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**AT WAILING WALL**—For the first time in 20 years, Jews were able to celebrate holy day of Tisha B'Av Monday at Wailing Wall in the Old City of Jerusalem. One

man kisses Wall and others sit in prayer. The holy day, a fast day, marks destruction of the First and Second temples and also commemorates other national disasters

## Big Question on the West Bank: Arabs' Attitudes Toward Israel

Second of two articles.

By Alfred Friendly

Washington Post Foreign Service

**JERUSALEM, Aug. 15**—Israeli policy makers have no illusions about the attitudes of the 1,100,000 to 1,200,000 Arabs in the Gaza Strip and West Bank lands of which they are now the governors. The Israelis do not expect to be loved.

But neither do they expect violent, activist opposition. If, as seems likely, they remain the masters of Gaza and the West Bank for months or years to come—or, with luck, only the guardians—they expect at best a *modus vivendi*. To that end, the Israelis are prepared to play it cool.

Israeli calculations are based on the premise that the Palestinians are not the Vietcong and that there is not a strong sense of national will. And they expect the Palestinians will be sullen and uncooperative but will not be aflame with patriotic, self-sacrificing endeavor to throw off the Israeli yoke.

On these suppositions, plus the further one that for some time to come there will be no resolution of whether the West Bank becomes part of Israel, an independent Palestinian state or will be returned to Jordan—Israel is formulating a take-it-or-leave-it policy. It will offer an ambitious program for the economic, educational and social development of the area. But it will leave the matter of acceptance of it to the Arab residents themselves. The choice will be theirs.

### Arab Jerusalem

A distinction must be made between policy for the West Bank and that for what was the Jordanian part of Jerusalem. For the Old City, there will be no choice. Israel, in complete unanimity, considers it an integral part of the nation, and will run it as such. If, as happened last week, a bus company joins in a general strike, its license will be lifted.

So also with other businesses which decline to cooperate. If Arab officials fail to do their jobs or resist authority, they will be replaced by Jews. If Arab teachers do not report to their classrooms next month, Arabic-speaking Jews will be supplied and the schools will be opened.

But elsewhere on the West Bank, it is up to the Palestinians. They can open up their schools and law courts and transportation systems (and receive civil servants' pay from Israel) or not, as they choose.

Hard-Boiled Harry in this picture is Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. In a series of recent speeches he has made it clear that he does not expect the Palestinians to rejoice in their present status, but that if they choose a policy of non-cooperation, it will not be Israel's loss. Israel, he points out, does not need their help, and will not suffer if they cut off their nose to spite their face.

But the general expectation

for the future is not so gloomy as Dayan's tough talk would imply. The guess is that the Palestinians will not respond to general Arab appeals for waging an underground revolt, but will instead take advantage of such opportunities for improving their own welfare as Israel is determined to offer them.

If they do—if they accept Israeli technical help and money for improving their agriculture, Israeli and international investment for building industry, public works and developmental projects—how long will it take for them to become reconciled to their new situation?

### Modus Vivendi

The quarter of a million Arabs in Israel's prewar boundaries seem to have found a *modus vivendi*—else they would not have stayed, or would have committed at least one act of sabotage during the six-day war. But they have had 19 years of higher economic standards than almost any other Arabs, free compulsory modern schooling, social welfare benefits, considerable democratic representation, and the breaking of the traditional shackling of women and tyranny of family heads, to counterbalance any hostility and continued exposure to Cairo Radio's hate appeals.

The West Bank Palestinians have had none of these to offset their resentment of the Jewish migration, the 1948 war that dispossessed them, and the systematic indoctrination of hate and promises of revenge to which they were treated ever since. So far, the only new additional element has been the humiliation of the June war.

Small wonder, then, that most Israelis took to a period of covertly resistant compliance, with sporadic outbreaks of passive non-cooperation—plus occasional incidents on the West Bank and in Gaza.

The Moslem clergy can be expected to remain implacably resistant. Israel's threat to their tradition and their power contained in education, modernization of the status of women and breaking the dictatorship of the family head.

All this is not to say that there is no hope for honorable settlement sometime. If the present status of the West Bank continues from some years, and Israel holds out the opportunity, the Palestinians may begin to think of a state of their own. In economic and military cooperation with Israel, it may be much more appealing than a return to Jordan, whose Hashemite rulers and bedouin population were generally unpopular among Palestinians.

And that may happen if King Hussein does not act soon to bring about the return of the West Bank by negotiating a treaty. The longer he waits to act, the less Jordan's chances are for the return of the West Bank.

A former Arab official, now retired, recently said to an Israeli:

"We Palestinians have always been second class citizens. First we were subjects of the Turks, for hundreds of years, and it was terrible. Then we were the subjects of the British, which was passable. Then we were under the Hashemites, which was bloody awful.

"Now we will be subjects of the Jews. It may not be too bad."