INFECTIOUS NONVIOLENCE:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN
STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS IN THE 20\textsuperscript{TH} CENTURY

A Thesis by
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INFECTIOUS NONVIOLENCE:
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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in History.

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I would like to thank Dr. Robert Owens for his support and persistence to help me improve my work. His guidance and faith in my abilities gave me the courage needed to reach out to people and enjoy different libraries as though they were my own. I am grateful to Dr. Deborah Gordon who was an important resource and wealth of information. She led me to important works that proved central to my research and writing. Thank you to Dr. Robin Henry for her willingness to join my thesis committee though our paths had never crossed before this project. Thank you to Dr. Judith Johnson and Denise Burns who softly nudged me to complete this project. I am very appreciative of Dr. Mohammed Abu-Nimer who kindly pointed me towards much needed resources and gave me his undivided attention with my many questions and ideas.

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I am especially thankful to my family for their unwavering support. My sister Annam, thank you for reading through my thesis when I could no longer look at the text. My husband, Sani, thank you for being so patient with me and constantly cheering me on even when I wanted to look away and forget about getting this done. My friend and sister Victoria Eastes, thank you for trimming down and helping me clean up the text when it felt like no more could be cut.
Nonviolent mass movements have played a significant role in bringing about change in the 20th century. They stood up to the very powers that oppressed them and helped those forces see a reality they were once blind to. Their strength in numbers and moral positioning helped “the other” empathize with their plight and in some cases join their cause for change. Two such movements were the African American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the first Palestinian *Intifada* in the 1980s.

These two movements mobilized masses and transformed communities. While in many respects, they were very different; there are strands of similarity that weave through both movements. These commonalities began with a connection to nonviolence that preceded the movements themselves and proved essential foundations and building blocks for what was yet to come. Influenced by the work of Mahatma Gandhi and others in India, both African Americans and Palestinians sought guidance from the East. Of major significance, is the inspirational role African American civil rights played in influencing the Palestinian *Intifada*. Palestinian leaders were drawn to the success and example of black leaders who helped motivate a discontent base.

Through a side-by-side comparison, the similarities are apparent; whether they are in mass demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, conversions of the other, or the struggle for education. The examination of these different elements in both movements through writings, newspaper coverage, opinion pieces, and personal accounts demonstrates just how much the 1960s black civil rights era impacted the Palestinian *Intifada* of the 1980s.
Five years ago, I picked up my life in Kansas and moved to Los Angeles, California to put my conflict resolution and mediation skills to work. I began co-facilitating a program called NewGround, which brings young Muslim and Jewish professionals together for a ten-month fellowship intended to allow them to learn from and about each other through constructive conversations concerning theology and the situation in the Middle East. It was an opportunity to work with individuals who showed promise of moving up in their careers and joining boards of institutions, which may affect U.S. foreign policy and greater Israeli-Palestinian relations. It has been my own way of affecting the reconciliation work being done in the Middle East, as many of the decisions made in the U.S. and the influence of different groups on the government both here and abroad matter greatly in the general scheme of the larger conflict.

As an individual, I am certainly passionate and committed to work that supports the resolution of the Middle East conflict between Israeli’s and Palestinians. I was born to a Palestinian Muslim father and an American Christian mother in the country of Jordan. I grew up watching images of the first Intifada on the television screen. The only Jews I knew were the ones in military fatigues who shot kids my age throwing rocks. When Jordan signed the Oslo Peace Accords in 1994, I remember my best friend’s father calling me a traitor for taking part in one of the first high school exchange trips between Jordan and Israel. This trip, however, began a new chapter of personal awareness for me. Living and studying alongside Jewish students made me realize there was much more to
the conflict than the painful stories told by my family and portrayed in the media. Giving up on the situation as hopeless would never be an option.

After my family moved to the United States, I eventually attended Bethel College, a school firmly planted in the Mennonite tradition of pacifism. There my eyes opened once again to a world of non-violence among Palestinians that was rarely if ever promoted by the popular press. It became clear to me that co-existence was not only important, it was essential. While the media chose to highlight conflict and violence, a number of individuals dedicated themselves to building communities and infrastructures that would help contribute to the resolution of the conflict.

In graduate school at Wichita State University, I took a class on the Civil Rights Era in the United States. During that class, I began to see parallels and similarities between what took place with African American Civil Rights Movement and the Palestinian *Intifada* of the 1980s. Both followed similar stages, tactics, and challenges. I decided to pursue a comparison of the similarities and differences of both movements as my thesis project.

This preface is an attempt at transparency. I cannot deny my deep commitment to contributing to the scholarship and work of reconciliation. Both as a historian and as a facilitator of dialogue who must keep space safe for all voices to be heard, it is important for me to remain as neutral as possible. It is my hope that this will help make this paper more acceptable as a mainstream article; as I made sure to include personal accounts and scholars who lived through both time periods. I also carefully selected my sources to include Palestinian newspapers such as Al-itihad, Asha’b and Al-Nahar; Israeli papers like Haaretz, Hadashot and the Jerusalem Post; and American News sources such as the
New York Times, Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune. News coverage of the American Civil Rights Movement includes but is not limited to The Arkansas Democrat, The Morning Herald (Maryland), Charleston Daily Mail (West Virginia), The News-Palladium, Benton Harbor Michigan, Big Spring Herald (Texas), Aiken Standard and Review (South Carolina), Independent Record (Montana), and the Corpus Christi Times.

Though pure neutrality is in many ways unattainable because it is human nature to be swayed by different historical realities and narratives; it is possible to open up honestly and without reservation so that readers may take all the information and make up their own minds. While doing so may make me vulnerable, when honestly emulated, such a contribution may lead to significant strides in the work of reconciliation.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Where is the Palestinian Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr.?

In January of 1986, Israel named a street in Jerusalem in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK). In honor of the occasion, children sang the well-known hymn, “We Shall Over Come.” Speeches were given in the Knesset, Israeli Parliament, by prominent politicians, such as former U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, and Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Shamir declared, “the battle he [MLK] fought was not only for blacks in America. He lent his name and prestige to the cause of freedom everywhere.” Back at the park where the children sang, Abdul-Wahab Daraushe, an Arab member of the Israeli Parliament, “called on Israeli leaders to apply King’s quality message to the 700,000 Israeli Arabs and 1.3 million Palestinians in the Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.” During the ceremony, Rabbi Alvin Surgarman, from MLK’s hometown of Atlanta, Georgia, preached MLK’s call for coexistence.

Two years later, a number of American leaders including MLK’s widow Coretta Scott King and U.S. Secretary of State George P. Schultz, wrote personal appeals to Israeli government officials to ask them to reconsider deportation orders of nonviolent Palestinian Civil Rights Activist Mubarak Awad. King wrote that, "having met Mr. Awad I can attest to his strong personal commitment to Martin Luther King, Jr.’s principle of nonviolence as a way of resolving conflicts."¹

The letters and appeals by U.S. activists as well as elected and appointed
government officials arrived in Israel in the midst of what came to be known as the
first Palestinian *Intifada*. The Arabic term was identified as the appropriate label
meaning to ‘shake off’ laziness and rise to make change, to ‘wake up from the
slumber’ that had allowed Palestinians to comply with and help facilitate the
policies of the Israeli occupation. The primary focus was restoration, not uprising.
Many English news outlets translated *Intifada* as “uprising.” While it was
somewhat accurate it did not fully reflect the true meaning of the word and the
movement. The simple fact that Palestinians intentionally chose a name that
focused on change and action instead of revolution, which was the dominant
rhetoric in the 1950s and 1960s, was a significant key to the type of movement the
*Intifada* was; a distinction largely missed by the West. It was a movement that
unified fragmented groups that historically did not get along and led to the creation
of alternative social, political, and national order. The main message was freedom
and human dignity. Prominent Christian Palestinian negotiator and activist Hanan
Ashrawi stated that the *Intifada* was a time when Palestinians of all faith
persuasions faced the monster and forced it to face itself.” It successfully helped the
occupier recognize the humanity in the occupied as well as the other way around.²

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² Mary Elizabeth King, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent
The Intifada was influenced by a number of different forces, but most specifically by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. This was evidenced by Palestinians frequently quoting civil rights leaders, drawing parallels between their struggle and that of African Americans in the 1950s and 1960s, and similarities in the tactics used. Palestinian promoters of nonviolence sought to emulate the success of the American Civil Rights Movement in hopes of achieving the same level of political and social success.3

In a 1986 interview published in the Journal of Palestine Studies, journalist John Eagan and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson drew parallels between the struggles of African Americans in America and the Palestinian struggles in Israel. The interview focused on what Palestinians could learn from the successes of the Civil Rights Movement. Jackson identified with Palestinians as an

oppressed people and recommended Palestinians seek equal protection under the law, as African Americans did in the United States. He advocated for work on a mass education campaign and power sharing. Jackson attested that “occupation is a state of violence which breeds counter-violence and thus you have war. So not only is it a moral challenge, it’s a practical challenge as well.”

Both movements utilized a multitude of resources to define their work. Nonviolence, for the purposes of this study, will be defined as the direct action, noncompliance and civil disobedience exercised by groups of peoples. This unarmed resistance culminated itself in the form of boycotts, massive protests, tax resistance, sit-ins, the exercise of voting rights, freedom rides, refusal to comply with ID cards, remaining on territory, refusal to comply with time change, filling jails to capacity due to unjust laws, court cases, hunger strikes and the stamina to stay put under terrible living conditions.

Both populations remained steadfast in places they were not wanted, as was the case of African American sit-ins and Palestinians constantly rebuilding their homes after they were demolished. African Americans were not wanted at lunch counters and were refused service. So they organized sit-ins where they would sit at lunch counters while enduring harsh treatment by other customers and in some cases they were arrested by the police. Palestinians and their expanding families needed larger homes. When they applied for permits to build on additional rooms, Israeli occupation authorities would delay processing for years. So Palestinians built

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on additional rooms without the permits. Israel then issued house demolition orders because no permit had been granted. Rather than remain homeless, Palestinian families rebuilt their homes over and over again through a cycle of demolitions and delayed permits. Owners of deeds to the land stayed on it because they had a right to be there, though they were constantly forced to stay with extended family or sleep in makeshift tents when their homes were demolished. This became known as Sumood, meaning to persevere and remain steadfast.

In both cases, nonviolence was a multifaceted resistance that sought justice. It utilized ‘people power’ through massive mobilization to bring about social change. Violent resistance, when adopted sporadically by other groups outside the nonviolent circle, allowed the perpetrators of an unjust system to justify the use of force against demonstrators. However, when force was used against peaceful, well-dressed individuals, the unjust situation was exposed to the oppressor and the larger community.

Despite all these similarities, little has been written about the influence of the Civil Rights Movement on the Palestinian Intifad. Small comparisons may be found in various sources, but few scholars have attempted to explore this thesis even though a plethora of evidence exists to prove its validity.

Historiographic Question

Brick by brick two peoples in two different time periods built movements that inspired the masses, transformed their respective communities and became beacons of hope for the future. Though the African American Civil Rights
Movement and the first Palestinian *Intifada* both received extensive individual attention on the centrality of nonviolence in their respective movements, they lack adequate comparison to each other. This is especially curious considering that leading nonviolent scholars Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall both termed them leading twentieth century movements of civil disobedience.

Though the history of both peoples was different, each was engaged in a “Campaign for Rights.” According to Ackerman and Duvall, nonviolent direct action may be divided up into three major categories: Movement to Power, Resistance to Terror and a Campaign for Rights. Movement to Power utilized sanctions and focuses on the goal of self-rule. Prime examples of this include India’s ability to end British control of their country and the end of the Soviet Union’s dominance in Poland. “Resistance to Terror” embodied movements that sought to end military occupation in their respective territory, such as Danish ability to circumvent and resist Nazi operations in their country. “The Campaign for Rights” leveraged nonviolence as a tool against unjust government rules, laws, and treatment. As indicated earlier, the two prime examples of this were the African American Civil Rights Campaigns of the 1960s and the Palestinian *Intifada* of the 1980s. Both movements were built upon the principals of social equality and focused on justice as their common rallying point.5

Injustices faced by African Americans and Palestinians were similar and yet different. Different especially in the sense that those engaged in the civil rights

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5 Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall. *A Force More Powerful* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 5-6; The *intifada* both qualifies for “The Campaign for Rights” as well as “Resistance to Terror” because it took place inside Israel as well as the West Bank (Occupied Territories). This paper however will focus on issues relating to “The Campaign for Rights”.
struggle were citizens of the country in which they were struggling for their rights while Palestinians in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip were not citizens of the country that ruled their lives and land. Thus Palestinians were subject to military martial law rather than civilian law. Though differences exist, it does not detract from the similar situations faced by both populations.

While Ackerman and Duvall explored several different successful nonviolent movements in their book, the only study to date that exclusively explores the African American experience and that of the Palestinians is Rebecca B. Kook’s book, *The Logic of Democratic Exclusion: African Americans in the United States and Palestinian Citizens in Israel*. Kook describes a contradictory sense of belonging where African Americans and Palestinians are “accorded certain rights, yet denied others—accepted, yet rejected.” Her main focus is on the Palestinian citizens of Israel and the similarities they share with the African American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. She argues that ideologically inclusive democracies such as the United States and Israel have proven themselves historically exclusive at the cost of their minority communities. Kook set out to “unravel the logic of democratic identity politics.” Exposed, prevailing national identities were dissected and undermined by their own exclusion of minority narratives. Her work made the case for the need for counter narratives to enrich the mainstream’s exclusionary national identity. While her focus and methodology are mostly sociological, her historical scholarship is astounding as she supported her work with archival information and by combing through volumes of published works. 6

Unlike Kook, who explored issues of identity and the suppression of minority citizen populations, Professor Robert Hunter’s book alludes to similar tactics used by both movements. First hand witness to the Intifada and citing various news reports and interviews, Hunter offers an authentic analysis in his book *The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means*. A rich source of information, Hunter’s work describes nonviolent organizing carried out by Palestinians and documented abuses of Israeli armed forces in the occupied territories. The book also devotes a couple of pages to the comparison of the African American Civil Rights movement with the first Palestinian Intifada. His comparison of both movements is superficial and yet pioneering in concept because he is one of the first scholars to draw such parallels.7

Hunter began his comparison of African Americans and Palestinians with a quotation by a prominent leader, newspaper editor and activist Hana Siniora, who stated that the Intifada’s goal was to accomplish what followers of Gandhi did in India and what African Americans achieved through the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Hunter continued that both “were at the mercy of numerically and politically dominant societies alien to them in culture and antagonistic to their advancement, the societies were in quite different ways, extremely vulnerable to external pressure. Consequently, Palestinians and Southern blacks both sought to exploit this vulnerability by provoking outside intervention in order to ameliorate their condition.” Both movements were similar in their use of boycott tactics

combined with confrontation in the streets. This allowed for the manipulation of violence waged against peaceful demonstrators to be leveraged by leaders who in turn raised awareness of what was taking place and gained the empathy of outsiders. Civil rights leaders in the Southern states focused on gaining the empathy of the North to get their desired legislation and force the Federal government to intervene. Palestinians appealed to Europe and the United States’ public opinion in order to put pressure on Israel to bring about change.

The Achilles heel of both was their economic dependence on their oppressors. This made them vulnerable and their movements unsustainable. Working class protestors still needed to work to feed their families, most often for the oppressors they stood against. The compromise they reached with movement organizers was for African American maids to work during the day and boycott at night, while Palestinian labor workers stayed home on strike days and continued to work during the rest of the week.8

In his introduction to Mary Elizabeth King’s book, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance*, former United States President Jimmy Carter draws similarities between the Civil Rights Movement and the first Palestinian *Intifada* by highlighting the use of nonviolence as a tool that helped include rather than exclude white and Israeli majorities to help them see injustices that were invisible to them.9 Different sprinklings throughout the book itself highlight how the African American Civil Rights Movement influenced and

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8 Hunter, “Palestinian Uprising,” 79.

enriched the Palestinian Intifada. Though not specifically spelled out, King provides evidence that the writings of MLK were translated into Arabic and used to help people understand nonviolence as a tool of active resistance and not compliance.

In the summer of 1967, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which played a leading role in the African American Civil Rights Movement, launched a critique of the Israeli occupation in an article titled “Third World Round Up: The Palestine Problem: Test your Knowledge.” Keith Feldman, analyzed this article and its proof of historical ties between Palestinians and African Americans in his chapter “Representing Permanent War: Black Power’s Palestine And The End(s) of Civil Rights.” Feldman argues that the SNCC and other African Americans drew parallels between “domestic movements for racial justice in the United States and transnational struggles for liberation in Israel-Palestine.” This comparison took place well before the Intifada of the late 1980s but demonstrates the beginnings of comparisons while the civil rights era was taking place, all be it at the very end of the first nonviolent phase of the movement.10

SNCC was not the only entity that drew comparisons between Israel and the West. In Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and the U.S. Interest in the Middle East, 1945-2000, author Melani McAlister discusses the challenge that W. E. B. Du Bois

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went through as a supporter of Zionism after Israel invaded Egypt at Suez. Du Bois articulated his frustration through a poem:

Young Israel raised a mighty cry  
“Shall Pharaoh ride anew?”  
But Nasser grimly pointed West,  
“They mixed this witches’ brew!”  
...Israel as the West betrays  
Its murdered, mocked, and damned,  
Becomes the shock troops of two knaves  
Who steal the Negros’ land.  
Beware, white world, that great black hand  
Which Nasser’s power waves  
Grasps hard the concentrated hate of myriad million slaves.12

MLK also reflected on the invasion of the Suez as an example that people around the world were rising up for their rights and justice against colonial powers that sought to dominate them.13 By and large, however, the vast majority of African American leaders, such as King, Bayard Rustin, A. Phillip Randolph and John Lewis, were in favor of and even lobbied for the support of Israel as they drew clear parallels between the Jews gaining the Promised Land and African Americans attaining justice for their suffering as well.

Nineteen sixty-seven became the mark of a shift in the relationship between African Americans and Israel. Alex Lubin emphasized the criticism, and long time Israeli supporter Du Bois voiced in his poem referenced above. Palestinians were then seen as allies in the struggle against racism and anti-colonialism. Leaders like

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12 Ibid., 85.

13 Ibid., 84.
Jesse Jackson and activists from SNCC began meeting with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1960s ad 70s.\textsuperscript{14}

Since the basis for this comparison is of nonviolent tactics and elements, it is important to establish the historiography of nonviolence in each movement. Thus both are explored below.

### Historiography of African American Nonviolence

The use of nonviolence is well documented in a number of publications, which cover the African American Civil Rights Movement. They will be explored further in this chapter. Some works focus on personalities, others on organizations and groups in their use of nonviolence as a tool for change. Several writings narrowly focus on figures like King, while others prefer to take a broader snapshot of the many individuals that led to the success of the movement.

Works such as \textit{Free At Last? The Civil Rights Movement and the People Who Made It} by Fred Powledge and \textit{My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered} by Howell Raines use interviews and first person accounts to create an oral history of the movement and those involved.\textsuperscript{15} These oral histories share both the richness of the time and the inner-communal tension that came with it. The personalities and the problems are real and led to a deeper, 3-dimensional understanding for the reader.


In his book, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960’s*, author Caron Clalyborne laid out the inner-workings of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which was largely responsible for successful sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches in the American South in the 1960s. Clayborne’s work exhibits a 3-dimensional view of the organization, its victories as well as external and internal challenges, which led to the dissolving of the power and effectiveness of the organization by the 1970s. While giving credit to leaders, such as King and Malcolm X for initiating the spark to lead to a larger movement, Clayborne also gives the credit of the organized massive resistance to the masses themselves, and the leaders who emerged to meet needs and offer necessary support. He asserts that SNCC started off with the goal of forcing the federal government to take a stand and support civil rights, but then began to question the slow bureaucracy of change that the government utilized. Instead, they moved into the creation of alternative institutions to bring about change and meet communal needs that the government did not meet. Clayborne’s work does not deny the militancy of SNCC, nor does it deny that MLK was more committed to non-violence than SNCC, but he asserts that SNCC’s most effective organizing utilized non-violence and empowered blacks with few resources to stand up and join the cause. While violence played a role in the resistance of the 1960s, it is undeniable that non-violence strategy was essential in changing the status of African Americans in the United States. He ends with the influence of the black power movement, its role in back awakening, and how it eventually disintegrated SNCC.

by fractionalizing its members in their own self-absorption, and failure by promoting segregation and the inability to unify its black constituents.

Similarly, historian William Chafe explored how organized sit-ins came into being in his book, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. He especially focused on the richness of the African American culture and how it allowed for the success of the sit-ins. Like Clayborne, Chafe examined the inner struggle of the African American community and the significant role that everyday African Americans played in the larger civil rights movement. Rather than only focusing on Presidential action or in-action, media savvy leadership like Dr. King and others, Chafe emphasizes the activists who made a difference on the ground; the local leaders who impacted their communities and inspired others around them.

Many studies emphasize the sit-ins as the essential spark that began the mass activism characteristic of the Civil Rights movement. Martin Oppenheimer’s *The Sit-In Movement of 1960* and Miles Wolff’s work *Lunch at the 5 and 10* both focus on the motivations of the four sit-in students in Greensboro, whose actions inspired students across the South to mount similar protests. Advisor to SNCC Howard Zinn went so far as to say, “for the first time in our history a major social movement, shaking the nation to its bones, is being led by youngsters.” He elevated them to the status of abolitionists and heroes—just a short time after their diligent

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18 The four students were David Richmond, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr., and Joseph McNeil.
organizing. Similarly, Aldon Morris, in a work of both history and sociology, expanded on the centrality of the sit-in movement as it elevated the cause to the national consciousness of black and white America. Morris, however, included analysis of several civil rights bodies and their effects on the movement. SNCC was but one among many. He laid the foundation of his analysis of the organizations in how well they dealt with what he called the tripartite system of oppression that African Americans endured, economic, political and personal repression. He supported his work with primary documents and a plethora of interviews of leaders of the different organizations he examined.¹⁹

**Historiography of Palestinian Intifada Nonviolence**

Despite focus by the international media on acts of violence committed during the uprisings, a number of sources agree that the vast majority of the Intifada of the late 1980s was predominantly nonviolent.²⁰ A 2001 article

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published in *Christian Century* asserted that the *Intifada* was mostly nonviolent and successful in humanizing the Palestinian people to the Israeli general population. Opinion pieces in mainstream Israeli newspapers like *Ha’aretz* agreed that the primary focus of the *Intifada* was nonviolent; encompassing roadblocks, commercial strikes, and flying Palestinian flags.21

Gene Sharp, director of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University’s Center for International Affairs, claimed that 85% of the *Intifada* was nonviolent. Though acts of limited violence did occur (such as stone throwing and the use of Molotov-cocktails), the vast majority of incidents reflected a commitment to non-violent direct action. Sharp identified three categories of direct action; symbolic, non-cooperation, and nonviolent intervention. Symbolic protest included the holding of vigils, marches and flying the Palestinian flag. Non-cooperation consisted of social boycotts, economic boycotts, labor strikes, political repudiation of legitimacy, civil disobedience and mutiny. Nonviolent intervention encompassed hunger strikes, blockades, creation of self-reliant institutions, and the

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building of a parallel government. Sharp goes so far as to state that, “Considering their lack of preparation for disciplined nonviolent struggle and given the severity of Israeli repression in the form of beatings, shootings, killings, house demolitions, uprooting of trees, deportations, extended imprisonments, and detentions without trial, the Palestinians during the Intifada have shown impressive restraint.”²²

Professor Mohammed Abu-Nimer of American University asserted, “the willingness to bear more suffering than your opponent without retaliating in kind was a central feature of the Intifada.” His book recounted one example after another of different forms of nonviolence carried out by individuals, leaders, organizations and the masses during the *Intifada*. Having led many dialogue sessions among Palestinians during and after the *Intifada*, he commented on the restraint that Palestinians exercised despite their considerable suffering. The willingness of the masses to remain steadfast during times of adversity led to a significant commitment among Palestinians to uphold acts of civil disobedience rather than seek revenge and demonstrated a deep devotion to the Islamic and Christian teachings of restraint, forgiveness, and nonviolence.²³

Abu-Nimer also shared the opinion of Stephen Zunes, who concluded that, “despite well-publicized incidents of stone-throwing and the murder of collaborators, the bulk of the *Intifada* was nonviolent, including peaceful demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, tax refusal, occupations, blockades, and the

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creation of alternative institutions.”

Most scholars did not deny that media coverage of the Intifada mostly included stones thrown at tanks and Palestinian casualties and injuries. Yet they all agreed that this time period was marked by civil disobedience more than any other action. Such was also the case argued by Efraim Inbar in his journal article “Israel’s Small War: The Military Response to The Intifada.” Inbar declared that in addition to the aforementioned tactics listed by Zunes, other acts included commercial shutdowns, economic boycotts and the resignation of policemen.

Several cases of nonviolence and the establishment of alternative institutions to decrease Palestinian reliance on Israel are cited in a publication edited by Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin, Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation. Lockman and Beinin provided full text from the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) leaflets which called on Palestinians to do a number of things, including participation in specified strikes- work and business closure- the general protection of shops and businesses closed by their owners in solidarity with the Intifada, and the organization of business committees to provide support in the non-payment of taxes. The leaflet also called for the establishment of home school alternatives after occupation forces issued orders to close schools for Palestinians as well as alternative health care services to the injured. The book is also based on interviews and citations of mainstream


newspapers including the Jerusalem Post, Ha’aretz, The New York Times and Yedi’ot Abronot.27

Other examples of work in the occupied territories include books published by the Mennonite Central Committee. In Salt & Sign: Mennonite Central Committee in Palestine, 1949-1999, authors Alain Weaver and Sonia Weaver outline the many forms of nonviolent resistance utilized by Palestinians. They cited mass demonstrations, tax resistance and school and commercial strikes as the dominant forces of the early Intifada. They also described the building of community institutions, back yard gardens and tax payment refusal. The Mennonite Central Committee also established the Center for Rapprochement, which helped incubate nonviolent efforts, organized peaceful protests and served as a center for dialogue among Israelis and Palestinians.28

Ruth Margolies Beitler also agreed that non-violent direct action was the primary tool of the Intifada, going so far as to argue that Israeli counter-insurgency policy was responsible for the use of non-violence among Palestinians because it limited their options. Beitler’s work was based on a theory by Mark Lickbach that “the repression of a group’s violent tactics will reduce the use of that violent tactic and increase the implementation of non-violent tactics.”29 Her theory

27 Joel Benin and Zachary Lockman eds., Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 328-337. This was UNLU leaflet No. 1 and was issued on January 8, 1988. The strike was called until the evening of Wednesday January 13, 1988.

28 A. Weaver and S. Weaver, Salt & Sign, 8, 90.

however was proven wrong in the years following the failure of the Oslo agreement in the late 90s, as the second Intifada saw a marked increase in violence.

Civil disobedience and organizing led by Palestinian women was woven into the work of Jewish scholar Philippa Strum.\(^{30}\) Her work largely relied on interviews with women during her time in the Middle East during the first Intifada. According to Strum, women played a significant role in the sustenance and success of the movement by organizing small businesses, schools, health care services, urban farming, and other social institutions, as well as enforcing boycotts and strikes and organizing marches to spread their message.

Nonviolent activist and leader Mubarak Awad, founder of the Palestinian Centre for the Study of Nonviolence, lectured and published on the significance of non-violence. His work laid out a plan for nonviolent activism that included several different types of boycotts, planting trees, alternative institution building and tax resistance.\(^{31}\) Other leaders and their writings included Hana Siniora, Faisal Husseini, Sari Nuseibeh and Hanan Ashrawi. Siniora attempted to appeal to American, western, and Palestinian scholarship in his announcement that Palestinian leadership launched a nonviolent campaign to end the occupation in January of 1988. He argued it was important for the Palestinians to develop a campaign of civil disobedience to emphasize the need for change.\(^{32}\) He justified the

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importance by claiming it would help the Israeli people and voters to see the injustice in the occupied territories, and move them to rise and change the system. He also called for the importance of nourishment and growth of the peace camps and Israeli-Palestinian cooperation. Leader and activist Jonathan Kuttab made similar if not identical arguments in his writing as well. Kuttab instructed the Palestinian population to focus on the use of civil disobedience and get rid of weapons.33

Activist Hanan Ashrawi discussed her involvement and that of others in her book, *This Side of Peace.*34 Her memoir explained the context and significance of different actions of civil disobedience. Ashrawi also discussed the failure of different efforts such as the hunger strike that was undermined by the Gulf War; as well as what it was like inside Palestinian leadership circles and negotiations.

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34 Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace.*
In her article, “Ordinary Palestinians Fight for Their Freedom,” Lucy Nesseibeh argues that for Palestinians to simply exist and live in the Occupied Territories and Gaza Strip is a form of protest. She argues that Palestinian steadfastness and insistence on remaining on the land despite their difficulties is in itself a form of non-violent resistance. Professor Rema Hammami of Beirzeit University argued this same point in an article which first appeared in *Middle East Report* in 2004 and later was published in the *Jerusalem Quarterly*. Only Hammami extended the steadfast attitude of *sumud* to be defined as “resisting immobility, the

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locking down of one’s community, and refusing the impossibility of reaching one’s school or job.”36 It was thus an attitude that was based on the philosophy that life must continue despite hardship.

Several works compare or connect nonviolence in the African American and Palestinian experiences. Award-winning author Mary King helped illuminate the depth of nonviolence within the Palestinian Intifada and drew some links and parallels between publications of Palestinian leaders and the writings of MLK; while historian Robert Hunter made general comparisons between both movements. Rebecca Kook is by far the most exhaustive, in regards to both the Palestinian and African American experience. However, Kook focused on Palestinians who were awarded the privilege of and accepted Israeli citizenship, thus becoming Israeli-Arabs. The work did not address the comparison of Palestinians inside the West Bank and Gaza strip. Reality for those living in the territories was much different from that of the Israeli-Arabs.

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CHAPTER II
EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
AND NONVIOLENCE EFFORTS PRIOR TO BOTH MOVEMENTS

“When you are able, competent and generous, you don’t need arms.”
--Yeshya’ahu Toma Sik of the World Service Authority & War Resisters
International/Israel Section, Tel Aviv, during the February 5, 1983, visit to Majdal
Shams in the Golan Heights

Celebrated, applauded and held in high esteem, Mahatma Gandhi proved his
methods of nonviolence a strong force against unjust physical aggressors. The
twentieth century was filled with multiple efforts that attempted to learn from and
mirror his work. While many dismissed his notions as unrealistic, his success and
ability to overcome insurmountable odds shocked skeptics. To them, his tactics
seemed magical because of what they accomplished without the use of military
arms. Gandhi, described his work as “the silent and effective working of invisible
forces.”

These forces were channeled and utilized by leaders during multiple
movements and especially the African American Civil Rights movement of the
1960s and the Palestinian Intifada of the 1980s. African American and Palestinian
organizers drew upon the examples of nonviolent success before them. Leaders in
both contexts familiarized themselves with the work of Gandhi.

African American leaders made visits to India to either learn from Gandhi himself


39 While there were other sources of nonviolent influence to African Americans such as the
prophet Jesus son of Mary, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy, and others; the overlap with
Palestinians was especially apparent in the case of Gandhi.
or his followers. African American minister Howard Thurman paid Gandhi a visit in 1936, Marcus Garvey and W.E. B. Du Bois quoted the nonviolent leaders frequently, and Civil Rights Activist James Lawson spent three years in India as a missionary to learn from the surviving leaders of the Indian struggle. Garvey and Du Bois publicly exalted Gandhi’s work. Lawson was captivated by the writings of African American leaders on adapting nonviolence to a struggle for justice before he made the final decision to move halfway around the world. Lawson, left his studies at Oberlin College in 1957 to join the movement. He did so, after the urging of Martin Luther King, Jr., because Lawson had studied nonviolence extensively and would help others understand how to apply it. Lawson went to Vanderbilt and took a job as a field secretary with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in 1958.

Similarly, Palestinian nonviolent activist Mubarak Awad carefully studied the work of Gandhi and other major nonviolent success stories as a student in the United States before his attempt to implement such work in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Awad traveled with his wife, Nancy Nye, to India in 1984 to study Gandhi’s work and use it in the creation of the Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Muslims in India urged Awad to utilize the work of Abdul Ghaaffar Khan, a Muslim who advised Gandhi in organizing resistance against the British raj in Northwest India. Adhering to the advice of his new ally, Awad used the

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42 Ackerman and Duvall,*Force More Powerful*, 308.
translated work of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and its grounding in Islam because he also thought it would speak well to the Palestinian Muslims, as Awad was Christian. Later, Awad was referred to as the “Palestinian Gandhi.”

There are two types of nonviolent resistance; principled and pragmatic. Non-violence practitioners considered principled nonviolence the stronger of the two because it embraced nonviolence as a lifestyle. Pragmatic nonviolence was referred to as weak because it utilized nonviolence as a tool to bring about change without adopting it into one’s conviction. The danger of the pragmatic method was that if nonviolence did not succeed after some time, those engaged in the resistance might resort to the use of violence and thus further weaken their position and de-legitimize their cause.

Aware of the two different types of nonviolence, Dr. King and Awad both applied it to their efforts to rally people around the cause of civil rights. King applied both a principled and pragmatic approach to his message. He cautioned crowds that violence simply justified the use of more violence. Resistance was promoted as the foundation and very definition of nonviolence. It was not weak or passive but instead a power that could change life for the better. Such power was only maintained when the massive resistance was consistent and without violence. In this way, public opinion gradually became the ally of the desired change. Such was the case with sit-ins in the South. The images of well-dressed men and women reacting passively when threatened with violence became a tool that rallied

43 Anthony Saidy, interview by author, Los Angles, CA, April 24, 2010.
outsiders to the cause of African Americans. King also tied his principled approach to morality; to be nonviolent was to be part of the moral message of Christian selfless love, or agape. He stressed the importance of love for everyone, especially one’s enemies.45

On a practical level, non-violent protests put stress on the economy and overburdened the conscience of the nation, forcing the system to change out of selfishness to avoid hardship. When King preached, he stressed the use of love to change the hearts of aggressors.46 He justified the use of tactical non-violence which forced opponents to change their behavior so long as it was done with love; however, Gandhi viewed all coercion as the use of violence itself, and thus self-defeating.47 Similarly, other early nonviolent theorists including the Anabaptist movement viewed strict principled nonviolence as the best form of resistance. King’s methods, however, seemed successful at the time because they yielded results. The movement was eventually followed by what was coined as the ‘power’ stage in which violence took a dominant role over the theater of nonviolence. His deviation from pure principled nonviolence was arguably a major contributor to the eventual weakness of his movement. Nonetheless, King stood by the importance of self-restraint and emphasized love in the face of pain and hatred.

While King was not true to principled nonviolence, the same was true for Palestinian efforts as well. Palestinian leadership focused solely on pragmatic

47 King utilized nonviolence as a tool to expose and force his opponents to change course.
nonviolence. Its leadership utilized nonviolence as a tool and did not promote it as the “moral high ground.” In the early 1980s, Awad promoted the use of nonviolence as a weapon against the injustices Palestinians faced. As Gandhi and King had before him, Awad discussed the use of non-violent means of protest as important mechanisms to further the Palestinian agenda. Awad, however, took tactical-nonviolent love another step away from principled nonviolence and simply established it as a solely tactical tool to bring about change. His primary focus was on the way nonviolence could leverage change as a tool rather than a moral ideology.48

These nonviolent strategies drew upon the concept of ‘people power.’ Gandhi explained that nonviolence was the only form of direct action, ‘the greatest activist force in the world,’ a force ‘more positive than electricity, and more powerful than even ether.’49 To Gandhi, nonviolence was a “science with laws to be applied, yielding power that was predictable.”50

Both King and Awad preached this concept of power. King stressed the power of noncompliance and love of the aggressor. Awad wrote extensively and told all who would listen about the power of nonviolence to obtain rights for the Palestinians. Awad’s article printed in multiple outlets including several places in the Middle East and in both the Journal of Palestinian Studies and Nonviolent


49 Ibid.

Struggle in the Middle East, discussed “the issue of nonviolence as a serious and comprehensive strategy as well as the problems and obstacles which it would face in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza.”\textsuperscript{51} Furthermore, both stressed the importance of asserting control over situations nonviolently in order gain power to bring about change.

Though both leaders were strongly influenced by the work of Gandhi, the Anabaptist movement also affected them. In his book, American Nonviolence: The History of An Idea, Ira Chernus examined the connection of historical American nonviolence with Christianity. He demonstrated the influence of Anabaptist nonviolence theology in movements carried out by Quakers and on abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison and Henry David Thoreau. Chernus crowned King as a leader of “the most powerful nonviolent social change movement in U.S. history.” Agape love, King argued, would bring balance back to the community so that all people would share power. The people’s power ultimately became a strong force in the 1960s and proved successful in bringing about the change its advocates sought.\textsuperscript{52}

Twenty years later, the beliefs of Anabaptists both in the U.S. and in the West Bank heavily influenced Awad’s ideology.\textsuperscript{53} After obtaining his degree in the U.S., Awad established and became the director of the Palestinian Center for the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item Chernus, American Nonviolence,” 161, 70.
\item David Albert, Nonviolent Struggle in The Middle East (Santa Cruz, CA: New Society Publishers): 38. Mennonites adhere to the teachings of Menno Simmons, a leader of the Anabaptist movement in the establishment of its unique identity from the father of the Christian Reformation, Martin Luther.
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Study of Nonviolence in Jerusalem. Awad urged the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) to not only provide program development but also invest in social change in the Palestinian struggle.\textsuperscript{54} Mennonites also led multiple peace and justice initiatives that introduced nonviolence in the form of dialogue to both Palestinians and Israelis, thus influencing Palestinian society in the Occupied Territories.\textsuperscript{55}

While Anabaptist values and Gandhi’s principles affected both movements, nonviolent initiatives were not born at the onset of each movement either in the 1960s or the 1980s. King drew from the ideas of nineteenth-century emancipation activist Frederick Douglass. Like Douglass, King utilized nonviolence to appeal to the conscience of white America with the truths of the system they perpetuated. The civil rights leader also drew from Douglass’ affirmation that universal human rights were necessary for all people.\textsuperscript{56}

In addition to Frederick Douglass, other historical American nonviolent activists included William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, Reinhold Niebuhr, A.J. Muste, and Dorothy Day.\textsuperscript{57} All these leaders spanned across U.S. history. Garrison was a gutsy editor of the abolitionist newspaper, The Liberator, and a cofounder of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Thoreau, an abolitionist, historian, poet and philosopher is well known for his essay, “Civil Disobedience”

\textsuperscript{54} A. Weaver and S. Weaver, \textit{Salt & Sign}, 35. MCC is a worldwide relief agency that has provided assistance and programs to Palestinians— that began its work in 1949 and presently continues its efforts today.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 9.


\textsuperscript{57} Chernus, \textit{American Nonviolence}, vii.
which argues in favor of civil disobedience to oppose unjust laws. Niebuhr was an influential American theologian who was widely quoted by King and given credit for influencing him towards civil disobedience and nonviolence. Muste served as the executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and advisor to James Lawson and King. Muste and Day led multiple civil rights efforts during the 1950s and 1960s. Day’s work focused on civil disobedience and advocacy for the poor, homeless and disadvantaged.

Baynard Rustin, James Farmer, A.J. Muste, and others also played a vital role in the movement. Rustin, an experienced labor and civil rights organizer, had been beaten and jailed and still remained committed to nonviolence. Rustin understood that radicalism hurt the overall movement, and he spent a great deal of effort recruiting individuals, including his replacement, Glenn Smiley.58

James Farmer, began working for civil rights in the 1940s. He was known as a main organizer of the Freedom Rides, an essential campaign that forced the Northern and Southern states to come to terms with the desegregation of interstate bussing. He also helped found the Committee of Racial Equality in 1942, which later became the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). CORE based itself on Gandhian principles to not only engage in a social movement, but to also have a relationship with the roots of social struggle, especially espousing discipline.59


A.J. Muste spent some time as the executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). He authored *Non-violence in an Aggressive World* (1940), espousing the idea of nonviolence as a tool and the need to understand its power and how to leverage it. King was initially introduced to Muste and the power of nonviolence while studying at Crozer where he attended a lecture by Muste. Though initially King was not completely sold on the power of nonviolence, with time Muste and others helped him see the effectiveness of pure, nonviolent activism.
Similarly, Arab leaders organized and facilitated a six-month strike/boycott in 1936 to protest the surge of Jewish immigrants to the area identified as Palestine. Leadership, however, imposed this action on the masses. In 1968, Faisal Husseini, a member of the Fatah party learned Hebrew while in an Israeli jail and began a lecture series on nonviolent resistance.

In 1981, Husseini established The Committee Confronting the Iron Fist, a coalition that helped the families of Palestinians in Israeli jails. Because of Husseini’s work, a large segment of the population embraced nonviolence voluntarily. This point became an essential part of the movement because “volunteers in a mass movement are better motivated, more easily mobilized and can sustain their nonviolent resistance longer.” Husseini focused on winning the hearts and minds of Israelis. He stated, “we must convince Israelis that we are not going to destroy them or throw them in the sea, that they can live with the Arab world… the only solution is to go on making it clear to the Israelis that the Intifada is not using weapons. We have the means, but we are not using it because we don’t want to kill.” Husseini worked with Israeli political journalist and refusnik Gideon Spiro. Together they worked on the Committee Confronting the “Iron Fist” (CCIF), a term frequently used by Israeli officials at the time such as Yizhak Rabin and Yitzhak Shamir. This committee also absorbed other groups such as the Committee of Solidarity with Birzeit University (SCBZ), started in reaction to Israeli closure of

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61 Nojeim, Planting olive trees, 121.

62 Ackerman and Duvall, Force More Powerful, 404.
Birzeit in 1981. CCIF regularly held protests, marches, letter-writing campaigns, picketing, public speeches signed onto public statements, organized vigils and rallied for those going through deportation proceedings. One of their many protests included 150 Jews and Palestinians raising awareness of and demanding improvement in prison conditions, deportations and arrests without charge.63

Faisal Husseini was significant because he had the clout and fame necessary to develop a following. He came from a wealthy and well-known family. Additionally his father was known as a hero because he fought and died in the war of 1948. Forging his own path, Husseini became a champion of nonviolence in 1968. Like Gandhi and King, Husseini accepted punishment in order to influence his adversary. While in prison, he was known to smile at his guards so that he could turn a cold shoulder soft.64

Several instances of non-violence followed the 1967 war. Directly after, Israel tried to impose Israeli texts and curriculum on West Bank schools, but parents and teachers maintained a 3-month strike, which resulted in a compromise. In November of 1967, Israel arrested and planned to deport Nablus mayor Bassam Shak’a. In protest, other West Bank mayors resigned and strikes and demonstrations spread like wild-fire until Shak’a was released and his deportation canceled. In November of 1987, Israel lifted the requirement of foreign faculty working in West Bank universities to take a loyalty oath following 14-months of deportations.


64 Mary King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 170.
strikes, demonstrations and protests by academic freedom groups in the West Bank, Israel, and the West.\textsuperscript{65}

In both the United States in the 1960s and the Occupied Territories in the 1980s nonviolence existed along-side violence. Both the Civil Rights leaders and those of the \textit{Intifada} faced the similar challenge of dealing with violent protest groups whose actions detrimentally affected any peaceful progress. In the United States, pro-violence groups such as the Black Panthers directly opposed the work of King and his followers. Newspapers represented King in a disparaging light after he attended a worker’s strike which turned violent.\textsuperscript{66}

Likewise, Palestinian leaders held a two-week hunger strike after the United Nations Security Council vetoed an attempt to have a third party investigate a massacre of seven Palestinian workers by an Israeli soldier in May of 1990. The soldier was declared mentally insane after opening fire on the workers, allegedly because his girlfriend had left him. The hunger strike gathered world attention until it was completely undermined by a failed terrorist attempt by Abu Abbas, which effectively transformed that attention into scorn.\textsuperscript{67}

Prior to and during the official onset of each movement, both African Americans and Palestinians debated whether or not nonviolence was the right way

\textsuperscript{65} Phillip Grant, “Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Occupied Territories,” in \textit{Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East} (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), 63.


\textsuperscript{67} Ashrawi, \textit{This Side of Peace}, 64-67.
Awad’s workshop was given across the territories in community centers and places of higher education such as Birzeit University. Awad was invited to speak to the cultural studies faculty on the applicable use of nonviolence. The well-known Professor Sari Nusseibeh, later to become a strong advocate of nonviolence, was there.\textsuperscript{71} In 1983, Mubarak Awad did an interview published in a mainstream Israeli newspaper, the \textit{Jerusalem Post}, with David Richardson. During the interview, Awad said that Palestinians “have reached such a point of despair, feeling that our identity is going without admitting it to ourselves. That is the movement for nonviolent struggle.”\textsuperscript{72}

Nonviolent action was orchestrated well before and right up to the beginning of the \textit{Intifada}. The \textit{Committee to Combat the Iron Fist} continued to hold demonstrations during the summer prior to the official start of the uprising.\textsuperscript{73} This march primarily focused on bringing an end to the Israeli occupation, the promotion of a two-state solution, and demands that Israel accept the PLO as a negotiating partner. After a 34-day hunger strike in 1985, Israel released a security prisoner, Jabril Rajoub. This was in part the success of the \textit{Committee Confronting the Iron Fist}.\textsuperscript{71,72,73}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[71] Mary King, \textit{A Quiet Revolution}, 187; King extracted this information from her personal interviews with Sari Nusseibeh in 1994 and Musa Budeiri in 1996. Budeiri was the professor who invited Awad to speak at Birzeit University.
\end{footnotes}
Fist, for the ability to raise international awareness and put pressure on Israel.\footnote{Grant, “Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Occupied Territories,” 61.} The committee worked with Palestinians prisoners and their families to advocate for the improvement of prison conditions.

Protests emerged across the Palestinians landscape, and played a central role in maintaining the momentum and energy after Israel began its aggressive campaign to suppress activism. In the early 1980s Druze from the Golan organized direct noncompliance. Frustrated after their towns were under siege for 43 days, during which schools were confiscated as army camps, homes destroyed, arrests and forced entry and confiscation of Syrian papers and their replacement with Israeli ID cards, Druze in Northern Israel organized a number of different responses.

They orchestrated efforts to harvest their crops despite enforced Israeli curfews. In response, Israel arrested curfew violators. When large groups convened in the middle of the town, an official ordered a helicopter to fire on the crowd, but the soldier refused. Multiple women stood around soldiers and took their arms away. Sometimes these weapons were exchanged for the release of prisoners. They also completed a major sewer project with no funds or permits from Israel. In addition, they developed cooperatives where they set up schools and sprayed trees as a community and shared a community harvest. In 1982, twelve Golan Druze were arrested for not carrying ID cards. After an appeal to the Israeli High Court, on May 22, 1983, the court ruled against the appeal, citing that the cards were
“necessary to running the affairs of the local residents in the administered territories.” 75

To help illustrate the significance of the Israeli military identity cards, Johanthan Kuttab, attorney representing the Druz wrote:

You cannot imagine what an identity card means under Israeli occupation. You have to carry it on you at all times. It is your only legal tie, the only legitimacy for me as a Palestinian living in the West Bank. My identity card is my most valuable possession in the world. I wouldn’t trade it for anything… without identity cards you cannot cash your checks at the banks, you cannot travel or move around. You cannot record or register births or marriages. You are legally a non-person. 76

Without a permit, a Palestinian would face imprisonment, deportation and harassment.

Awad also discussed the workshops he led in the Occupied Territories while working to inspire nonviolent massive action. During these workshops he frequently referenced King and Gandhi. Awad claimed that despite resistance from some and threats of arrests, several hundreds of people were trained in nonviolent activism. Other workshop titles included:

- “How to get your rights without a single bullet”
- “4 methods: openness, personal risk, truthfulness, and self suffering”
- “Techniques—negotiation, direct action, agitation, consumer boycotts, picketing, strikes, sit-ins, noncooperation, nonpayment taxes, civil disobedience and the development of parallel government”


76 Ibid, 14.
• “Rotating leadership system for when arrests take place”77

These workshops helped prepare attendees for nonviolent action and the hardship that would follow. They were meant to empower the population and help them realize nonviolent direct action. Role playing and strategies such as a rotating leadership system in the event of incarceration proved essential to the success of the movement as these scenarios became reality early on in the civil disobedience campaign.

Awad also established the Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence, where he disseminated the translated works of King, Gandhi and biography of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1880-1988), *A Man to Match His Mountains: Badshah Khan, Nonviolent Soldier of Islam*. Khan was a Muslim success story and a close advisor to Gandhi. Khan led the Pashtuns, reknowned warriors, to drop their arms and utilize nonviolent action successfully. This helped attain independence from the British. In the October 1989 newsletter of the Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence, Nafez Assaily concluded that Khan was the “perfect example of how a devout Moslem found his religion to be a source of nonviolent philosophy.”78

Later on in 1986, Awad traveled around with a library of how to advocate for nonviolent resistance. The library included translations of the works of King, Gandhi, and Khan. He produced booklets based on the works of the aforementioned leaders as well as of Gene Sharp’s *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, distributing


7,000 copies within the territories. These leaflets were placed on buses and shared among family members and friends. Awad took his library from village to village where he solicited volunteers to promote direct action in the event Israel tried to confiscate farming land.\(^{79}\) This proved essential as Awad and his volunteers organized an action in response to a settlement expansion that threatened to confiscate Palestinian village farmland. Awad invited the media to witness 300 individuals take down the fence that settlers had erected on Palestinian-owned land. As they attempted to take down the fence, settlers shot into the air and at the ground. One of the farmers responded, “Go ahead! It will only show the world that you are killers.”\(^{80}\)

Events such as this, increased press coverage of Awad’s work. In October of 1986 Edward Grossman labeled Awad as a “Palestinian Pacifist” in the *Jerusalem Post* and stated that Awad advocated for purity in the use of nonviolence. Awad was very keen on not allowing violence to undermine the movement. He was careful not to say that violence was wrong, because there were those who argued that the use of arms was a means of self-defense. Instead Awad argued that nonviolence was an effective tool and a better weapon.\(^{81}\) When used properly, as it was in the Civil Rights Movement, this tool created reform from within and focused on self-improvement first. It meant pride in one’s work, doing things well, and

\(^{79}\) King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 137-146.


excelling in one’s profession. The positive self-image would project outwardly and help ensure the success of the movement.82

While African Americans and Palestinians engaged in different nonviolent efforts throughout their history, the movements of the 1960s and 1980s bear strong similarities. Though both movements obscured the message of Gandhi because they did not adhere to his strictly principled approach to nonviolence, and because they relied on nonviolence as a tactic rather than a way of life, they also heavily relied on his work.

CHAPTER III
AFRICAN AMERICAN DIRECT ACTION

On May 17, in 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court made a decision that was to provide a focal point for social activism all over the country for the next decade. The court overturned the historic case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), a precedent which allowed for discrimination against minorities under the guise that ‘separate but equal’ was realistic. Segregation was declared unconstitutional by the court in the case of *Brown vs. the Board of Education* (1954). Although this event was not the first attempt to rectify the institutional racism that plagued African Americans, it was one of the first major victories that helped set the tone of the decade to follow. It was a successful attempt to work with the system to bring about change in a peaceful manner.

Protests of all types had begun in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the period between the mid-1950s and 1960s was highlighted with several successful efforts of nonviolent mass-resistance. This was not to say that the period earmarked by historians as *Black Power* was not also taking shape during the early 1960s, because it was. However, in the midst of different movements geared towards bringing about social change, was the viable and

83 Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom*, 34.
85 Bryant Brown, “NAACP Sponsored Sit-ins,” 274.
87 Most historians defined the period of *Black Power* as between 1959 and 1970.
credible struggle that adopted nonviolence, as a tool and way of life, to make a
difference in America. The study of this nonviolent aspect is essential to
understanding not only what took place in the United States during the heart of the
Civil Rights Movement, but also the appreciation for the different leadership
challenges, tactics and strategies used in the attempt to unite an upset and
disgruntled community to mobilize for action.

After the success of *Brown*, the judicial branch proved the system could
work. The results also yielded a Southern leadership backlash where African
Americans were abused while trying to exercise their new rights.\(^{88}\) Inevitably this
reality led to the alienation of Southern whites and eventually forced them to
integrate their facilities. Moreover, the decision affected whites who were forced to
confront a reality they were oblivious to prior to the civil rights movement.\(^ {89}\) What
was once invisible because it was out of their realm of consciousness became a
morally repugnant condition that had to be dealt with. While successful, this
process took over a decade before being able to influence the white South.

**Montgomery Bus Boycott**

The first large-scale successful nonviolent resistance took place in
Montgomery, Alabama. On December 1, 1955, a seamstress and activist with the
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Rosa

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\(^{88}\) Robert Troutt, “Crowd Jeers as Negro Students Attempt to Enter Central High,” *Arkansas
Democrat*, September 4, 1957; Robert Troutt, “Growing Violence Forces Withdrawal of 8 Negro

\(^{89}\) Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom*, 34-35.
Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. Once arrested, she called the president of the local chapter of the NAACP who bailed her out of jail. This event was used by local black leadership to rally the community into a massive bus boycott. Well planned, the Parks case was the perfect set-up because she was a quiet, well-respected, church-going member of the community. Though there had been three other instances where bus drivers mistreated women that year, her reputation made her the perfect candidate and case to rally behind. It was on this occasion that Dr. King emerged as a leading civil rights leader due to his well-articulated and charismatic speech which motivated the citizens of Montgomery. Organizers mobilized the city with leaflets and other forms of communication. With the help of the Supreme Court, the year-long boycott of the bus company resulted in complete desegregation. The success of this protest established the reality that nonviolent resistance could indeed work. It proved it could be used as an effective tool against racism.90 The boycott convinced activist James Lawson that African Americans were ready to embrace nonviolence.91

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90 Ibid., 544; Levy, The Civil Rights Movement, 9; Morris, Origins Of Civil Rights Movement, 42; Ackerman and Duvall, Force More Powerful, 310; Levy, Origins Of Civil Rights Movement, 10; Zanden, “The Non-violent Resistance movement Against Segregation,” 544. The boycott withstood violence, challenges set up by local white officials, and KKK activity.

91 Ackerman and Duvall, Force More Powerful, 308.
Leadership Rhetoric and Strategies in the Promotion of Nonviolence

Though the Montgomery Bus Boycott resulted in success, there were mixed feelings among the general African American community towards nonviolence. Some supported the movement, others avoided it out of fear of economic hardship, while still others believed that only violence provided a reliable solution. Conscious of the danger of engaging in a violent reaction to the events that were unfolding, leaders dealt with the issue head-on. Though not the only leader, King was the most prominent. Consequently, he was written about frequently. These published works
became an important contribution to the movement itself; which is why greater attention must be given to the details of these writings.92

As stated earlier, nonviolent resistance was not defined as the absence of violence, but “active resistance to an unjust law or custom.” It was promoted as a tool to overcome the urge to defend one’s self with violence against those who committed intentional harm to the person. It was used as a bargaining tool within communities with little affluence and money. It utilized a great deal of self control, usually practiced through multiple role-play sessions. Individuals willingly broke the law and then cooperated with the arrest. King promoted it as a tactic and a way of life.93

King dealt with the African American community’s inner-hostility toward whites by naming their feelings and validating them. At the rallying speech that distinguished him in Montgomery he told the crowd that they were “abused, insulted, mistreated, and ‘kicked about by the brutal feel of oppression’.” He also gave them license to feel anger and rage and then challenged them to ‘protest.’ African Americans, he said, had a “moral obligation” to fight segregation because in cooperating with an unjust system “the oppressed become as evil as the oppressor. Non-cooperation with evil [was] as much a moral obligation as [was]

cooperation with good.” Thus he defined violence as immoral, and the use of it, no matter what the reason, was evil. 94

King and other leaders also stressed the importance of Christian love. They used passages from the Bible such as “love your enemies; bless them that despitefully use you.” Leaders at a rally in Knoxville vented their frustrations through speech and yelling, and energized anger in the crowd, but then told the people there was no place for them if they did not have love in their hearts. 95

Suffering was an essential part of the struggle. It was the power the movement would use to wear down aggressors because of their consistency in the embrace of nonviolence. “Unearned suffering [was] redemptive—“especially when likened to Christ, who brought enlightenment and change through his suffering for the sins of others.” Suffering due to brutal aggression used against protesters served as a mechanism to bring about change. “Negros gained moral authority not because Americans opposed segregation, but because black people were suffering, because churches were bombed and children fire hosed.” 96

As discussed earlier, role-playing and training drills were conducted frequently in order to prepare protesters for what was to come. This became very important after leaders realized individuals needed to be well prepared for the task of going against their inherent reflexes to defend themselves. The drills taught individuals what to do and gave them plenty of practice. Groups such as SNCC, the

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95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., 548; West, and Mooney, To Redeem a Nation, 113; Rustin, Strategies for Freedom, 24.
National Council of Churches (NCC), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the NAACP, and CORE all banded together to create a training course called the Conference of Confederated Organizations, where they helped prepare activists to be peaceful and yet forceful at the same time.\(^97\) Initially, youth were not permitted to join protests, however, after some time they were allowed to join the effort if they attended nonviolent trainings and learned ways to protect themselves.\(^98\)

When in-depth training was not available due to an influx of student interest, attracted by the publicity of the sit-ins, Nashville organizer James Lawson made a list of instructions that were distributed among young activists.

**Do Not:**
1. Strike back nor curse if abused
2. Laugh out
3. Hold conversations with floor walker
4. Leave your seat until your leader has given you permission to do so.
5. Block entrances to stores nor the aisles inside.

**Do:**
1. Show yourself friendly and courteous at all times.
2. Sit Straight: always face the counter.
3. Report all serious incidents to your leader
4. Refer information seekers to your leader in a polite manner.
5. Remember the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.
Love and nonviolence is the way


Youths were needed to take the places of those arrested. They were strong-willed, dedicated, and passionate. Leaders in the movement recognized that youths would join the struggle in one way or another and decided it would be best to have their input in the activities they would engage in. Moreover, because youth were passionate and held a great deal of resentment towards the white population, they might have been recruited by the *Power Movement*, and thus engaged in the use of violence, which would have had a negative impact to the credibility of the African American struggle for equality. Black power alienated white supporters and worked against the goal of integration that the nonviolent struggle embraced.

Overall, youth proved to be important in gaining white support. Youth were arrested in front of film cameras and were seen by viewers on television screens nation-wide. Images of school buses got the attention and sympathy of U.S. citizens. Young leaders helped organize and took part in sit-ins and demonstrated courage and self determination that helped inspire older adults.

Charismatic leadership also played an important role in the enrollment of youth and adults. James Lawson “recruited hundreds of student volunteers by giving spellbinding speeches about love and nonviolence.” This tactic engaged the audience and allowed for an exchange of feelings and support to take place between

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101 Ibid., 208

102 Ibid.
the orator and his subjects. It was inspirational and motivated the crowds that were eager to change the status quo.\(^{103}\)

News media helped cover the jail protests as well. They produced slanted stories on the “moral superiority of the marcher’s position.”\(^ {104}\) In addition to protesting and providing a presence in given communities and enduring suffering, another strategy was to fill jails to their maximum capacity. In order to prepare his followers for a long journey and inspire them to break unjust laws, King quoted Gandhi, “rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain out freedom, but it must be our blood.”\(^ {105}\) King also warned that people needed to summon their inner courage to overcome fear that was disguised as caution.\(^ {106}\) One of his most famous rallying cries was “an injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”\(^ {107}\) These powerful charismatic statements helped people overcome their fear of pain and being arrested. Going to jail for acts of civil disobedience eventually became a rite of passage to individuals in the movement.

After a series of unsuccessful negotiations in Birmingham, Alabama, individuals marched and picketed in front of downtown stores daily. The demonstrators sought to put an end to discrimination and wanted equal employment opportunity in the stores. In 1963 picketers were arrested on a daily basis until 1000


\(^{104}\) Nojeim, Planting Olive Trees, 213.

\(^{105}\) Oates, Let The Trumpet Sound, 79.

\(^{106}\) Nojeim, Planting Olive Trees, 199.

\(^{107}\) Ibid., 200.
individuals were put in jail. This was a perfect example of how individuals were able to unite through non-violence and make it costly for racism to endure. The strategy overwhelmed the system so that their point would come across loud and clear.  

Before the tactic to fill jails was unleashed, students involved in sit-ins bailed each other out. It was not until later that they engaged in jail overflow.  

_Freedom Riders_ evolved the sit-in’s initial goal to gain publicity through protest, filling the jails after arrests, and not paying bail. This increased their visibility because they were costing the system more money and because they crossed state lines. 

_Freedom Riders_ rode buses from northern states down to Southern states. They challenged Southern policy by violating segregated seating and the use of bathroom facilities. Before they went on their journey they wrote letters to the president, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Justice Department and others to tell them about their plans to oppose segregation. James Farmer, a _Freedom Rider_, who rode from D.C. down through the southern states recalled that segregation signs were taken down the day before the riders reached Virginia and North Carolina. However, two members of the group were severely beaten in South Carolina before police arrived. Rather than arrest the aggressors, the policemen simply stopped any further violence from occurring. 

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108 Waskow, _From Race Riot to Sit-In_, 233.  
109 West and Mooney, _To Redeem a Nation_, 101.  
110 Ibid., 102.
Organizational Leadership

Leadership played an important role in inspiring individuals in their movement. Groups were formed in order to unite the community. They included: the Inter Civic Council (ICC), the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMH). The aforementioned organizations were important because there were now unifying political and social organizations at the time in the different communities with the goal of ending racism.¹¹¹

Though the groups embraced nonviolence they did not all do so the same way. A large majority used it as a political tool in order to bring about changes in the system while others, such as MLK, utilized it as a philosophy of life.¹¹² This difference underscored the diversity and tension between the different leaders. Organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) competed for the spotlight. They tried to take attention away from each other by joining each others’ protests and sought to beat each other to the new headlines. At times they engaged in name-calling which damaged their public image. Throughout all the internal hostility, they also collaborated on multiple efforts because they strove for the same end result. The


different groups also played on differences in order to get the white population to join their cause.\footnote{Nancy Weiss, “Creative Tensions in the Leadership of The Civil Rights Movement,” \textit{The Civil Rights Movement in America} Ed. Charles Eagles (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 39-43.}

Despite all the tensions, the NAACP, SNCC, CORE, SCLC, National Council of Negro Women, and the Defense Education Fund of the NAACP came together to form the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership (CUCRL). This organization raised funds for the different organizations that belonged to it, provided a meeting place and time to organize and strategize, stabilized the movement, made an official body that regulated the release of all information regarding civil disobedience, and provided a system of accountability among all activists. CUCRL had a budget of 1.5 million in 1963 and raised money by “bringing strong, democratic, disciplined and nonviolent leadership” to the movement. Leaders discussed different national issues, as well as, internal ones, shared information with each other, and offered input on ideas. This organized platform of dialogue decreased tension between the organizations. Unfortunately for the leadership, and their groups, the organization did not succeed for very long. Low meeting attendance and a lack of motivation eventually led to the end of the organization in 1967.\footnote{Ibid., 42-43.}
Results

The overall campaign had several different successes. The hard work of many, including politicians, such as then President Lyndon Johnson, led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965. Civil rights advocates also made serious headway in the end of Jim Crow laws, and made it realistic for minorities to vote at the polls. Rulings of the Supreme Court in favor of the movement while leveraging the constitution earned the attention of the federal government. Institutions, America, and the South were made aware African Americans would no longer tolerate racism.115

African American Civil Rights leadership tactics and strategies were a multi-faceted approach that engaged blacks, whites, the media, the government, and the Supreme Court. Nonviolence was built into the struggle for equality to bring about social change and denounce blatant and institutional racism. Leaders organized the movement through a variety of different ways including charismatic rhetoric, the formation of groups and organizations, massive demonstrations and sit-ins, role-playing and extensive training, the overwhelming use of suffering and the filing of jails, work with the media, and the use of youth and students.

In many ways the Intifada faced similar challenges. Opportunity areas sometime missed by leaders and organizations, organized and specialized committee work, failed attempts juxtaposed with successes, and internal and external opposition. The best way to demonstrate their connections to the intifada is to explore its history followed by a comparative contrast of both movements.

115 Fredrickson, Comparative Imagination, 174; Rustin, Strategies for Freedom, 25.
CHAPTER IV

THE PALESTINIAN INTIFADA

Young Palestinians transformed the Israeli political equation through the use of nonviolent resistance. They changed the terms of the debate and opened up the possibility for the Middle East peace talks, all by turning the other cheek and confronting Israeli authorities for the most part nonviolently. 

-Mordechai Bar-On, Former member of the Israeli Knesset and Chief of Education Officer for the Israeli Army

The Intifada of the late 1980s was the result of a policy of indirect rule by Israel, which sought to dehumanize the Palestinians by limiting contact between them and the greater population.” According to Siniora, the movement was a compilation of the “cumulative effects of occupation.” The Palestinian population lived a daily reality consisting of deportations, administrative detentions, town restrictions, lack of freedom of expression, censorship of process, land confiscation, high taxation, imprisonment and humiliation. From 1967 to the first uprising in 1987, this reality fueled resentment among the Palestinian community.

Israeli Defense Forces occupied Palestinian land in order to enforce Israeli security. Though settlements violated United Nations Resolution 242, which forbade settlement expansion in the occupied territories, Israel continued to build

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118 Beitler, "The Intifada," 52.
settlements on occupied land. By 1987, new settlements took up 70% of the West Bank and 50% of the Gaza Strip (both areas considered to be occupied territories as stated in United Nations Resolutions 242). In 1992, the U.S. State Department confirmed that Israeli settlers made up 13% of the population in the occupied territories, with a daily average of fifty new settlers. Israelis viewed settlement of the Occupied Territories as reclaiming their historical inheritance, requiring limited military protection and inexpensive building projects and infrastructure.

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120 Resolution 242 in 1967 demanded the "(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

All this led to a psychological frustration of Palestinian construction workers who woke up early to make it through long lines at check-points and then build Israeli settlements on Palestinian land because they needed the work to feed their families. Farming communities saw their livelihoods threatened by the
uprooting of a thousand olive groves and orchards on Palestinian lands confiscated for settlement use. Palestinians could not obtain building permits for additions on their own land, making their homes subject to demolition by Israeli forces. Other cited reasons for demolition included suspected security threats from any residents of the home. This was a carryover from the 1945 British Regulation 119 of the Defense (Emergency) Regulation, giving any military commander the right to seize structures or land in the interest of national security. Essentially this was the use of martial law during what was ostensibly peace. Using this law, Palestinian home demolitions were frequent and consistent. Between May of 1985 and December 9, 1987, 139 Palestinian homes were either fully or partially sealed. From December 9, 1987, through August 8, 1988, 84 Palestinian homes were demolished. 121

Unrestricted land confiscations for settlements led some Israelis to believe that Palestinians were few in number. Both Israelis and the West believed Israel could claim as much land of the occupied or 'unoccupied' territories as it wished with no consequences. In the New York Times on October 5, 1986, Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Perez further promoted the image of free land for the taking by describing the founders of Israel as those to whom "the land to which they came, while indeed the Holy Land, was desolate and uninviting; a land that had been laid

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to waste." This statement ignored the existence of almost five million Palestinians, implying that the land was justly taken because Palestinians did not know how to use it properly. Ironically, settlements were often built on top of fertile soil and confiscated orchards.  

Passed in 1967, U.N. Resolution 242 called for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. It also stated that "a just settlement of the refugee problem" must be achieved. \(^\text{123}\) In the late 1980s there were 445,397 refugees in the Gaza Strip, and 372,586 refugees in the West Bank. \(^\text{124}\) The unrest, unemployment, and poverty in refugee camps increased resentment towards the Israeli government.

According to a report by Meron Benvenisti’s West Bank Data Base Project, printed in the *Jerusalem Post*, the health conditions inside the West Bank and especially the Gaza strip were “catastrophic.” The report declared that Israel had confiscated one-third of the Gaza Strip for settlements and created an area with one of the highest population densities in the world. An average of 2,100 to 2,200 persons live per square kilometer compared to 186 persons per square kilometer in Israel. In the eight refugee camps where 525,000 individuals lived, the population doubled every generation. In twelve of the fourteen camps, lack of


a proper sewage system led to outbreaks of cholera. The infant mortality rate was four times that of Israel, with hospitals understaffed and under supplied. The report also claimed that Gaza was “a profit making business for the Israeli treasury” due to its severe tax system and lack of social services. Gazans not only paid local income tax, but also a national insurance and occupation tax, yielding around thirty-five million dollars in taxes per year. Salaries also averaged 40% less than those of Israelis.\textsuperscript{125} Israeli officials rebutted this report in the \textit{Jerusalem Post} on June 14, 1986. Coordinator of Activities in the Territories, Shmuel Goren, responded that “Israel can’t equalize services in the territories to those inside Israel simply because there isn’t enough money.”\textsuperscript{126}

There were also instances where Israeli officers knew of several attacks plotted and carried out against West Bank mayors by underground Jewish terror groups such as the Jewish Defense League. One such plot was exposed when a terror group carried out an attack against the al-Bireh Mayor, Ibrahim Tawil, by rigging his garage door with explosives. Two officers, Rav-seren Aharon Gila, and Sholomo Leviatar were charged and sentenced to time in prison for failure to warn border police about the explosive, which led to the blinding injury of an Israeli officer.\textsuperscript{127}


In addition to not reporting or stopping attacks conducted by Jewish terrorists, officers were also criticized for the ways in which they detained people. According to an Amnesty International report based in London, Israel drew scrutiny for “increased use of administrative measures to restrict individuals without charge or trial.” More specifically, in 1984, Shin Beth, the Israeli domestic intelligence agency, was pardoned after killing 2 Palestinian prisoners. Moreover, Israeli legal scholars agreed that the justice system at large fostered a “disturbing trend” when it came to the interpretation of the law. Light sentences were granted to Jewish terrorists convicted of maiming or killing Palestinians in 1985. One year later, Israeli soldiers killed three youth who were throwing stones, while claiming they were aiming at their feet.

Serious injuries and even death caused by rubber bullets were not uncommon. Though similar to those used by the British in Northern Ireland, these bullets had a larger core compacted with steel, making them far more likely, if not to kill, then to maim targets by shattering bones and blinding eyes. Despite this, youth movements persisted en mass, as was the case in the U.S. during the Civil Rights movement.

Though Palestinian wages were less than those paid to Israelis for the same job, there was no way to contest this issue. Up to this point, no licenses were granted to Palestinian labor unions. Consequently, the West Bank housed 80

128 Ibid.
unlicensed unions in the 1980s. In 1986, 31 applications were submitted to register, however none were accepted. Organizations were undermined and raids were conducted on exhibits of national folklore and handicrafts of women’s committees. The head of the Union of Women’s Action Committee, Zahira Kamal, was placed under town arrest during most of the time between 1980 and 1988. Detentions and deportations were common for community organizers and leaders. Several such cases included the deportation of Walid Nazzal, activist in the Workers Unity Bloc (WUB) in October of 1985; Ali Abu Hilal, WUB Secretary General in January 1986; Adnan Daghhir, prominent leader in the Progressive Workers Block (PWB) in August of 1988.131

Similar to the Jim Crow laws of the South, inequality between Israelis and Palestinians was stifling. Martial law was applied to ostensible civilians. Whereas Israelis could vote in local and national elections, Palestinians could not. Israelis were tried in civil courts, Palestinians in the Territories were tried in military courts. Israeli settlers had freedom of movement, Palestinians were subjected to long lines at checkpoints and curfews. Israeli settlements had an unlimited supply of water, Palestinians were restricted to the same amounts rationed in 1967. An Israeli in Kiryt Arba with an income of 4,000 Shekels per month paid 556 Shekels in taxes, while a Palestinian in Hebron earning 4,000 Shekels per month paid 2,174 in taxes and had to show proof of payment in order to get

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identification documents, permits for travel and permits to build. Road blocks were also set up throughout the West Bank to run names for taxes owed.132

In addition to the internal frustrations with Israel, Palestinians became increasingly agitated with the outside world. An Arab summit held in November of 1987 ignored the Palestinian issue as though there was no problem. The same was the case during high publicity meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. Up to that point, Palestinians had endured twenty years of occupation and none of the world’s leaders seemed to care.133

Furthermore, General Ariel Sharon moved into the Muslim Quarter in Jerusalem. This required the use of many guards to protect him, a move that was consequently seen as an army takeover, and led to increased friction.134 Yitzhak Rabin then amplified military presence when he set up roadblocks, increased searches, arrests and deportation, and denied family reunification permits.135 As Palestinian resentment towards the Israeli government increased, hope in the


134 Ibid.

135 Ackerman and Duvall, Force More Powerful, 403.
peace process decreased. The absence of peaceful channels for legitimate change solidified anger created by daily humiliations under the occupation.


In 1987, the Palestinian uprising began. An Israeli salesman, Sholomo Takal, was stabbed to death in the Gaza Strip on December 6, 1987. Two days later an Israeli army vehicle crashed into a line of traffic at Jabaliya camp in the Gaza Strip. The collision left four Palestinians dead and seven with serious injuries. The funerals of the dead Palestinians turned into a large demonstration in

136 This was due to human rights violations, the stagnant refugee problem, illegal confiscation of land, and the building of settlements.

Jabaliya because it was rumored that the Israeli driver purposely initiated the crash to avenge the death of his brother, the man stabbed to death in the Jabaliya camp earlier that week. Palestinians throughout the occupied territories burned tires, threw stones and Molotov-cocktails, and illegally raised the Palestinian flag. Israeli troops responded to this initial action with teargas, night sticks, water cannons, and live ammunition.\textsuperscript{138}

After the initial spontaneous uprising began the resistance took a different road. Most Palestinians turned to acts of defiance and civil disobedience. The Palestinian people attempted to take control of their own destiny. To do so, they held commercial strikes, put up road blocks with burning tires, continued to raise flags on top of their residences, drew political graffiti in the red, green, and black colors of the Palestinian flag on walls, communicated with Israeli civil administration officials only when they had no other choice, and set up networks among themselves for social and other services.\textsuperscript{139} Other tactics included the boycott of Israeli products, establishing underground schools when Israeli authorities closed official education institutions, throwing out their military identity cards,\textsuperscript{140} and refusing to pay their taxes in towns such as Beit Sahour.\textsuperscript{141}


\textsuperscript{139} Bar-on, \textit{In Pursuit of Peace}, 221-222.

\textsuperscript{140} At the time, throwing out identity cards was illegal.

The Palestinians soon formed committees to organize the massive resistance to the occupation.

Jane, a Christian resident of Beit Sahour, shared her personal account, that she joined a *debkah* troop (national traditional dance group) which was outlawed by the Israeli authorities because it meant that a group of people would be convening. In this way, she affirmed that she engaged in something that symbolized her Palestinian identity and was an act of political resistance. During this same time, her father’s identity card was confiscated for flying a Palestinian flag. The ID card was needed for travel. He eventually had to pay a fine in order to regain possession of his ID card. Despite pressure from the occupying forces, her family continued their activism. One night they were gathered around a leaflet published and circulated by the UNLU (several different Palestinian groups formed the United National Leadership of the Intifada), when there was a pounding noise at the door and the army burst in. After her mother shouted “it’s the army!”, Jane tossed the leaflet into her mouth and swallowed it. Jane also recalled a mass Christian demonstration in Beit Sahour in April of 1992 after a youth was fatally shot by an Israeli sniper. Eventually the crowds were dispersed by Israeli troops with teargas.\(^{142}\)

The *Intifada* combined elements from the Civil Rights movement in order to promote a national struggle toward independence. In their book, *A Force More Powerful*, on nonviolent movements, authors Peter Ackerman and Jack Duval, discussed the nonviolent Palestinian movement led by Mubarak Awad, Director

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for the Center for the Study of Nonviolence. The authors described "the nonviolent strategy promoted by Awad "as a mobilization of Palestinians" to exploit the condemnation that would befall Israel for the eventual crackdown."

The book also compared the *Intifada* to "the nonviolent movements led by Gandhi and Martin Luther King."\(^{143}\)

Through the use of massive civil disobedience, Palestinians transformed the uprising from violent demonstrations to one of low aggression. This was not to say that armed resistance was extinct. Stones were thrown at Israeli troops, and sometimes petroleum bombs were launched, while suspected collaborators with the Israeli military were killed.\(^{144}\) Overall, the majority of Palestinians took part in the massive nonviolent resistance while a minority of radicals promoted an armed struggle.

This massive undertaking was organized through the printing of leaflets and their wide distribution among the Palestinian population. An organization made up of several different Palestinian groups named the *United National Leadership of the Intifada* (UNLU). There is controversy concerning who started the UNLU. In his book, *The Palestinian Intifada*, Edgar O’Balance, claims the UNLU began under the inspiration of PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) leader Abu Jihad, who printed, numbered, and dated the leaflets. However, Mary King who studied the *Intifada* extensively gives the credit to Palestinians outside


\(^{144}\) Inbar, “Israel’s Small War,” 29.
the Tunisian-based PLO and inside the Occupied Territories.\textsuperscript{145} Regardless, the purpose was to give the leadership one voice and a unified message. This organization was made up of several different groups which included the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), the DPLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine), and Fatah (one of the PLO's most influential groups) who served as an effective coordinating body on civil disobedience.\textsuperscript{146} These grassroots printings instructed the Palestinian populations on what to do and when. The organization transformed spontaneous strikes and demonstrations into a coordinated and organized effort through the use of its leaflets between 1987 and 1988. During the fourth month of the Intifada the organizations declared March 9, 1988, the 'Day of Anger.' During this day Palestinians blocked roads, demonstrated, and proved a non-violent nuisance to the military by standing in their way. Days on strike were followed by days when normal everyday life ensued. During such days shops and markets were open during set hours. The organization was careful to balance days of resistance with days of normalcy in order to allow the population to rest and be part of a massive organized and controlled effort.\textsuperscript{147}

At a meeting of the UNLU at the end of January in 1988, Mubarak Awad pushed for three specific directives to be printed on leaflets. He called for residents not to show Israeli soldiers their identity cards, to ignore the police, and

\textsuperscript{145} King, \textit{A Quiet Revolution}, 206.


\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 38-39.
resist Israeli control of the civil administration. Following one directive, Palestinian policemen resigned despite receiving raises. This was an attempt to mirror Gandhi’s work against the British by focusing on undermining the symbols of control.\(^{148}\)

When the Israeli military forced schools to close, underground committees formed to set up voluntary teaching services. One such case was in the city of Ramallah, where Hanan Ashrawi, at the time Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Birzeit University, led her local education committee to set up an alternative educational system for the neighborhood. The new school taught 82 students with 19 teaching volunteers. Individuals were schooled in all subjects, including the arts, from pre-school to graduation. Ashrawi pointed out that even though the schools were forced to close, Palestinians were determined to resist occupation and simultaneously educate their youth. One of the key results of the Intifada was the creation of parallel Palestinian institutions whose function was an important step to achieving statehood. It strengthened parallel institutions and helped prove to Palestinians that they were capable of running their own government. Thus, the building of nonviolent institutions allowed Palestinians to increase their self-sufficiency.\(^{149}\)

Popular committees ran towns, village and refugee camps. Make-shift schools were set up in homes, churches and mosques. Yards were cultivated to produce vegetables and produce. Bassam, an individual who lived through the

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\(^{149}\) Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples*, 99; Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace*, 39, 53.
Intifada recalled that agricultural advisors gave advice to families on how to grow their own produce to feed their families.\textsuperscript{150} Blood donors were classified by blood type for emergencies. Clinics were set up in camps, neighborhoods and villages. Water was treated and tested in case it was cut off. Landlords forgave rent. Security patrols were run by committee and utilized whistles and flashlights, while different homeowners and entrepreneurs set up food storage facilities in case supplies were cut off.\textsuperscript{151}

The Intifada began with local initiatives that helped to sustain each community. Civil disobedience that spanned across the West Bank and the Gaza Strip challenged the Israeli Civil Administration by usurping its authority and replacing dependence on it with self-reliance. In addition to the aforementioned methods of resistance, Palestinians threw out their required military identity cards and engaged in an Israeli product boycott.\textsuperscript{152} In addition to sending a message to the occupying forces, this was a step towards the promotion of Palestinian industry and self-reliance.

Personal accounts like that of Hassan, an active youth in the Intifada, recalled the spirit of massive resistance and how it helped to mobilize more and more people. Hassan remembered that during his time in student government he worked to convince his peers and surrounding community to join the massive force of Palestinians working for change. In his words, he felt confident that the

\textsuperscript{150} Bucaille, \textit{Growing Up Palestinian}, 17.

\textsuperscript{151} Nassar, "The Culture of Resistance," 15.

\textsuperscript{152} Andoni, "A Comparative Study," 212.
time was ripe for change: “I feel that there are thousands of people around me….It’s really a unique stage in my life. I’ll never forget it.” He went on to explain that the *Intifada* was a “responsibility for everyone…. We have to do something, we have to change.”

Many Palestinians opted to save Israeli lives rather than allow angry mobs to kill them. In one case, a border policeman was saved from any angry mob after being dragged into Jerusalem’s al-Aqsa mosque. In Gaza, an Israeli soldier was stripped of most of his clothes and then granted freedom. In another instance, a woman saved a soldier’s life by allowing him in her house until an angry mob of youths dispersed. She did not know that he was being chased by the mob in retaliation for the soldier’s killing of her son.

Though the majority of Palestinians engaged in nonviolent protest, many did not agree on the use of the term “nonviolent resistance.” Instead some preferred social change, social justice, self-determination and resistance. Palestinians were ambivalent about actively using the term nonviolence because of their concern that it projected passivity over their legitimate cause to actively oppose the oppression they experienced. While leaders like Mubarak Awad rallied for nonviolence, many preferred ‘civil disobedience’ because it was common sense and supported by Palestinian and Islamic culture. Towards the beginning of his advocacy of nonviolence, Awad started by labeling nonviolence

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as *Sabr*, the Arabic word for patience and a cactus fruit known for its resilience and sweet taste. This term did not last long as an Israeli town of the same name worried Awad that the Palestinian movement might be misconstrued for an Israeli one. He eventually became the champion of the term *La-Unf*, directly translated no-violence or non-violence.\(^{156}\)

Most identified with the attitude of *Sumud*, or steadfastness; an attitude adopted in 1967 when the occupations began. This line of thinking set up the population for civil disobedience and a spirit of noncooperation. It was used throughout the 1970s and 1980s to indicate that survival was a form of resistance. Infamous Palestinian philosopher Sari Nusseibeh prophesized that the occupation was the result of 5% violence used by Israeli forces and 95% cooperation by Palestinians.\(^{157}\) This implied that the occupation could be easily defeated through the use of non-cooperation by the occupied.

Despite the ambivalence to adopt the word “nonviolence” into the *Intifada*, the UNLU instructed the population that the only weapons they could use were rocks and Molotov-cocktails. Demonstrators could throw back teargas to the sources that dispatched them. They deterred the populace from using weapons because violence would encourage more deadly force. Rocks were permissible because UNLU leadership believed it perpetuated the image of

\(^{156}\) Grant, “Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Occupied Territories,” 62; Ibid; Abu-Nimer, “Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam,” 129; King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 143-144. Not all African Americans agreed on the complete use on nonviolence either. During his early days of preaching for the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X openly opposed Civil Rights leaders who preached nonviolence and love of the enemy.

David vs Goliath when demonstrators threw rocks against unstoppable tanks.\textsuperscript{158}

In this way, the UNLU aimed to change world opinion because the world would be forced to see that Palestinians as defenseless victims.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{158} Ackerman and Duvall, \textit{Force More Powerful}, 406. This was of significance because David was Jewish, and the new image switched the role where the Jew was played by the Palestinian, and Goliath became Israel.

\textsuperscript{159} Though the UNLU thought rocks were permissible, nonviolent movement experts such as Gene Sharp argued that the throwing of stones undermined the noncooperation efforts organized by the UNLU and should therefore be deceased in order to strengthen the cause and win the heats and minds of Israelis and the Western World. Gene Sharp, “The Intifada and Nonviolent Struggle,” \textit{Journal of Palestine Studies} 19 [JSTOR: database online] (Autumn 1989): 3-13.
Though there were many individuals and organizations who played a role in the UNLU, Sari Nuseiba was an active contributor in influencing UNLU strategy. As a leading intellectual, he championed nonviolent action and a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He helped break down the *Intifada* into 3 main stages. The first was *methods of protest*, which included conferences, marches, sit-ins and demonstrations. The second was *noncooperation*, which included strikes and boycotts. Third was *nonviolent intervention*, which included disobeying Israeli orders, not submitting to bureaucracy, resignation from jobs, nonpayment of taxes as well as water and electricity, establishment of alternative institutions, developing an underground printing press, and burning ID cards. Nusseibeh’s leaflets warned people of future hardships -- of job loss, loss of electricity and shortages of goods. Emphasis was placed on helping neighbors and setting up committees to help meet communal needs and establish an alternative government.

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160 “Arab Philosopher Linked to Uprising,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1989; Stephen Franklin, “West Bank Professor on the Spot or Off the Hook,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 1989; Michael Sela, “Nusseibeh is Day Master of Intifada,” *Jerusalem Post*, May 5, 1989; “Police Shut Nesseibeh’s Office as Planning Center of Intifada,” *Jerusalem Post*, June 16, 1989. In an Interview with Mary King, Nesseibeh confirmed his active role in creating, writing and re-writing the leaflets. He said that each leaflet went through a stringent editing and approval process by each of the UNLU member groups including PLO leadership in Tunis. Once a leaflet was approved, it could be sent out. Occasionally there was disagreement between the PLO in Tunis and leaders in the occupied territories, however, the main leadership came from those in the occupied territories. King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 211.


Before the uprising, Palestinians were already experienced with grassroots organizing. Such a skill was necessary due to inadequate governmental services and the absence of a stable localized government.\footnote{Dajani, \textit{Eyes Without Country}, 4.}

\begin{quote}

\textit{Palestinian children paint with watercolors in an underground class in the Occupied West Bank.} \\
\footnotesize{(AP photo)}

\end{quote}
Admiration of Martin Luther King Jr.: Personalities and Parallels

Heavily influenced by the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr., both the writings of Jonathan Kuttab and Mubarak Awad produced a number of material and pamphlets with phrases and language utilized by King during the Civil Rights Movement. Answering the challenge that nonviolence is the tool of the weak, Awad and Kuttab respond that it is not a method for cowards. Siniora and Awad openly compared their struggle to that of Gandhi and the African American Civil Rights Movement, on the grounds that both “were subordinated in their own homeland and denied full political rights.”

Awad openly acknowledged, even bragged about, his study of Gandhi and King. He moved to Lee College in Tennessee in 1960 where the Civil Rights movement was in full swing. While there he followed the work of Dr. King and other civil rights activists. In King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” Awad could see many parallels with the Palestinian situation. He was especially influenced by those who claimed to have faith and conscience who spoke out against nonviolent agitators. Back in Israel, Awad was arrested in 1969 for preparing and distributing leaflets calling for a nonviolent end to the Israeli

occupation. He then spent 2 months in jail and agreed to go into exile rather than complete his 10-year term.\textsuperscript{165}

He then returned to the U.S. for several years where he attended Bluffton College, a Mennonite school in Ohio, and continued his studies of King and Gandhi. After earning advanced degrees, he returned to Israel where his nonviolent organizing began full force. Awad conducted interviews with news reporters, and stated that:

Palestinians would be voluntarily accepting and rejoicing in the persecution and suffering inflicted on them. Bravely and steadfastly to accept persecution for one’s beliefs brings one very close to the power of nonviolence. It neutralized the effectiveness of the instrument of repression and improves the internal steadfastness and power of the resister… The greatest enemy to the people and the most powerful weapon in the hand of the authorities is fear. Palestinians who can liberate themselves from fear and who will boldly accept suffering and persecution without fear or bitterness or striking back have managed to achieve the greatest victory of all. They have conquered themselves, and all the rest will be much easier to accomplish.\textsuperscript{166}

Suffering instead of inflicting suffering on one’s enemy was a concept preached by both King and Gandhi. Overcoming one’s own fear was central to the success of every non-violent movement.

\textsuperscript{165}Mubarak Awad, “Up Against the Wall: Can Gandhi’s Principles Work in Palestine?” [lecture, University of Missouri Kansas City, MO, October 17, 2005]; King, \textit{A Quiet Revolution}, 130,129.

Awad continued to draw upon the principles of Gandhi, King and Gene Sharp.\(^{167}\) This is especially true in his article in the Journal of Palestine Studies, “Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy for the Occupied Territories.”\(^{168}\)

About his experience, Awad said:

I felt strongly that we, as Palestinians we are under occupation because we choose to be under occupation. And if our choice is not to be under occupation, we have to resist. We tried to tell them that if they want really to liberate themselves... their liberation is within themselves. If they choose that idea to be free then everything becomes easy.

This reflected King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” advocating that freedom had to be demanded by the oppressed, that it was they who had to challenge the system and push for change.\(^{169}\) King built on the concept of morality and advocated for the reform of his own culture first. He preached the need for self-improvement and hard work and to take pride in one’s work. He strongly believed that the community needed to have a positive self-image to reflect onto the country.\(^{170}\)

\(^{167}\) Ibid.

\(^{168}\) Awad. “Nonviolent Resistance,” 48-64.


Awad’s reputation as a civil rights leader grew. An Israeli opinion piece stated that, “to liberal Israelis and Americans he [Awad] is a Palestinian ‘Gandhi’ or ‘MLK’.” Some viewed him as a nuisance involved in ‘child’s play’ and others, such as Yehoshua Kahane of the Israeli Interior Ministry, called Awad a foreign and subversive agitator.171 Meanwhile, Israeli media reported that Awad advocated consumer boycotts of Israeli products and services, the creation of alternative self-reliance, strikes, rebuilding homes destroyed by Israel, building of

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educational facilities, factories, libraries, hospitals and schools, and the obstruction of annexed West Bank lands and civil disobedience.  

Awad proposed carrying out such measures through the refusal to build settlement roads, to work in Israeli factories, fill out forms in Hebrew, obey curfews, give information to authorities, produce ID cards, or pay fines or taxes. He further advocated over-filling and over-crowding jails and disrupting the judicial system. Non-cooperation was meant to increase the cost of the occupation so that it would over burden the system and eventually paralyze it. Awad also called on Palestinians to write letters and make calls to Israeli officials to remind them of the role they played in the occupation.

Awad learned such methods from the civil rights movement, and like the organizing skills of James Lawson, they became central to the success of action. Like Lawson, he underscored the need for strong discipline, and cautioned that because most actions he advocated were illegal, there would be consequences to pay. He explicitly attempted to prepare people that the road of nonviolent civil disobedience would yield loss of life and suffering. Yet the key to his overall strategy was to reach Israeli civilians and soldiers and the international community as human beings.

Moreover, he was very specific in the ways people could, for example, obstruct land confiscation in the building of settlements. His directions were to

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173 Ibid.

remove surveyors’ markings laid out for new settlements on annexed territory lands, open Palestinian houses sealed off by the IDF, and replant uprooted olive trees in the West Bank.\footnote{Elaine Ruth Fletcher, \textit{Jerusalem Post International Edition}, December 5, 1987.} Other directions were to stand in front of bulldozers, block settlement roads, cut electricity, telephone and water lines. All this was to be done with clear messaging, to communicate the intention not to harm, that Palestinian residents were obstructing what injures Palestinians and their interests and that they were willing to suffer and sacrifice themselves to preserve their lands.\footnote{Greenberg, “It Depends on What’s ‘Nonviolence’,” December 5, 1987.}

As with the Civil Rights Movement, the Palestinian goal was to speak to that same adversaries’ inner humanity and in so doing illuminate the pain caused by their actions. “The downtrodden did not defeat their oppressors but rather awakened in them a sense of common humanity by showing them the distress that their actions caused. Nonviolent action was more than a technique of social action for Lawson; it was a means of tapping into more fundamental sources of power.”\footnote{Lewis, \textit{Walking with the Wind}, 85-87.}

The Significance of Mass Leadership

As explored in the historiography section, leadership during the Civil Rights era in America was not confined to the work of one individual. Dr. King had a strong role and commanded media attention, however, there were scores of
other leaders and organizations who “played decisive roles in mobilizing Southern blacks as a force for change during the 1950s and 1960s.” Similarly, though Mubarak Awad gained significant notoriety for his work, a number of nonviolent leaders also played essential roles like Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi, Sari Nesseibeh, Hanna Siniora, and others.

Eventually, the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership (CUCRL) was convened to provide a space in which all groups could come together. CUCRL raised money for organizations, provided meetings for leaders to organize and strategize. It aimed to stabilize the movement and act as a ‘clearing house’ for organizations. In addition to the organizations listed above, others who joined CUCRL were the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the NAACP Legal Defense Education Fund.

During the early 1960s, CUCRL reached it peak of success. By the summer of 1963, it raised $1.5 million by attracting strong nonviolent leadership to its membership. It provided a forum for groups to discuss issues, challenges, and means of cooperation. Consequently, member organizations shared information and joined in a collective strategy. Unfortunately, this greater coordination did not last very long. By January of 1967, the CUCRL began its own liquidation process.

So-called ‘Local Movement Centers,’ like the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), the Inter Civic Council of Tallahassee (ICC), and Alabama

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179 Ibid., 42-43.
Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham (ACMHR), formed to organize local efforts. Such groups helped unite communities and provided a command center where leaders could coordinate efforts. Groups also came together under a “Statement of Objectives and Rededication to Principles” to urge compliance with court-ordered school integration. Groups such as this received Presidential attention and support for their ability to recruit major personalities within their communities and urge compliance with federal law regardless of where people stood on segregation. This effort of collective leadership continued to grow and unite religious leaders in communities across different religious faiths.180

Comprehending the significance of a unified leadership and message in promoting a solid strategy for the Intifada, Palestinian leaders also found themselves coming together. Some sources vary in their naming of this group. Hanan Ashrawi, who later became known as one of the primary negotiators for the Palestinians, called the group the Unified National Leadership of the Intifada (UNLI). According to Ashrawi, the group was composed of the PLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Communist Party, Fateh, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.181 Other historians called the same group the Unified Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) or the


181 Ashrawi, This Side of Peace, 49.
Unified National Council (UNC). What was significant about the UNLU was its ability to bring together groups with no common ideological ground. Historically the different groups not only shared a difference of opinion, they also loathed one another. For a time, Hizb al-Khalas, the PLA, Hamas and Islamic Jihad all promoted the work of the UNLU. Like CURCL, the UNLU provided a space for different groups to come together and share challenges and thoughts on future strategy. The UNLU also provided direction to the Palestinian people at large through the dissemination of leaflets; which called for the formation of defense committees, boycotts of Israeli products, the promotion of national products, the promotion of the inclusion of females, unity, and the isolation of settlements so that their inhabitants would move from the territories. Such leaflets led to sophisticated and coordinated strikes across industries that helped keep the Intifada sustainable for a longer period of time. Factories were to operate at full capacity, except on strike days. Teachers were urged to open schools after their forced closure, while roads to settlements were to be blocked and Hebrew signs painted over in the occupied territories.

Leaders of the UNLU were not named or made public for fear of arrests or deportation and rightfully so. In December of 1987, 60 leaders were deported, of

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184 Ibid.


186 Ibid.
which 4 were accused of membership in popular committees, 58% were between the ages of 25 and 35, and 30% were between the ages of 35 and 45.\textsuperscript{187} Dr. Nabil Ja’abari, chairman of the board of trustees of Hebron University was beaten by soldiers and held without charge in Jnaid prison in Nablus for 6 months. Israel confirmed the arrests of 2,600 \textit{Intifada} activists.\textsuperscript{188}

The UNLU solicited media coverage of the Palestinian issue and civil disobedience. They held meetings between groups to discuss prevailing issues and organize neighborhood committees. For instance, medical doctors formed a medical committee and surveyed neighborhoods for special medical attention. They also established a communication system for emergency contacts and plans of how to get donors to hospitals in cases of emergency. Educational committees kept records of students and their level of education, coordinated volunteer teachers and alternate locations for schooling. Voluntary work committees ran errands for the elderly, maintained communal gardens and kept watch on army attacks.\textsuperscript{189} Moreover, these popular committees became the driving force of the \textit{Intifada}, which allowed for civil disobedience to flourish.\textsuperscript{190} They helped meet the needs of the people collecting funds for needy families and those whose relatives

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\textsuperscript{189} Ashrawi, \textit{This Side of Peace}, 53-54.

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were either killed, wounded or jailed. They also organized clean-ups and economic self-help campaigns.\textsuperscript{191}

Groups in both movements spread the word on upcoming action through houses of worship. They especially utilized these spaces when it came to the recruitment of volunteers.\textsuperscript{192} In the case of the Civil Rights Movement, Christianity and the love of Christ was at the center of its teachings.\textsuperscript{193} This was the same for Palestinian Christians, while Palestinian Muslims drew upon teachings in Islam and the work of Abdul-Ghaffar Khan.


\textsuperscript{192} James Lawson, interviewed by Steve York, \textit{A Force More Powerful}, Los Angeles, California, October 26, 1998.

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid.
CHAPTER VI
TOOLS OF RESISTENCE

Several different media were utilized in both movements to communicate directions for the next mass action. Main organizers behind the Montgomery Bus Boycott utilized leaflets and dispersed them through the use of hundreds of volunteers. Though Martin Luther King, Jr., is famous for his work on this initiative, the primary organizers were Rosa Parks, E.D. Nixon, the Secretary of the local chapter of the NAACP, and JoAnn Robinson, a teacher at Alabama State College. These movers and shakers used leaflets to mobilize the community and sway them to stay off the busses.\(^\text{194}\) The leaflet read:

This has to be stopped. Negros have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the busses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.\(^\text{195}\)

Future leaflets directed people to use black taxi drivers who agreed to a standard fare of 10 cents per ride.\(^\text{196}\) Student groups such as the SNCC regularly used leaflets to form protest groups and prepare crowds for action. Such was the case when presidential hopeful George Wallace, an outspoken segregationist, was scheduled to speak at universities. Leaflets spread across campuses urging


\(^{195}\) Ibid.

\(^{196}\) Ibid.
students take specific actions; in one such case, leaflets directed students “to greet Wallace with an impassive wall of empty silence.”\textsuperscript{197}

As discussed earlier, several of Mubarak Awad’s leaflets relied heavily on the works of the Civil Rights leaders. Leaflets circulated by the UNLU appeared very similar to those written to organize sit-ins and strikes in the United States. Joel Greenberg of the \textit{Jerusalem Post} wrote, “the uprising strategies seem to be picking up his [Mubarak Awad] themes, formulating them in almost identical language” as the African American civil rights movement.\textsuperscript{198}

Palestinian leaflets in Gaza called for a total boycott of Israeli banks, a general strike on Saturday and Sunday, tax resistance, and guaranteed safe passage to those working in Israel on non-strike days.\textsuperscript{199} Leaflet number 21, on July 6, 1988, called for hunger strikes and noncooperation by the 500 prisoners in Dhaihiriyeh Detention Center near Hebron and the withholding of fines and bail. It also encouraged increasing Palestinian industry production and the growth of local labor unions, as well as encouraging individuals to contact local committees rather than Israeli authorities in emergency situations.\textsuperscript{200}

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200 King, \textit{A Quiet Revolution}, 237.
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Hebrew called on Israeli soldiers to refuse serving in the occupied territories and stop killing Palestinians.\textsuperscript{201}

Overall, the leaflets can be organized into 4 groups. The first group comprised 20\% of all leaflets and advocated the use of strikes.\textsuperscript{202} The second group focused on family and community. This included visiting family graves of those killed by troops and settlers, giving money to groups and associations to help families in need, and visiting prisoners and hospital patients. The third was outward protest, such as holding demonstrations, marches, praying and fasting. The fourth was noncompliance and institution building.

Palestinian leadership aimed to replace Israeli institutions with Palestinian alternatives. This was all to be carried out with the work committees. Each community was to form twelve different committees to help carry out different services.\textsuperscript{203}

These leaflets emerged every seven to ten days over a period of three years. Each week or so, 30,000 to 40,000 leaflets were dispersed through volunteers, and then from community member to community member. Israeli intelligence \textit{Shin Bet} was constantly trying to shut down operations. Alleged authors of the leaflets were arrested and the IDF closed twenty-one printing plants in Gaza. Israeli saboteurs also circulated leaflets with contradicting messages

\textsuperscript{201}“Leaflets Address Soldiers,” \textit{AlFajr}, April 17, 1988, 3.

\textsuperscript{202} Grant, “Nonviolent Political Struggle,” 65.

\textsuperscript{203} Grant, “Nonviolent Political Struggle,” 65.
under the UNLU’s name to create confusion. Overall, leaflets proved an effective tool to inform activists of future actions and directions.

System agitators, however, were not the only ones to use them; in the American South those who opposed civil rights organizing issued counter leaflets. It was not uncommon for white segregationists to shower crowds with leaflets calling on them to join “Operation Ban,” a “selective hiring, firing buying and selling” process to help deter African Americans and their supporters from agitating the system.

Use of Media

The use of the media was constant throughout both movements. Arabic and English Palestinian newspapers referred to the Intifada as a “Civil Rights Movement” when describing events. They labeled Palestinian and Israeli groups who engaged in marches and demonstrations as taking part in a much larger civil rights campaign. Radio broadcasts were used to get the message out on commercial strikes during the Intifada. Al-Quds radio was one of two stations who called on 17,000 Arabs working for the Israeli civil administration in the territories to quit. This radio station regularly read out the messages on UNLU


leaflets, like when to close shops, when to stop transportation, and when the 120,000 individuals in Gaza who worked in Israel, should stay home.\(^\text{207}\)

*Al-Quds* began its broadcast on January 1, 1988, out of southern Syria. The second radio to facilitate UNLU directions to the public was the *Voice of the PLO*, which began broadcasting in December of 1987 from Baghdad, Iraq. On January 13, 1988, both called for strikes and read the entirety of UNLU leaflets. Both stations emphasized the use of civil disobedience instead of armed resistance and advocated for international conferences to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Israel then began jamming transmissions.

To the very end of the *Intifada*, the *Voice of the PLO* encouraged listeners to engage in civil disobedience and reject violence. It consistently highlighted the successes of nonviolence on its airwaves, such as the tax revolt in Beit Sahur, the use of nonviolence in forcing Jordan’s King Hussein to give up his control of the West Bank, the willingness of the United States to engage with the PLO after years of boycotts, and the collapse of the Shamir government. *Al-Quds*, did not follow suit. Toward the end of the *Intifada*, the Syrian-based radio station began omitting sections of the UNLU leaflets. For example, in leaflet number 21, it excluded sentences criticizing Abu Musa and Syria as well as a greeting to democratic Jewish Peace activists. This, however, was aired in full on the *Voice of the PLO*. At the very end of the *Intifada*, *Al-Quds* completely transitioned to the

support of an armed struggle, creating some confusion among the population, the majority of which maintained a life-style of civil disobedience.\textsuperscript{208}

Newspapers were also used as a means to highlight nonviolent struggle and inspire the population. In an article on the front page of \textit{Itihad}, entitled “We Shall be Victorious,” the paper gave its centerpiece picture an image of the peaceful protests held by Palestinians. Below the image is a caption that declares \textit{Hamas} an outside force whose leader called for violence from Amman, Jordan. The same paper also regularly highlighted Israeli military personnel who refused to serve in the occupied territories – refusniks - and Israeli poet Dan Maghor, stating that there were many others of the same mind in Israel. They also advertised ads for peace group meetings between Israelis and Palestinians. Furthermore, the paper encouraged Palestinians questioning Israeli authority. In one such case, they reported on the mayor of Nablus, Bassam AlShikah, who despite soldiers threats to kill him, asserted they needed a warrant to enter his home.\textsuperscript{209}

\textit{Asha’h} showed strong support for those who rebuilt their homes after demolition. The paper dedicated a string of images and text to demolished homes and families still smiling at the camera, standing together in solidarity making it


\textsuperscript{209} “Sanantasir” [We Shall be Victorious] \textit{Alitihad Arabic Daily}, April 6, 1990; \textit{Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper}, May 1, 1989; \textit{Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper}, April 19, 1990; \textit{Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper}, February 1, 1989.
yet another reason to persist and laugh in the face of adversity instead of allowing it to spiral into depression. 210

AlFajr newspaper also reported regularly on events that utilized nonviolence and reminded its readers that the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 required Congressional briefing of Human Rights records of all countries receiving financial aid. Thus it was of the utmost importance to report any human rights violations in the territories. The Act also required all countries receiving U.S. assistance to not utilize torture as a form of punishment or prolonged detention without charge. The paper also ‘apologized’ that it could not report all that was taking place in the territories because Israel was censoring its material. 211

Foreign media was also used to gain coverage of the Palestinian issue. The foreign press labeled the struggle a ‘sheppard’s war’ where it was rocks against tanks. Moreover, from December of 1987 through March of 1988, U.S. night-time television programs gave more time to the Intifada than they did to the Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev talks. 212 Palestinian leaders eventually started to reach out to different international news producers, but did not start off without caution and conflict. Initially the idea of Palestinian leaders appearing in a debate with Israeli officials at the urging of ABC’s Night Line was opposed by most UNLU leadership. It was later treated as an opportunity to get their message out to the world. Three leaders, Haidar Abdul-Shafi, Saeb Erakat and Hanan Ashrawi

212 Thomas Friedman, From Beirut to Jerusalem (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 426-427.
engaged in the televised debate with Israeli officials at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem. This began a trend of directly speaking out.213

The Washington Post began running stories that covered the Israeli response of beatings, tear gas, rubber bullets and two 9-month-old girls recovering from rubber bullets to the left eye.214 The same article also shared that Israeli authorities stopped collecting garbage, which had formed mounds in Jabaliya, creating unsanitary living conditions. Responding to the types of stories being run by international media outlets, Israel issued a warning to both Israeli and foreign journalists that tough measures would commence should “false reports” arise on the situation in the occupied territories.215

The Gettysburg Times also ran stories such as “Unrest: Army orders investigations into any use of excessive force.” The article quoted an Israeli soldier who said he was ordered, per Defense Minister Rabin’s ‘iron fist’ policy, released January 5, 1988, to “club Arabs at random.” The objective he said was to beat but not to kill. The article went onto say that soldiers hit and kicked a CBS crew filming the beatings, for which the army later apologized. It also mentioned a soldier’s report that in Gaza, Israeli soldiers ordered men out into the streets during curfew only to beat them with clubs for “breaking curfew.”216

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213 Ashrawi, This Side of Peace, 50.
Israel’s image was called into question by journalists such as Wolf Blitzer. In his article, “American Jewry,” he asked different American Jewish leaders if “Israel’s highly publicized use of beatings and other harsh measures…[was] a sign that the Jewish State [had] lost its moral compass?” The mainstream American Jewish leaders voiced concern about the coverage and warned of the impact it could have on all Jews, as it was a direct threat to Jewish character.217

Legal Avenues

Similarly to the African American struggle, Palestinians faced an uphill battle in different courtrooms. While the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in Brown vs Board of Education helped transform the American landscape by increasing the visibility of the struggle, no historical Palestinian precedent of that magnitude existed.218 This was not, however, due to lack of trying. After all, Brown was only one of many cases to challenge the status quo. It forced white Americans to “confront the meaning and future implications of Negro demands.”219

Palestinians also had a long list of legal battles in the courtroom. Many had to fight the Israeli “Present Absentees” law, which applied to Arabs of the West Bank who living in the green line before 1948 who had their land confiscated by

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219 Rustin, Strategies for Freedom, 34-35.
the state because they were absent from it. In the case of the town of Silwan, the Land Authority was part of the housing ministry. When land was confiscated because its owners were absent, the land was given to Amidar State Company who in turn rented the land to Jewish settlers. In the 1950s, in Galilee, the absentee land was given to Moshavim Kibbusim. Arab land owners brought numerous cases to the Israeli High Court of Justice to address the fact that “it was always Arab land that was confiscated and transferred to Jews, that “the good of the public’ was always the good of the Jewish public, and so on. But the courts always refused to treat the situation as such, never going beyond verifying the legal validity of the confiscation orders. The High Court of Justice quite simply collaborated in the application of discriminatory law.”

After several years of representing Palestinian lawsuits, Jewish-Israeli attorney Avigdor Feldman concluded that the Israeli justice system was skewed against Palestinians. He stated, “In the United States, if a black organization files a complaint against a university to the effect that the universities entrance examinations are conceived in such a way as to keep out black students, the court requires the university to prove that the complaint is not founded. In Israel the contrary is true. The Israeli courts do not trace back the chain of discrimination and it is this that makes them accomplices.”


221 Ibid.

In 1990, Feldman represented the Parents Association of Um Al-Fahm in a case against the Ministry of Education. The lawsuit was based on the fact that the budget of Jewish schools was increased when the hours were increased though Arab schools were not allowed the same perks. Settler towns were also exempt for increases in taxes as part of their classification as “development town” while Palestinians were not granted the same status. Shortly after the case was introduced, it was dismissed. In some ways, this was similar to the treatment that African Americans endured under ‘separate but equal.’ There were always loopholes in the law that allowed for African American education conditions to be squalid compared to whites. It was not until Brown that true access to education and resources took place for the African American community.

Boycotts

Boycotts were strong, multi-city efforts for both the Civil Rights Movement and the Intifada. In the American South, ministers used churches to boost morale, raise funds and set up carpools. These were essential methods in establishing self-reliance to help sustain the boycotts. The 1953 Baton Rouge boycott in Louisiana lasted one week and resulted in first come first serve seating instead of whites sitting in the front and blacks sitting in the back of the bus. The Montgomery boycott began December 1, 1955, and ended one year later with the

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223 Ibid.
Supreme Court decision to end segregation on buses. The success of these and other boycotts demonstrated the effectiveness of nonviolence.

In the Occupied Territories efforts began with the boycott of Israeli-made cigarettes and eventually expanded into other areas. The boycotts were based on the decision that the West Bank and Gaza were Israel’s biggest market after the U.S. for Israeli products. Israeli industry made $550 million in sales to the territories each year. Thus they began with the boycotting of cigarettes and soft drinks, as there was already an existing Palestinian industry for these items. This in turn led to a 25% increase in the production of these products in the Occupied Territories, boosted employment and increased Palestinian self-reliance.

Surrounding Arab councils also participated in boycotting Israeli goods. Both economies suffered from the boycotts and strikes. Israeli Minister of Economic Planning predicted that Israel lost $650 million due to boycotts and labor strikes, which resulted in the halting of building projects, severe cutbacks in the production of textiles and paper products, and a significant impact on the tourist industry forcing hotels to cut back on their employees.

Jail as a Tactic

African American and Palestinian leaders called on their followers to take a higher road and embrace civil disobedience as a tactic that was more difficult than

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224 Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 310, 311.


reacting to aggression with force. They advocated for the refusal to cooperate with the status quo, to engage in boycotts and strikes. Jails were also used as a tool to leverage change because it brought attention to unjust laws. Just as King advocated the flooding of jails, Awad argued for the use of jail time as a success instead of a punishment. \(^{227}\) In his own words, Awad proclaimed that voluntarily accepting consequences of civil disobedience and overwhelming jails with people,

neutralized the effectiveness of the instruments of repression and improves the internal steadfastness and power of the resister. The greatest enemy to the people and most powerful weapon in the hand of the authorities is fear. Palestinians who can liberate themselves from fear, and who will boldly accept suffering and persecution without fear or bitterness or striking back hade managed to achieve the greatest victories of all. They have conquered themselves and the rest will be much easier to accomplish. \(^{228}\)

Prisons were already on the rise prior to the official onset of the *Intifada*. As the movement continued, prisons became a right of initiation and respect in the community. In a personal account documented by John Collins in his book, *Occupied by Memory: The Intifada Generation and the Palestinian State of Emergency*, one of the author’s interviewees, Isam, explained that prison was a “rite of passage, a period of fundamental personal transformation.” This rite of passage was central to the African American Civil Rights Movement, as activists filled jails to the brim and continued to organize once locked away. Hussam Khader, interviewed in *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation*, explained that his first trip to prison at the age of seventeen was an


\(^{228}\) Ibid.
illuminating experience that served as inspiration for his future activism. Jails were filled with a young and intellectual population. Eventually Israel let out common criminals in order to take in more political prisoners. They were also forced to open new detention facilities in Ramalla near Betunia and Hebron near Dahariyyah. They also transferred prisoners to Israeli prisons, which was a violation of international law.229

Intellectuals capitalized on their own arrests by releasing statements that eventually resulted in international attention. Sari Nusseibeh attracted U.S. attention with his statements while in jail.230 Since Nesseibeh’s statements were so calm and coexistence-based, his arrest reflected negatively. While in jail, Nusseibeh said, “our own road to statehood is through Israel, through Israeli public opinion…it is still our responsibility as Palestinians to emphasize to the Israeli’s that it is peace that we seek and coexistence, not the destruction of Israel… not for Israel’s sake but for our sake.”

Activists and intellectuals used prisons to create an alternative education system to schools that were either closed or unavailable to the incarcerated. Majid, a young man who spent two years in prison, recounted that “at one point there were so many students and professors from an-Najah University being held together in Nablus prison that they simply held classes as usual, often receiving credit from the University for the work.”231

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231 Collins, Occupied by Memory, 129.
Despite advances and the use of prisons as a tool, this did not always mean that conditions were pleasant. A man identified as Bassam who spent time in jails during the Intifada, recalled that in Hebron, Israeli soldiers tossed tear gas canisters into the cells of Palestinian inmates several times a month. Other forms of collective punishment included requiring prisoners to stand naked in the yard while they were beaten with sticks and iron rods. While this was true in Hebron, Bassam, continued to explain that conditions were much different while he was in jail in Nablus. In Nablus, prisoners formed a council and made requests of the authorities. When authorities denied these requests, prisoners went on hunger strike. While in jail, Bassam learned Hebrew and English by taking correspondence classes from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He was not, however, allowed to take Arabic courses or coordinate with Palestinian Universities.\textsuperscript{232}

Marches and Demonstrations

Marches and demonstrations drew large crowds and significant media attention in both movements, making them the most visible part of active resistance. Creativity was the hallmark of most demonstrations. Palestinians utilized “protest prayers, fasts, silent demonstrations using powerful symbols such as yellow armbands (which the Nazis forced the Jews to wear), concentration camp costumes, commemoration services for martyrs, and guerrilla theatre.”\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{232} Bucaille, Growing Up Palestinian, 6-7.

Palestinians also coordinated simultaneous demonstrations in cities, villages, towns and refugee camps. In January of 1988, commercial strikes were
held in East Jerusalem, Ramallah, El-Biereh and other towns in the West bank and Gaza Strip. Notices were sent by Israeli authorities asking shop owners to explain why shops were closed.\footnote{234} When shops remained closed, Israeli troops forced shops to re-open in Bethlahem, Nablus and Qalqilya; however, most shops were able to remain closed.\footnote{235} By February, 200 shops were reported damaged by Israeli soldiers who smashed windows, set stores on fire, and engaged in looting and beating shop owners. Newspapers published reports of injuries to shop owners such as Abdal-Baset who was beaten inside his store, and Jamal Abu-Shawish, who was shot in the abdomen.\footnote{236} Soldiers carried crowbars and hammers to break off the locks of shops that were closed during business hours.

In cities such as Al-Ram, shop owners adapted to the new Israeli strategy by using cheap pad locks that were easily replaced. Metal workers also made free repairs to damaged shops so that the strike could continue.\footnote{237} Donations of food and money were collected to help support the families impacted by the lack of business due to their closed shops. Eventually soldiers began to complain that they were fed up with the unending cycle of forced shop openings and chasing stone throwers—as though it were a constant competition of who could outlast the other.\footnote{238} They also complained that Israel’s policy to beat protesters was a heavy

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnotetext[234]{“Israel Asks Shop Owners to Explain Closing,” \textit{AlFajr}, January 3, 1988.}
\item \footnotetext[235]{“4 More Killed in 2\textsuperscript{nd} Month of Protests,” \textit{AlFajr}, January 10, 1988.}
\item \footnotetext[236]{“200 Shops Damaged by Israeli Soldiers,” \textit{AlFajr}, February 7, 1988.}
\item \footnotetext[237]{Joel Greenberg, “In the Territories, the Abnormal is Now the Normal.” \textit{Jerusalem Post International Edition}, February 6, 1988.}
\item \footnotetext[238]{Joel Greenberg, “No End in Sight to ‘Horrible Routine’,” \textit{Jerusalem Post International Edition}, February 6, 1988,}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotes}
burden on their consciences.\textsuperscript{239} Kenesset member Yehuda Litani argued that the policies of the ‘iron fist’ strategy--curfews, school closure, arrests of activists, deportations and beating--were costly short-term strategies that did not contribute to the long-term solution of the occupied territories.\textsuperscript{240}

Despite strong opposition, the committee representing Palestinian merchants held a press conference at the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem where they outlined their demands to re-open their shops. They demanded the release of all detainees arrested since December of 1987, the convening of an international peace conference with the PLO as a negotiating partner, cancellation of taxes post 1967 (especially the value added tax which only applied to the occupied territories), and that Israel would cease all attempts to stop the strike by force.\textsuperscript{241} Despite the clear communication, just as with the Civil Rights movement, change was slow. In order to deal with the prolonged strike, shops opened from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. for residents to buy goods and help shop owners pay their immediate bills.\textsuperscript{242} Landlords also started an initiative to forgive tenants two months’ rent to help alleviate financial pressure in the slower economy.

\textsuperscript{239} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{241} Joel Greenberg, “In the territories, the abnormal is now the normal,” \textit{Jerusalem Post International Edition}, February 6, 1988.

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid.
Landlords also started their own campaign of leaflets to spread the initiative across the territories.243

Another example of coordinated strikes across the territories, took place on Land Day, March 30, 1988. A commercial strike was observed across the West Bank and Gaza strip; in Sakhnin 40,000 people assembled, 10,000 marched from Deir Hanna to Arrabeh, and 6000 marched in Kfar Kanna.244

Despite a forecast for heavy rain, 30,000 Arabs and Jews joined a peace march in Haifa. Demonstrators held black posters with the names of Palestinians killed in the occupied territories during the Intifada and called for an end to the occupation and beatings in the territories. Speakers included Palestinian and Israeli poets, writers, and civic leaders. They asked for a complete withdrawal from the occupied territories and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to independence.245

Thousands formed a human chain around the city of Jerusalem made up of Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals. Israel responded with teargas and bullets, eventually arresting sixteen individuals.246 In March of 1990, women marched for peace in Jerusalem and were confronted by Israeli soldiers at Damascus gate


where fifty were arrested.\textsuperscript{247} Shots were fired at mosques and into the crowd and protests and boycotts were observed in the Gaza Strip.\textsuperscript{248}

Over 50,000 protestors joined a demonstration on Earth Day in 1990. They started by visiting the graves of those who died in the \textit{Intifada} and then participated in cultural festivities to raise both awareness and morale.\textsuperscript{249} That same month, on the 2-year anniversary of the death of activist Abu-Jihad, occupation forces attacked a peaceful protest of Christian and Muslim Faith Leaders in Nablus. An Orthodox Priest was shot in the back with a rubber bullet.\textsuperscript{250}

Strikes were also used as a form of protest.\textsuperscript{251} A 3-day strike came in the summer of 1988, with the majority of the 50,000 Gazans who worked in Israel staying home. That same summer shops were closed at noon daily and Israeli goods and taxes were boycotted to make the occupation expensive.\textsuperscript{252} A two-day general strike was held on October 8, 1990 to commemorate the Temple Mount

\textsuperscript{247} “Maseerat Nisa’iya Fi Shaware Al-Quds wa Muwajahat for Bab Alamood,” [Women March in the Streets of Jerusalem towards Damascus Gate] \textit{Asha’b Arabic Daily Newspaper}, March 9, 1990.


\textsuperscript{251} “Arab Hotel Workers Refuse Israeli Offer,” \textit{AlFajr}, March 1, 1988.

\textsuperscript{252} Glenn Frankel, “Enemies Spar Grimly in Gaza as uprising starts 7\textsuperscript{th} month; Tough Israeli Measures Reduce Violence,” \textit{The Washington Post}, June 8, 1988.
slayings and third anniversary of the *Intifada*. Israel responded with curfews on most of the West Bank, Nablus, Hebron and most of Gaza, confining 735,000 people to their homes. Israel also tightened restrictions on fuel deliveries to the territories, closed fruit and vegetable markets forcing produce to go bad, went after leaders responsible for police resignations. When the UNLU instructed shops to open from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m. Israeli officials forced stores to close during that time, but faced difficulty in coercing them to re-open in the afternoon.

Hunger strikes proved the most effective within the prison system. Leaders and newspapers at the beginning of the Intifada advocated these strikes as a tool of last resort to raise the awareness of the international community. After a two-week hunger strike, police minister Moshe Shachal ordered a review of prisoner demands for better conditions. He agreed to look into the transfer of some prisoners in solitary confinement at Beersheba and Ramle to other jails that were not as over-crowded. Schachal also had the isolation wings of both the aforementioned prisons closed and began a review process of prisons at Nafha, Beersheba and Ashkelon. Palestinian lawyer, Adnan Abu Laila, who actively worked to represent prisoners, hailed these changes as a major victory.

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254 Ibid.


Nonpayment to communicate unjust living conditions was also a form of protest utilized by both African Americans and Palestinians. Protesting the high-prices and bad living conditions, African Americans did not pay their rent to landlords.\textsuperscript{259} To appeal the unjust taxes, lack of services in proportion to taxes, living conditions and occupation, Palestinians moved from boycotting products to the non-payment of taxes.\textsuperscript{260} Beit Sahour became the leading example of tax boycotts when all of the town’s merchants refused to pay their taxes.\textsuperscript{261} This led to a siege on the city from September 22, 1989, through October 31, 1989. The area was declared a military zone with no movement in or out and a 24-hour curfew in place for 5 days until it changed from 5 p.m. to 5 a.m. each day. Residents were rounded up, their homes ransacked. Even the consuls general of Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom were barred from entering.\textsuperscript{262}

Role of the Youth

Youths played a vital role in both movements. As discussed earlier, initially civil rights leaders preferred not to use youths and did not allow them to


join the protests; however, after cases of youths acting on their own, and getting in trouble for it, it became evident that it would be beneficial to offer them training and guidance since they persisted in taking part.\textsuperscript{263} It was feared that without guidance from the leadership, the potential for violence and resulting bad opinion could undermined the entire movement.

During the Civil Rights Movement, students became an important and visible force for change. By 1960, 78 cities nation-wide held sit-ins, over 70,000 students joined protests, and 3,000 youths were put in jail for civil disobedience. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was so active, it became a counter balance to the NAACP and SCLC. The chairman of the SNCC later became the mayor of Washington, D.C. Businesses in 100 towns integrated by December of 1961.\textsuperscript{264}

Likewise, \textit{Intifada} youth, having known only occupation, developed the attitude that the IDF could be defeated. An opinion writer in the \textit{Jerusalem Post}, Yehuda Litani, likened them to the historic attitude the Jews had at the beginning of the Yom Kippur War.\textsuperscript{265} Youths defied their own fear and stood up to IDF soldiers in protest, knowing that they would be fired upon.\textsuperscript{266} They remained in the streets despite curfew and distributed and enforced UNLU fliers even though it was illegal. \textit{Intifada} leadership attributed much of the success of the movement to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{263} “Negro Bottle-tosser Jailed at Birmingham,” \textit{Arkansas Gazette}, September 14, 1957; Waskow, \textit{From Race Riot to Sit-In}, 233.
\item \textsuperscript{264} Ackerman and Duvall, \textit{Force More Powerful}, 328-329.
\item \textsuperscript{266} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
the youth, whose lack of fear resulted in four significant outcomes.\textsuperscript{267} First, the involvement of youth brought the Palestinian issue to the top of international priorities. Second, it contributed to Palestinian self-reliance and unity. Third, it raised the self-confidence and morale of the Palestinian people. This finally led to the resolve to not be complacent with the status quo.

When leadership was imprisoned, deported or killed, youth stepped in to take their place. Though influenced by their cultural and religious backgrounds, the movement’s youths’ focus was primarily secular. Because they were the majority, this marginalized religious fundamentalists and contributed to an air of cooperation across religious lines.\textsuperscript{268} While the \textit{Intifada} was a movement for the young and old, youth was the perfect candidates for civil disobedience because of their lack of fear when faced with violence.

In Pursuit of the Right to a Quality Education

Getting to school was a significant challenge for both African American and Palestinian youths. Even after victories in the courtroom allowed African American youths to study alongside white peers, implementation became a significant issue. In 1957, when integration began one grade at a time in Nashville with the first grade, only 19 out of 1,400 black children attended traditionally

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{267} Siniora, “An Analysis,” 5.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{268} Ibid, 4.}
white public schools.\textsuperscript{269} This was after a slew of anonymous threatening phone calls, which claimed the children would be harmed.

The air was even more contentious in Little Rock, Arkansas. Severe resistance was mounted by whites who opposed integration. Violent opposition was so strong it forced the withdrawal of all eight African American Students at the Central High School.\textsuperscript{270} The decision was made after thousands of whites gathered around the school. One of the African American adults was beaten and the crowd hurled rocks and bottles until dispersed by the police.\textsuperscript{271} African American students who braved the integration of white institutions faced beatings and harassment from other students.\textsuperscript{272}

\textit{Brown} defined where resistance would take place. School grounds became the focus while the major test was enforcement. Whites were forced to confront their own notions of equality after “separate by equal” was overturned. More than anything, \textit{Brown} roved the judicial system was now an ally of the movement. Those who chose to oppose integration through violence contributed to their own alienation by publicly exposing the inhumanity of their actions. The Court’s

\textsuperscript{269} Ackerman and Duvall, \textit{Force More Powerful}, 313.


\textsuperscript{271} “Crowd is Dispersed At School,” \textit{Arkansas Democrat}, 86\textsuperscript{th} year, no. 357, September 23, 1957.

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid.; Robert Trout, “Two Negro Students Reported Beaten At CHS: Others Jeered,” \textit{Arkansas Democrat}, October 2, 1957; “‘Walkout’ Rumored At High School: Officials Also Check Reported Threats To Negro Students,” \textit{Arkansas Democrat}, October 2, 1957.
decision also led to an increased sense of unity among African American
groups.273

Palestinians fought for their right to an education in a different way. Israel
forced school closures throughout the territories for the majority of the Intifada to
stop student demonstrations. Orders of indefinite closures were released February
4, 1988, to all government, private and the United Nations Relief and Works
Agency (UNRWA) schools in the West Bank; this included 800 schools and
affected 250,000 students.274 Israel then turned schools into army outposts. In the
city of Nablus, in the West Bank, the Israeli army seized Beisan Secondary School
for Girls, Al-Ameryeh, and Al-Khaldoniye. One of the schools was used to
interrogate Palestinians who took part in the Intifada.275

Bir Zeit University was declared a closed military area for four and a half
years.276 “Over the course of one weekend, Hanan Ashrawi noted, “our committee
set up a whole alternative educational system for the neighborhood.” Since all
schools in Ramallah were closed down by Israel, they set up a system for 82
students, ranging in levels from pre-school to undergraduate degrees, with 19
teacher volunteers.277 Professors, teachers and volunteers formed committees,
which put together an alternative curriculum and classes. Students were taught in

273 Rustin, Strategies for Freedom, 34-45.


276 Ashrawi, This Side of Peace, 42-43. At the time, Hanan Ashrawi was a professor at Bir
Zeit University and became one of the primary organizers of the underground educational
committee.

277 Ibid., 53.
homes, fields, abandoned buildings, churches and mosques. Muslim and Christian Palestinian organizations came together to provide services for the youth, resulting in a broad-Palestinian initiative. The YMCA building in Ramallah became the underground education administration office.278

Remaining Where Unwanted

Intense organizing and work went into sit-ins, which later became one of the main hallmarks of the Civil Rights movement and its ability to attract more believers. Activists endured insults, violence against their persons, and arrests. Police stood back while white males pushed students off of stools, kicked them, put out cigarettes on their backs, and poured ketchup bottles on their heads. Despite all this, students remained committed to nonviolence. When the first wave of sit-in volunteers were arrested, monitors coordinated a new group of volunteers to sit at the lunch-counters. A day now known as ‘Big Saturday,’ resulted in the arrests of 80 sit-in volunteers and only eventually ended with stores closing their doors to avoid more activist volunteers.279

Unwanted Palestinians found it very difficult to obtain building permits on their own land. A 2-year study on urban planning by Anthony Coon revealed that it took an average of one year to obtain a building permit with each permit costing $2,500, and 80% of permits were rejected.280 Many remained on their land and

278 Ibid., 42-43.

279 Ackerman and Duvall, Force More Powerful, 322.

280 Nojem, Planting Olive Trees, 142.
returned to it even when their homes were demolished for not having permits to build onto their homes.

As shown earlier, forms of Palestinian resistance included violence, nonviolence, and cultural and political noncompliance. The main form of resistance, however, was the stubborn remainder of Palestinians on their lands. This resistance came with multiple consequences. Resisters were called terrorists, communists, and anti-Semitic.
CHAPTER VII

FRIENDS, FOES AND FRUITS OF LABOR

The Significance of Winning Over Allies of the “Other” Camp

Reaching hearts was an essential outcome on which the success of these civil rights movements relied. Federal commitment was a significant milestone achieved by African American activists, essentially it was the key to their successes.281 The multi-faceted approach led by advocates in their engagement of the legislative and executive branches of government but especially the judiciary proved to be effective in leveraging the whole system.282 This eventually won the necessary support to make the system work despite strong opposition.

A prime example of this method was school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas. There, Federal Authorities pledged to carry out the Supreme Court ruling despite open opposition of Governor Orval Faubus, who responded by calling the National Guard to keep schools segregated.283 This escalated the situation to a test of federal might against that of the State.284 The next day, though a federal judge ordered integration in Little Rock, Guard troops prevented


282 Rustin, Strategies for Freedom, 25.

283 Margaret Frick, “Federal Authorities Pledged to Carry Our Court’s Order on Little Rock Integration,” Arkansas Democrat, September 1, 1957.

284 “Faubus Calls National Guard to Keep Schools Segregated,” Arkansas Gazette, September 3, 1957, 1; Bobbie Forster, “Ring of Troops Blocks School’s Integration Here; No Incidents Reported; Officials Huddle,” Arkansas Democrat, September 3, 1957; Jack Clelland, “Ike Orders Brownell to Look into Faubus’ Act; Sees ‘Roadblock’,” Arkansas Democrat, September 3, 1957; “Governor Sees Test of Laws,” Arkansas Democrat, September 3, 1957.
African Americans from entering historically white public schools. Eventually the situation erupted into a massive dispute splashed across the front pages of newspapers in Little Rock, Arkansas. After an intense exchange of statements, media appearances and conflict, President Eisenhower and Governor Orval Faubus and other leaders met to discuss settlement. Neither could convince the other in the face-to-face talk and the situation escalated once again. Ike had to send the 101st Airborne in to protect students from the Arkansas National Guard and white protesters. Concluding the Federal court battle with Faubus, the governor eventually withdrew the National Guard from schools.

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287 “Faubus Will Meet Eisenhower Saturday to Air School For; Capitulation Talk Is Scored,” Arkansas Democrat, September 12, 1957; “Ike, Faubus Agree Meeting ‘Very Constructive,’ Huddle on Integration for 2 Hours,” Arkansas Democrat, September 14, 1957.


President Eisenhower issued a proclamation to the people of Arkansas, which was printed in the media, calling on them to comply with federal law supporting integration. It read:

Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas.
By the President of the United States of America.

A Proclamation:
Whereas, certain persons in the State of Arkansas individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations and conspiracies, have willfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School located in Little Rock School District. Little Rock Ark; and
Whereas, such willful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that state and of the United States and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and
Whereas, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws; Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in my by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code, particularly Sections 332, 333, 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist there from and to disperse forthwith.

In witness thereof, I have here unto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Newport, R. I., this 23rd day of September in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America, the One Hundredth and Eighty-second.

Signed,
Dwight D. Eisenhower

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At the end of a long and tumultuous time, Little Rock schools finally integrated. While activists played an important role in holding the courts and federal government accountable to the law, the hearts and minds that they had won in the process of their work became an indispensable contributor to the success of civil rights in America.

African American leader successfully reached out to clergy members and worked along-side white activists willing to put up with the consequences of nonviolence. This allowed for greater publicity for the cause and drew national attention.²⁹¹ Clergy of Judeo-Christian institutions began with

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pronnouncements and pleas on behalf of African Americans and then backed up their words with action.

The first major visible white presence took place during the Freedom Rides. In 1961, white and African American clergy rode busses together through the South. Their journey ended with 15 Episcopal priests in jail.\(^{292}\) Parents escorted their children through angry crowds into an integrated public school in New Orleans, while 55 white ministers were arrested in Albany, Georgia, in 1962 for taking part in integration.\(^{293}\) When a Conference on Religion and Race was held in Chicago in 1961, 700 interfaith leaders declared racism the “most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. Our consciences compel us to action.”\(^{294}\) Organized by interfaith leaders, the March on Washington in 1963 benefited from the presence of faces of different colors. After severe casualties that took place during “Bloody Sunday” in 1965 in Selma, Alabama, approximately 5,000 clergy from across the U.S. traveled to the South to join the journey of integration and help tie the arms of authorities who charged into all-black crowds with unconscionable force. A tragic case in Biloxi Mississippi resulted with the deaths of 2 white activists and 1 African American who disappeared after their release from jail following their arrests for civil disobedience. The

\(^{292}\) Ibid.

\(^{293}\) Ibid.

\(^{294}\) Ibid.
tragedy attracted national attention. President Johnson ordered a search party of 400 people, and the subpoena of 100 residents. When the men’s corpses were found, each of them had been shot and the African American beaten severely with a blunt object so many times that most of his bones were shattered.295 Following the shock of the missing men and their reported deaths, busload after busload of trained volunteers made their way through the South to search for the bodies and join the movement.296

Events like these could no longer be ignored. The same was true in the occupied territories. Only B’tsalem, an Israeli organization dedicated to accurately covering the situation in the occupied territories, as so discontented with Israeli media coverage of what took place during the Intifada, that they launched their own media campaign. This drew a backlash from the Labor party who accused B’tsalem of treason and inaccurate reporting. Despite these accusations, the reports proved to be true. Published in Hebrew and English, the reports covered house demolitions, injuries, deaths of children, deportations, censorship of the Palestinian Press, fatalities, number of days cities were under curfew, and deaths due to interrogation or abuse by


soldiers. B’Tselem also released a study that found that from December of 1987 through June of 1991, 42 Jewish settlers were suspected in deaths of Palestinians with all the names and information on the settlers obtained. Of the 42 cases, 28 arrests were made, 14 were released after questioning and their files were closed. Three were charged and received sentences ranging between three years in prison and four months of community service and a fine of 8,000 Shekels. The deaths of Israelis, however, were treated differently. Nine out of eight Palestinians tried received life-sentences with the ninth receiving a 20-year sentence, and all their homes were dynamited.

B’tselem’s reports put faces and stories to numbers. This made it increasingly difficult for Israel and the West to dismiss claims made by Palestinians. For instance when reporting on the harsh demands of Israeli orders outlining the conditions for obtaining licenses and permits, B’tselem showed that:

the practical implication of the order is that any person who desires a license or any form of permit must obtain the signatures of seven authorities: the police, the income tax authorities, the excise added tax, the Civil Administration, the municipality, the Ministry of the Interior, and the property tax authorities. This entails a long and complicated bureaucratic process, demanding

297 Baron, 244; For a link to fatalities published by B’tselem
http://www.btselem.org/english/statistics/first_Intifada_Tables.asp (accessed October 25, 2010); B’tselem on interrogations

an extensive investment of time and standing in lines in the offices of the various authorities.299

The B’tselem report went onto examine the personal cases of individuals affected by the decision, like Khaled ‘Ammar. Ammar was denied a driver’s license after failing to get the required number of signatures when a tax clerk insisted that Ammar’s father owed taxes on a store. When Ammar protested that his father, who had passed away years before, never owned a store the clerk still refused his license. On 3 June 1991, after B’tselem’s reports and formal complaints on behalf of different plaintiffs, the Israeli Civil Administration determined that the 7 different authority signatures were required once a year instead of each time a Palestinian needed to apply for a license or permit.300

Increasingly, Israelis began to protest the occupation. At the University of Tel Aviv students and lecturers gathered to protest Israeli policy in the territories and collected money for food to be sent into the West Bank.301 In addition, many Israelis wrote against the occupation and urged fellow citizens to not cooperate.302 Groups such as Psychologists Against Silence, spoke out against the social, mental and moral damage the occupation


300 Ibid., 10.


left on Israel. After two months of the *Intifada*, 30 different Israeli organizations spoke out against the occupation. Peace Now organized sit-ins and demonstrations in Israel and the United States, while other leaders like Yesh Gival called on IDF soldiers not to serve in Lebanon or the occupied territories.

Refusniks continued to organize and grow in number throughout the *Intifada*. Those who objected filed letters for exemptions of service in the

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territories. Their spokesperson, Amit Levenhoff, collected hundreds of signatures on petitions and letters of objection. Levenhoff’s refusenik petition read,

We Israeli young people before induction into the IDF see Israeli rule in the occupied territories as a real danger to the future of Israeli democracy and society and a barrier to peace. We were all born after 1967 into a situation, which has turned the IDF from a defense army into an occupying and repressive army. Service in the Israeli Defense forces is very important to us. Therefore we ask you, Mr. Defense Minister to allow us to serve with in the green-line and not to compel us to participate in action of oppression and occupation in the territories, because this is against the dictates of our conscience and we cannot do it. If we are ordered to take part in action of oppression, we will be forced to refuse.  

In an open letter signed by notable figures such as SE Luria, Nobel Laureate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. Fouad Moughrabi, political science professor at the University of Tennessee, described a number of efforts of “outsiders” speaking up against the occupation. Seven-hundred thousand Arab-Israelis demonstrated support for an end to the occupation, refusniks gained coverage in an article in the New York Times on December 18, 1987. Israeli and American Jewish leaders spoke out against the occupation, including former Israeli Defense Minister, Ezer Weizman, who called for a meeting of all parties with the PLO. 

Israeli lawyers came to the aid of Palestinians when they got frustrated. They gave media interviews and at times boycotted Israeli courts.

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In an interview with one such lawyer, Felicia Langer said she objected to “mass and speedy trials which run against justice. Justice does not like hurry and speed. The lawyers have no time to prepare properly for their clients’ files because they have no access to their clients.” Langer and other attorneys complained of injustices such as no bail or releases even if cases were postponed for Palestinians, while in one case an Israeli settler was released on bail after killing a 17 year-old Palestinian girl. No bail was granted for those individuals not facing any formal charges. Israeli attorneys also voiced concern over harsh sentences and the indirect influencing of lawyers to pressure their clients to confess to the charges against them.

Relationships between the Israeli peace camp and activist Palestinians continued to grow despite hardships and resentments of the Persian Gulf War in 1990-1991. When Saddam Hussein launched Scud missiles into Israel, some Israelis called Palestinians and formed a phone tree to warn people to go indoors, since there were no sirens inside the territories. Then volunteers would whistle to alarm others more quickly.

Palestinian efforts to raise awareness of their situation among the international community through non-violent means met with varying degrees of success. Leaders met with then U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz.

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309 Ibid.
310 Asharawi, “This Side of Peace,” 76.
The UNLU reached out to the United Nations requesting intervention in the occupied territories.\textsuperscript{312} The appeal was based on human rights abuses and the use of collective punishment, which leaders argued were violations of the International Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention on the protection of civilians in times of war. The U.S. did not sanction the deportation of activists and voted in favor of a UN Security Council Resolution to cancel deportation orders.\textsuperscript{313}

Palestinians received media coverage of speaking tours while in the U.S. Jonathan Kuttab, a Palestinian lawyer, raised awareness of the “classical non-violent resistance in the tradition of Gandhi” in which the Palestinians engaged.\textsuperscript{314} During his speeches he explained that Palestinian leadership repeatedly cautioned against the use of weapons and stressed that rocks were to be used to invoke the historical narrative of David and Goliath, that rocks were not to be used to injure others. He discussed boycotts, strikes, and campaigns of noncooperation. Kuttab also garnered support for the building of an alternative or parallel court system and government so that Palestinians could govern themselves. Most of all, Palestinians were able to convince the U.S. that the PLO was the appropriate negotiating partner and should, therefore, be brought to the table instead of marginalized by the U.S. Israeli


\textsuperscript{314} Joseph Hall, “Peaceful Protest is The Best Hope to End Conflict, Palestinian Says,” \textit{The Toronto Star}, April 9, 1988.
activists, such as the American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition, helped, and protested the closure of the PLO office in the U.S. It also helped gain legitimacy when Australia officially recognized the PLO as a legitimate negotiating partner in [whatever year] despite the U.S. previously declaring both the PLO and Hamas “terrorist” organizations.\textsuperscript{315}

Europeans began calling for economic sanctions to be upheld by the European community against Israel.\textsuperscript{316} Thousands demonstrated in Germany against the occupation.\textsuperscript{317} Palestinian Bishop Hilarion Capucci, organized a hunger strike in Rome to draw attention to the territories.\textsuperscript{318}

Internationals became so involved that many became primary organizers in major events. For example, two Italian women, Louisa Morgantini and Cliara Igaroo, suggested a demonstration on International Women’s Day. They recruited the Associazione Per La Pace (Italian Peace Association) and the UN-affiliated International Coordinating Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) to help lead the initiative. The protests were to last three days and consist of a march, a human chain around Jerusalem with women from all over the world, including Israelis and Palestinians, and on the third day meetings and workshops. It started from the green line separating West and East Jerusalem

\textsuperscript{315} AlFajr, January 10, 1988.


\textsuperscript{318} AlFajr, January 3, 1988.
and descending from the hill of Notre Dame to Salah Edeen Street. The human chain of 30,000 people was broken up by a water hose, tear gas, rubber bullets and clubs by Israeli authorities. An Italian woman lost her eye, hundreds had to be hospitalized for their injuries, and over 50 protesters were arrested.\(^{319}\)

In June of 1992, 150 Europeans and North Americans came together for workshops preparing them for nonviolent action. They planned a one-week march from Israel to the Occupied Territories, to end with a demonstration in Jerusalem. When they attempted to enter the occupied territories they were not allowed through the checkpoint. In response they all sat in the road until they were arrested. After 48 hours, their visas were revoked and they were forced to leave Israel.\(^{320}\)


International figures also lent their names and faces to the Palestinian issue. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other South Africans celebrated Christmas in the occupied territories in 1989 despite the *Intifada*. The following year PLO head Yasser Arafat traveled to Calcutta to congratulate Nobel Peace Prize recipient Mother Teresa, where he tried to learn from her experience and asked for her prayers for the Palestinian peoples.

Reactions and Questioning Legitimacy

Questioning the legitimacy of activists and the organizations they supported was a standard response exhibited by white and Israeli officials. In one of many cases, the state attorney general of Arkansas questioned the integrity of the NAACP. When he did not obtain lists of members and contributors to the NAACP, for public record, he continued to push further, despite the threat of retaliation from financial contributors to the NAACP. The saga continued with the attorney general filing a suit against the NAACP for taxes and open records to

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324 “Bennett to see Official of NAACP: Branton Scheduled to Answer Questions on Negro Assn.,” *Arkansas Democrat*, September 17, 1957.
the public as well as attempting to curb the NAACP’s ability of filing lawsuits in Arkansas.325

White mobs turned violent against those who sought to enforce integration whether during sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, marches, or in schools. Segregationists sought to protect what they felt were Southern principles. They went after Reverend Lawson by leveraging their influence at Vanderbilt University and had him expelled on March 3rd, 1960, and later arrested on March 5, 1960.326 White “massive resistance” in the form of huge angry mobs was so dangerous that federal troops mobilized to uphold the law.327 A new White Power counter movement reared its head across the nation.328 African Americans who sought their rights were targeted, harassed, bombed, lost their jobs, endured physical attacks on their persons and/or property, and organizations like the NAACP had several of its branches outlawed, penalized, and in some cases closed down.329


Despite all this opposition, those who survived persevered and even won some victories, like the NAACP’s right to keep its membership roles private for fear of reprisal, especially since the Constitution guaranteed their right to do so.\textsuperscript{330}

Freedom Riders who were forced to evacuate the bus after it was firebombed by an angry white mob in Anniston, Alabama. "What were the defining moments of the civil rights movement?" The American Mosaic: The African American Experience. ABC-CLIO. \url{http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com/} (accessed October 27, 2010).

Palestinian cities, towns and refugee camps faced considerable curfews.\textsuperscript{331}

Nonviolent leaders were summoned to police stations for questioning on the


organizing of public boycotts and their release was attached to substantial bail. Scheduled press conferences were cancelled but later carried through at a different location after Israeli threats to speakers, arrests of journalists and activists and the Israeli Defense Minister, Yizhak Rabin, said leaders organizing civil disobedience were “playing with fire.”

Activists such as Sari Nusseibeh and Faisal Busseini received a three-month ban from travel in an effort to decrease their contact and dialogue with Europe and the United States. New Intifada taxes were enforced; vehicle registration tax rose from $70 to $300, and the failure to pay resulted in the loss of one’s vehicle.

The Union of Charitable Institutions held $1.5 million in a bank in Amman Jordan, but Israel blocked the money transfer into the occupied territories. As a result, moneychangers in the territories and commerce in general suffered because large sums of money were not allowed across the bridge between Jordan and Israel either. This also impacted citrus exports from Gaza because while the produce could be sold in Jordan the money could not be brought back into the


territories. Suspected leaders of the Intifada were rounded up en masse.\textsuperscript{337} Those convicted of committee work were given 10-year prison sentences.\textsuperscript{338}

Consequences

All this work did not come without negative attention. Those who supported the Civil Rights movement paid a heavy price. Many were sent to jail, beaten, threatened and in some instances paid with their lives. In Selma, Alabama, white Reverend James Reeb was beaten to death after taking part in a march that advocated for the civil rights of African Americans.\textsuperscript{339} Field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Medgar Evers, died after a fatal shot by a sniper.\textsuperscript{340} Most famously, in April 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, Dr. King was shot and killed, becoming a martyr for the movement.

While Mubarak Awad did not share King’s fate, his actions led to his deportation in the midst of the Intifada. Awad’s advocacy work drew the attention of Eyakim Haetzni, an Israeli lawyer and settlement activist who served as a member of the Israeli Knesset from 1990 to 1992, who made it his mission to get

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\end{itemize}
Awad prosecuted and imprisoned or sent away.\textsuperscript{341} Haetzni opposed Awad’s proposal for Israel and the occupied territories to become one country where all citizens could enjoy equal rights. Awad spoke of a “unified, secular State in which no Jew would have to leave,” Palestinians would become citizens to be called “Israel-Palestine or Palestine-Israel.” \textsuperscript{342}

Authorities deliberately targeted nonviolent activists. The head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover had his agents pursue Reverend King, spying on him by illegally wire-tapping his phones.\textsuperscript{343} When King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, Hoover called him a liar in the national press.\textsuperscript{344}

In a similar fashion, “Israeli authorities targeted ‘peaceful resistance’ just as fiercely as violent struggle”… their “goal was to keep civilian resistance—strikes, boycotts, protest, demonstrations and anti-Israel propaganda to a minimum.” American service workers in the occupied territories noted that Israel spent more time clamping down on nonviolent organizing than on violence. Israel worked to curtail Palestinian ability to organize in many different ways. One such example was the Military Governor of the West Bank forbidding


\textsuperscript{342} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{343} \textit{American Experience}, “Roads to Memphis: Two Paths, One Ending,” PBS.

demonstrations by pro-Palestinian Israelis within the territories, while demonstrations by Palestinians were outlawed in 1967.345

Another method was the arrest and deportation of nonviolent activists. Mubarak Awad’s case was especially prominent. Awad sent in his East Jerusalem identification card to the Interior Ministry for replacement, yet on August 4, 1987, his residency was revoked. He was then arrested and deported in May of 1988.346 This led to increased notoriety and visibility for Awad and the nonviolent work he advocated.347 Editorials such as that by Yossi Sarid, at the time a member of the Israeli Knesset, in the Jerusalem Post asserted that Awad was inspired by the work of Gandhi and King. Sarid continued, “with moderates there is a big problem. You must sit down and have a coffee with it.”348 He stated that Awad’s commitment to nonviolence made him the “most dangerous man in the West Bank” because he advocated mass action against the occupation in a peaceful way. Awad’s opponent and adversary, Shlomo Baum, called for Israeli officials to muzzle Aawad. Baum applied to the Israeli High Court, and submitted an article written by Awad entitled, “Non-violent Opposition: A Strategy for the Occupied


Territories.” Baum, argued that the article was detrimental to Israel, highlighting passages such as,

Don’t pay taxes, don’t sow ID cards, don’t fill out official forms in Hebrew, boycott Israeli made goods, don’t help in the establishment of new Jewish settlements, lie down in front of bulldozers, show passive opposition to government expropriation of lands, stage strikes, demonstrate, whenever possible fail to show up for work and fill up prisons in Israel to full capacity.349

Israeli authorities saw Awad as an agitator and a problem.350 The U.S., however, intervened on his behalf.351 Israel argued that Awad’s residency was revoked for prolonged residence abroad and his obtaining U.S. citizenship nullified his status as a local resident of Israel. The U.S. saw it differently. American officials counter-argued that international conventions “guarantee the right of an individual to live in his country of origin.”352 However, Palestinians born in the West Bank and Jerusalem were bound to strict residency requirements which did not allow for them to remain outside of the territories for more than 7 years, while Jews born overseas were free to come and go under the Law of Return.353 Not withstanding U.S. pressure, Israel decided to deport Awad; another bi-product of this law meant that 6,000-8,000 U.S. citizens lived in the West Bank and Jerusalem

349 Ibid.


352 Ibid.

on tourist visas.\textsuperscript{354} Regardless of the technicalities of residency, Awad was under investigation for his calls for civil disobedience, a charge that made him a threat to Israel.\textsuperscript{355}

Ultimately, Awad’s deportation raised greater awareness of his work both inside and outside the occupied territories. His leaflets, nonviolent organizing and media outreach fed the movement and nourished it before it was officially born. Because of his expulsion his popularity as a Palestinian Gandhi or King became recognized on an international level.

Due to the failure of the local Palestinian leaders to contain the resistance, the Israeli Defense Forces took matters into their own hands. In the Gaza Strip, the IDF separated traffic patterns to place Palestinians at a disadvantage. Israelis increased distance between roads and any objects adjacent to the road that anyone could hide behind (houses, trees, etc.), to one kilometer. Three million Palestinians were restricted from movement through the implementation of sieges and curfews on cities.\textsuperscript{356}

Within the first two years of the uprising, 600 Palestinians were killed, and 8,500 wounded by the Israeli military. Because of the large death toll, troops were instructed by Prime Minister Rabin to increase the use of non-lethal physical force and decrease the shooting which had caused high Palestinian fatalities. For a short time Rabin's strategy worked to decrease the number of fatalities, yet the


\textsuperscript{355} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., 129.
excessive beatings that ensued provided for negative media coverage. Palestinians began using pictures of soldiers beating unarmed Palestinians as propaganda to fuel their cause. These images worked against the positive image of Israel in the United States and Europe.\(^{357}\)

From 1988 until 1992 official Palestinian schools of higher learning were not allowed to operate. While primary schools were shut down in 1987, they were reopened in 1990. Presumably, closing the schools only gave young people more time for the Intifada. By 1993 over 18,000 Palestinians had been arrested for periods ranging from six months to several years. One hundred thousand Palestinians were held for security reasons while several others were expelled from the country. Prime Minister Rabin expelled 400 Palestinians for supporting Hamas, an Islamic resistance movement. Over 500 Palestinian homes were demolished in the Occupied Territories. Approximately 395 homes were sealed for security reasons, and 1,442 buildings were destroyed for not being licensed.\(^{358}\)

In an effort to regain control after thousands of Gazans threw out their identity cards, Israel announced a new campaign to issue ID cards to 400,000 Gaza residents who were over 16 years of age. The UNCLU called for a boycott of the campaign, but Israel responded with soldiers driving through neighborhoods announcing orders via loud speaker. When residents did not

\(^{357}\) Bar-on, \textit{In Pursuit of Peace}, 221.

\(^{358}\) Gerner, \textit{One Land, Two Peoples}, 95, 99.
comply, soldiers broke into homes and threatened residents, stopped people in the streets and sent them to registration locations.\textsuperscript{359}

The Israeli government also attempted to end the uprising by assassinating Khalil al-Wazir, also known as Abu Jihad, in Tunis because he was the second in command of the PLO-Fatah revolutionary movement. Several Israeli reports at the time claimed he was the main organizer of the \textit{Intifada}. In this way, Israeli officials attempted to quash the uprising by getting rid of an influential leader.\textsuperscript{360} Due to the negative images of Israel in the international media, Prime Minister Rabin changed the military strategy to "shoot to wound." Israeli troops were ordered to use plastic bullets, promoted as nonfatal. While Rabin succeeded in decreasing the media pictures of the beating of unarmed individuals, the plastic bullets proved capable of taking human life. United Nations agencies and hospitals reported increased casualties along with a number of fatalities due to the new plastic bullets.\textsuperscript{361}

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported that even after demonstrations decreased, in October and November, plastic bullets wounded 1,000 Palestinians from the Gaza Strip. The same report stated that after Israel implemented its new policy the


\textsuperscript{361} O’Ballance, \textit{The Palestinian Intifada}, 59.
number of injured Palestinians increased by 2,000 incidents. Torture, killing, and prolonged detention were all methods used by the Israeli government as tools to quell the uprising. When the city of Beit Sahour conducted civil disobedience through tax resistance, the boycott of Israeli goods, and turning in their military identification cards, the city was besieged for a period of forty-five days.

Even though the international community condemned Israel's excessive use of force against the Palestinians, their official efforts to condemn the actions were stopped. On February 2, 1988, the United Nations Security Council introduced a resolution, which condemned Israel for its use of violence and human rights abuses. The resolution was promptly vetoed by the United States.

In "The Intifada: Palestinian Adaptation to Israeli Counterinsurgency Tactics," Israeli author Margolis Beitler argued that because the army took several measures to end the violent resistance Palestinians resorted to methods such as civil disobedience. She asserted that through the discouragement of ties between guerrillas and the general population and the suppression of guerilla and terrorist attacks, the Israeli military effectively ended the war inside Israel and forced Palestinians into methods of civil disobedience. Contrary to this view, however, there is evidence to suggest that Israel attempted to quash nonviolent resistance as well. Israel made efforts to ban non-governmental

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organizations, jailed several sympathizers, mayors, professional figures, and businessmen in order to end decrease the momentum of the first uprising.366

Between 1988 and 1991, the Israeli national consensus supported a legal ban on dialogue with the Palestinian Liberation Organization. They also supported military service in the Occupied Territories and Israel, and sought to increase already existing measures to avoid confrontations between the Israeli Defense Forces and Palestinians within the Territories.367 More radical left-wing peace organizers, however, supported negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and proposed a two-state solution in hopes of ending the occupation. Extreme leftist leaders such as Michel Warschawski, leader of the Mikado Israeli peace group, urged respect for both Jews and Palestinians. Warschchawski served two jail terms for refusal to report for military reserve duties during the Israeli war with Lebanon.368

Outcomes

Hardships endured by the many activists of both movements yielded significant results. They empowered those who had been held as inferior, made them part of a large movement, gave them the freedom to act in ways otherwise restricted, and the ability to transform themselves from insignificant to important.


For civil rights in the U.S., the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965, and *Brown vs. Board of Education* were monumental in stopping Jim Crow, securing the right to vote, and the right to a good education. The movement also created substantial social change that made it no longer acceptable for lynching to take place in the South.369

The African American struggle, in full force when Mubarak Awad first studied in the U.S., influenced him greatly. The successes he witnessed around him were proof that nonviolent resistance was an active force and weapon that could be used by Palestinians. Through the use of nonviolence, Palestinians raised their issue to the top of international priorities and transformed their status as an invisible people who did not exist to a significant one. Their image was transformed from vermin to human—humans committed to peace and reconciliation. Civil disobedience exposed the reality of the occupation to Israel and the rest of the world. The mass organizing of the *Intifada* led to all-out Palestinian rejection of colonial rule and occupation and pushed the United Nations’ partition plan for a Two-State Solution.370 Both the United States and Israel also accepted PLO leadership as negotiating partners. The Oslo Peace Accords were also a significant victory that was to allow for the creation of a Palestinian State through gradual phases.371 Head-on engagement would have been suicidal, which made non-violence the more effective tool of choice.

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371 It is important to note, that not everyone was happy with Oslo. It was a solution to the status quo. Critics warned that it was occupation via remote control that would lend itself to a system of apartheid if it did not go exactly as planned.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Non-violence was not a new concept for African American Civil Rights activists or the Palestinian Intifada. Each group’s history held roots of non-violent resistance well before each movement was born. The comparison of both movements has yielded a number of similarities between the movements in addition to undeniable evidence that leaders of the Intifada were swayed and influenced by the African American Civil Rights Movement.

Though both movements are different in many ways, their similarities are significant. They were heavily influenced by the successes of non-violent campaigns that took place before their own. Both had personalities at the forefront, however there were many people who led to the success of the movement who never achieved the name recognition of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mubarak Awad. Both deviated from pure principled nonviolence, as they sold the concept of nonviolence as a means to overcome their foes, rather than a strict path of pacifism as practiced by Quakers, Mennonites, and leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi. Both these movements took some by surprise, however, were the culmination of several years of organizing. Rosa Parks getting arrested was not a mere coincidence. The Israeli traffic accident may have been unintentional, but the mass nonviolent action that followed it, was the result of years of
preparation. They were the result of a great deal of hard work, organizing, and education that made their respective atmospheres ripe for change.372

Alternative institutions were created to meet the needs of those who took part in the action. During the bus boycott, black taxi drivers stepped in to find a way to get people where they needed to go. When Palestinians boycotted Israeli goods, community members grew their own produce and manufactured alternatives. The education of the youth was a significant issue in both communities though their challenges were very different. As was demonstrated through newspaper reports from Arkansas, school integration was a tumultuous time. For a significant amount of time, black school children could not go to school because of angry mobs outside of the building and hostility expressed by their white peers toward them. Palestinian school children also faced obstacles in obtaining a quality education. Military orders banned them from attending schools all together. When this took place, underground education efforts sprouted to make sure that youth were still learning—despite school closures.

Both were also seen as a threat by the power establishments. The head of the FBI in the Unites States made it his mission to expose King in any way possible. Eventually, King and other activists were killed for their work; though not through the action of the government. Similarly, while scores of Palestinians died, their non-violent leaders like Mubarak Awad were deported despite appeals from the international community.

372 Abu Nimer, Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam, 133.
In addition to the similarities in how activists fared, a power struggle took place within the movements themselves. SNCC created a counter balance to the dominance of the NAACP and SCLC.\(^{373}\) The PLO eventually took over the UNLU after all the main leaders were put in jail or deported. Moreover, increased frustration led to a splintering effect in both movement and eventually, power movements claimed center stage.

The imprint of civil rights on the *Intifada* was evidenced in the multiple references of the Civil Rights movement and emulation of its tactics and leadership. The writings of King surfaced in the rhetoric, writings and actions of different Palestinian leaders. References to famous civil rights material such as “a Letter from a Birmingham Jail” were repeated often in the writings and statements made by Palestinian academics and leaders. Learning from civil rights leaders, Palestinian leaders warned activists that suffering would follow their noncompliance. This training became an essential part of preparing the population; and its success was in large part due to the ability of leaders such as Sari Nussiebeh and Mubarak Awad to draw on statement and warnings articulated by Dr. King and James Lawson.

Moreover, Awad and Hanna Siniora made open comparisons to civil rights on the grounds that both were subordinated in their own homeland and denied full political rights. A first-hand observer of the civil rights struggle in the U.S., Awad borrowed concepts from King, such as the importance of suffering as a source of power for the movement; if the oppressed wanted freedom they had to liberate themselves first. Awad also held workshops similar to those

\(^{373}\) Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 328.
orchestrated by James Lawson and included material with the much of the same rhetoric as civil rights leaders.

Thus the African American Civil Rights Era of the 1950s and 1960s not only held a great deal of similarities with the Palestinian Intifada, it also became the foundational building block for non-violent Palestinian activists. Though Dr. King’s widow, Coretta, attempted to intervene on behalf of Mubarak Awad during his deportation proceedings, her efforts were to little avail. Thus this story is an answer to a question that is repeatedly asked today, where is the Palestinian Gandhi or MLK? The answer; he was deported.


______. “Up Against the Wall: Can Gandhi’s Principles Work in Palestine? ” Lecture, University of Missouri Kansas City, MO, October 17, 2005.


______. “Statistics on Demolition of Houses Build Without Permits in the West Bank.”

______. “Statistics on House Demolition as Punishment.”


