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Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987, "The Occupied Territories"*

The following document is from the chapter on "Israel and the Occupied Territories" in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987, submitted by the Department of State to the 100th Congress, February 1988.

In the course of the war of June 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. As a result of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the Sinai Peninsula was restored to Egypt. No peace treaty, however, has been concluded between Israel and its other neighboring countries. The West Bank and Gaza remain under military government. Israel unilaterally annexed East Jerusalem and regards the Golan Heights as subject to Israeli law, jurisdiction, and administration.

The United States recognizes Israel as an occupying power in all of these territories and therefore considers Israeli administration to be subject to the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the pro-

tection of civilian populations under military occupation.

Israel denies the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the West Bank and Gaza, although it states that it observes many of the Convention's provisions in these areas. Israel enforces Jordanian law in the West Bank and British Mandate regulations in the Gaza Strip, although it has issued military orders significantly altering or overriding substantial portions of many of these laws.

Since 1967 approximately 60,000 Israeli citizens have taken up residence in the West Bank and Gaza, most of them in suburban enclaves. Their presence has resulted in a dual system wherein Palestinians are subject to laws and regulations in effect before the 1967 war, as amended by Israeli military authorities, while Israeli

residents are subject to laws and regulations applicable to Israeli nationals living in Israel.

The complex human rights situation in the occupied territories arises from the absence of a peace settlement; the territories remain under military administration, and communal conflict continues between occupation authorities, Israeli settlers, and the Palestinian population. Among the signs of friction are active resistance to the occupation, including episodes of violence, sometimes encouraged by outside groups. Friction also arises from security measures taken by Israel to counter terrorism or other perceived threats to security. Other concerns include Israel's denial of residency rights to spouses and relatives of some residents and to those who try to return to the occupied territories following prolonged absences. Discontent is also caused by civilian Israeli settlers who are governed by different rules from those imposed on Palestinians, and who sometimes engage in violent activities against Palestinians. The advocacy by some Israeli political figures of annexation or permanent control of the territories, and the refusal of the main Palestinian organizations to recognize Israel or to accept a negotiated peace, further contribute to a complex situation.

For many years, the situation in the occupied territories has fluctuated between periods of calm and periods of unrest, but tensions have been chronic and increasing, especially in the refugee camps and among younger Palestinians. Beginning in early December 1987, there were several weeks of violent confrontation, involving demonstrations and provocations by Palestinians and harsh reprisals by Israeli occupation authorities to restore security, which resulted in 22 Palestinian deaths and numerous less serious casualties on both sides by the end of the calendar year.

Israel implements its policy in the occupied territories through a civil administration created in 1981 under Defense Ministry control and staffed by military and civilian personnel. Israel's national police, border police, internal security service (Shin Bet), and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) all have roles in the civil administration. The national police, which includes local Palestinians in its ranks, is seldom criticized by Palestinians for abuses, but is often castigated for its ineffective measures to combat crime. There are frequent complaints by West Bankers and Gazans about the actions of the Border Police, IDF, and security services.

The civil administration has sought to reshape local politics, notably by trying to reduce the influence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and other dissident Palestinian organizations. Israel has also discouraged political organizations above the municipal level, and has transferred powers of Palestinian bodies to the civil administration. Authorities permitted municipal elections in 1972 and 1976, but postponed subsequent elections on security grounds, and removed many elected and appointed local officials. Threats by extremists have also inhibited the development of moderate Palestinian leaders; even those who have expressed support for the PLO have been intimidated for cooperating with Israel or, at times, for even engaging in dialogue with Israelis. Since 1985, Israel has replaced several Israeli military appointees with non-PLO Palestinian mayors who have local and Jordanian support.

Israel has allowed the establishment of four universities in the West Bank and one in Gaza, but has restricted certain student and faculty activities which it believes threaten security. All five universities and many other schools were closed by the military government for varying periods in 1987. Several students were killed in

clashes with IDF soldiers during demonstrations at West Bank campuses.

Israel permits criticism of its policies by the East Jerusalem-based Arabic press, but often censors articles or editorials and restricts circulation of Arabic publications in the West Bank and Gaza. Broad restrictions on free speech and assembly apply in the occupied territories.

During 1987 there was a significant increase in violence and instability in the occupied territories, causing suffering to both Palestinian residents and Israeli settlers. With the exception of the major unrest at the end of 1987, PLO factions and various PLO dissident groups claimed responsibility for nearly all violent acts against the IDF, Israeli civilians, or Palestinians who disagreed with such groups. Yet, much of the violence appears to have been spontaneous or locally generated.

Incidents of violence by Israeli settlers increased during the year, including the shooting death of one Palestinian youth, the use of unauthorized armed patrols, physical harassment, disruption of legally authorized political meetings, attacks on refugee camps, and running of IDF roadblocks. Occupation authorities stated they would take legal action against the settlers, and several were arrested. However, Palestinians assert that the authorities are generally lenient with Israeli settlers who violate security regulations.

Respect for Human Rights

Section 1. Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political Killing

Political killing is not condoned by Israel. However, there have been casualties as a result of both terrorist acts and Israeli security measures. In 1987, 42 Palestinians were killed and approximately 300 were wounded, of whom 22 were killed and

approximately 150 were wounded in unrest in December, by the IDF or other Israeli security forces. The majority of the Palestinian casualties resulted from the use of lethal force by the IDF against demonstrations during which rocks, other objects, and sometimes Molotov cocktails were thrown at IDF soldiers. However, some of the Palestinian casualties were passers-by hit accidentally by IDF gunfire and others were unarmed persons fleeing from the IDF or running IDF roadblocks. An Israeli settler was arrested by the authorities and charged with killing a Palestinian in Gaza.

Palestinians were believed responsible for the killing of 2 IDF soldiers and 6 Israeli civilians in 1987, as well as the wounding of approximately 135 other Israeli soldiers and civilians.

In some cases, Israeli military authorities have prosecuted or taken administrative action against IDF soldiers who have fired on unarmed Palestinians. However, Palestinians have charged that punishment of IDF personnel is often light or is suspended.

b. Disappearance

Israeli authorities neither sponsor nor condone disappearances.

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Torture is forbidden by Israeli law, and Israeli authorities state that they do not condone torture.

Palestinians and international human rights organizations complain of widespread and systematic mistreatment of prisoners. Amnesty International reports that confessions are extracted from suspects by severe interrogation and that security prisoners are subject to beatings, extended solitary confinement, hooding, and cold showers. Nearly all convictions in security cases are based on confessions. Attorneys

are normally not allowed to see clients until after the suspects have confessed. The International Committee of the Red Cross is also denied access to prisoners for a prescribed period, resulting in frequent charges of physical mistreatment that are difficult to corroborate or disprove. Most interrogations are carried out by the General Security Service (Shin Bet). In 1987 a special judicial commission headed by former Israeli supreme court president Moshe Landau issued a report on Shin Bet practices since 1971. The commission found that Shin Bet officials for many years had used physical and psychological pressure to obtain confessions, and that they had routinely perjured themselves by denying in court that such mistreatment had occurred.

In September a report was published by an Israeli Arab Anglican priest and two Americans about children in Israeli prisons, providing details of alleged mistreatment of persons under 18 years of age. The report described 16 cases of minors whose experiences, while being held in Shin Bet interrogation centers, were said to reveal a pattern of abuse of Palestinian children by the IDF. The General Security Service, which conducts most interrogations, did not comment on the report.

In October, five guards from the "Ansar II" military prison in Gaza were convicted of mistreating juvenile prisoners. In November, General Amram Mitzna, Officer in Charge of the IDF Central Command, announced that the commander and most of the staff of the Far'ah military prison in the West Bank had been dismissed and replaced by more professional military police. He also announced that new regulations had been adopted for the detention and treatment of juvenile prisoners. Among the new regulations are provisions requiring approval of the Legal Adviser for the Occupied Territories before arresting anyone under 14 years of age, "to ensure

that children are not imprisoned without sufficient reason." New procedures were to be instituted "to enable better control over how children aged 12 to 14 are treated in prison."

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

Persons arrested for common crimes in the occupied territories are usually provided the opportunity for bail, access to an attorney, and a clear statement of charges, although these rights are sometimes delayed. Individuals may be held in custody without formal charges for up to 18 days. The normal detention period after charges are filed is 60 days before trial. This can be extended indefinitely by a Supreme Court judge for 3-month periods.

Persons held for security reasons are not allowed bail and initially are denied access to counsel or other outside contact. Many Palestinians suspected of security offenses are arrested without warrants. Officials at times have declined to confirm detentions to consular officers who have inquired on behalf of nationals of their countries. Under Israeli law, denial of notification of arrest to third parties, including immediate family members, can be extended for up to 15 days. Many who are released without charges have claimed ignorance of the reasons for their detention. Security detainees are usually denied access to their attorneys for 18 days, and access may be denied indefinitely for security reasons or if officials believe granting access would impede the investigation.

Palestinians are often detained, sometimes in sizable numbers, after terrorist incidents or demonstrations. Such detentions usually do not result in formal charges and are not prolonged. Persons arrested during demonstrations are tried in military courts on security grounds. Security forces commonly detain persons with-

out prompt notification of their relatives and without the use of warrants.

Israeli authorities often impose curfews or close off Palestinian areas on the basis that they are conducting investigations following security incidents. These actions disrupt the daily lives of the Palestinian inhabitants, who charge that the actions are a form of collective punishment.

The use of 6-month administrative detention and deportation continued in 1987, when Palestinians were deported and over 120 Palestinians were placed under administrative detention. The United States has stated that deportation is inconsistent with the Fourth Geneva Convention. Administrative detentions require confirmation by a military judge. The hearing is confidential and the detainee and counsel are routinely denied access to evidence cited as grounds for the detention, since judges usually determine that confidentiality of the evidence is required for security reasons. Such rulings can be challenged in Israel's Supreme Court, which has yet to overturn any of these determinations.

There is no forced labor in the occupied territories.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

Jordanian law, substantially modified by Israeli military orders, remains in force in the West Bank for most criminal and civil matters. British Mandatory law, as modified by Israel, prevails in Gaza. The application of these laws, except in land acquisition and security cases, or where jurisdiction has been transferred by military order, has been left in the hands of an independent Palestinian judiciary. Palestinian residents of the occupied territories accused of nonsecurity offenses receive public trials in local courts. Israeli law is applied in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Palestinians accused of security offenses, which are not precisely defined under Israeli law, are normally tried in Israeli military courts and are defended by counsel. However, Israeli residents of the occupied territories who are accused of security offenses are tried by the Israeli district court closest to their residence or the site of the offense. The Israeli district courts are stricter than military courts regarding admissibility of evidence and general standards of judicial practice.

Most military trials are public, except for some cases involving serious security offenses, but many trials involve the use of at least some secret evidence, which neither the accused nor his attorney can see. At the request of the defendant, the Supreme Court will review whether sufficient security grounds exist to keep the evidence secret. It appears that the Supreme Court has always upheld the use of secret evidence. Consular officers are normally able to attend court proceedings involving foreign citizens. Palestinian minors are tried in the same courts and under the same rules as adults. Convictions in these courts are often based on confessions recorded in Hebrew, a language most residents of the occupied territories do not understand.

Orders of the civil administration may be appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court. Nonjudicial administrative orders of the military government may be appealed to area military commanders and the Supreme Court. Military court verdicts are not appealable, except on broadly interpreted procedural grounds to the Supreme Court, although the area commander may exercise the right of commutation.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

Under occupation regulations, military authorities may enter private homes and institutions without prior judicial approval

in pursuit of security objectives. An existing military order, for example, permits soldiers to search persons or premises on the West Bank without warrant on the suspicion that a person or organization may possess a proscribed publication.

In the West Bank and Gaza during 1987, at least 6 Arab houses were demolished and 13 sealed after their occupants or relatives of the occupants were accused of involvement in security incidents. Twenty-six individual rooms were also sealed. Such actions were usually taken before the suspects were tried.

Most Palestinians and other observers believe that mail and telephone services in the West Bank and Gaza are monitored. Individuals are questioned on their political views by security officials. Such inquiries have in some cases involved overnight detention.

Section 2. Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Freedom of expression is generally allowed, subject to restrictions imposed by the authorities on security grounds. Proscribed acts include displaying the Palestinian flag, its colors, or Palestinian nationalist slogans, and publicly expressing support for the PLO.

The Arabic press, most of which is located in East Jerusalem, is outspokenly critical of Israeli policies and actions. Stories about arrests, prison sentences, land seizures, and other controversial topics are generally reported, but editorials and articles are often censored in whole or in part. All items in Jerusalem's Arabic press must be submitted to the censor for prior review, and at least 20 editorials and commentaries were censored in 1987. Several Palestinian journalists were interrogated about allegedly inflammatory articles or for failing to submit articles to the censors. The censor

also prevented East Jerusalem Arabic papers from printing stories about alleged Israeli torture of Palestinian prisoners until Israeli papers ran the story. Hebrew papers need submit only articles on military security matters to the censors. Censorship decisions may be appealed to the chief censor.

Materials licensed to be published in East Jerusalem are free to circulate throughout Jerusalem but need a further license for distribution in the West Bank and Gaza. In 1987 two newspapers were denied the right to distribute for 2 weeks for failing to submit material to the censors. Military orders also forbid the printing or publishing of politically significant material without a license. Political significance is not defined in the orders. During 1987 Israeli authorities closed one Jerusalem press agency for 6 months and one West Bank agency for 2 years. Another West Bank publishing company was closed for 6 months.

A permit is required for publications imported into the occupied territories. Arabic educational materials, periodicals, and books originating outside Israel are censored and may be banned for anti-Semitic or anti-Israel content, or for encouraging Palestinian nationalism. In the past several years, the number of titles banned by Israel has declined significantly. Possession of banned materials by West Bank or Gaza Arabs is a criminal offense. Usually, however, the possession of illegal publications is one of a series of charges levied against persons accused of security offenses.

At some point in 1987, Israeli authorities closed every university, as well as a number of vocational, secondary, and elementary schools, in the West Bank and Gaza on security grounds. The schools were closed for periods ranging from 1 day to 4 months, and some were subject to repeated closures. Military authorities also

accused some Palestinian students of being agitators and expelled them from the occupied territories in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Hakawati Theater in East Jerusalem, a Palestinian nationalist ensemble, was closed 6 times for periods of 12 to 24 hours to prevent the staging of plays deemed harmful to Israeli security. Arabic-language radio and television programs from Jordan, Syria, and other Arab countries, including broadcasts of the Voice of Palestine, are received in the occupied territories without interference. Foreign journalists have not reported difficulties in meeting inhabitants of the occupied territories, although one foreign journalist was briefly detained in 1987 after interviewing an IDF soldier in uniform. As with reports by the local Arabic press, all reports filed by the foreign press are subject to military censorship.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

Professional, labor, and fraternal groups are active and often take public stands on political issues. Political parties and other groups viewed as primarily political are not permitted. Public gatherings of more than 10 people require permission, which is often withheld from both Palestinian and Israeli groups on grounds of public order.

There are approximately 40 labor unions in the occupied territories, grouped into 2 rival federations. Since the beginning of the occupation, 15 new labor unions have been permitted to register in the West Bank, but over 100 applications have been turned down, and several Arab unions have been disbanded by Israeli authorities because of asserted security concerns. During 1987 Israeli authorities closed down three labor union offices in the West Bank. The Young Men's Muslim Association in Hizma Village was closed for 6 months,

and Women's Day celebrations were banned in Qalqilya.

West Bank unions are generally small and confined to urban workers in skilled craft trades. Israeli authorities must approve all candidates for union positions, but subsequent elections are held without interference. Strikes are legal, except when conducted for political reasons.

c. Freedom of Religion

Freedom of religious practice exists in the occupied territories. No group or sect is banned on religious grounds. Muslim and Christian holy days are observed without hindrance, and Muslims and Christians operate a variety of private schools and institutions. There has been no reported interference with the publication or distribution of religious publications.

Israel protects Muslim and Christian holy places and assures freedom of access to them. On occasion, the authorities have denied both Arab and Jewish groups access to certain religious sites on religious or security grounds.

Israel facilitates travel into Jordan for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca by expediting bridge clearance procedures and extending the hours of operation of the bridges. In 1987 several thousand pilgrims from the occupied territories made the hajj. However, 20 were reportedly refused permission on security grounds.

d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Freedom of movement is generally unrestricted for Arabs within the occupied territories, but some restrictions exist. Approximately 100,000 Palestinians travel daily to Israel to work. All residents over 16 must carry identity documents and show them to security officials if requested. Arab vehicles are often stopped for security

checks, sometimes by Israeli settlers at unauthorized roadblocks. Palestinians residing in the occupied territories need permits to remain overnight in Israel or East Jerusalem; West Bankers and Gazans are generally forbidden to remain in East Jerusalem after midnight, but the rule is not always rigorously enforced.

Following violent incidents, curfews lasting several hours to a day are often imposed in the surrounding area. At least 10 West Bank towns and 5 refugee camps were placed under curfew at least once during 1987. The Deheisheh and Balata camps were under curfew more than 10 times. Israeli authorities justify curfews as security measures, but Palestinians often perceive these restrictions as a form of collective punishment.

In 1987 over 100 Palestinians were placed under new or renewed orders restricting them to their towns for 3 months or more. Such orders do not require formal charges and are made by regional military commanders without judicial review. Many of those affected were political activists, outspoken critics of Israeli policies, or PLO supporters.

Most inhabitants of the occupied territories are permitted to travel abroad, and many thousands do so each year. Exit visas are required. Many residents of the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and use Jordanian passports for travel to or through Jordan. Israel issues *laissez-passers* to residents of the occupied territories to facilitate foreign travel from ports and airports in Israel. In some of these cases, restrictions are imposed on reentry. Travel bans are also imposed on some persons suspected of, but not charged with, anti-occupation activities.

Israeli security forces have banned travel by Palestinian residents of certain areas and some bans have lasted for more than 2 months. Travel bans were imposed on at least 10 West Bank towns and villages in

1987. Two-way travel between the West Bank and Jordan is permitted, and all members of the Jordanian Parliament resident in the West Bank were allowed to travel freely to attend parliamentary sessions. Israeli authorities justify travel bans as security measures, but Palestinians often perceive these restrictions as a form of collective punishment.

There are no obstacles to emigration. Israel sometimes refuses to renew the *laissez-passers* of West Bank residents who study or work abroad, on the ground that they have abandoned their residence, even though they may not have acquired foreign citizenship. Those who have acquired foreign citizenship are ordinarily not allowed to resume residence in the West Bank. Persons subject to these restrictions are permitted to return to the West Bank as tourists only, and are sometimes refused entry entirely. Entry or residency permission is frequently denied to spouses, relatives, and children, following the emigration of the head of their household. Israel also has not permitted the return of many former West Bank residents who were not present in the territories, for whatever reason, at the time of a 1967 census conducted several months after the June war.

Persons who marry residents of the occupied territories do not have the right to take up residency in the occupied territories. The majority of those wishing to join their families in such cases are refused permission to do so. Israel states that such requests are granted for humanitarian reasons. However, Palestinians assert that there are over 10,000 family reunification requests pending, many of them for several family members. Israel permitted approximately 1,400 persons to rejoin Palestinian families in 1987.

Gazans normally do not need prior approval for travel to the West Bank. Under special arrangements concluded between Israel and Egypt, thousands of Gazans reg-

ularly cross into Egypt, particularly to work or visit relatives in the divided city of Rafah. Israel permits Golan Heights Druze to return after attending school in Syria; it has not, however, permitted the return of other Syrians who fled or were expelled from the area during and after the 1967 war.

Section 3. Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

There is no self-government in the territories above the municipal level. Palestinians are not represented on the Higher Planning Council, the main regional body in charge of physical planning. At the municipal level, Arab civil servants, institutions, and municipal officials operate under the civil administration. Most villages retain their traditional leadership. No Palestinian political parties or overtly political organizations are permitted.

Municipal elections were last held in 1976. A few elected mayors have continued to hold office. Others were dismissed and replaced by Israeli officials. In October 1986, Arab mayors were appointed to replace Israeli officials in Ramallah, el-Bireh, and Hebron. With these appointments, all West Bank municipalities now have Arab mayors. Bethlehem and Tulkarem are the only major towns governed by elected Arab mayors. Arab residents of East Jerusalem are permitted and encouraged to vote in Jerusalem municipal elections. Approximately 20 percent did so in the 1983 elections.

Most Palestinian residents of the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and as such are represented by 2 senators and 30 members of the Jordanian Parliament. Although Jordan has held elections to fill vacant seats in Parliament, Israel has not permitted similar elections in the West Bank since 1967.

Section 4. Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

Many local groups, both Israeli and Palestinian, are concerned with human rights issues. Publications and statements from these groups are allowed to circulate in the occupied territories. Arab and Israeli human rights groups continued to increase their coordination during 1987.

Israel normally permits international human rights groups to visit the occupied territories and does not interfere with their investigations. However, one member of Law in the Service of Man, the main West Bank human rights group, was put under administrative arrest on security grounds in 1987. The military censor also prohibited the group from publishing requests for students who had been arrested to contact the organization about their situation.

Section 5. Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Language, or Social Status

Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza are subject to pre-occupation Jordanian law as amended by laws and regulations of the Israeli military authorities. Jewish settlers residing in these areas, however, are subject to the same Israeli law, jurisdiction, and administration as applied to Israeli nationals residing in Israel. Under this dual system, on a broad range of issues, including the right to due process, the acquisition and loss of residency, freedom of movement, land use, and access to social services, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are usually treated less favorably than Jewish settlers in the same areas. In addition, Jewish settlers involved in security violations have generally been treated more leniently

by Israeli security personnel than Palestinians involved in similar incidents.

Israel has declared that Israeli law applies to all inhabitants of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

The use of land by Israeli authorities for military purposes, road projects, Israeli settlements, and other purposes which restrict access, significantly affects the lives and economic activities of Palestinians. Palestinians are excluded from the Higher Planning Council, which draws up plans for land use in the occupied territories, and exercises certain powers transferred from local municipal and village councils in 1971. Government planning bodies, military officials, and Israeli settlers are represented on the council.

The authorities have discriminated against the Palestinian population in the use of a substantial portion of the land in the occupied territories which is under government control. Approximately 5 percent of the land to which Palestinian access has been restricted has been turned over to Jewish Israeli nationals for residential, agricultural, or industrial use.

The Government of Israel funds basic services for Palestinians, primarily from tax revenues generated in the occupied territories. However, Israeli settlements also receive large annual subsidies from the Government, and individual Israelis may receive inducements to take up residence in the occupied territories. Palestinians do not receive such assistance.

Palestinians returning from Jordan, as well as other Arabs and persons of Arab descent, regardless of citizenship, are subject to extensive searches, and many complain of unnecessarily harsh or humiliating treatment and harassment.

The West Bank is served by four universities, one college, one community college, and a variety of other educational institutions, all established or upgraded since the beginning of the Israeli occupa-

tion. None of the universities receives financial support or other assistance from the occupation authorities. Palestinian teachers in the occupied territories must receive certificates from the Israeli authorities, the issuance of which is based on security and political criteria as well as professional competence.

The Israeli-occupied portion of the Golan Heights consists of 1,295 square kilometers, and has an Arab population of about 15,000, mostly Druze and a small percentage of Alawites. Approximately 7,500 Israeli settlers live in some 32 settlements in the Golan Heights. Druze village councils have complained that they do not receive sufficient funding to provide minimal municipal services, and a third of the estimated 4,000 school children are reported to be studying in substandard classrooms.

There are no legal or administrative prohibitions on the employment of women in the occupied territories, although traditional cultural mores and family commitments restrict most to homemaking. Most Palestinian women holding jobs outside their homes reside and work in urban areas. Employment of women is concentrated in service industries, education, and health services, with a small number working in journalism, law, and other professions.

Although women legally have equal access to public education, custom and family pressures limit the number of women in West Bank schools. Even so, female school enrollment is quite high by Middle Eastern standards. A little over 45 percent of the primary and secondary school students are female. While female enrollment at the postsecondary level varies from 30 to 45 percent at coeducational colleges and universities, a number of West Bank teacher and vocational training centers are all male or all female.

There is a wide range of women's cooperative groups for health care, child care, handicraft production, vocational train-

ing, and other services. The Society for the Preservation of the Family is active throughout the West Bank in supporting women's needs.

Conditions of Labor

Working conditions in the West Bank are governed by the Jordanian Labor Law of 1960, which allows a maximum work-

week of 48 hours, except for certain hotel, food service, and cinema employees, whose workweek is 54 hours. There is no minimum wage provision. Child labor is not permitted. Histadrut, the Israeli National Labor Organization, has taken steps to assure that working conditions for Golan Druze and residents of East Jerusalem are comparable to those of Israelis.