these expulsions, according to the author, were the attempts of the Jews to conquer the lands they inhabited. (pp. 10-12)

The author claims that the Jews are not the "Children of

Israel," and they appeared even before the Jewish religion (p. 18) because amongst them you can find people who resemble many races (brown-eyed, blue-eyed, etc.). The original Children of Israel disappeared among the different nations and the contemporary Jews are the offspring of the nations that had converted. (p. 19) Zionist propaganda used this fact in the slogan, "Return of the Holy Land." (p. 2)

The refugee problem created by the Zionists in 1948, 1956 and 1967 is not a mere philosophical problem: "There is a problem of honor, of existence, and of our life." (p. 30)

Israel's defeat in 1976 proves that the time of the "jihad" (holy war) has come, for the strengthening of the political struggle, for the alienation of the enemy, and for the use of his military deficiency." The purpose of the "jihad" is to return the West Bank to Jordan, the Golan Heights to Syria and the Sinai to Egypt. (p. 55)

The war of the "jihad" should be an "independence war of the people," meaning a guerilla war. (p. 57)

Later on, the author analyzes and describes the tactics of the guerrilla war against Israel. (pp. 80-84). He includes drawings dealing with explosive materials, etc.

Toufik Lafti: Ourselves and Israel? (Cairo)

The book opens with a dedication in honor of the "great victory and the extermination of the State of Israel." The Jews from Arab countries are being oppressed in Israel and it is an anti-religious state, harming religious Jews. (pp. 9-12)

Israel is humanity's enemy. The crimes of Zionism in Palestine are greater than the crimes of Naziism and fascism. (p. 13) The second part of the book includes a play dedicated to "refute the lies of the Israeli propaganda." One can read about Jewish personalities with long noses, black teeth, etc.

Hambi Al-Kanissi: The Flood Started at 2:05 (Cairo, 1977)

The author describes the atmosphere of victory in Israel after 1966 and the feeling of power experienced by her leaders.

He describes the background for Sadat's decision to start the October War. He describes the planning and preparations for the war. He describes the battles during the war. He bases his account on literature and on the Israeli press, and relies mainly on sections from General David Elazar's diary (the Israeli Chief-of-staff). One gets the impression that excerpts have been selected to demonstrate the braveness of the Syrian and Egyptian armies, and the weakness of the Israeli Army. It seems that such information comes from the chief-of-staff himself.

He describes Israel's losses of property and people. He describes methods of war and new weapons of Egypt. In the last chapter he asks, "What would have happened if...?" and enumerates the obstacles that prevented the Arab nation from defeating Israel. He insinuates that the October War proved that the Arab nation is capable of achieving victory. (p. 597)

Saad Gama'a: God... or the Destruction (Beirut)

In the preface, the author claims that Israel was founded through the force of the false-Jewish religion. On the other hand, one of the reasons for Israel's victory was the weakness of the Islamic belief amongst the leaders of the Arab nation. (pp. 13-14) Hence the war against Israel is a religious war, and the enemies are not only those who support Israel, but also Arabs who oppose Islam. (p. 17)

The book deals with the phenomenon of the fall of Islam in the Ottoman Empire starting in the 19th century that paralleled the awakening in Europe. One of the reasons for the fall is the creation of underground groups hostile to Islam, one of which was the "Zionist Free Masons." (p. 24)

In the 18th and 19th centuries, a European philosophical and economic (imperialist) attack took place against the Islamic world that remained for years. The arrowhead of this attack was "World Zionism." (p. 33)

Israel achieved its present role, culturally and religiously, by murder and massive expulsions and "the founding of a racist-religious state on the holy places of Islam." (p. 39)

European culture is materialistic, based on technological science. Without science it would be meaningless; it treats mankind like animals. Hence, Islam is needed by the Arab nation as a cultural force. It is needed especially in its struggle against Israel, which knew how to preserve its religious character -- Israel's main strength. (pp. 69-70) Israel

is a united nation, religiously, socially and politically, founded by people from 90 different countries, united only by a religious bond. The Arab nation is scattered because it disregards Islam. (pp. 393-94)

The leftists in Israel are interested in confusing the Arab world through their ideas about equality and secularism. (p. 398) However, the Arab rulers are not better since they turn their rule into an end, and not a means. (p. 400) The solution lies in establishing an Arab society and state based on Moslem Law, so that an Islamic state will rise, ruled by religious leaders. Only thus could the Arabs fight the State of Israel.

Things said against Israel are intended to use the hostility towards her in the struggle for Islam.

Dr. Assad Rasik: Zionism and Human Rights of the Arabs
(Beirut, 1968)

In the preface, the author claims that the Zionist acts during the last 20 years were executed according to a plan made 100 years ago. (Herzl) These acts brought about the conquering of Palestine and the expulsion of its inhabitants who were the rightful owners. (p. 7)

The purpose of the book is to stop this plan from being implemented. This part of the book (part 2) starts with the description of "pragmatic Zionism," meant to "conquer and settle Israel" before achieving international recognition. (p. 9)

Pragmatic Zionism is based on the idea that the 2,000 year

old right of the Jews for Israel is not sufficient. They have to create a modern formula for this privilege. To achieve it, they employed the economic influence of the Zionist movement in Israel. (p. 15)

Pragmatic Zionism, only a branch of European imperialism, did not consider the rights of the Palestinian people who suffered from cultural inferiority. (p. 18)

At present, in view of the achievements of economic and Zionist imperialism, it is possible to struggle only with weapons in order to restore the political rights of the Palestinian people. (p. 35)

The author goes on reviewing the development of the Zionist movement in Israel until the establishment of the State. Towards the end of the book, the author reviews modern Zionist philosophy in relation to Arab rights. He thinks that Zionist thinkers are aware of the contradiction existing between the historical rights of the Jews to their land, and the "rights of the Palestinian people." Therefore, recognition of the State of Israel is possible only if the Arab states give up their rights. (p. 186) From its start, Zionism meant ignoring Arab human rights and hiding them from humanity. (p. 190) Note: The book is based on sources, mainly literary, that were written by Zionist leaders, including Weizmann, Ben Gurion, etc. The book relies as well on documents, charts and research literature.

Political Studies

Walid Kamkhawi: The Catastrophe and the Building (Beirut, 1956 and 1962 - Two Parts)

Review of the loss of Palestine as an Arab country, along with the developments in the Ottoman Empire, the relations between the powers, the ties among the Arabs, created in the course of the development of a national consciousness, local as well as general. The book reviews the history of Zionism and includes severe criticism of the helplessness of the Arabs and their leaders.

Censorship: The connotations about Zionism are negative. The chapter describing Jewish history since Exodus through the process of creating the State in the Land of Israel is especially controversial. The presentation is distorted; it can be interpreted as either half joking or malicious.

Yusef Al-Sibai: Beyond the Cloud (Al-Hangi Institute, Egypt, 1970)

The book is not fiction. It is a collection of articles written in 1967-69 and apparently published in the daily press.

The content: These are articles about political events after the Six Day War. A criticism of social problems of the Arab Society; remarks about discussions in the U.N. and other international institutions; about life in Israel; and about the Jewish-Arab conflict and the ways to its solution.

For example: headlines of certain articles: "Struggle for Freedom," "Friendship for What?," "Enemies for What?,"

"Who is our Enemy is Israel?," "The Way to a Political Solution - Blocked," "Peace from a Standpoint of Force," "What do the Learned People of Israel Think?"

The articles contain criticism of the behavior of the Arabs, and criticism of imperialism in its new forms. There is extensive usage of phrases such as, "the forces of imperialism," "the reactionary Zionist movement" against the "Arab people," "the African people," and the "peace-seeking people." A sentence such as, "For this aim the traditional imperialist forces used the ambitions and schemes of the reactionary Zionist movement in order to realize one of the meanest hostile plans against Arab nations." (p. 33)

The book outlines the activity of Israel in the territories as constant aggression.

Censorship: Anti-Israeli expressions, hostile expressions.

Hassan Saab: The Arab Diplomat (Beirut, 1973)

A book written by a Lebanese diplomat active in the diplomatic service, especially from 1944-67. He tells about his experience, assembles lectures that he delivered and research he conducted connected with Arab diplomacy since the 1940s.

The book consists of two parts and a supplement. One part deals with specific problems, the other with general considerations about diplomacy. The supplement has a version of the Vienna Agreement and a code of the Foreign Ministry about diplomats.

He dedicates a lot of space to the crisis in the Middle East -- centering around the Palestinian problem and the State of Israel. The Palestinian revolution is, to his mind, a stimulating factor in the Arab world, helping to develop new human dimensions among Arabs.

Censorship: The extensive debate about the Palestinian Revolution and a means to develop Arab society in ways that will help to overcome Israel as an enemy. The use of expressions with negative connotations (from Israel's point of view) such as "the conquering enemy" (p. 50); "the reality of aggressive Israel with ambition to extension" (p. 49) and sentences such as, "The demand to hold peace negotiations is nothing but a device to eternalize illegally the reality created by force."

Ahmad Atiah Allah: The Political Dictionary (Cairo, 1968)

A dictionary of political terms connected with 20th century politics. It includes names of places with political meaning, names of person, terms from the political world and international relations. The dictionary is arranged alphabetically.

For "Zionism" it reviews roughly the history of Zionism until 1948.

Censorship: A phrase, such as "the aim of Zionism since the first Zionist Congress in Basel (in addition to the secret aims included in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion) is to erect a Jewish State..." (p. 737)

Kadri Kalagi: Ideas of Soviet Scientists and Leaders (1972)

This is a book about communism in a stage of crisis. It criticizes communist ideology and its significance for the Arab world, for Arab society's need of nationalist development.

Communism is seen as a failing factor in developing Arab nationalism. Communism supports a state for Jews in Palestine, and causes the Palestinian question to deviate from its natural course. The book criticizes Arab communists.

Talking about Egyptian-Russian relations after the death of Abd El Nasser, the author emphasizes the treason of the Soviets in Egypt.

Arab Nationalism

Kamal Saad: Nasser - Beloved of the Arabs (no date, after Nasser's death)

This is a kind of biography of Abd El Nasser, with pictures.

The chapters: Nasser and Arabism before 1952; Nasser and Arabism from the Revolution until 1956; Abd El Nasser and Arab Unity; Abd El Nasser and the Summit Conferences; Review of the book by Lecoutier about Abd El Nasser; Abd El Nasser the man.

The book emphasizes Nasser's contribution to Arabism, to Islam and the idea of African unity, and how much he was loved by the Arab public and how he aroused mass enthusiasm for nationalism and unity.

Censorship: The mere mention of Abd El Nasser as the "Arabs' beloved," and as encouraging nationalism, a process

connected with the "need to remove imperialism and Israel from the heart of the Arab nation."

Palestinian Nationalism

Michel Aflak: The Starting Point (Beirut, 1971)

The content: Articles about the national struggles, the Palestinian problem as a pan-Arabic theme, the influence of the working classes on the revolution, through the unity in Palestine, the need to organize the public to participate in the "Arab Revolution." The Algerian revolution, the Palestinian issue and Egyptian-Syrian Unification are landmarks in the crystallization of the Arab nations' essence. He defines the Palestinian issue as a notorious attempt at human oppression. (p. 7)

He talks about the need to go through spiritual education to understand imperialism, oppression and Zionism, and any external hostile deeds.

The articles discuss aspects of the crisis in the Arab revolution. He calls on the members of the Baath Party to join the Palestinian revolution. In proposed peaceful solutions, he detects a plot to defeat the revolution.

Censorship: Encouragement for the Palestinian revolution, the Arab revolution, opposition to peaceful solution of the conflict.

Usage of expressions, such as: the Zionist, imperialist and reactionary perils against the Arab revolution. (p. 46)

Hamdi Haft and Mahmoud Al Sharkawi: Contemporary World Problems (Cairo, 1958)

The book was written by officials in the Egyptian Ministry of Information and is intended as a tool for legal experts and statesmen. The book discusses international problems in the Middle East, or problems connected with the Middle East, and reviews the history of each subject, its legal aspects and the views of the concerned parties.

The book contains maps and plans and everything is well based on formal declarations, articles in the press and international law. Some chapters: The Gulf of Aqaba, Algiers, the Satellites, Syria and the Colored in America.

The book is matter of fact and exhaustive.

Censorship: The chapter discussing the Gulf of Aqaba contains expressions such as, "the aggressiveness of Israel that served as a joint tie between her and England and France (Sinai Campaign) was proof of her ambitions and intentions, and exposed the real aims of the campaign." (p. 55)

Later, "the Israelis crossed the Sinai during the campaign, in spite of the difficulties of transportation and supply in the desert, in order to fulfill their secret plans." (p. 55) And the headline: "the plots of Israel." (p. 57)

Otherwise, there is nothing worth censoring in this book.

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