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

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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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ABSTRACT

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.

PREFACE

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]

[1] “Israel Honors King with Street Naming,” *Galveston Daily News*, January 21, 1986, 6B; Joel Brinkley, “Israel Upholds Expulsion of Palestinian-American,” *New York Times*, June 6, 1988.

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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under "World," http://www.nytimes.com/1988/06/06/world/israel-upholds-expulsion-of-palestinian-american.html?pagewanted=print# (accessed September 30, 2010).

[2] Mary Elizabeth King, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), 174, 208; Hanan Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace: a Personal Account* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 43.

"Special envoy of the President of the Palestinian National Authority, Hanan Ashrawi speaks to the..." *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*. Ed. Philip Mattar. 2nd ed. Vol. 2. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004. *Gale World History In Context*. Web. 27 Oct. 2010.

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

[3] Ira Chernus, *American Nonviolence: The History of An Idea* (New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 161.

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."[4]

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

[4] John Eagan, "Jesse Jackson: African Americans and the Palestinians," *Journal of Palestine Studies 15* (Winter 1986), 5-7, 9.

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 perpetuators 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*a. 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

[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]

[6] Rebecca Kook, *The Logic of Democratic Exclusion: African Americans in the United Sates and Palestinian Citizens in Israel* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), ix.

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

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[7] Robert Hunter, *The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), 79-87.

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

[8] Hunter, "Palestinian Uprising," 79.

[9] Mary Elizabeth King, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), xv-xvi.

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

[10] Keith Feldman, "Representing Permanent War: Black Power's Palestine And The End(s) of Civil Rights," in *Black Routes to Islam*, eds., Manning Marable and Hisham D. Aidi (New York: St. Martin's Press LLC, 2009), 79-95, 79.

went through as a supporter of Zionism after Israel invaded Egypt at Suez.[11] 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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[11] Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 84-124.

[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.[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 *Free At Last? The Civil Rights Movement and the People Who Made It* by Fred Powledge and *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.[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.

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[14] Alex Lubin, interview by Mumia Abu Jamal, *Crossing the Line*, Electronic Intifada, June 6, 2007, http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article7009.shtml (accessed December 8, 2010).

[15] Howell Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*: *Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered* (New York: Penguin, 1983).

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.[16] 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

[16] Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle*: *SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1.

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.*[17] 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.[18] 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

[17] William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*: *Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[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

[19] Martin Oppenheimer, *The Sit-In Movement of 1960* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1989); Howell Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*: *Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered* (New York: Penguin, 1983); Miles Wolff, *Lunch at the 5 and 10* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1990); Howard Zinn, ed. *SNCC*: *The New Abolitionists*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 1, 4; Aldon Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*: *Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984), 1.

[20] Mohammad Abu Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 137; Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 398-399; April Carter, "People Power and Protest: The Literature on Civil Resistance in Historical Context," in *Civil Resistance & Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to Present*, eds., Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 37; "Nonviolent Force: Palestinian Cause," *Christian Century Foundation*, in First Search OCLC, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1058/is_24_118/ai_78545533#continue August 29, 2001 (accessed February 16, 2006); Ralf E. Crow et al., *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990); Richard L. Deats, *Mahatma Gandhi: Non-Violent Liberator, A Biography* (Hyde Park: New York City Press, 2005): 102-103; Jack

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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DuVall and Hardy Merriman, "Dissolving Terrorism at its Roots," in *Nonviolence: An Alternative for Defeating Global Terrorism*, ed. Senthil Ram and Ralph Summy (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2008), 223; Johan Galtung, *Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine* (Honolulu: Univerwity of Hawaii Press, 1989); "The Intifada and Nonviolent Struggle" *Journal of Palestine Studies 19* [JSTOR: database online] (Autumn 1989): 3-13; William Vogele, "Learning and Nonviolent Struggle in the Intifadah," *Peace and Change,* 17, no. 3 (July 1992), 312-40; Alain Weaver and Sonia K. Weaver, *Salt & Sign: Mennonite Central Committee in Palestine, 1949-1999* (Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1999), 8; Jean Zaru, *Occupied with Nonviolence: A Palestinian Women Speaks* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), xv, 65; Stephen Zunes, "Unarmed Resistance in the Middle East and North Africa," in *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective,* ed. Sarah Beth Asher et all., (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1999, 47.

[21] Danny Rubinstein, "The Third Intifada," *HaAretz,* September 10, 2009, under "News," http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/analysis-third-intifada-unlikely-despite-jerusalem-tensions-1.6410 (accessed June 21, 2010).

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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[22] Gene Sharp, "The Intifada and Nonviolent Struggle," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, no. 1 (Autumn 1989): 3, 4, 7. Demonstrative funerals frequently used and misunderstood image on American television.

[23] Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 161.

creation of alternative institutions."[24] 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."[25] Inbar declared that in addition to the aforementioned tactics listed by Zunes, other acts included commercial shutdowns, economic boycotts and the resignation of policemen.[26]

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

[24] Zunes, "Unarmed Resistance," 47.

[25] Efraim Inbar, "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to The Intifada," *Armed Forces & Society* 18, no. 1 (Fall 1991): 29-51.

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

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[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.

[29]Ruth Margolies Beitler, "The Intifada: Palestinian Adaptation to Israeli Counterinsurgency Tactics," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 2 (1995): 62.

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

[30] Philippa Strum, *The Women Are Marching: The Second Sex and the Palestinian Resolution* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992).

[31] Mubarak Awad, "Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy for the Occupied Territories," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13, no. 52 (Summer 1984): 48-64.

[32] Hana Siniora, "An Analysis of the Current Revolt," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17, no 67 (Spring 1988): 3-13.

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.

[33] Jonathan Kuttab, "The Children's Revolt," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17, no. 4 (1988): 30.

[34] Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace.*

Hanan Ashrawi leading a Birzeit University march in December 1986. Hanan Ashrashi, *This Side of Peace: A Personal Account* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), back cover.

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.[35] 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

[35] Lucy Nusseibeh, "Nonviolence: Ordinary Palestinians Fight for Their Freedom", *Going Places* IV, No. 214 (September 12, 2003).

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.

[36] Rema Hammani, "On the Importance of Thugs: The Moral Economy of a Checkpoint," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22/23 (Fall & Winter 2005): 18, http://palestinearchives.org/images/ArticlesPdf/22_23_thugs.pdf (accessed October 4, 2010).

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[37]

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."[38]

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.[39] Multiple African American leaders made visits to India to either learn from Gandhi himself

[37] R. Scott Kennedy, "The Druze of the Golan: A Case of Non-Violent Resistance," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13, no. 2 (Winter, 1984): 21.

[38] Homer Jack ed., *The Gandhi Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 1994), 310-311.

[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. Dubois 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.[40] Garvey and Dubois 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 half way around the world.[41] 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.[42]

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 Ghaffar 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

[40] Ibid., 305, 307. Historically Marcus Garvey and W.E. B. Dubois rarely agreed on anything.

[41] Ibid; James Lawson, interviewed by Steve York, *A Force More Powerful,* PBS, October 26, 1998.

[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."[43]

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.[44] 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.

[44] James Melvin Washington ed., *The Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: Harper & Rowe, 1986), 597.

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

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[45] Chernus, *American Nonviolence: History of An Idea*, 170, 171.

[46] James W. Vander Zanden, "The Non-violent Resistance movement Against Segregation," *The American Journal of Sociology* 68, no. 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963): 547.

[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*

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[48] Michael Nojeim, *Planting Olive Trees: Palestinian Nonviolent Resistance* (PhD diss., American University, 1993), 115; Ibid.; Mubarak E. Awad & R. Scott Kennedy, *Nonviolent Struggle in the Middle East* (Philadelphia, PA: New Society, 1985), 26, 28-29; Don Peretz, *Intifada: The Palestinians Uprising* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 53.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Jack, *The Gandhi Reader*, 313-316.

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."[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.[52]

Twenty years later, the beliefs of Anabaptists both in the U.S. and in the West Bank heavily influenced Awad's ideology.[53] After obtaining his degree in the U.S., Awad established and became the director of the *Palestinian Center for the*

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[51] Awad and Kennedy, "Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy," 24.

[52]Chernus, *American Nonviolence*," 161, 70.

[53] 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.

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.[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.[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.[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.[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"

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[54] A. Weaver and S. Weaver, *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.

[55] Ibid., 9.

[56] Greg Moses, *Revolution of Conscience: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Philosophy of Nonviolence* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1997), 23, 40.

[57] Chernus, *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]

[58] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 310.

[59] Bayard Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Patterns of Black Protest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 20-21.

Members of the Washington Freedom Riders Committee en route to Washington, D.C. from New York City. During the summer of 1961, hundreds of Freedom Riders rode in interstate buses into the South to test a U.S. Supreme Court decision that banned segregation of interstate transportation facilities."Freedom Riders Protest Segregation." Image. Library of Congress. *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com/ (accessed October 27, 2010).

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.[60] Leadership, however, imposed this action on the masses.[61] 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.[62]

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

[60] Awad and Kennedy, "Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy," 23.

[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,

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[63] Nojeim, *Planting Olive Trees*, 121; Robert B Ashmore, "Nonviolence as an Intifada Strategy," *American-Arab Affairs* 32 (Spring 1990): 97; Mary King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 165; David Hall-Cathala, *The Peace Movement in Israel 1967-87* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 62; "Jews, Arabs Protest Iron Fist," *Al Fajr*, Febrary 7, 1986. Refusnik is the name given to an individual serving in the Israeli military who refused service in the Occupied Territories.

[64] Mary King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 170.

strikes, demonstrations and protests by academic freedom groups in the West Bank, Israel, and the West.[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 *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..[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.[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

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[65] Phillip Grant, "Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Occupied Territories," in *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), 63.

[66] Thomas BeVier, "King Disappointed In March He'll Try Again Next Week," *the Commercial Appeal Memphis Tennessee,* March 30, 1968, *under "News,"* http://www.commercialappeal.com/news/1968/mar/30/king-disappointed-march-hell-try-again-next-week/ (accessed October 20, 2010); *American Experience* "Roads to Memphis: Two Paths, One Ending," PBS, directed by Steven Ives ,WGBH Educational Foundation, 2010.

[67] Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace*, 64-67.

to deal with what they were going through. Malcolm X regularly challenged the wisdom of King and other leaders who espoused the use of nonviolence, well into the Civil Rights Movement.[68] In fact, the Black Power movement lived alongside nonviolent civil rights throughout the 1950s and 1960s. [69] There was even a significant debate on the use of nonviolence after Mubarak Awad held a workshop entitled "How to Get Your Rights without a Single Bullet."[70]

[68]Miles A. Smith, "Rev. Martin Luther King Clings to 'Nonviolence'", *Morning Herald,* September 16, 1967, http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=90212174&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=3 (accessed October 20, 2010).

[69] Drew Pearson, "Commissioner Cites D.C.'s Peaceful Approach," *Hamilton Daily News Journal, Ohio,* May 23, 1964, http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=139844156&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=1 (accessed October 26, 2010).

[70] David Richardson, "Palestinians Weigh Pros and Cons of Passive Resistance," *Jerusalem Post*, October 16, 1983.

Followed by thousands, Malcolm X addressed a crowd gathered at a rally in New York City, ca. 1960. "Malcolm X rally." Image. AP/Wide World Photos. *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com/ (accessed October 27, 2010).

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.[71] In 1983, Mubarak Awad did an interview published in a mainstream Israeli newspaper, the *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."[72]

Nonviolent action was orchestrated well before and right up to the beginning of the *Intifada*. The *Committee to Combat the Iron Fist* continued to hold demonstrations during the summer prior to the official start of the uprising.[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 *Committee Confronting the Iron*

[71] Mary King, *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.

[72] David Richardson, "Confrontation Quest," *Jerusalem Post*, November 25, 1983.

[73] "Palestinians Stage Anti-Israel March through Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Post*, June 21, 1987; Saida Hamad, "Palestinians, Israelis March against the Occupation," *Al Fajr,* June 21, 1987.

Fist, for the ability to raise international awareness and put pressure on Israel.[74] 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

[74] Grant, "Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Occupied Territories," 61.

"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"

[75] Kennedy, "The Druze of the Golan,"13.

[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

[77] King, *A Quiet Revolution,* 132-135.

[78] As quoted in Mary King, *A Quiet Revolution* 141; Nafez Assaily, "Quran Verses Advancing Nonviolence in Islam," *Newsletter of Palestine Center for the Study of Nonviolence* (E. Jerusalem, PCSN): 14-15.

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.

[80] "Tqu Villagers Block Settler Expansion," *Al Fajr*, January 17, 1986.

[81] Edward Grossman, "Palestinian Pacifist," *Jerusalem Post*, October 17, 1986.

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.

[82] Nojeim, "Planting Olive Trees," 215.

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.[83] 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).[84] 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.[85] However, the period between the mid-1950s and 1960s was highlighted with several successful efforts of nonviolent mass-resistance.[86] 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.[87] However, in the midst of different movements geared towards bringing about social change, was the viable and

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[83] Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom*, 34.

[84] Peter Levy, *The Civil Rights Movement* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998), xviii.

[85] Bryant Brown, "NAACP Sponsored Sit-ins," 274.

[86] George Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997), 174.

[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

[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 Students at Central High," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 23, 1957.

[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]

[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.

Rosa Parks fingerprinted after arrest. "Rosa Parks Fingerprinted." *Civil Rights in America*. Woodbridge, CT: Primary Source Media, 2010. American Journey. *Gale U.S. History In Context*. Web. 30 Oct. 2010.

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 ones' 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]

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[92] Lauren F. Winner, "Doubtless Sincere: New Characters in the Civil Rights Cast," *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South: Essays* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 158.

[93] Thomas West, ed., and James Mooney, ed., *To Redeem a Nation: A History and Anthology of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Brandwine Press, 1993), 89; Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 24.

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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[94] Zanden, "The Non-violent Resistance movement Against Segregation," 546, 547.

[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

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[97] "Volunteers Train for Civil Rights Demonstrations on Campus at Oxford," *Coshocton Tribune, Ohio*, June 18, 1964, Access Newspaper Archive, http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=16886547&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=5 (accessed October 25, 2010)

[98] Arther I. Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960s* (New York: Doubley and Company Inc., 1966), 233.

MAY GOD BLESS EACH OF YOU[99]

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.[100] 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.[101]

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.[102]

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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[99] John Lewis, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 106-107; Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 321.

[100] Nojeim, *Planting Olive Trees*, 24.

[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

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[103] Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 42; Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 211; Nathan Irvin Huggins, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: Charisma and Leadership," *The Journal of American History* 74 (September 1987): 479.

[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.[108]

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.[109]

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.[110]

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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

[111] Clayborne Carson, "Civil Rights Reforms and the Black Freedom Struggle," *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, Charles Eagles ed., (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 23; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*,,42.

[112] Carson, "Civil Rights Reforms and the Black Freedom Struggle," 24.

different groups also played on differences in order to get the white population to join their cause.[113]

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.[114]

[113] Nancy Weiss, "Creative Tensions in the Leadership of The Civil Rights Movement," *The Civil Rights Movement in America* Ed. Charles Eagles (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 39-43.

[114] 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.*[116]
> -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.[117]

Israeli Defense Forces occupied Palestinian land in order to enforce Israeli security.[118] Though settlements violated United Nations Resolution 242, which forbade settlement expansion in the occupied territories, Israel continued to build

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[116] David Smock, *Perspectives on Pacifism: Christian, Jewish, Muslim Views on Nonviolence and International Conflict* (University of Virginia: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995), 49.

[117] Beitler, "The Intifada," 52; Siniora, "An Analysis of the Current Revolt," 3.

[118] Beitler, "The *Intifada*," 52.

settlements on occupied land.[119] 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).[120] 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.

[119]Penny Rosenwasser, *Voices from a `Promised Land'. Palestinian and Israeli Peace Activists Speak their Hearts* (Willimantic: Curbstone Press, 1992), 17-18.

[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 sates 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."

Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, December 1993

"Israeli Settlement in the West Bank, December 1993," University of Texas Libraries, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/wbank_93.jpg (accessed December 12, 2010).

"Israeli Settlements in the Gaza Strip, February 1992," University of Texas Libraries, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/gaza_1992.jpg (accessed December 12, 2010).

"Israeli Settlements in the Golan Heights, February 1992," University of Texas Libraries, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/golan_92.jpg (accessed December 12, 2010).

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

[121] Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful*, 401; Rosenwasser, *Voices from a `Promised Land'*, 17-18; Said and Hitchens, *Blaming The Victims*, 2; "Demolition and Sealing of Houses: As a Punitive Measure in the West Bank and Gaza Strip During the Intifada" *B'Tselem* (Jerusalem, September 1989), 9. http://www.btselem.org/english/publications/Index.asp?TF=06 (accessed October 4, 2010); "Israeli Demolition, Sealing of Houses Policy Leaves Dozen Families Homeless," *AlFajr*, August 7, 1988, 3; Joost Hiltermann, "Human Rights and the Palestinian Struggle for National Liberation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 18, no 2 [JSTOR: database on-line] (Winter 1989): 110.

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.[122]

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.[123] In the late 1980s there were 445,397 refugees in the Gaza Strip, and 372,586 refugees in the West Bank.[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

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[122] Reuven Kaminer, *The Politics of Protest: The Israeli Peace Movement and the Palestinian Intifada* (Brighton: Susses Academic Press, 1996), 42; Said and Hitchens, *Blaming The Victims*, 5.

[123] United Nations official website, http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1967/scres67.htm (accessed October 12, 2010).

[124] Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1998), 525-526. Palestinian refugees also populated several Arab states; 278,609 in Lebanon, 845,542 in Jordan, and 257,989 in Syria.

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.[125] Israeli officials rebutted this report in the *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."[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.[127]

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[125] Joel Greenberg, "Benvenisti: Gaza Area is 'explosive,'" *The Jerusalem Post International Edition,* June 7, 1986; Ibid.

[126] Joel Greenberg, "Official Hits Benvenisti Report on Gaza Strip," Jerusalem Post, June 14, 1986.

[127] "Officers jailed for not warning sapper of Jewish terror bomb", *The Jerusalem Post International Edition,* June 14, 1986.

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.[128] One year later, Israeli soldiers killed three youth who were throwing stones, while claiming they were aiming at their feet.[129]

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.[130] 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

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[128] Ibid.

[129] David Horvitz, "Torture Charges Denied", *Jerusalem Post,* October 25, 1986; Thomas Friedman, "Weight of Politics Prejudice Bends the Law in Israel," *New York Times*, December 21, 1986.

[130] Siniora, "An Analysis," 4.

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 Araba 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

[131] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 401; Hiltermann, "Human Rights and the Palestinian Struggle," 116-117.

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

[132] Arie Dayan, "The Debate over Zionism and Racism: An Israeli View," *Haaretz*, 27 December 1991; translated in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 3. (Spring, 1993): 101; "Palestinian Unrest Cuts into Israel's Economic Growth," *Journal of Commerce*, [Lexis Nexis: database on-line] May 10, 1988, 14A; Glenn Frankel, "Israeli Officials Cutting Services in West Bank; Prop in Tax Revenues During Protest Cited," *Washington Post*, June 2, 1988.

[133] Siniora "An Analysis," 4.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 403.

peace process decreased. [136] The absence of peaceful channels for legitimate change solidified anger created by daily humiliations under the occupation.[137]

"ARIEL SHARON. AS A MILITARY OFFICER AND THEN ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER, SHARON OFTEN ENGAGED IN..." *Dictionary of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Vol. 2. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005. *Gale World History In Context*. Web. 28 Oct. 2010.

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.

[137] Jamal Nassar, "The Culture of Resistance: The 1967 War in the Context of the Palestinian Struggle." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1997): 77.

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.[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.[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,[140] and refusing to pay their taxes in towns such as Beit Sahour.[141]

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[138] Geoffrey Aronson, *Israel, Palestinians, and the Intifada: Creating Facts on the West Bank* (London: Kegan Paul International Limited, 1990), 312; Yehuda Litani, "From civil strife to rebellion: Analysis", *Jerusalem Post International Edition, December 19, 1987, 3;* Deborah J. Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples; The Conflict over Palestine* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 97; and Aronson, *Israel, Palestine, and the Intifada,* 312; Aronson, *Israel, Palestine, and the Intifada,* 312.

[139] Bar-on, *In Pursuit of Peace,* 221-222.

[140] At the time, throwing out identity cards was illegal.

[141] Ghassan Andoni, "A Comparative Study of Intifada of 1987 and Intifada 2000," in *The New Intifada Resisting Israel's Apartheid,* Ed. By Carey Roane (London: Verso, 2001), 121.

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

[142] Laetita Bucaille, *Growing Up Palestinian: Israel Occupations and the Intifada Generation, trans.* Anthony Roberts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 17-19.

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

[143] Ibid.; Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 415; "Nonviolent Force," *Christian Century 118* [OCLC FirstSearch: databse on-line] (August 28, 2001): 3 (accessed March 12, 2006).

[144] Inbar, "Israel's Small War," 29.

the Tunisian-based PLO and inside the Occupied Territories.[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.[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.[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

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[145] King, *A Quiet Revolution*, 206.

[146] Edgar O'Balance, *The Palestinian Intifada* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 4, 27.

[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

[148] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 410.

[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.[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.[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.[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

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[150] Bucaille, *Growing Up Palestinian,* 17.

[151] Nassar, "The Culture of Resistance," 15.

[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."[153]

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.[154] 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.[155]

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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[153] John Collins, *Occupied by Memory: the Intifada Generation and the Palestinian State of Emergency* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), *23.*

[154] *Jerusalem Post*, January 19, 1988.

[155] Abu-Nimer, "Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam," 128.

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

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[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.

[157] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 406. Mubarak Awad, "Nonviolence and the Intifada," in *Unarmed Forces: Nonviolent Action in Central America and the Middle Eat*, Ed. Graeme Macqueen (Toronto: Science for Peace, 1992), 84.

David vs Goliath when demonstrators threw rocks against unstoppable tanks.[158] In this way, the UNLU aimed to change world opinion because the world would be forced to see that Palestinians as defenseless victims.[159]

David and Goliath stock photo image http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.pac-usa.org/faris_odeh.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.pac-usa.org/david.htm&h=410&w=450&sz=24&tbnid=2EuYCUHoHqgeAM:&tbnh=116&tbnw=127&prev=/images%3Fq%3DPalestinian%2Bdavid%2Band%2Bgoliath%2Bimages&zoom=1&q=Palestinian+david+and+goliath+images&hl=en&usg=__iIraY5Xx9HFluTYIetEIIhMEahk=&sa=X&ei=fTE1TZv-GZLksQP7-cmQBg&ved=0CBMQ9QEwAA (accessed October 27, 2010)

[158] Ackerman and Duvall, *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.

[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," *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.[160] As a leading intellectual, he championed nonviolent action and a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[161] 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.[162]

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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.

[161] Epharim Sneh, "Undue Process," *Jerusalem Report,* February 14, 1991, 45. Sneh was a retired head of the civil administration in the occupied territories.

[162] King, *A Quiet Revolution,* 198-199.

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.[163]

Palestinian children paint with watercolors in an underground class in the Occupied West Bank.

(AP photo)

"Palestinians Attend Underground Schools," *Intelligencer,* Pennsylvania, May 18, 1988, D6. Accessed Oct 30, 2010. Access Newspaper Archive, AP photo.

[163] Dajani, *Eyes Without Country,* 4.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP EMULATION AND SIMILARITIES

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."[164]

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

[164] King, *A Quiet Revolution,* 134; Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 410.

occupation. He then spent 2 months in jail and agreed to go into exile rather than complete his 10-year term.[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.[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.

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[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, *A Quiet Revolution,* 130,129.

[166] Joel Greenberg, "It depends on what's nonviolence," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, Dec 5, 1987.

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]

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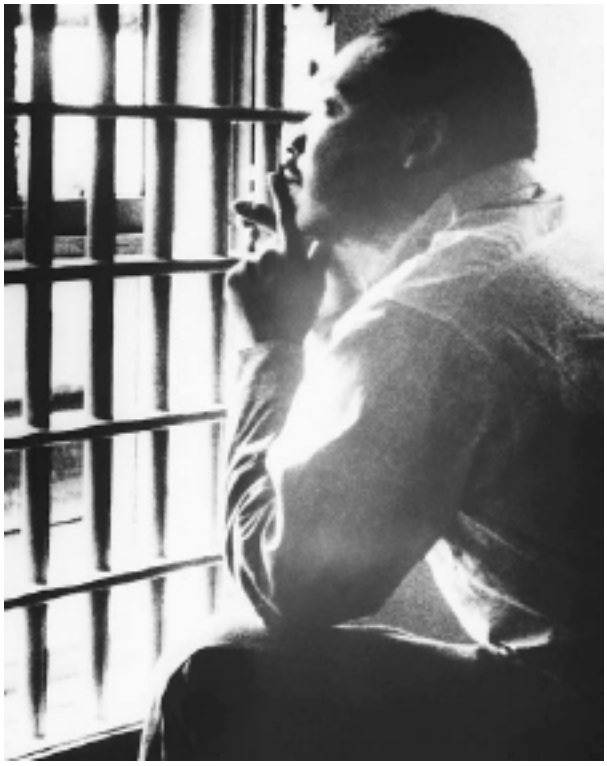
[167] Ibid.

[168] Awad. "Nonviolent Resistance," 48-64.

[169] "Martin Luther King Jr.: "Letter from Birmingham Jail" (1963)." *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/ (accessed October 27, 2010).

[170] Nojeim, *Planting Olive Trees*, 215.



Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in a cell in the Jefferson County Courthouse, Birmingham, Alabama. Four days after local religious leaders urged restraint in the Civil Rights movement, King responded to this criticism in his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." "Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stares out the window of his cell in the Jefferson County..." *American Decades Primary Sources*. Ed. Cynthia Rose. Vol. 7: 1960-1969. Detroit: Gale, 2004. *Gale U.S. History In Context*. Accessed October 27, 2010.

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

[171] Elaine Ruth Fletcher, "Awad: The crucial question," *Jerusalem Post International Edition.* December 5, 1987.

educational facilities, factories, libraries, hospitals and schools, and the obstruction of annexed West Bank lands and civil disobedience.[172]

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.[173]

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.[174]

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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[172] Joel Greenberg, "It depends on what's 'nonviolence'." *Jerusalem Post International Edition.* December 5, 1987.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Joel Greenberg, "It depends on what's 'nonviolence'," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, December 5, 1987.

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.[175] 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.[176]

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."[177]

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

[175] Elaine Ruth Fletcher, *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, December 5, 1987.

[176] Greenberg, "It Depends on What's 'Nonviolence'," December 5, 1987.

[177] Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 85-87.

other leaders and organizations who "played decisive roles in mobilizing Southern blacks as a force for change during the 1950s and 1960s."[178] 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 CURCL were the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the NAACP Legal Defense Education Fund.[179]

During the early 1960s, CURCL 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 CURCL 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

[178] Carson, *In Struggle*: *SNCC,* 23.

[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

[180] Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 40; "Business, Civic Leaders Urge Peaceful Compliance," *Arkansas Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1957; "Ike Lauds Leaders," *Arkansas Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1957; Phyllis Dillaha, "Leader of All Religious Faiths Unite In Effort to Solve Integration Crisis; Quite Returns to central High Front," *Arkansas Democrat*, Oct. 4, 1957.

[181] Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace*, 49.

Unified National Council (UNC).[182] 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.[183] 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.[184] Such leaflets led to sophisticated and coordinated strikes across industries that helped keep the *Intifada* sustainable for a longer period of time.[185] 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.[186]

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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[182] Hammami and Tamari, "The Second Uprising," 16; Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful*, 408.

[183] Hammami and Tamari, "The Second Uprising,"16.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ian Black, "Palestinians Told to Quit Official Posts: Leaflets Seek to End all Compliance with Israeli Rule," *The Guardian (London)* March 2, 1988.

[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.[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 *Intifada* activists.[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.[189] Moreover, these popular committees became the driving force of the Intifada, which allowed for civil disobedience to flourish.[190] They helped meet the needs of the people collecting funds for needy families and those whose relatives

[187] Amal Jamal, *The Palestinian National Movement: Politics of Contention, 1967-2005* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 93.

[188] Ian Black, "Israelis Close Arab Markets" *The Guardian London,* March 15, 1988.

[189] Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace,* 53-54.

[190] Yehuda Litani, "Protest in Territories is Led by Local Communities," *Jerusalem Post International Edition,* February 3, 1988.

were either killed, wounded or jailed. They also organized clean-ups and economic self-help campaigns.[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.[192] In the case of the Civil Rights Movement, Christianity and the love of Christ was at the center of its teachings.[193] This was the same for Palestinian Christians, while Palestinian Muslims drew upon teachings in Islam and the work of Abdul-Ghaffar Khan.

[191] Glenn Frankel, "Israeli Officials Cutting Services in West Bank; Prop in Tax Revenues During Protest Cited," *Washington Post*, June 2, 1988.

[192] James Lawson, interviewed by Steve York, *A Force More Powerful*, Los Angeles, California, October 26, 1998.

[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.[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.[195]

Future leaflets directed people to use black taxi drivers who agreed to a standard fare of 10 cents per ride.[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

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[194] Martin Riches and William Terence, *The Civil Rights Movement: Struggle and Resistance* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), 41-43.

[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."[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 *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.[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.[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.[200] Leaflets printed in

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[197] "Wallace," *Billings Gazette (Montana),* May 10, 1964, 5L, in Access Newspaper Archive, http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=77473295&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=5 (accessed October 21, 2010).

[198] Joel Greenberg, "The Battle Moves from Streets," *Jerusalem Post,* March 18, 1988.

[199] Ian Black, "Israelis Close Arab Markets," *The Guardian London,* March 15, 1988.

[200] King, *A Quiet Revolution,* 237.

Hebrew called on Israeli soldiers to refuse serving in the occupied territories and stop killing Palestinians.[201]

Overall, the leaflets can be organized into 4 groups. The first group comprised 20% of all leaflets and advocated the use of strikes.[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.[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 *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

[201]"Leaflets Address Soldiers," *AlFajr,* April 17, 1988, 3.

[202] Grant, "Nonviolent Political Struggle," 65.

[203] Grant, "Nonviolent Political Struggle," 65.

under the UNLU's name to create confusion.[204] 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.[205]

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.[206] 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

[204] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 408-409; Jonathan Kuttab, "Israel Forges Leaflets to Divide Palestinians," *AlFajr,* February 21, 1988; Joel Greenberg and Bradley Burston, " Authors of 'Leaflets' Arrested," *Jerusalem Post,* March 25, 1988; "The Palestinian Uprising," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17, no. 4, July 1988: 38.

[205] "Alabama March Enters Its 3rd Day; King Absent," *Racine Journal Times (Wisconsin),* March 23, 1965.

[206] *Al Fajr,* May 8, 1988.

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.[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

[207] Glenn Frankel, "Enemies Spar Grimly in Gaza as Uprising Starts 7th Month; Tough Israeli Measures Reduce Violence," *The Washington Post,* June 8, 1988).

support of an armed struggle, creating some confusion among the population, the majority of which maintained a life-style of civil disobedience.[208]

Newspapers were also used as a means to highlight nonviolent struggle and inspire the population. In an article on the front page of *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 *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.[209]

Asha'b 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

[208] Kirsten Nakjavani Bookmiller and Robert Bookmiller, "Palestinian Radio and the Intifada," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, no. 4 (Summer 1990): 96-105.

[209] "Sanantasir" [We Shall be Victorious] *Alitihad Arabic Daily,* April 6, 1990; *Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper,* May 1, *1989; Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper,* April 19, 1990; *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

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[210] *Asha'b Arabic Daily Newspaper,* March 13, 1990.

[211] Ghassan Bishara, "Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Richard Schifter Gives Testimony at State Department," *Al-Fajr*, February 21, 1988.

[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.

[214] Glenn Frankel, "Enemies Spar Grimly in Gaza as Uprising Starts 7th month; Tough Israeli Measures Reduce Violence," *The Washington Post*. June 8, 1988).

[215] Ian Black, "Israelis Close Arab Markets," *The Guardian London*, March 15, 1988.

[216] Marsha Hamilton, "Unrest: Army orders investigations into any use of excessive force," *Gettysburg Times*, Pennsylvania, January 28, 1988.

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

[217] Wolf Blitzer, "American Jewry," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, February 6, 1988. These leaders included, Norman Lamm, President of the Orthodox movement's Yeshiva University in New York; Ismar Schorsch, Chancellor of the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary; Alfred Gottschalk, President of the Reform movement's Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

[218] Zanden, "The Non-violent Resistance movement Against Segregation," 545.

[219] Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom*, 34-35.

the state because they were absent from it.[220] 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."[221]

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."[222]

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[220] Dayan, "Debate Over Zionism," 104.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Dayan, "Debate Over Zionism," 102-103.

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. [223] 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

[223] Ibid.

Supreme Court decision to end segregation on buses.[224] 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.[225] 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.[226]

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

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

[225] "Boycott Israeli Products," *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988.

[226] Siniora, "An Analysis of the Current Revolt," 6; Awad Abdel Fattah, "Boycott," *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988; *Journal of Commerce*, May 10, 1988.

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

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[227] Awad, "Nonviolent Resistance," 36.

[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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[229]"Conflict Increases in Israeli Prisons," *AlFajr*, July 5, 1987; John Collins, *Occupied by Memory*, 94; Bucaike, *Growing Up Palestinian*, 6; Kuttab, "The Children's Revolt," 37.

[230] Jon Immanuel and Asher Wallfish, "Nusseibeh's Detention Stuns Left, Annoys U.S.," *Jerusalem Post*, January 31, 1991.

[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.[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."[233]

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[232] Bucaille, *Growing Up Palestinian*, 6-7.

[233] Joel Greenberg, "Creative and Innovative Demonstrations," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, December 5, 1987.

"March on Washington." Image. Library of Congress. *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/ (accessed October 24, 2010).

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.[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.[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.[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.[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.[238] They also complained that Israel's policy to beat protesters was a heavy

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[234] "Israel Asks Shop Owners to Explain Closing," *AlFajr*, January 3, 1988.

[235] "4 More Killed in 2nd Month of Protests," *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988.

[236] "200 Shops Damaged by Israeli Soldiers," *AlFajr*, February 7, 1988.

[237] Joel Greenberg, "In the Territories, the Abnormal is Now the Normal." *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, February 6, 1988.

[238] Joel Greenberg, "No End in Sight to 'Horrible Routine'," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, February 6, 1988,

burden on their consciences.[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.[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.[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.[242] Landlords also started an initiative to forgive tenants two months' rent to help alleviate financial pressure in the slower economy.

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[239] Ibid.

[240] Yehuda Litani, "From Cvil Strife to Rebellion: Analysis," *Jerusalem Post International Edition,* December 19, 1987.

[241] Joel Greenberg, "In the territories, the abnormal is now the normal," *Jerusalem Post International Edition,* February 6, 1988.

[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

[243] "Tenants Exempted From Paying Rent," *AlFajr,* February 7, 1988.

[244] "Land Day Marked," *AlFajr,* April 3, 1988.

[245] "30,000 Arabs, Jews Demonstrate in Haifa," *AlFajr,* February 21, 1988.

[246] "Muthahara Nisa'iya Dakhma Fi Al-Quds"" [Massive Women's Demonstration in Jerusalem] *Asha'b Arabic Daily Newspaper,* December 30, 1989.

where fifty were arrested.[247] Shots were fired at mosques and into the crowd and protests and boycotts were observed in the Gaza Strip.[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 *Intifada* and then participated in cultural festivities to raise both awareness and morale.[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.[250]

Strikes were also used as a form of protest.[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.[252] A two-day general strike was held on October 8,1990 to commemorate the Temple Mount

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[247] "Maseerat Nisa'iya Fi Shaware Al-Quds wa Muwajahat for Bab Alamood," [Women March in the Streets of Jerusalem towards Damascus Gate] *Asha'b Arabic Daily Newspaper*, March 9, 1990.

[248] "Quwat al-Itilal Takma' Bilhadid Wa Al-Nar," [Occupation Forces Brutally Suppress with Metal and Fire] *AlItihad Arabic Daily Newspaper*, March 7, 1990.

[249] "Fi Khatem Al-Idrab Al-Aam Fi Yawm Al-Ard, Athalathun Min Athar: Akthar Min 50 Alfaa fi Mhrajanat 'Yawm Al-Ard' Athalitheen Min Athar [At the End of The Mass Comprehensive Strike, Earth Day March 30: Over 50,000 Join Third Annual Earth Day Demonstration," *AlItihad Arabic Daily Newspaper*, April 4, 1990.

[250] "Ashiyat Athikra Al-Sanawiya Al-Thaniya Liightiyal 'Abu-Jihad' Al-yawm: Hathr Tajawul Ihtiyaly ala Qitaa gaza Biakmaleh, Takreeban," [Second Year Anniversary of the Assassination of Abu Jihad Today: Curfew Enforced on Majority of Gaza Strip] *AlItihad Arabic Daily Newspaper*, April 1990.

[251] "Arab Hotel Workers Refuse Israeli Offer," *AlFajr*, March 1, 1988.

[252] Glenn Frankel, "Enemies Spar Grimly in Gaza as uprising starts 7th month; Tough Israeli Measures Reduce Violence," *The Washington Post*, June 8, 1988.

slayings and third anniversary of the *Intifada.*[253] Israel responded with curfews on most of the West Bank, Nablus, Hebron and most of Gaza, confining 735,000 people to their homes.[254] 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.[255] 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.[256]

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.[257] 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.[258]

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[253] "Palestinians Stage Strike," *The Washington Post*, December 9, 1990.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ian Black, "Israelis Close Arab Markets." *The Guardian London*, March 15, 1988.

[256] Kuttab, "The Palestinian Uprising," 35.

[257] "Mu'takalun 'Ansar-3' Yalinuun Al-Idrab Al-Maftooh an Al-taam, [Three Christian Prisoners Declare Indefinite Hunger Strike] *Alitihad Arabic Daily Newspaper*, January 17, 1989.

[258] Richard Beeston, "Palestinian Hunger Strike Suspended; Israel," *The Times (London)*, October 12, 1992.

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.[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.[260] Beit Sahour became the leading example of tax boycotts when all of the town's merchants refused to pay their taxes.[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.[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

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[259] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Harper Collins Books,1986), 461.

[260] Saida Hamad, "Siniora Calls For Boycott of Israeli Products." *AlFajr,* January 10, 1988.

[261] Joel Greenberg, "Rights Body Raps Tax Policy in the Areas," *Jerusalem Post*, February 27, 1990.

[262] George Martin and James Manny, "Tax Strike for Justice: Report from Beit Sahour: Building Autonomy," *Commonweal* 117, No. 2 (January 1990): 8.

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.[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.[264]

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

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[263] "Negro Bottle-tosser Jailed at Birmingham," *Arkansas Gazette*, September 14, 1957; Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In*, 233.

[264] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful*, 328- 329.

[265] Yehuda Litani, "From Civil Strife to Rebellion: Analysis," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, December 19, 1987.

[266] Ibid.

the youth, whose lack of fear resulted in four significant outcomes.[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.[268] While the *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

[267] Siniora, "An Analysis," 5.

[268] Ibid, 4.

white public schools.[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.[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.[271] African American students who braved the integration of white institutions faced beatings and harassment from other students.[272]

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, *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

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[269] Ackerman and Duvall, *Force More Powerful,* 313.

[270] Robert Troutt, "Growing Violence Forces Withdrawal of 8 Negro Students at Central High," ," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 23, 1957.

[271] "Crowd is Dispersed At School," *Arkansas Democrat,* 86th year, no. 357, September 23, 1957.

[272] Ibid.; Robert Trout, "Two Negro Students Reported Beaten At CHS: Others Jeered," *Arkansas Democrat,* October 2, 1957; "'Walkout' Rumored At High School: Officials Also Check Reported Threats To Negro Students," *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-Khaldoniyeh. 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

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[273] Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom*, 34-45.

[274] "School Closures," *AlFajr*, February 7, 1988.

[275] Israeli Military Turns Nablus Schools into Army Outposts," *AlFajr*, February 21, 1988.

[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

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[281] Robert Cook, *Sweet Land of Liberty? The Afrian-American Struggle for Civil Rights in the Twentieth Century* (London: Longman, 1998), 129.

[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 Block 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.[285] Eventually the situation erupted into a massive dispute splashed across the front pages of newspapers in Little Rock, Arkansas.[286] After an intense exchange of statements, media appearances and conflict, President Eisenhower and Governor Orval Faubus and other leaders met to discuss settlement.[287] Neither could convince the other in the face-to-face talk and the situation escalated once again.[288] 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.[289]

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[285] Ernest Valachovic, "Judge Orders Start of Integration," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 4, 1957.

[286] "Halt in Integration Asked; Ike Says He Will Use Law," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 6, 1957; Ron Burnham, " Fiery Cross Blazes In Mann's Yard After New attack on Faubus," September 6, 1957; Ernest Valachovic, "Mann Says Union Imperiled, Faubus Must Be Put Down," *Arkansas Gazette,* September. 6, 1957; Ray Moseley, "Government May Try For Injunction Against Faubus in Showdown: Governor's Evidence Goes Before U.S., Washington Fears Setting of Precedent," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 7, 1957; Bobbie Forster and Margaret Frick, "Board Loses Please to Delay Integration; Faubus vs. U.S. Feud is Left Standing," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 7, 1957; "Judge Refuses Delay in School Integration; Federals Standing by," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 8, 1957; George Douthit, "Ike Advised to Federalize Guard; Showdown Nears," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 8, 1957; George Douthit, "Faubus Firm: Troops Won't Admit Negroes," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 8, 1957; Gene Foreman, "Faubus Rmains Firm, Says U.S. Must Give In," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 8, 1957.

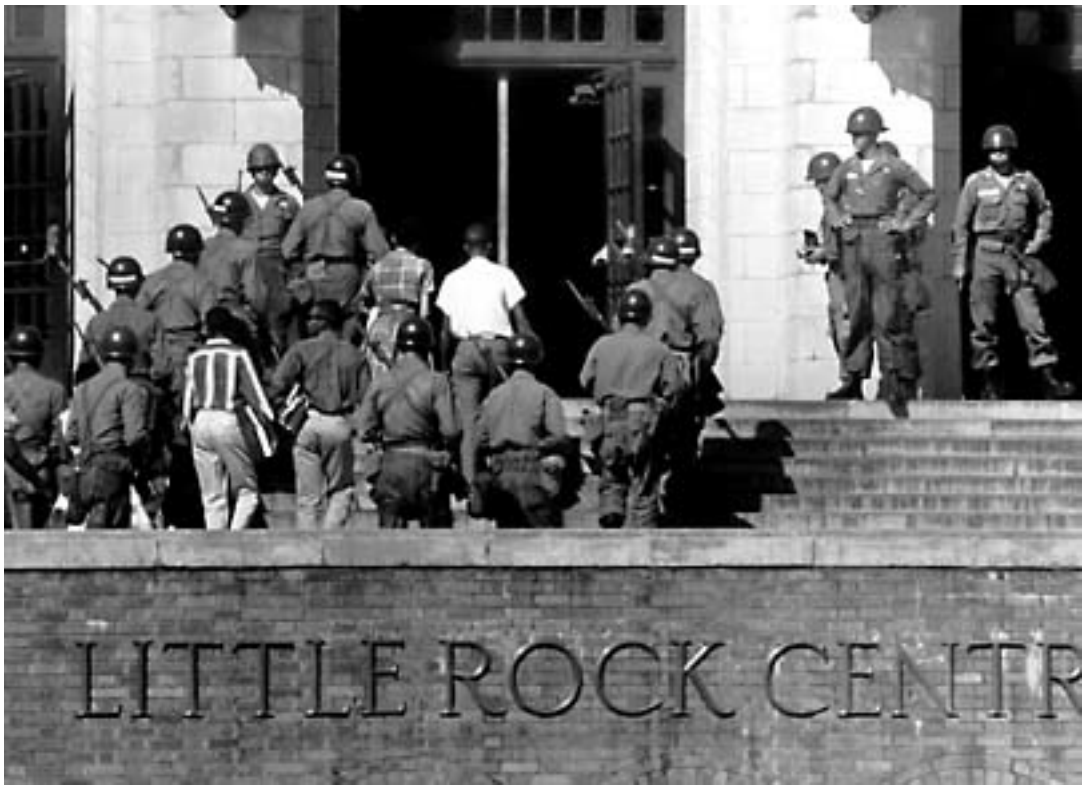
[287] "Faubus Will Meet Eisenhower Saturday to Air School For; Capitulation Talk Is Scored," *Arkansas Democrat,"* September 12, 1957; "Ike, Faubus Agree Meeting 'Very Constructive,' Huddle on Integration for 2 Hours," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 14, 1957.

[288] George Douthit, "Faubus to Keep Troops At CHS, Eye U.S. Moves," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 15, 1957; George Douthit, "Faubus Debate Showdown in Supreme Court on Question of State vs. Federal Rights," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 18, 1957; Ray Moseley, "Hope of Settlement Fades as Governor Faces Day in Court," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 19, 1957; Ray Moseley, "Faubus, U.S. Government Head into Crucial Collision in Federal Court Today," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 20, 1957.

[289] Ray Moseley, "Faubus Withdraws Guard After Court Enjoins Him," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 21, 1957; "President says Faubus Took 'Necessary Step In Right Direction," *Arkansas Democrat,* September 21, 1957.

WHO WILL BACK DOWN?—Little Rock's integration controversy has developed into a showdown between President Eisenhower and Governor Faubus. Neither had shown any signs of pulling out of the fight last night but the governor seems to be waiting the next move of federal officials.

Arkansas Democrat, September 8, 1957, 86th year, No 342, 1.

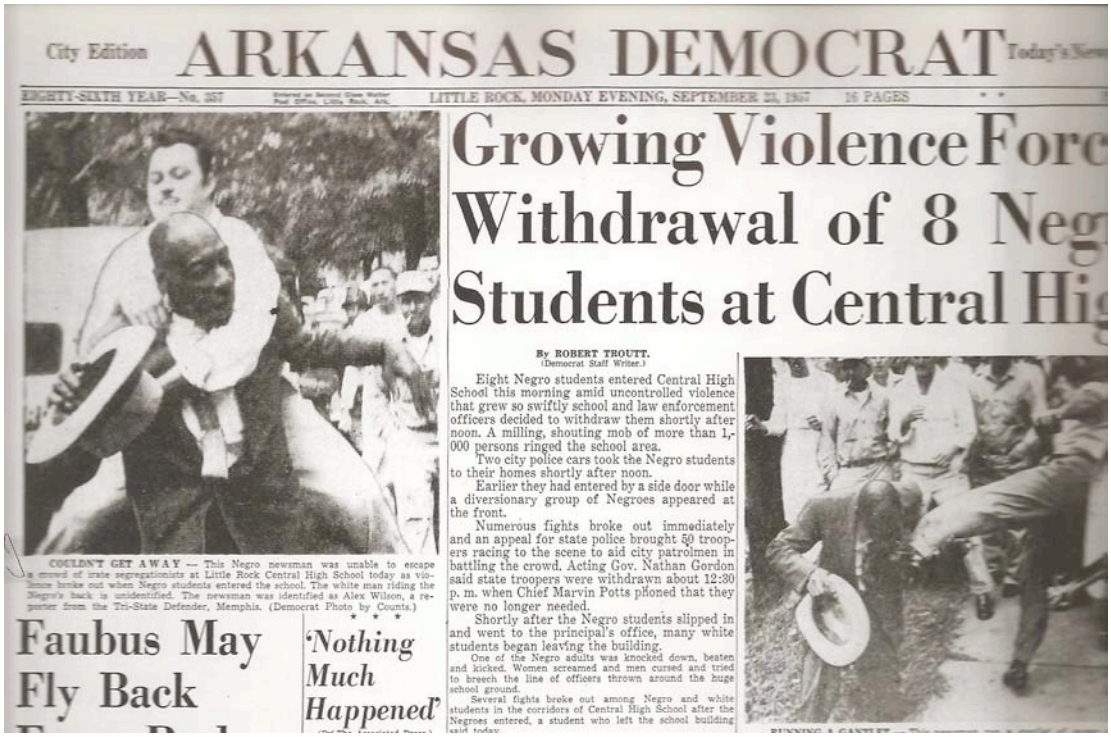


African American students protected by U.S. Army soldiers, under orders of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. "Little Rock desegregation crisis." Image. AP/Wide World Photos. *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com/ (accessed October 27, 2010).

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[290]

[290] "Eisenhower's Proclamation," *Arkansas Gazette*, September 24, 1957.



City Edition **ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT** Today's News

EIGHTY-SIXTH YEAR—No. 357 Entered as Second Class Matter Post Office, Little Rock, Ark. LITTLE ROCK, MONDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 23, 1957 16 PAGES

Growing Violence Forc
Withdrawal of 8 Neg
Students at Central Hig

By ROBERT TROUTT.
(Democrat Staff Writer.)

Eight Negro students entered Central High School this morning amid uncontrolled violence that grew so swiftly school and law enforcement officers decided to withdraw them shortly after noon. A milling, shouting mob of more than 1,000 persons ringed the school area.

Two city police cars took the Negro students to their homes shortly after noon.

Earlier they had entered by a side door while a diversionary group of Negroes appeared at the front.

Numerous fights broke out immediately and an appeal for state police brought 50 troopers racing to the scene to aid city patrolmen in battling the crowd. Acting Gov. Nathan Gordon said state troopers were withdrawn about 12:30 p. m. when Chief Marvin Potts phoned that they were no longer needed.

Shortly after the Negro students slipped in and went to the principal's office, many white students began leaving the building.

One of the Negro adults was knocked down, beaten and kicked. Women screamed and men cursed and tried to breech the line of officers thrown around the huge school ground.

Several fights broke out among Negro and white students in the corridors of Central High School after the Negroes entered, a student who left the school building said today.

COULDN'T GET AWAY — This Negro newsman was unable to escape a crowd of irate segregationists at Little Rock Central High School today as violence broke out when Negro students entered the school. The white man riding the Negro's back is unidentified. The newsman was identified as Alex Wilson, a reporter from the Tri-State Defender, Memphis. (Democrat Photo by Counts.)

Faubus May Fly Back

'Nothing Much Happened'

An African American reporter is attacked outside of Central High School while African American students exercise their right to an education. Robert Troutt, "Growing Violence Forces Withdrawal of 8 Negro Students at Central High," *Arkansas Democrat*, 86th year, No. 357, September 23, 1957, 1.

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

[291] George W. Cornell, "Nation's Clergy Taking its Place in Front Line of Civil Rights Battle," *Appleton Post-Crescent, Wisconsin*, May 23, 1965, Access Newspaper Archive,

pronouncements 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

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http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=17597934&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=0 (October 25, 2010).

[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

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[295] "Grand Jury Hears Mississippi Case," *Big Spring Daily Herald, Texas,* September 21, 1964, 1, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=86990588&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=0 (accessed October 25, 2010); James Saggus, "Nation Jolted By Civil Right's Murders: Death Met Three Men In Mississippi Town," *Portsmouth Herald, New Hampshire,* December 5, 1964, 31, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=60499961&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=6 (accessed October 25, 2010)

[296] "295 More Volunteers Head South," *Evening Independent, Ohio,* June 27, 1964, 16, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=98057630&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=1 (accessed October 25, 2010)

soldiers.[297] 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.[298]

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 http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/199103_Torture.asp (accessed October 25, 2010); B'tselem on deportation http://www.btselem.org/english/Deportation/Statistics.asp (accessed October 25, 2010)

[298] Dayan, "The Debate over Zionism," 101.

> 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

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[299] Rani Talmor, "The Death of a Youth: Mahmud 'Alayan; Maltreatment by an Income Tax Clerk, Pressure on Families of Wanted Suspects; Fatalities in May; DataAnalysis" *Information sheet: Update June 1991*,trans. Eetta Prince-Gibson, B'Tselem, Jerusalem.

[300] Ibid., 10.

[301] Amira Hassan, "University Lecturer Against The Occupation," *Hadashot*, January 26, 1988.

[302] Hannan Haver, "The Culture of Occupation," *Ha'Aretz*, January 22, 1988.

left on Israel.[303] After two months of the *Intifada,* 30 different Israeli organizations spoke out against the occupation.[304] 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.[305]

Picture of Israeli's demonstrating against the occupation. Printed in *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation,* ed. Zackary Lockman and Joel Benin (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 2.

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

[303] Yoram Yarkoni, "Psychologists Against Silence," *Kol Ha'ir,* January 22, 1988.

[304] Kaminer, *The Politics of Protest,* 48.

[305] Siniora, "An Analysis," 8-9.

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.[306]

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.[307]

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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[306] Bernard Joseph, "Pupils Say Refusal Campaign is Growing," *The Jerusalem Post International Edition*, October 31, 1987.

[307] *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988.

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."[308] 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.[309]

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.[310]

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.[311]

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[308] "Israeli Lawyers Boycott Courts," *Al Fajr,* January 3, 1988.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Asharawi, "This Side of Peace," 76.

[311] Ghassan Bishara, "Siniora and Abu Rahmeh Present Palestinian Demands to Shultz." *Al Fajr*, February 7 1988.

The UNLU reached out to the United Nations requesting intervention in the occupied territories.[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.[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.[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

[312] "Uprising Leadership Urges International Intervention," *Al Fajr,* July 24 1988.

[313] *Jerusalem Post,* December 29, 1987; Jules Kagain, "The United Nations. The Four Resolutions," *Middle East International* 317 (1988): 8-10.

[314] Joseph Hall, "Peaceful Protest is The Best Hope to End Conflict, Palestinian Says," *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.[315]

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

[315] *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988.

[316] Edward Mortimer, "Hearing the Message of the Uprising," *Financial Times (London)*, 1988.

[317] "Israeli Air Raid Leaves 26 Dead, Mainly Children," *AlFajr*, January 10, 1988.

[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]

[319] Andrew Rigby, "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention: Examples from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research 32* (November 1995): 457; Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace,* 63-64.

[320] Rigby, "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention," 459.

Picture of a young girl demonstrating on international women's day. A translation of the poster she is holding reads: "Against Violence; Against Killing; Against Occupation." Printed in *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation*, ed. Zackary Lockman and Joel Benin (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 14.

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.*[321] 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.[322]

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.[323] 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.[324] The saga continued with the attorney general filing a suit against the NAACP for taxes and open records to

[321] *Asha'b Arabic Daily Newspaper,* December 25, 1989.

[322] Picture of Yasser Arafat and Mother Teresa, "Ara'ees Yasir Arafat Athna' Likaeh Bilum Teresa Aljaeeza ala Jaeezat Nobel Lillsalam fi Madeenat Kalkuta Al-Hindiya Yawm Ams" [President Yasir Arafat During his Meeting with Mother Theresa Recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in Inda's Kalkuta Yesterday] *Asha'b Arabic Daily Newspaper,* March 30, 1990.

[323] R. R. Mayfield, "Bennett Asks Facts on NAACP: Also Demands Details On Legal Defense Affiliate Group," *Arkansas Democrat,* August 29, 1957.

[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]

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[325] "Segregation Law Validity Doubted: Atty. Gen. Bennett Says Constitution Change Needed First," *Arkansas Democrat,* October 1, 1957.

[326] "Negro College Students Jailed," *Morning Herald, Maryland,* March 5, 1960, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=78666318&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=0 (accessed October 26, 2010)

[327] Jerry Dhonau, "Mobs at Both Ends of School, Kick, Beat, Chase and Yell," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 24, 1957,1; "Federal Troops Take Over; Ike Appeals to Arkansans, Mob Deviance Menaces U.S., President Says, State Guard Federalized and Mobilized," *Arkansas Gazette,* September 25, 1957.

[328] "'White Power' Victory Seen at Bluefield," *Charleston Daily Mail, West Virginia,* December 2, 1968, 33 Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=39884301&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=0 (accessed October 26, 2010)

[329] "Faubus Outlaws NAACP In Arkansas; Tax Unpaid," *The News-Palladium, Benton Harbor Michigan,* February 13, 1958, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=84735535&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=2 (accessed October 26, 2010); "State Opens Case for NAACP Ouster: Attorneys Battle Over Jurisdiction," *Big Spring Herald, Texas,* September 28, 1956, Access

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.[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. http://africanamerican.abc-clio.com/ (accessed October 27, 2010).

Palestinian cities, towns and refugee camps faced considerable curfews.[331] Nonviolent leaders were summoned to police stations for questioning on the

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Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=96213655&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=8 (accessed October 26, 2010)

[330] "NAACP Wins Important Battle on Security of Membership," *The Aiken Standard and Review, South Carolina*, February 25, 1960, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=104119499&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=0 (accessed October 26, 2010)

organizing of public boycotts and their release was attached to substantial bail.[332] 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."[333]

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.[334] 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.[335]

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.[336] 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

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[331] *AlFajr,* January 3, 1988.

[332] Saida Hamad, "Siniora Calls For Boycott Of Israeli Products," *AlFajr,* January 10, 1988, 1.

[333] Ibid.; "Press Conference Marred By Arrests," *AlFajr,* January 17, 1988.

[334] Nicholas B Tatro, "Two Palestinians Die Nine Activists Banned From Traveling," [Lexis Nexis Database] (International News, Jerusalem, January 7, 1990).

[335] Saida Hamad, "Military Imposes New Tax on Gazans," *AlFajr,* July 24, 1988.

[336] *Journal of Commerce,* May 10, 1988.

territories. Suspected leaders of the *Intifada* were rounded up en mass.[337] Those convicted of committee work were given 10-year prison sentences.[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.[339] Field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Medgar Evers, died after a fatal shot by a sniper.[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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[337] "Israel says it seized 200 Arabs in crackdown," *New York Times,* September 10, 1988.

[338] Kenneth Kaplan, "Paratrooper's Killers Convicted: Mass Arrest of Intifada Leaders," *Jerusalem Post,* July 5, 1989.

[339] Joe Zellner, "In Death of Minister: Civil Rights Slaying Trial Scheduled on May Docket," *Independent Record (Montana),* April 14, 1965, 18, in the Access NewspaperArchive.com http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=65949216&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=2 (accessed October 21, 2010).

[340] "More Racial Protests Slated in Mississippi," Corpus Christi Times, June 14, 1963, Access Newspaper Archive http://access.newspaperarchive.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/Viewer.aspx?img=96547020&firstvisit=true&src=search&currentResult=9 (accessed October 21, 2010).

Awad prosecuted and imprisoned or sent away.[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." [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.[343] When King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, Hoover called him a liar in the national press.[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

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[341] Elaine Ruth Fletcher "Award: The crucial question." *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, December 5, 1987.

[342] Ibid.

[343] *American Experience*, "Roads to Memphis: Two Paths, One Ending," PBS.

[344] "Hoover Calls King Liar," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 19, 1964.

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

[345] Dajani, *Eyes Without Coutnry*, 43; Kennedy, "The Druze of the Golan," 19.

[346] Joel Greenberg, "Jerusalem Residence Denied to Palestinian Activist, Awad," *Jerusalem Post*, October 1, 1987.

[347] Editorial, "Fabricating a Hero," *Jerusalem Post*, June 1988.

[348] Yossi Sarid, "Danger: a Moderate, Yosi Sarid on The Problems Passive Resistance Poses for The Occupation," *Jerusalem Post, International Edition*, October 31, 1987.

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

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[349] Ibid.

[350] Elaine Ruth Fletcher, "Award: the crucial question." *Jerusalem Post International Edition.* December 5, 1987.

[351] Joel Greenberg, "U.S. embassy pursuing case of Palestinian activist Awad," *Jerusalem Post International Edition,* October 31, 1987.

[352] Ibid.

[353] Fletcher, "Awad: The Critical Question," December 5, 1987.

on tourist visas.[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.[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.[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

[354] Fletcher, "Awad: The Critical Question," December 5, 1987.

[355] Ibid.

[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, *In Pursuit of Peace,* 221.

[358] Gerner, *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.[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 *Intifada.* In this way, Israeli officials attempted to quash the uprising by getting rid of an influential leader.[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.[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

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[359] "Gazans Ordered to Change ID Cards," *AlFajr,* May 15, 1988; Jonathan Randal, "Israel Tests Gazan Resistance; New ID Cards Required, but Palestinian Activities Urge Boycott," Washington Post, May 11,1988.

[360] Anita Vitallo, "Uprising in Gaza," *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occutation,* eds, Zachary Lockman and Joel Benin (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 50.

[361] O'Ballance, *The Palestinian Intifada,* 59.

number of injured Palestinians increased by 2,000 incidents.[362] 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.[363]

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.[364]

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.[365] 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

[362] Vitallo, “Uprising in Gaza,” 54.

[363] Andoni, “A Comparative Study,” 212.

[364] O’Ballance, *The Palestinian Intifada*, 40.

[365] Margolies Beitler, “The Intifada: Palestinian Adaptation,” 69.

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. Warshchawski 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.

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[366] Souad Dajani, *Eyes Without Country: Searching for a Palestinian Strategy of Liberation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 44.

[367] Muhammad Abu-Nimer, *Dialogue, Conflict Resolution, and Change; Arab-Jewish Encounters In Israel* (New York: State University of new york Pess, 1999), 31.

[368] Bar-on, *In Pursuit of Peace*, 223.

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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[369] Zanden, "The Non-violent Resistance movement Against Segregation," 549, 544.

[370] Rema Hammami and Salim Tamari, "The Second Intifada," 2.

[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 faired, 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.

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