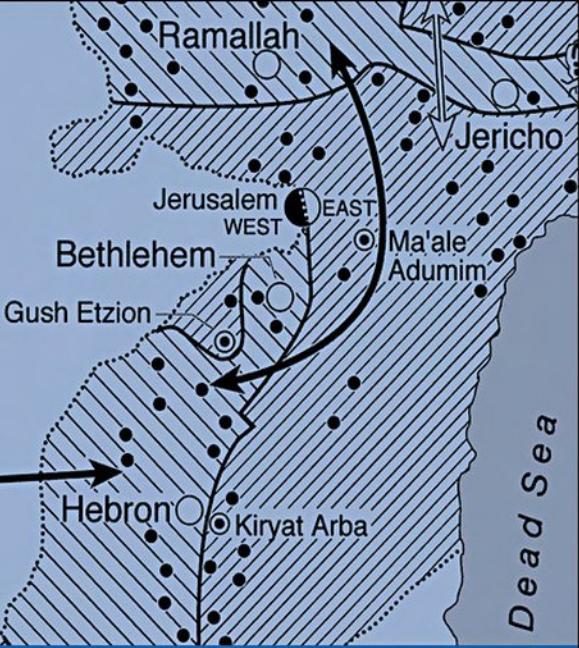


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THE ROUTLEDGE **ATLAS** OF THE

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

MARTIN GILBERT

EIGHTH EDITION

WITH THIRTY-TWO NEW MAPS



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Sir Martin Gilbert is one of the leading historians of his generation. An Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford—of which he was a fellow for thirty years—he is the official biographer of Churchill and the author of seventy-five books, among them *First World War*, *Second World War*, *The Holocaust*, *The Jewish Tragedy* and *Israel, A History*. Details of his books can be found on his website: <http://www.martingilbert.com/>

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THE ROUTLEDGE ATLAS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

8th Edition

Martin Gilbert



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Preface to the eighth edition

In this atlas I have traced the history of the Arab-Jewish conflict from the turn of the century to the present day. I have tried to show something of the intensity and bitterness of the conflict, of the types of incidents which it provoked, and of the views of those involved in it.

The majority of the maps in this atlas depict wars, conflict and violence, which have brought terrible suffering to all those caught up in them—Jew and Arab, soldier and civilian, adult and child. But there are also maps which show the various attempts to bring the conflict to an end, through proposals for agreed boundaries, through the signing of cease-fire agreements, and through negotiations. No map can show how peace will come, but they do show how much it is needed.

The origins and earlier course of the conflict are often overshadowed in the public mind by the events of the past decade. But it is still my hope that, seen as a whole, this atlas will help to clarify the conflict throughout its lengthening span.

Thirty years have passed since the first edition of this atlas was published in the immediate aftermath of the October War of 1973. Since then two Palestinian uprisings, the two Intifadas, have replaced the wars of nations as the harsh reality of the Arab-Israeli conflict. As some of the thirty-two new maps show, however, the search for peace and the development of avenues of Israeli-Palestinian co-operation and partnership are also alive and well, as are continuing hopes of an amicable and fair resolution of the conflict, as it moves forward into the twenty-first century.

14 April 2005

MARTIN GILBERT

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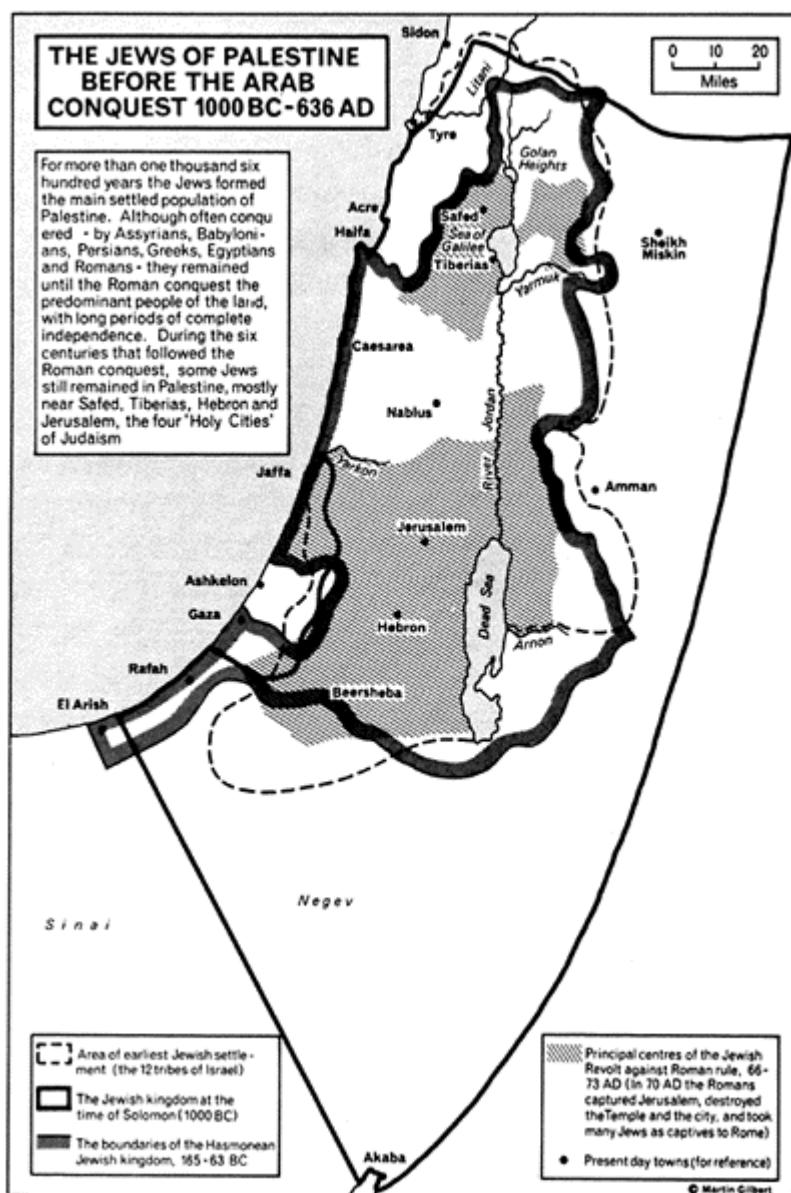
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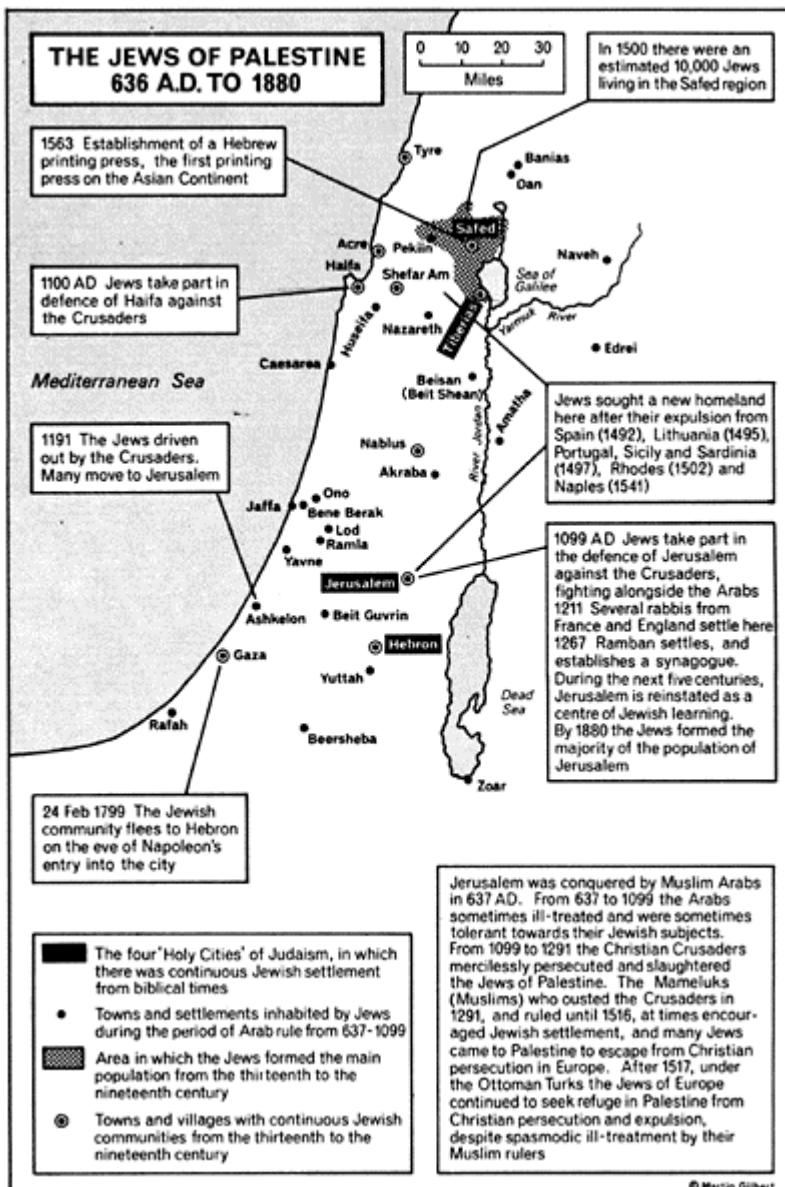
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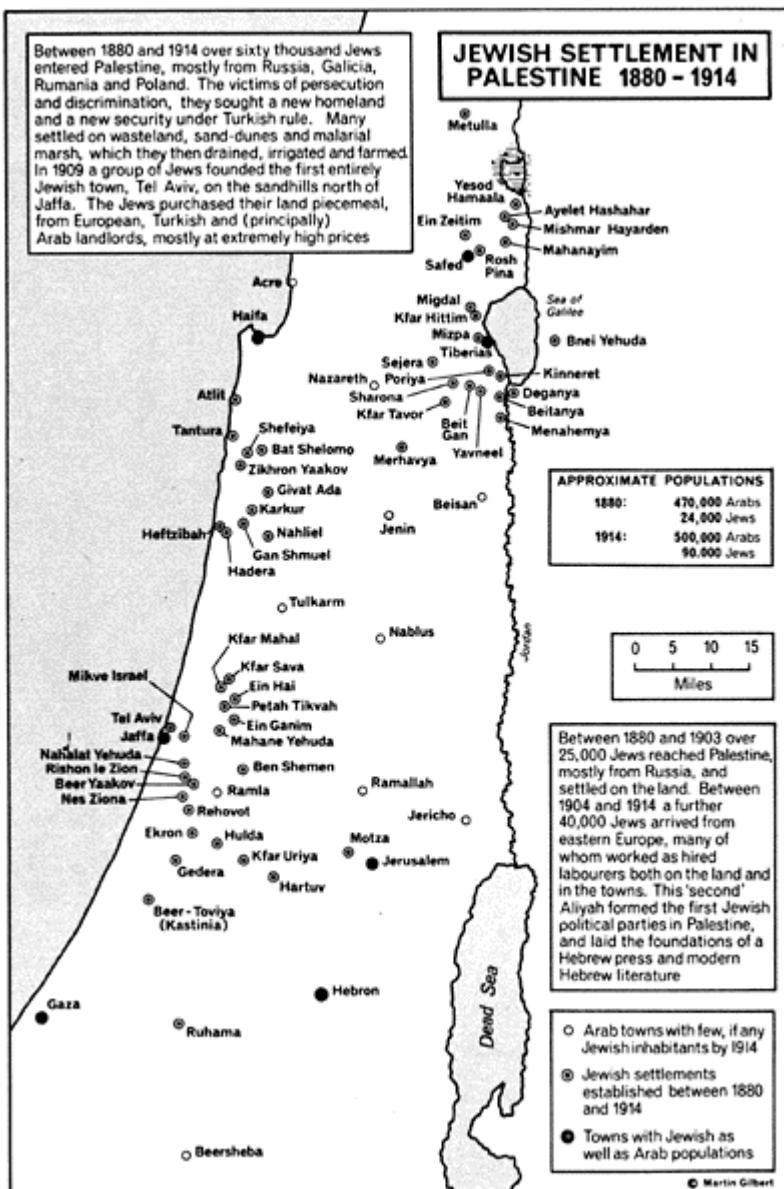
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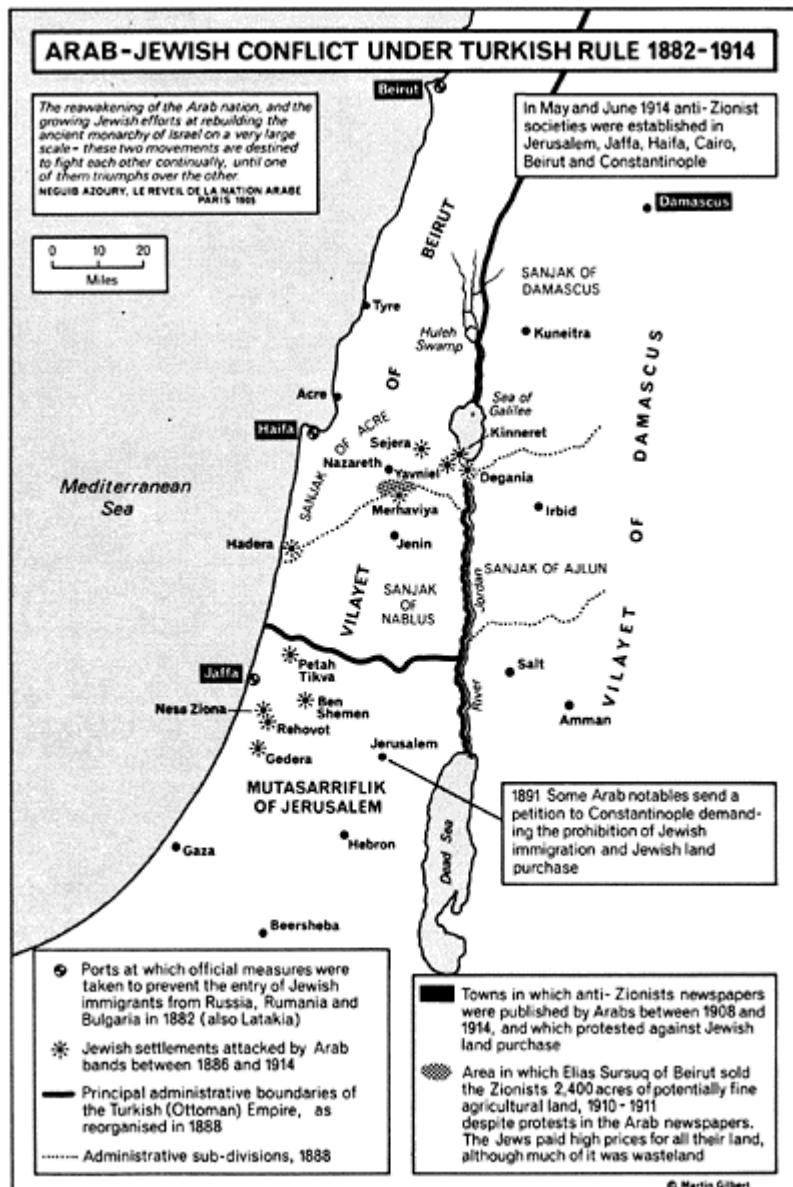
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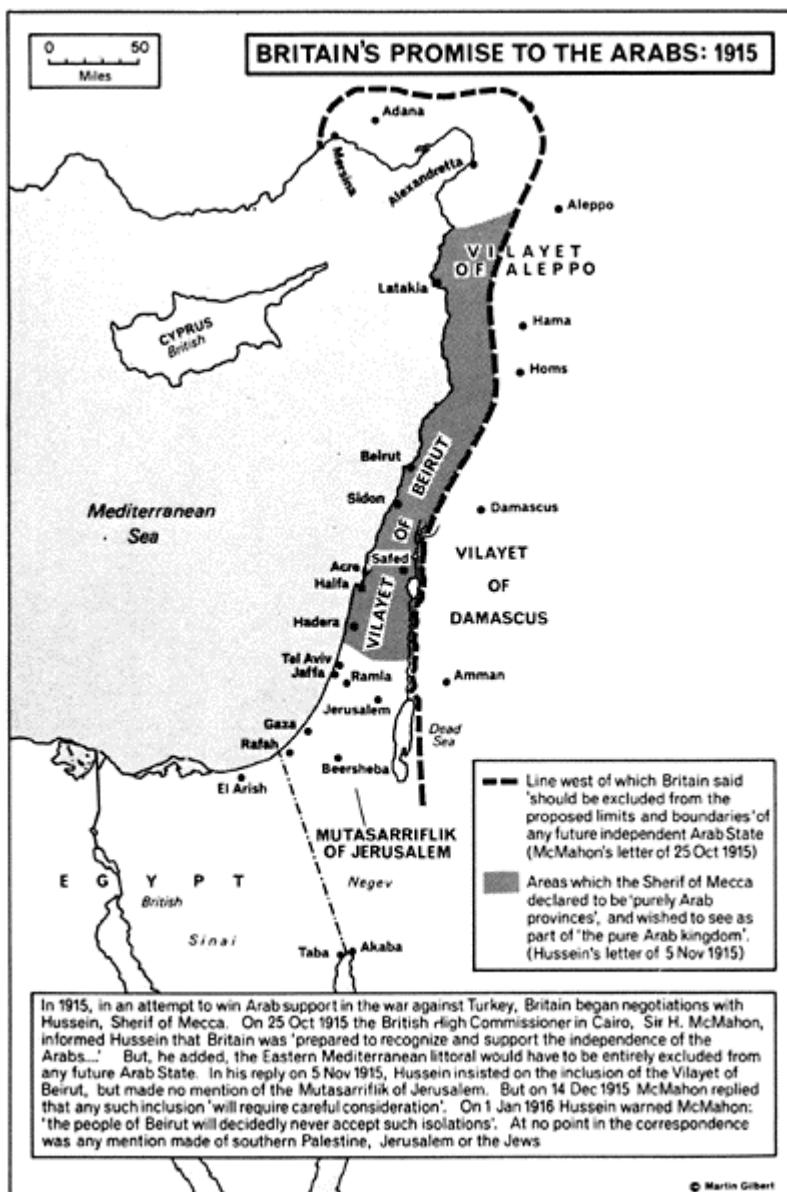
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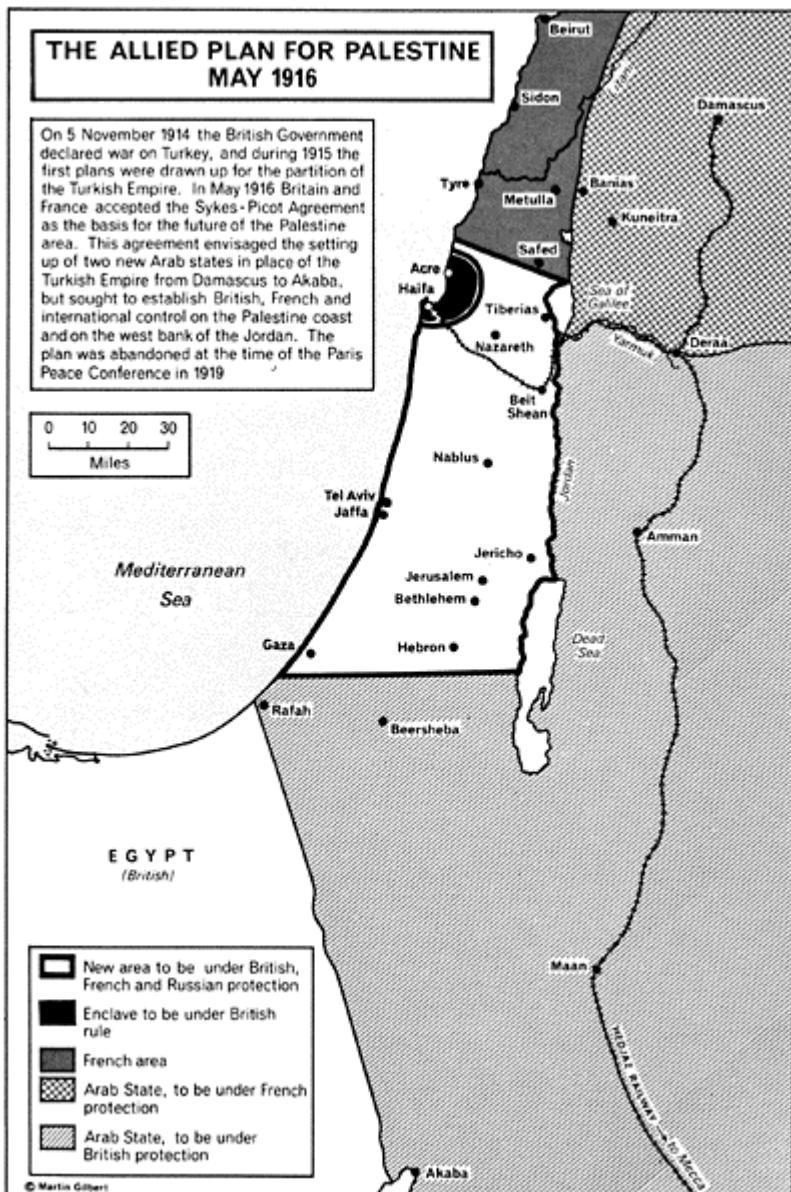


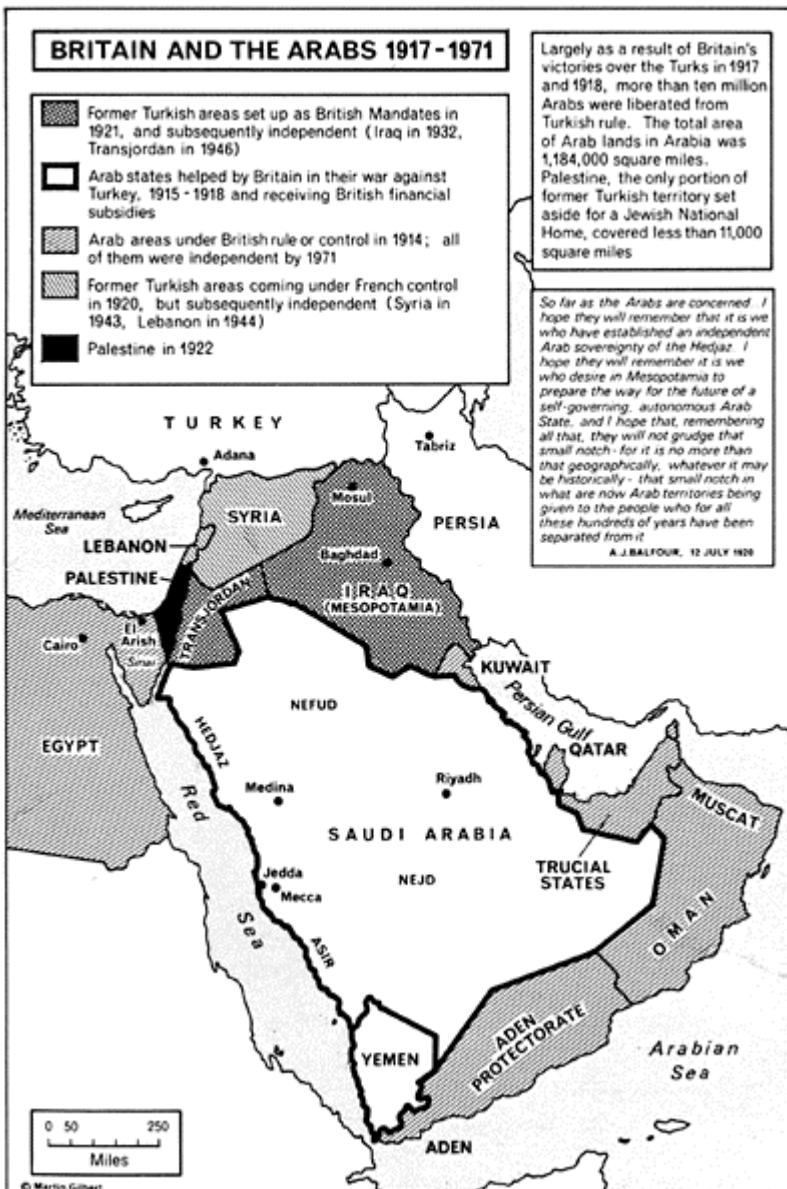


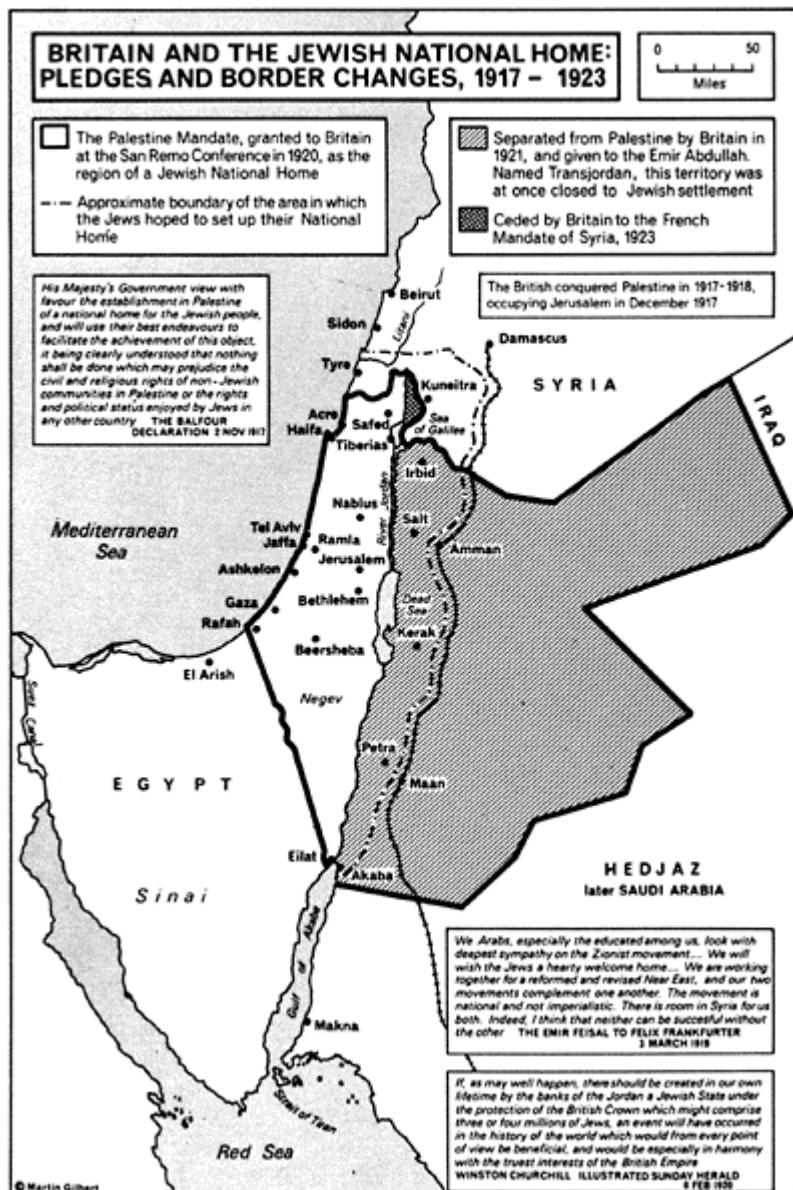


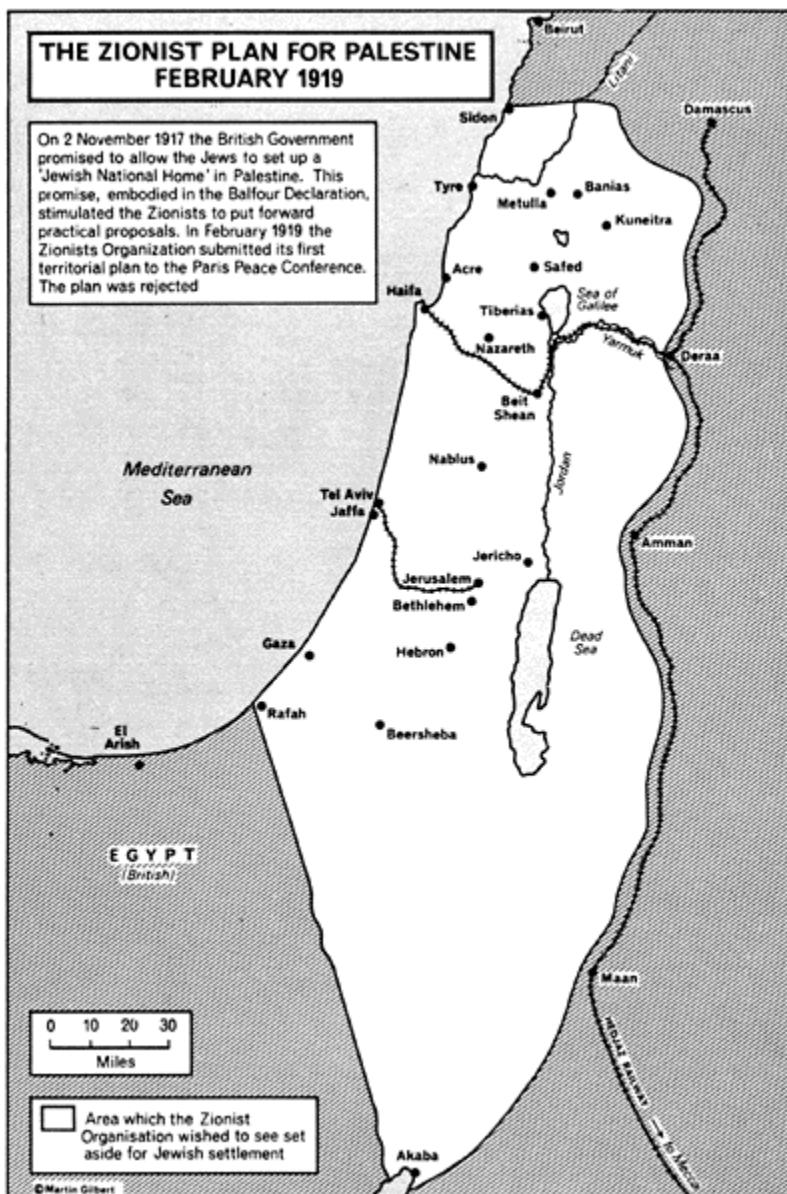


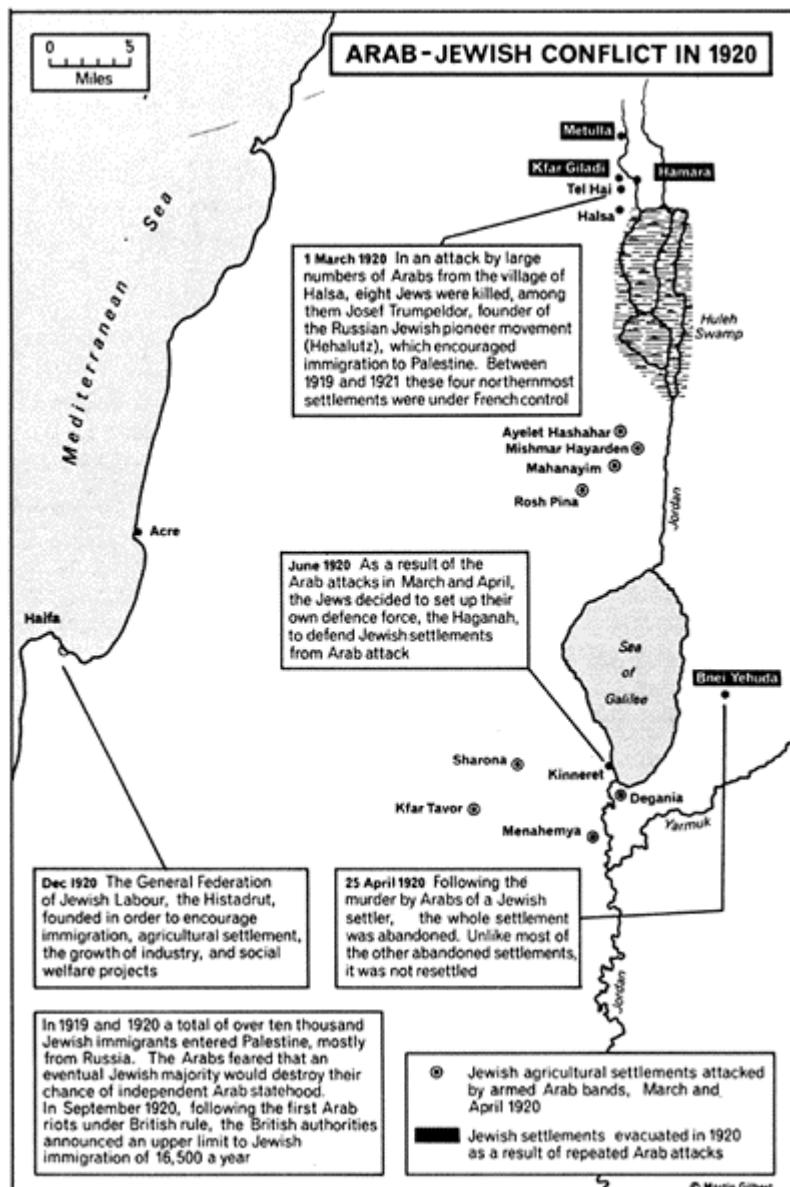


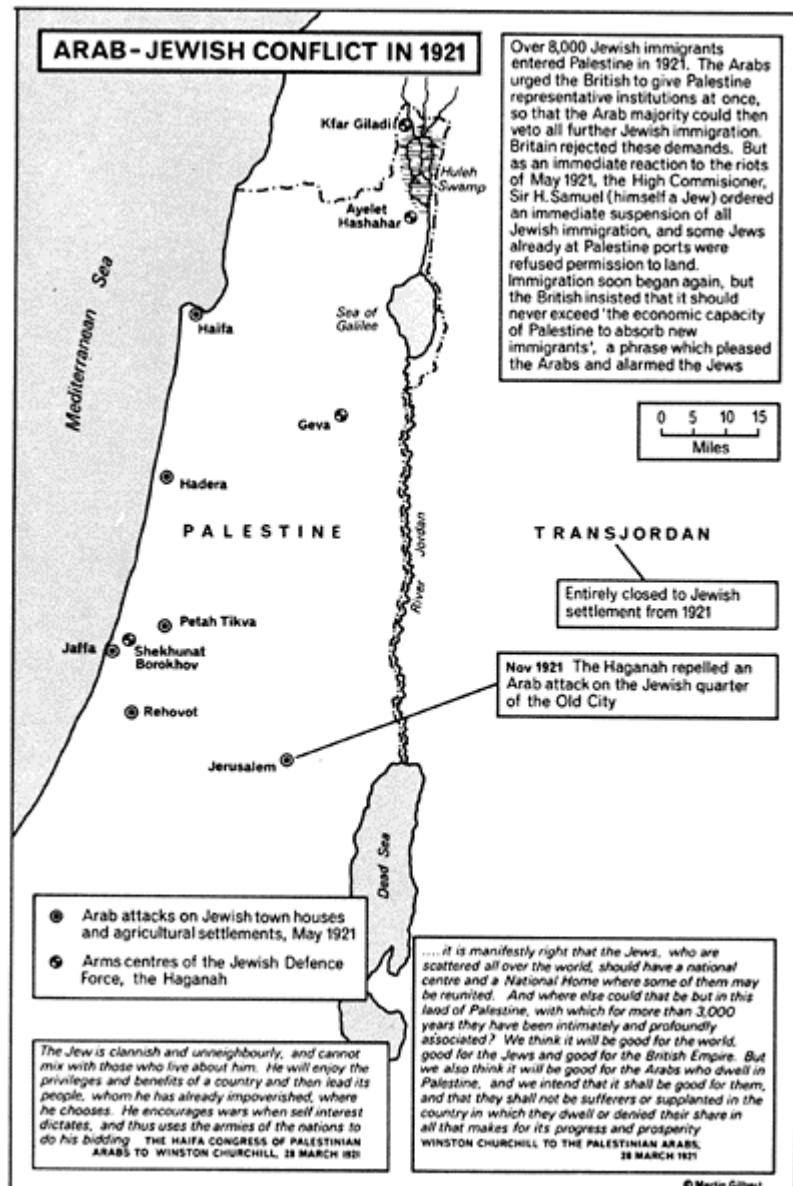


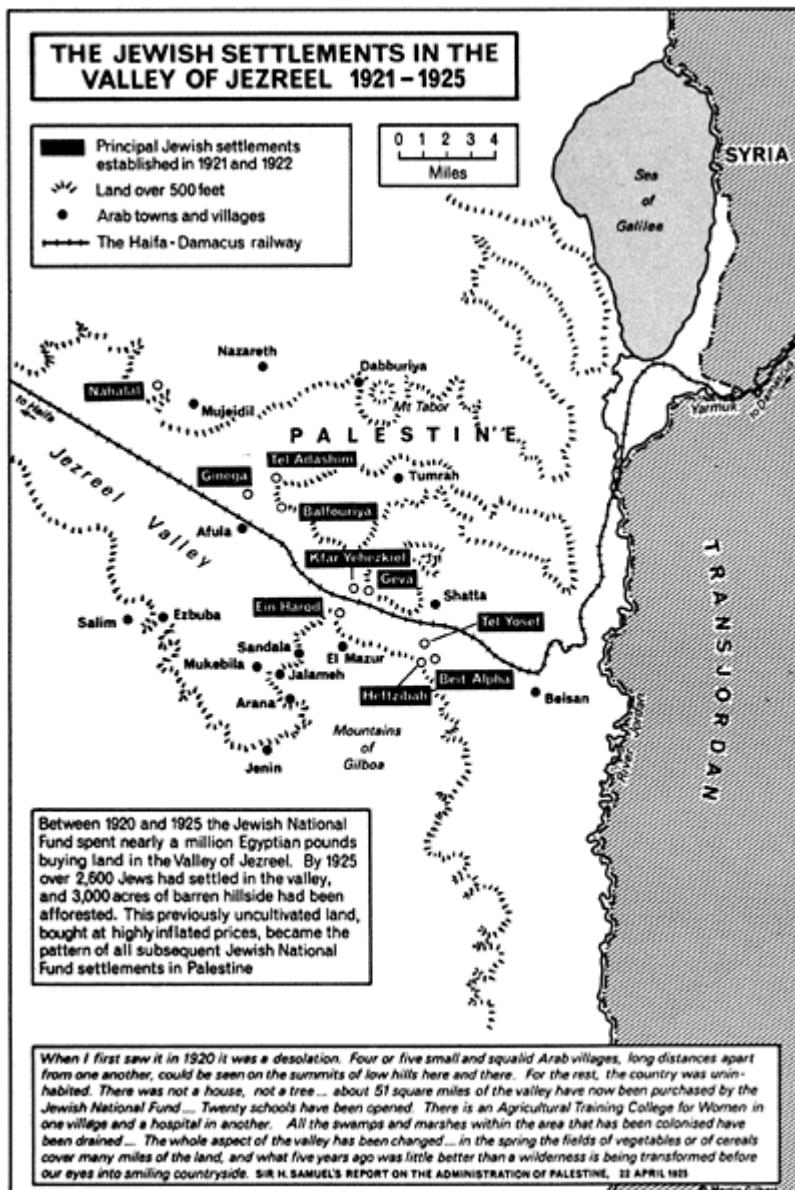


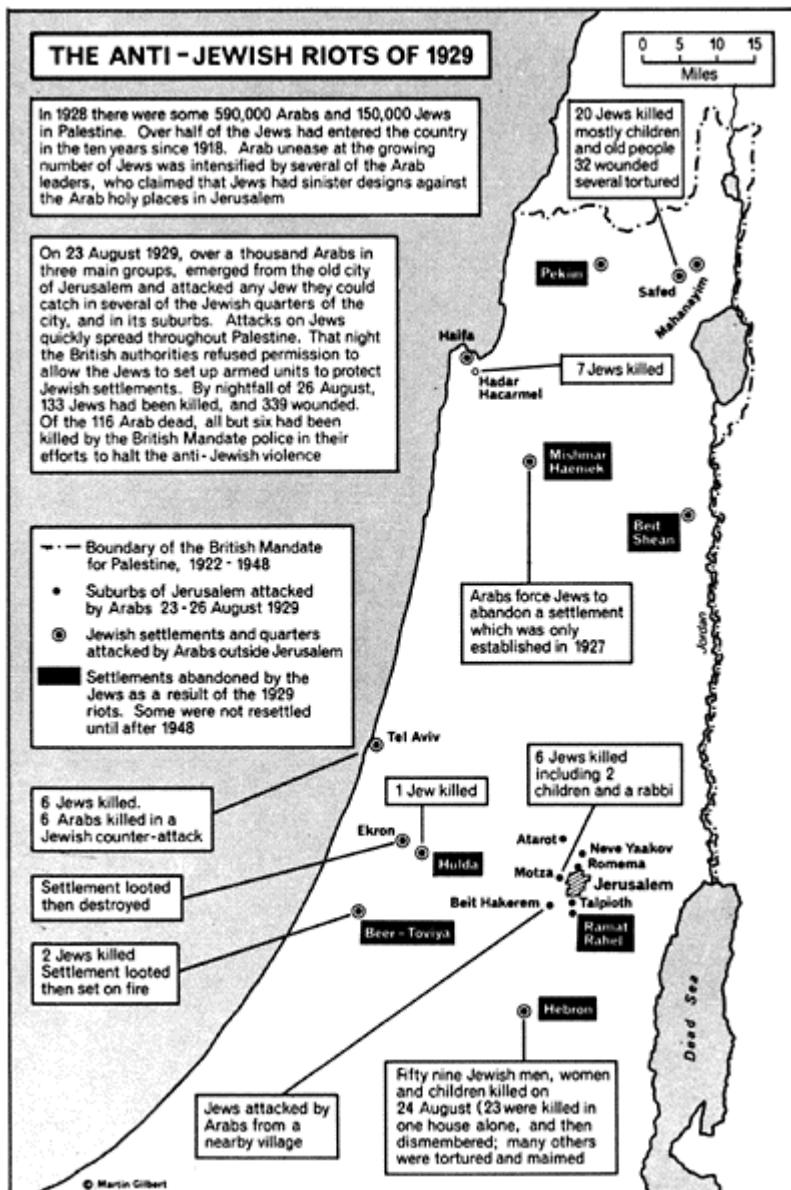






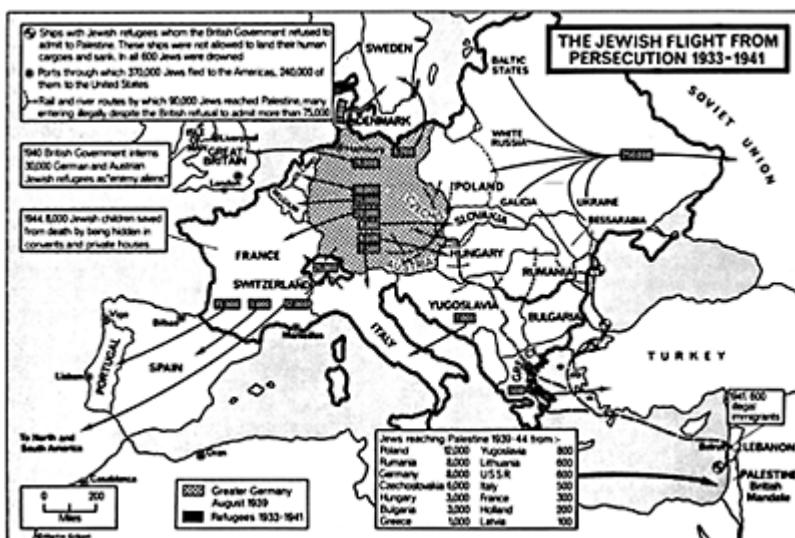




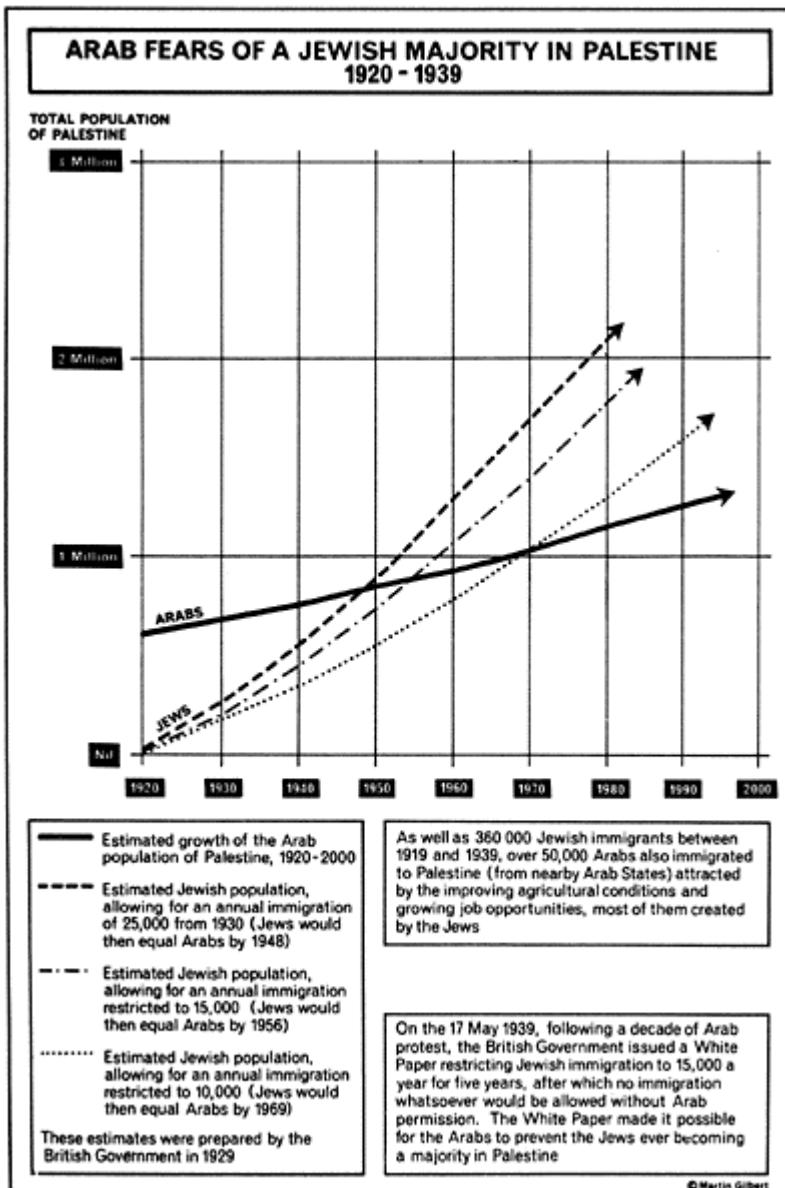


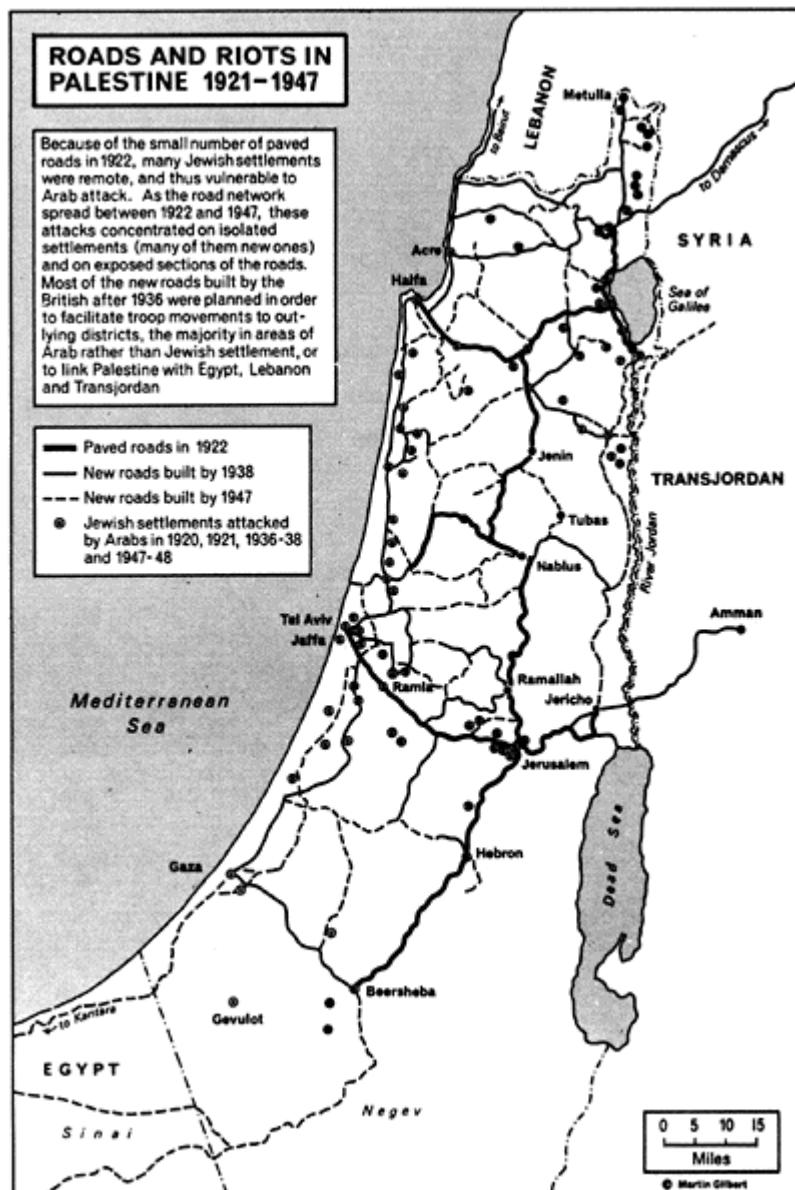


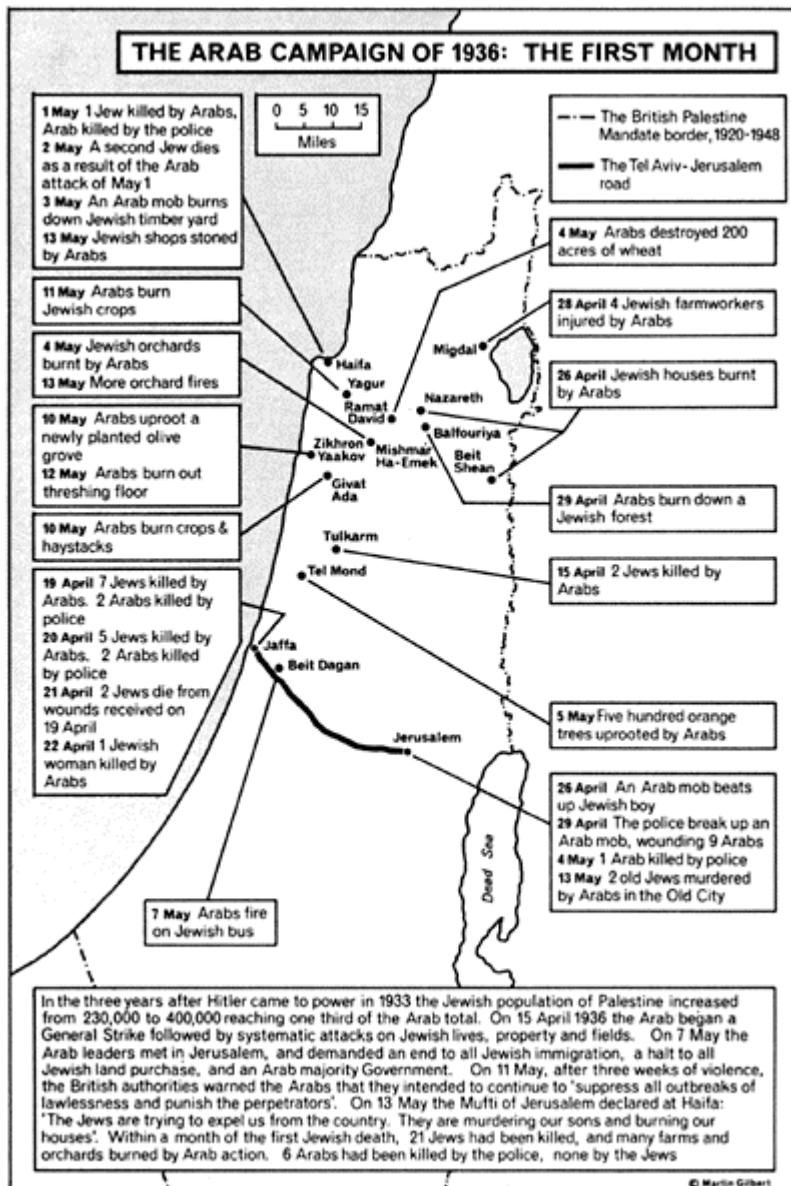
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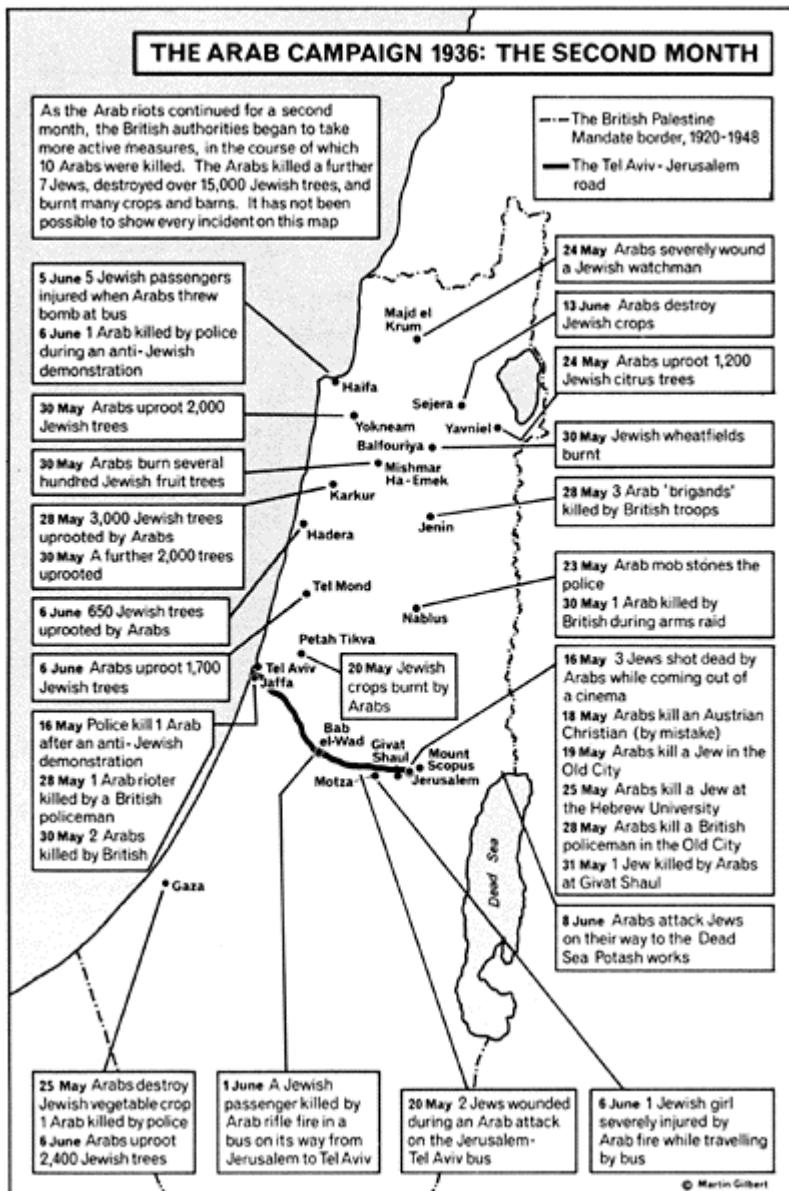


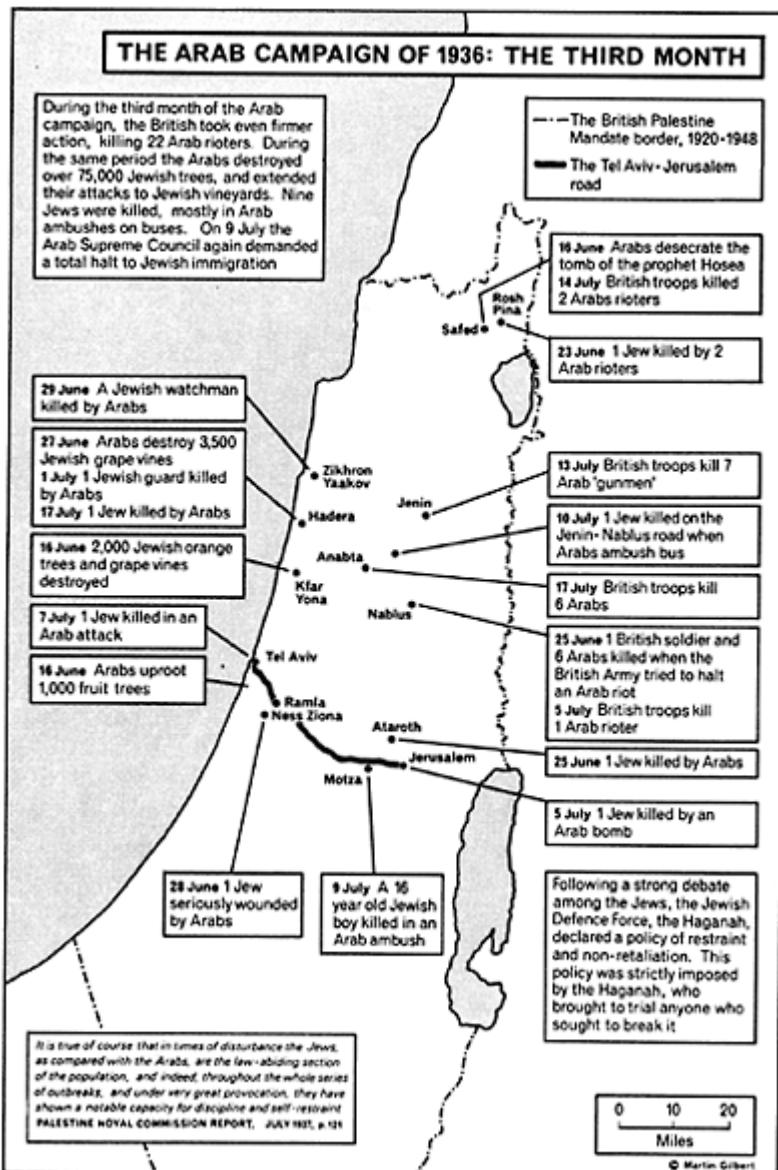
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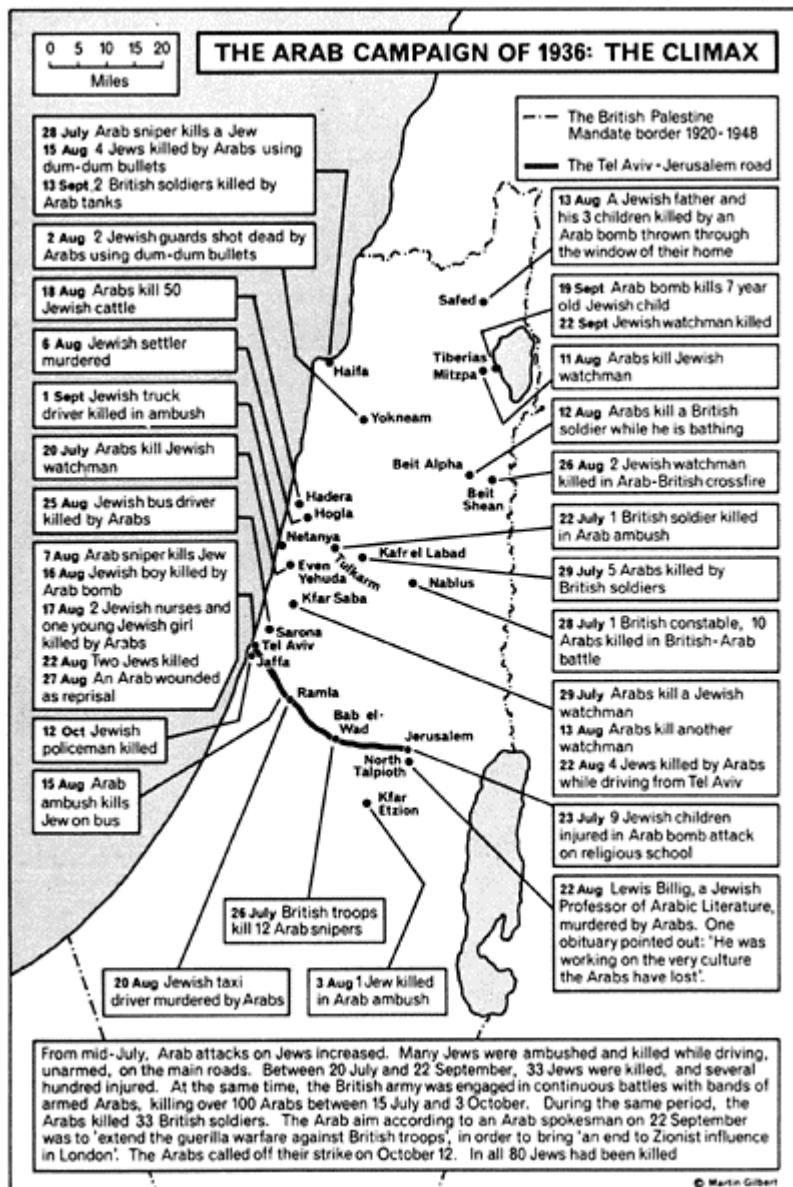


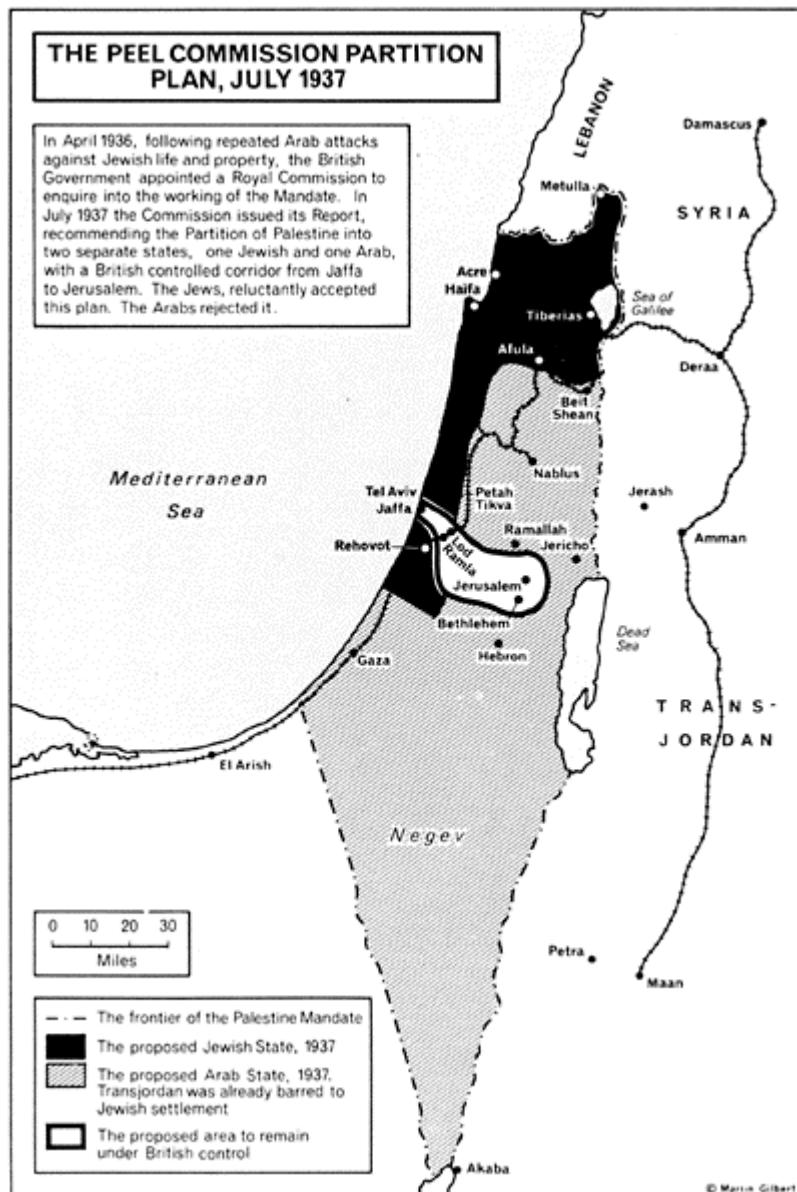


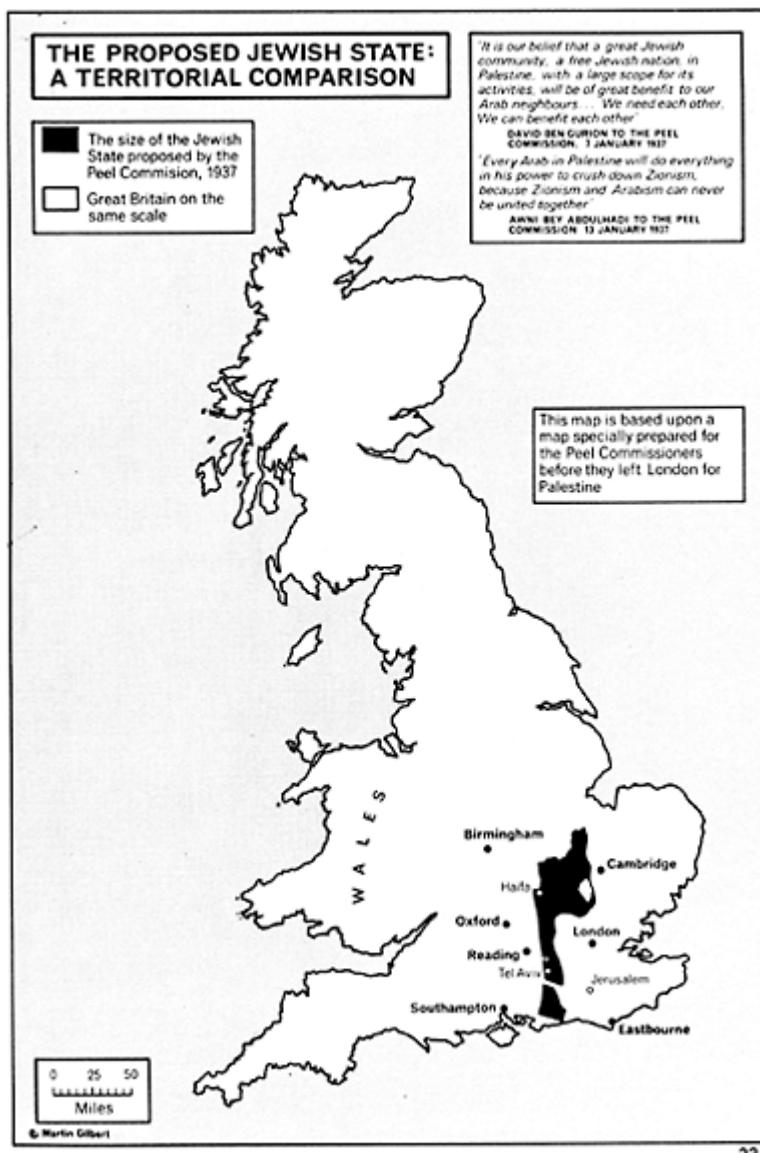


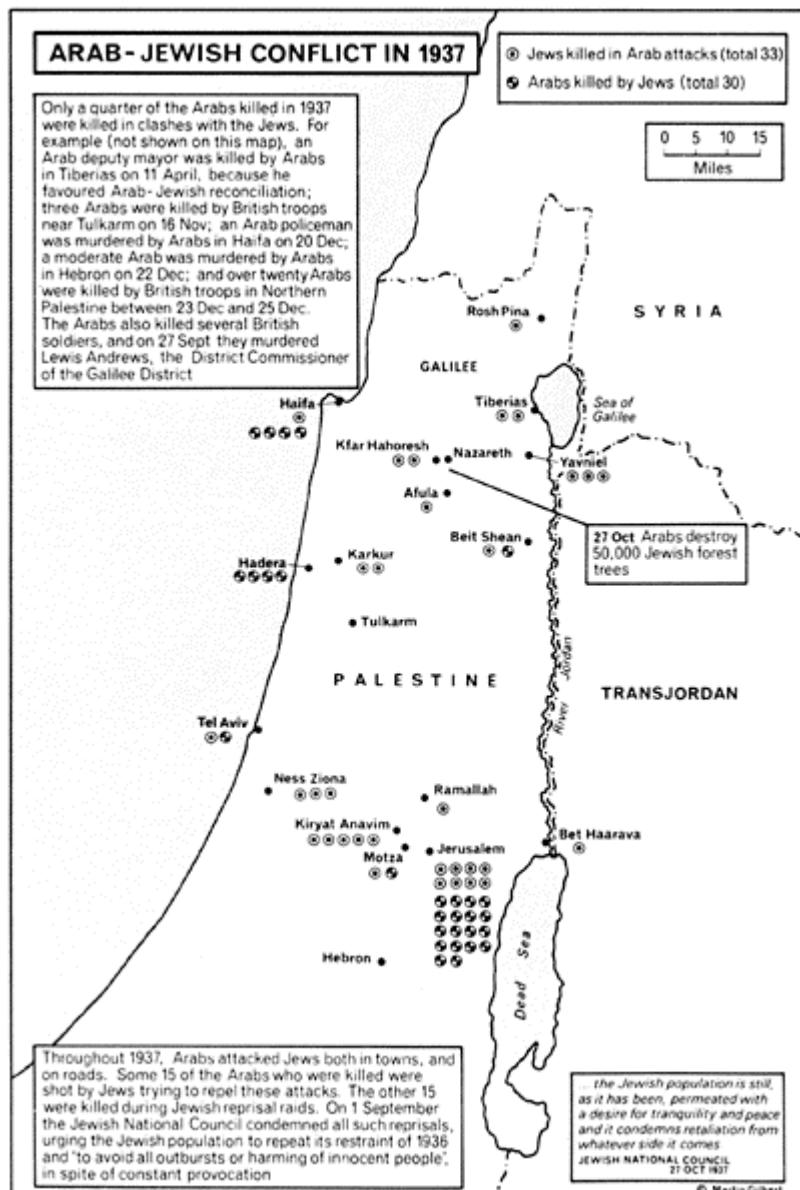


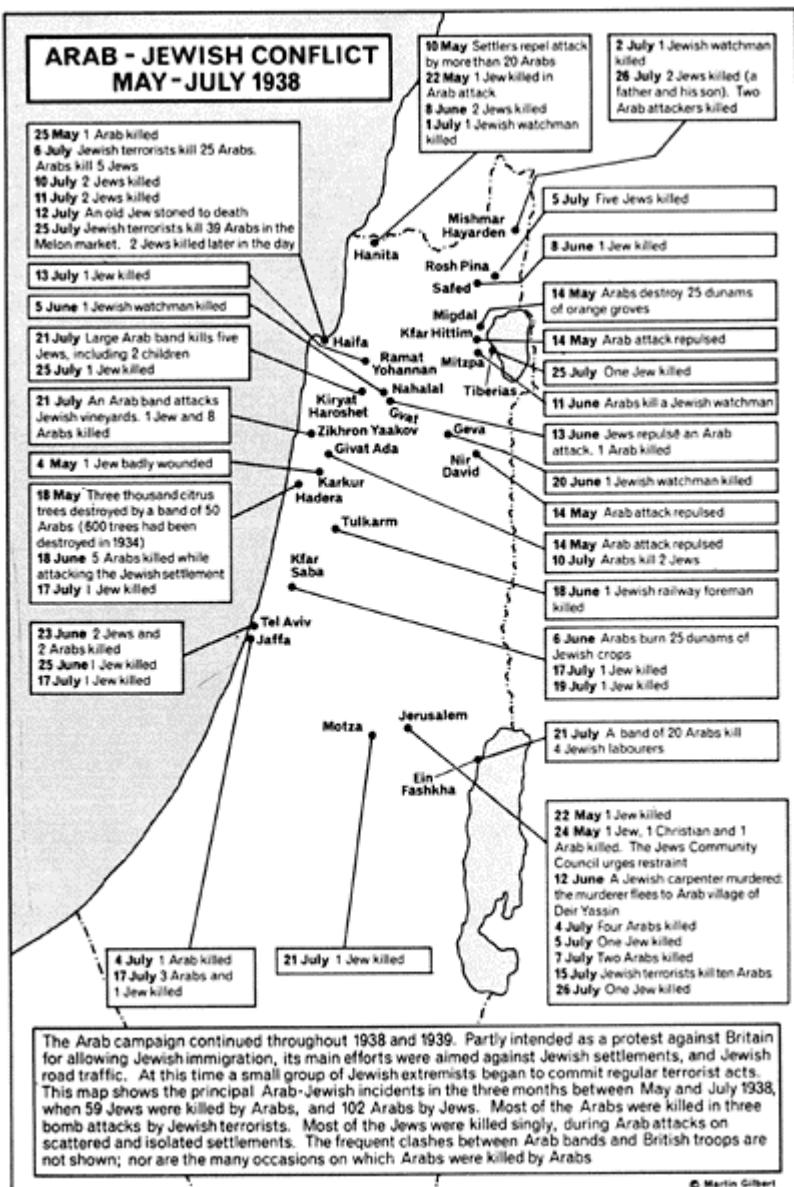


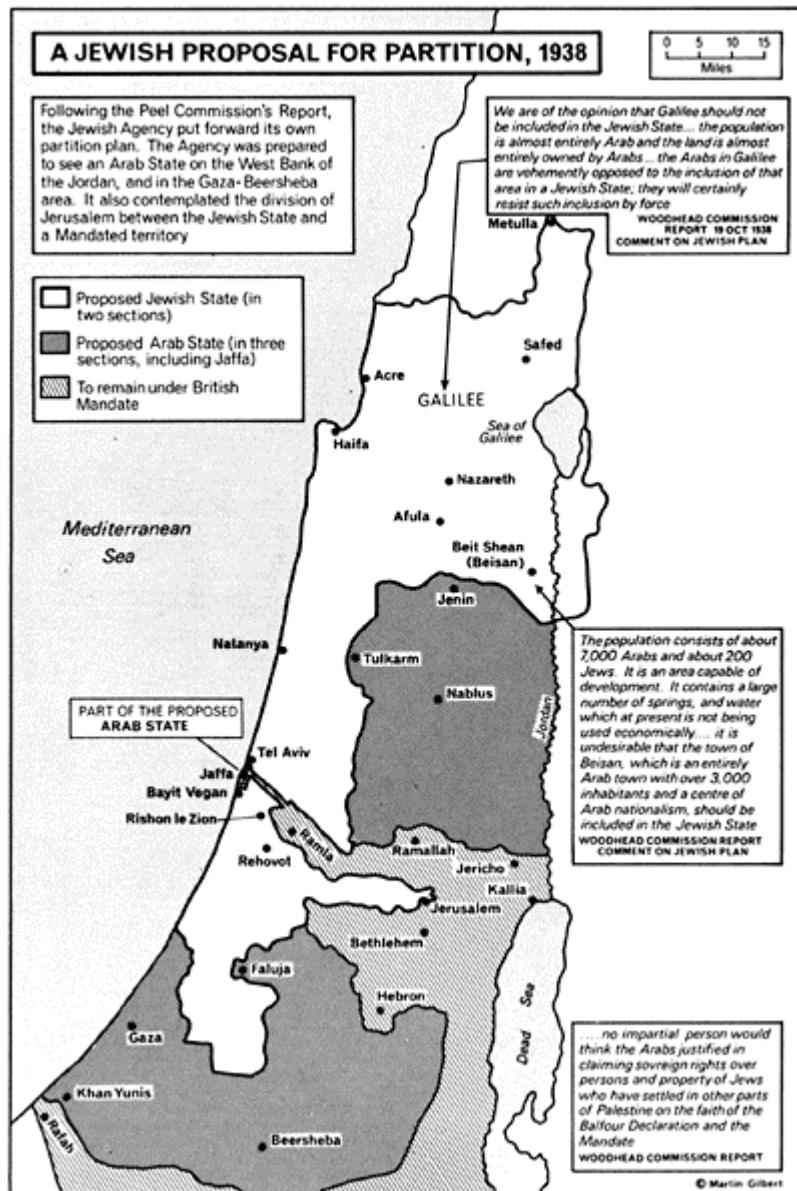


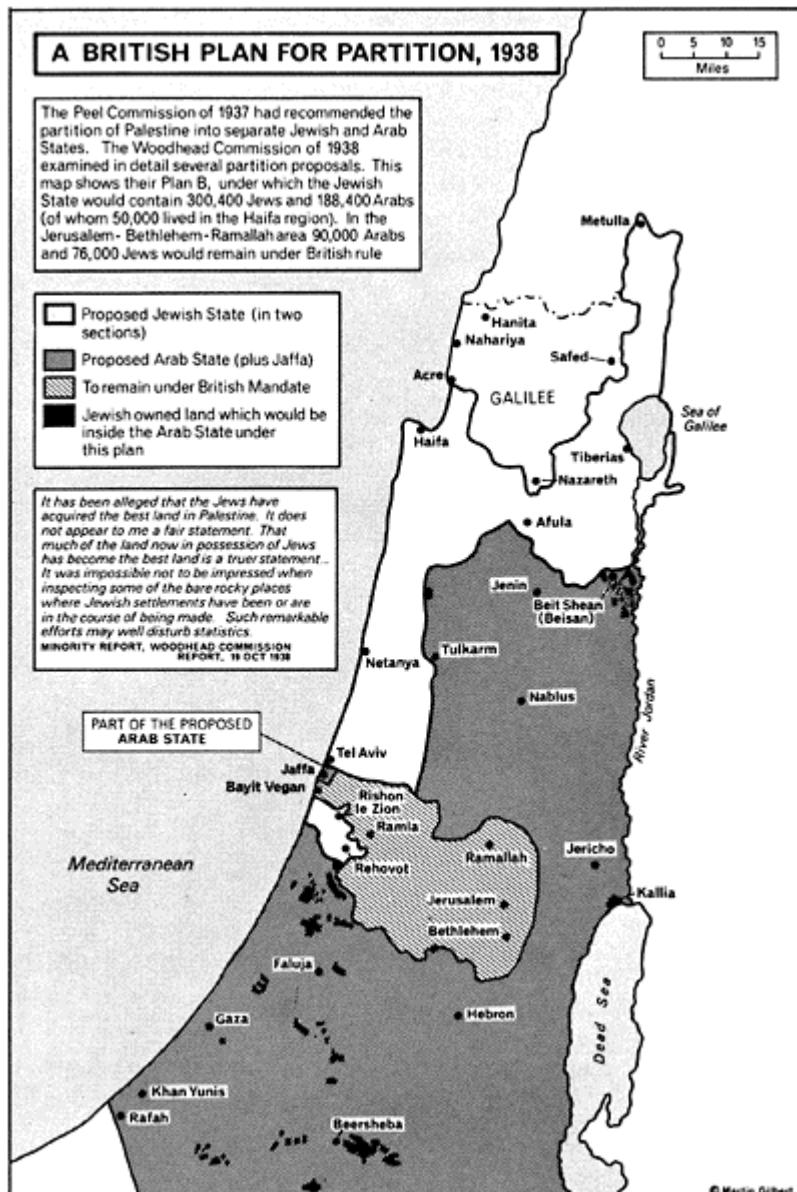










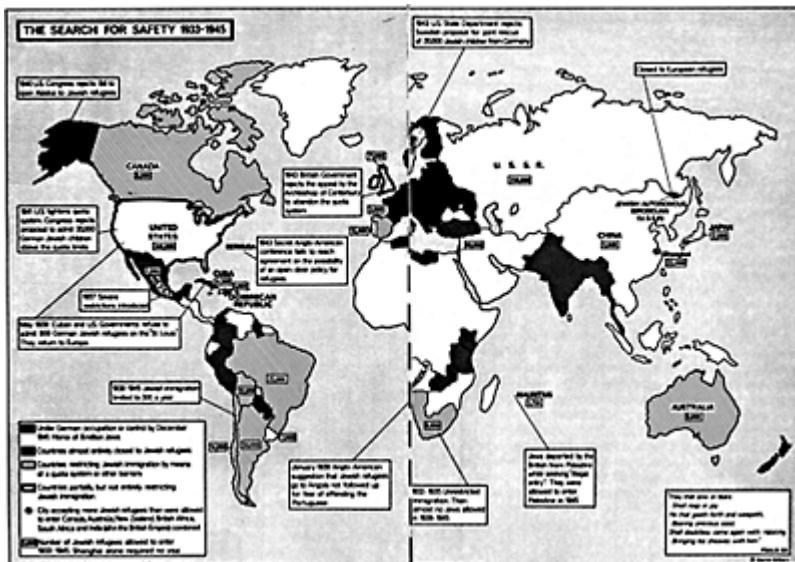


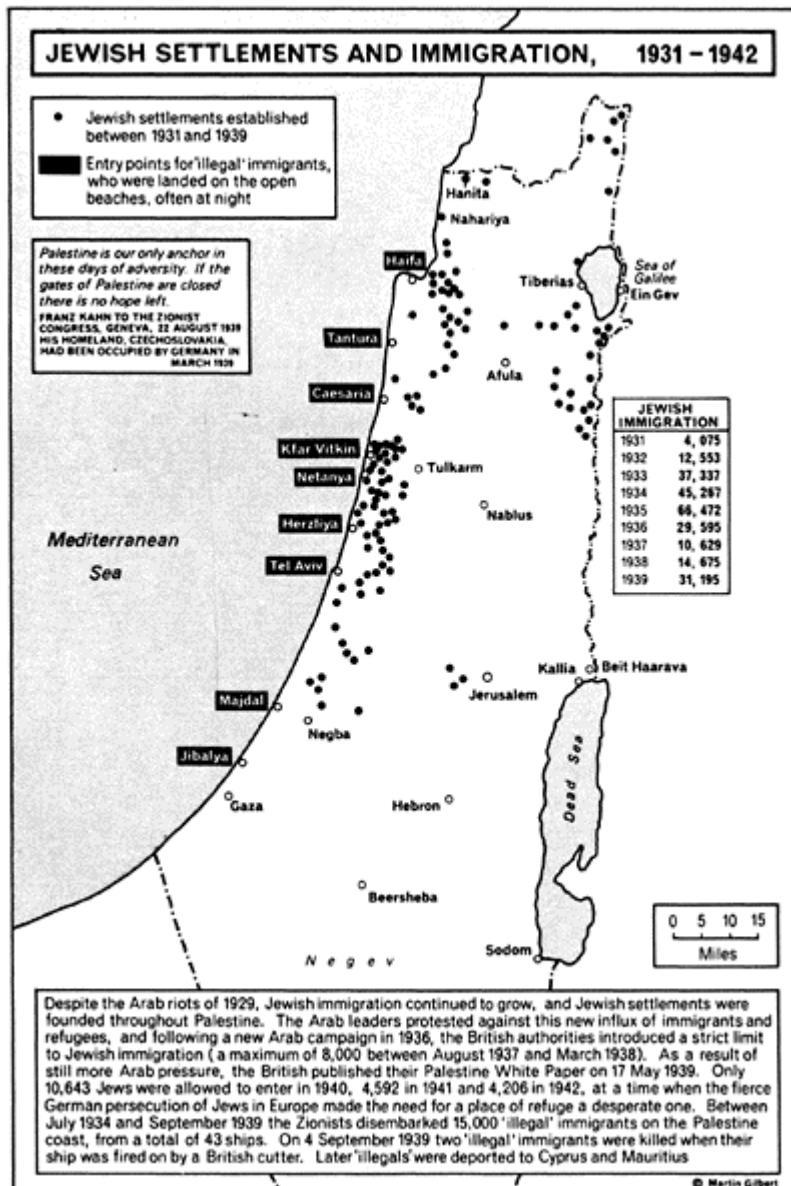


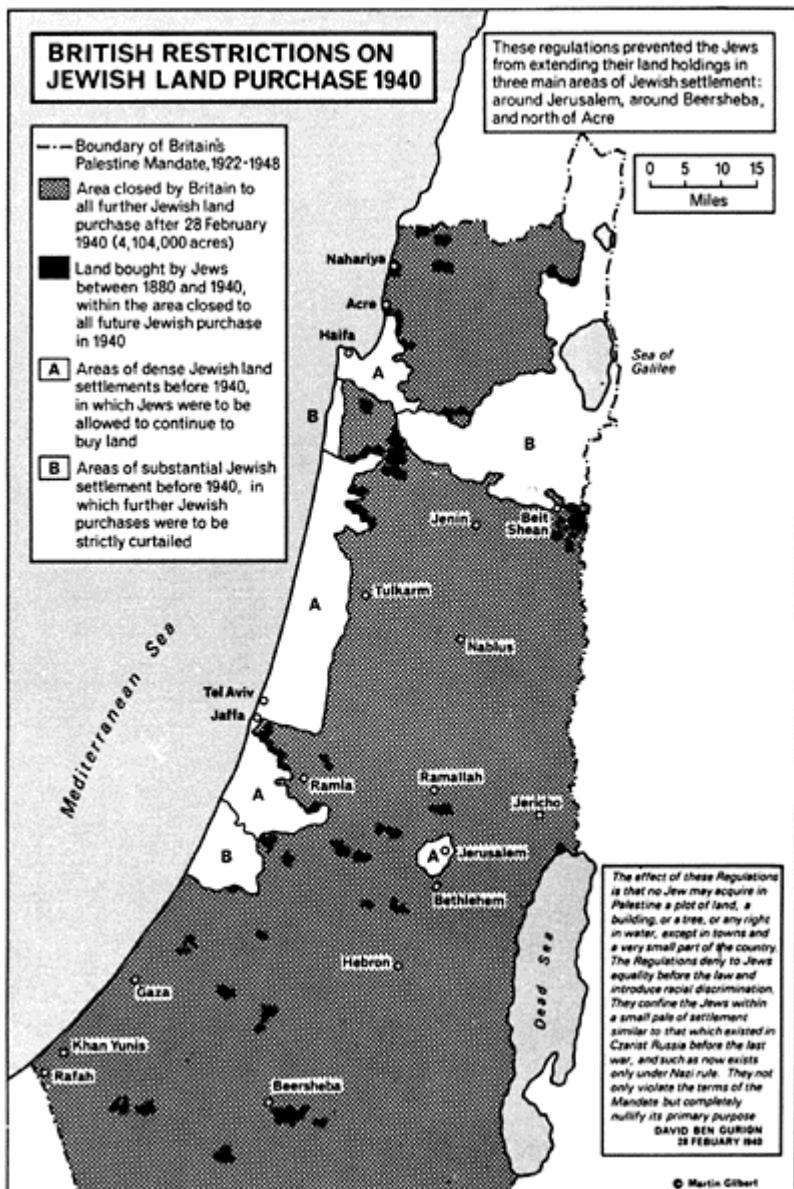
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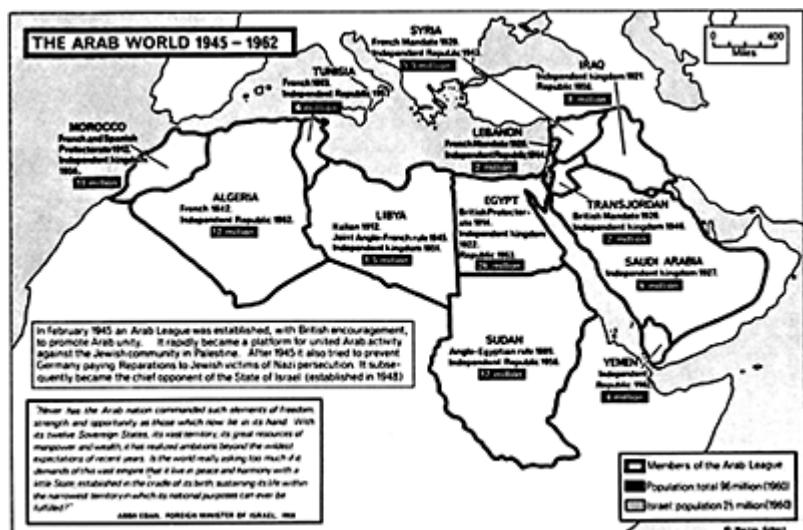




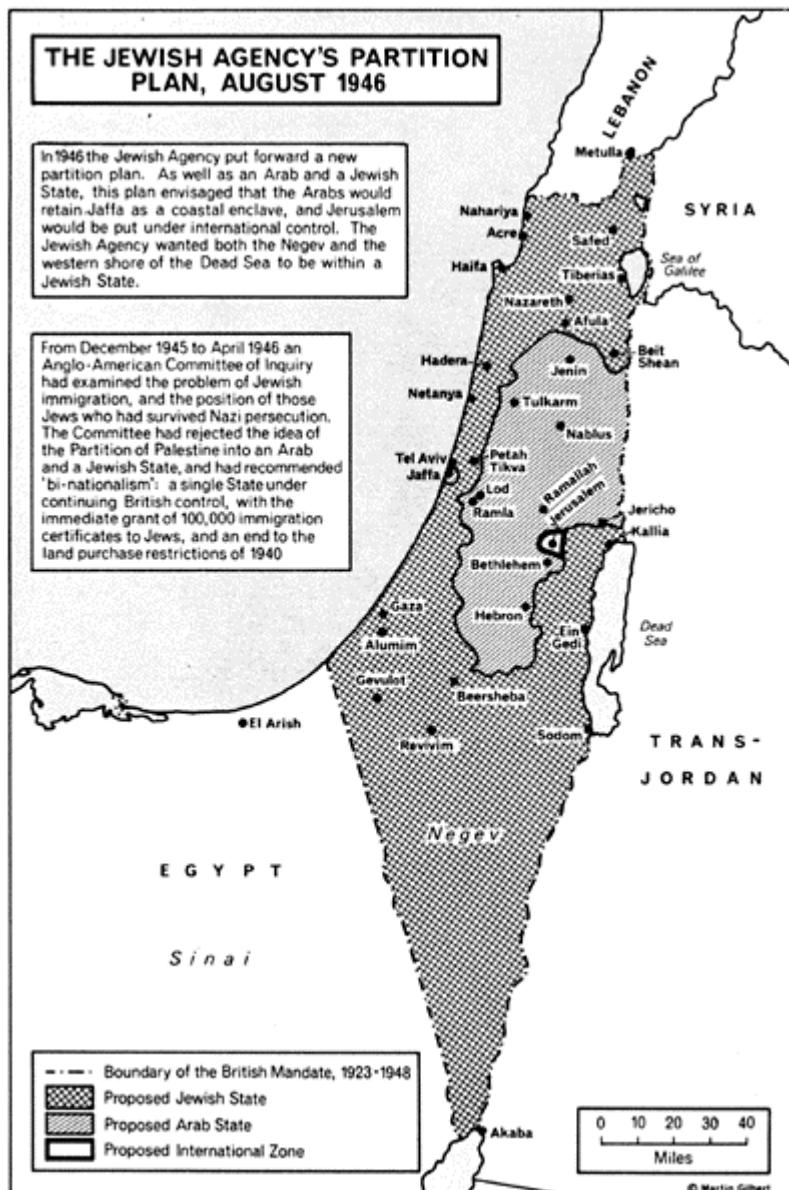


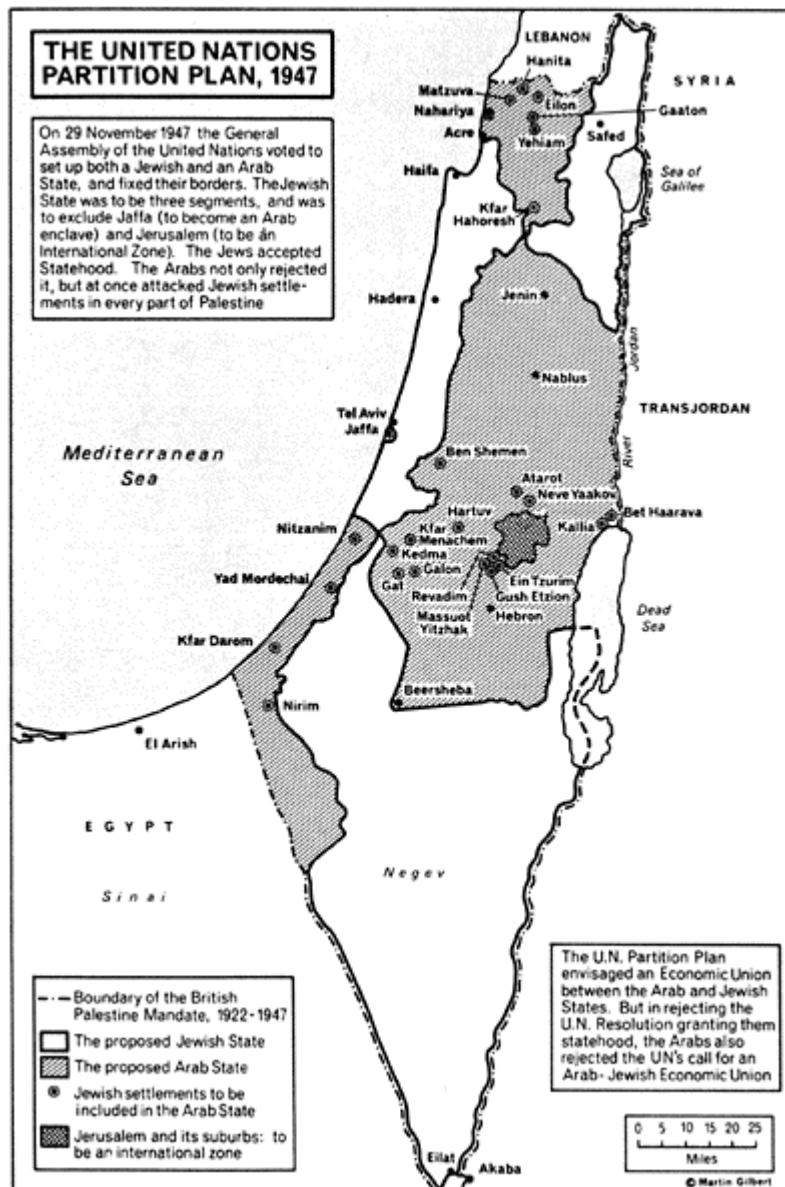


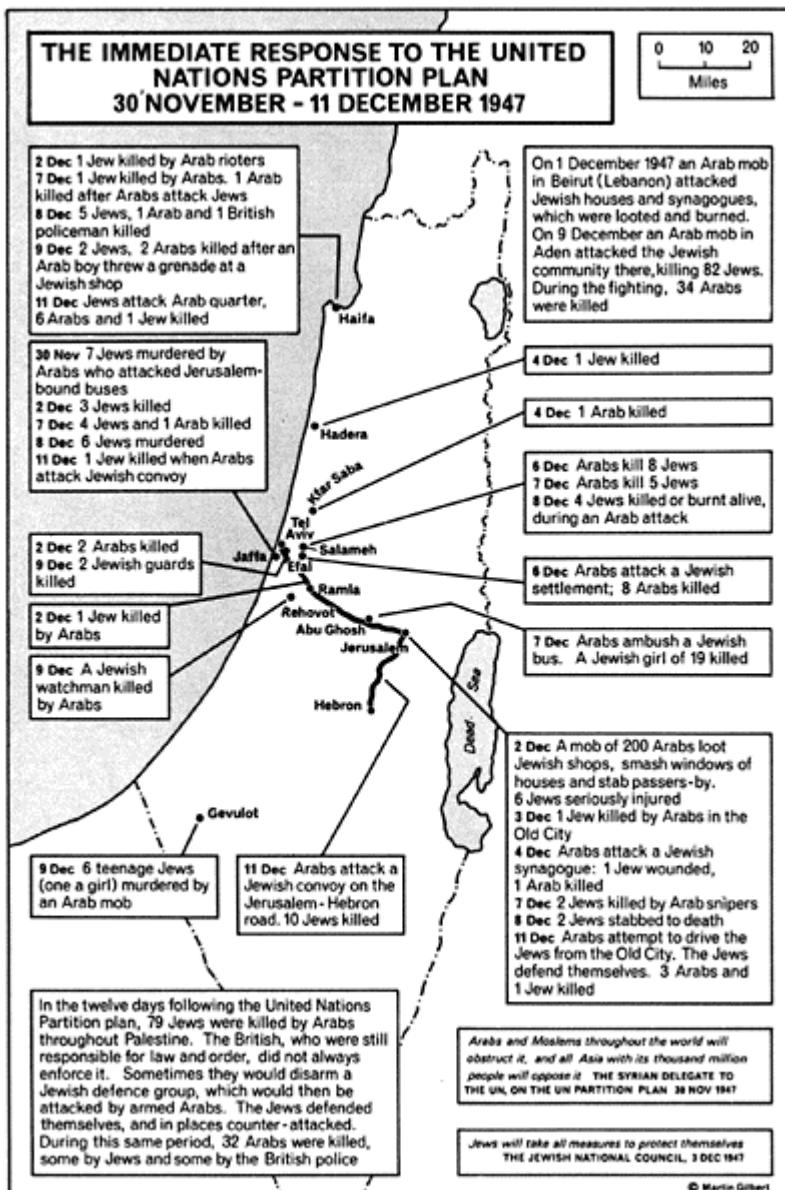
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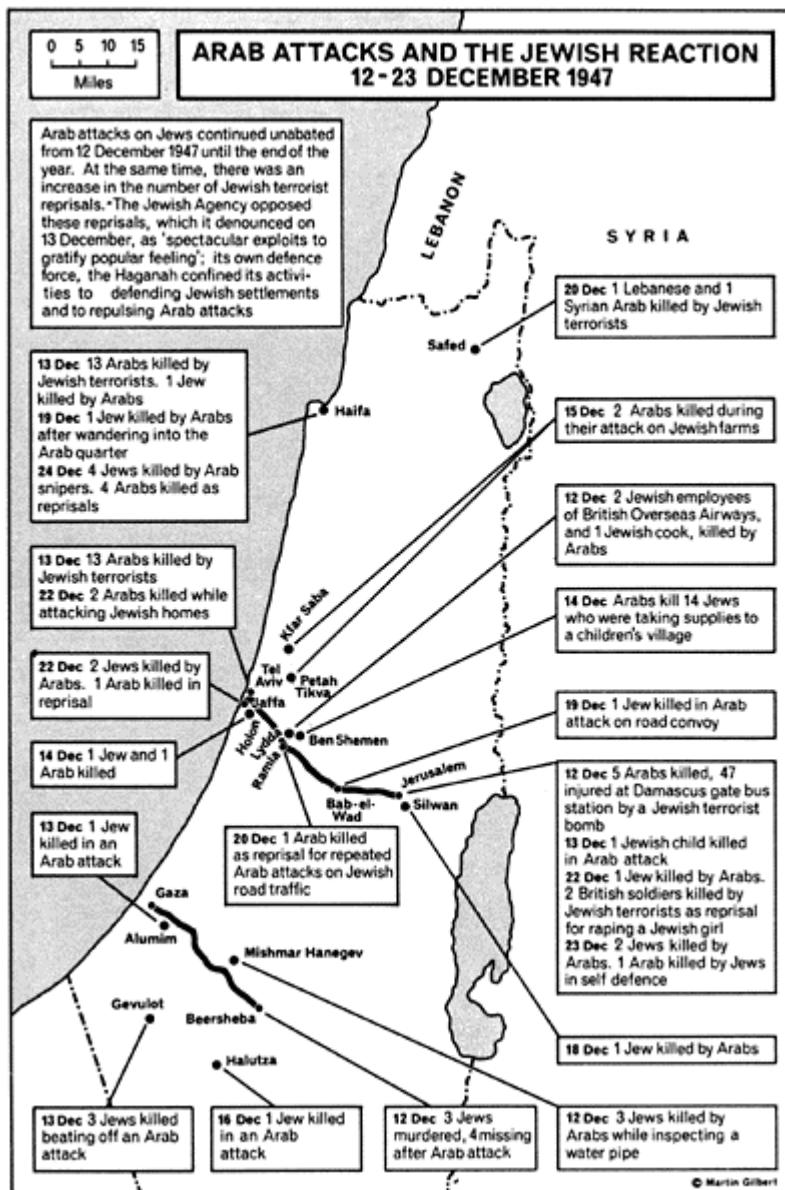


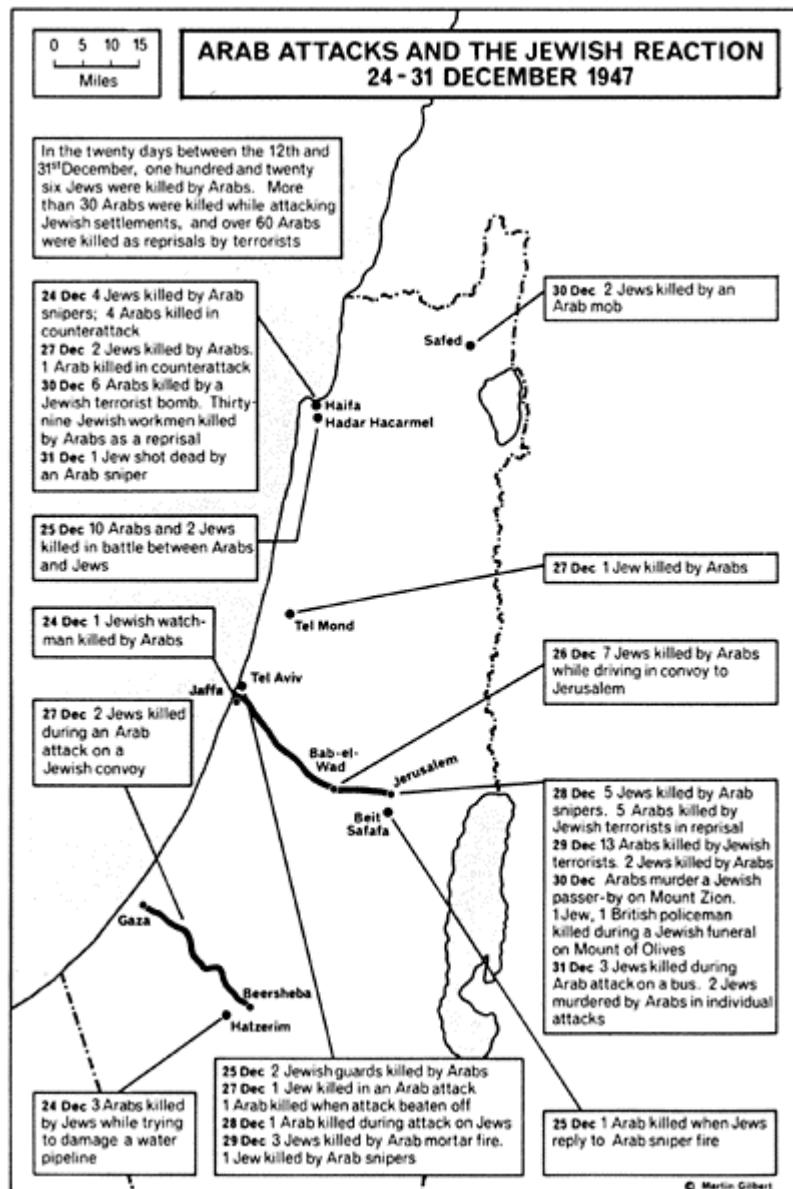
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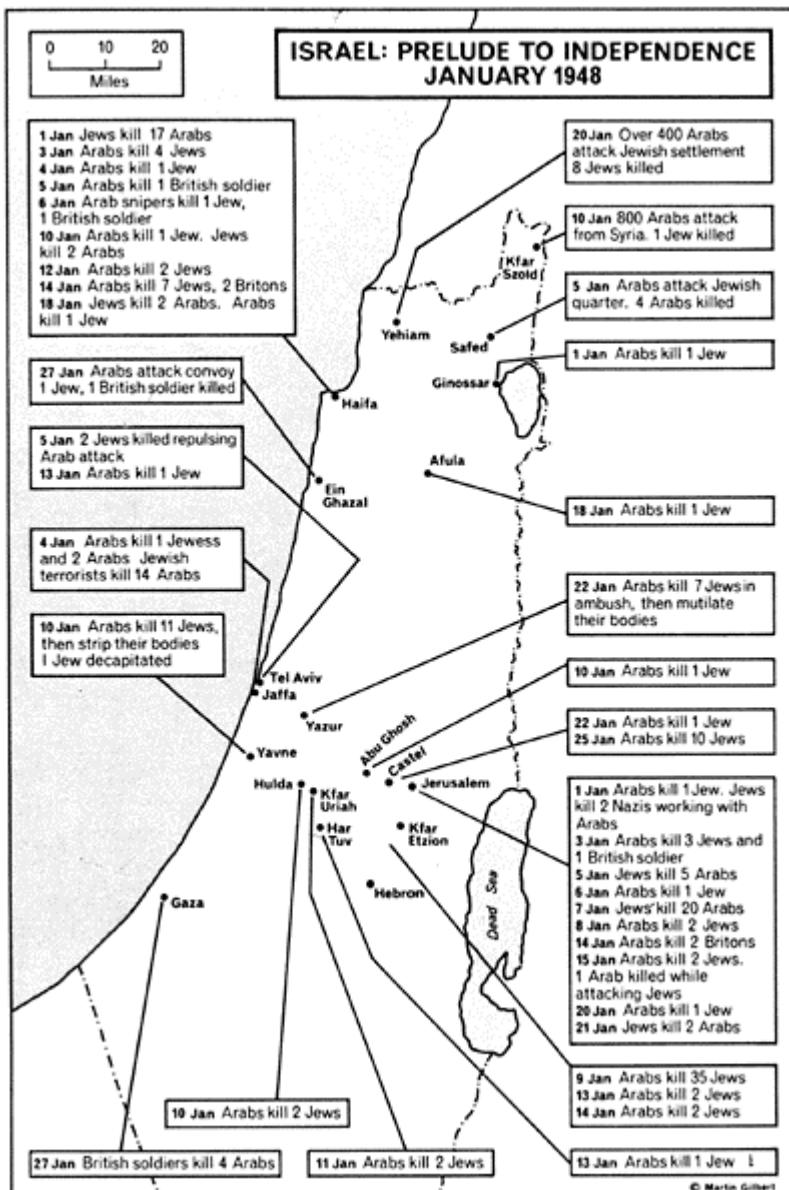


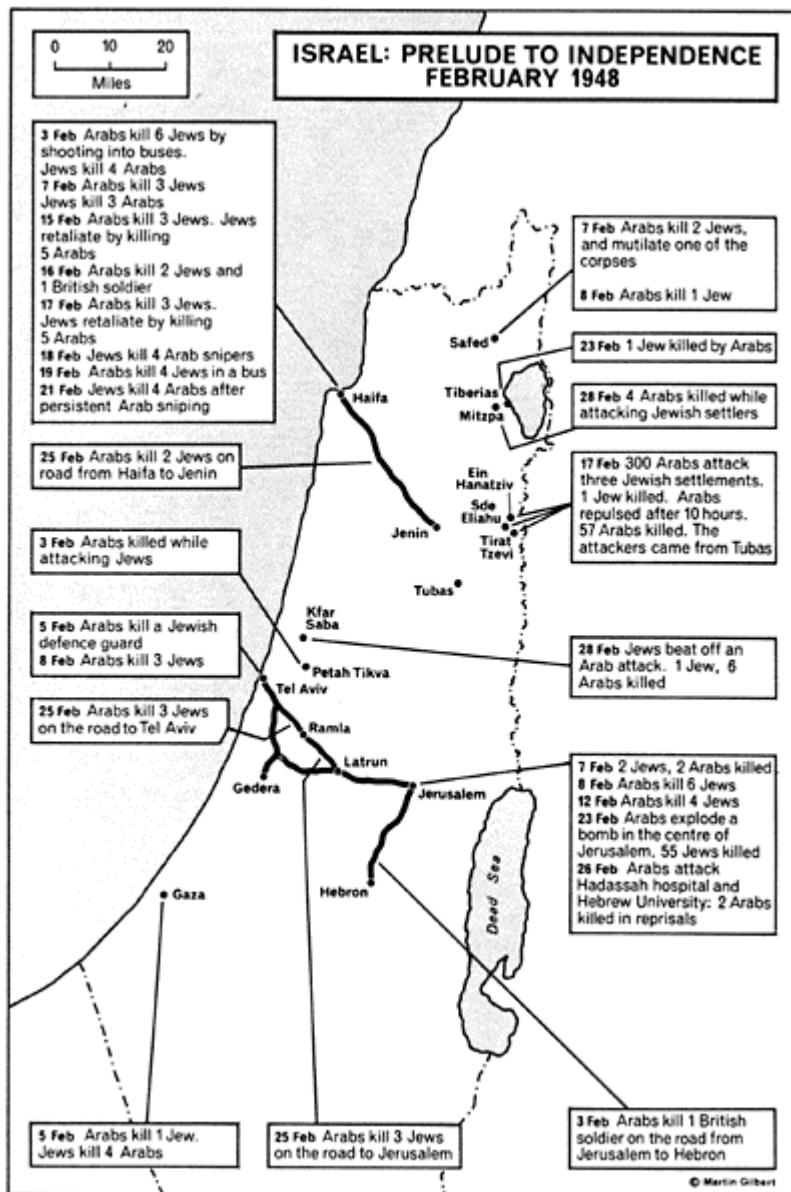


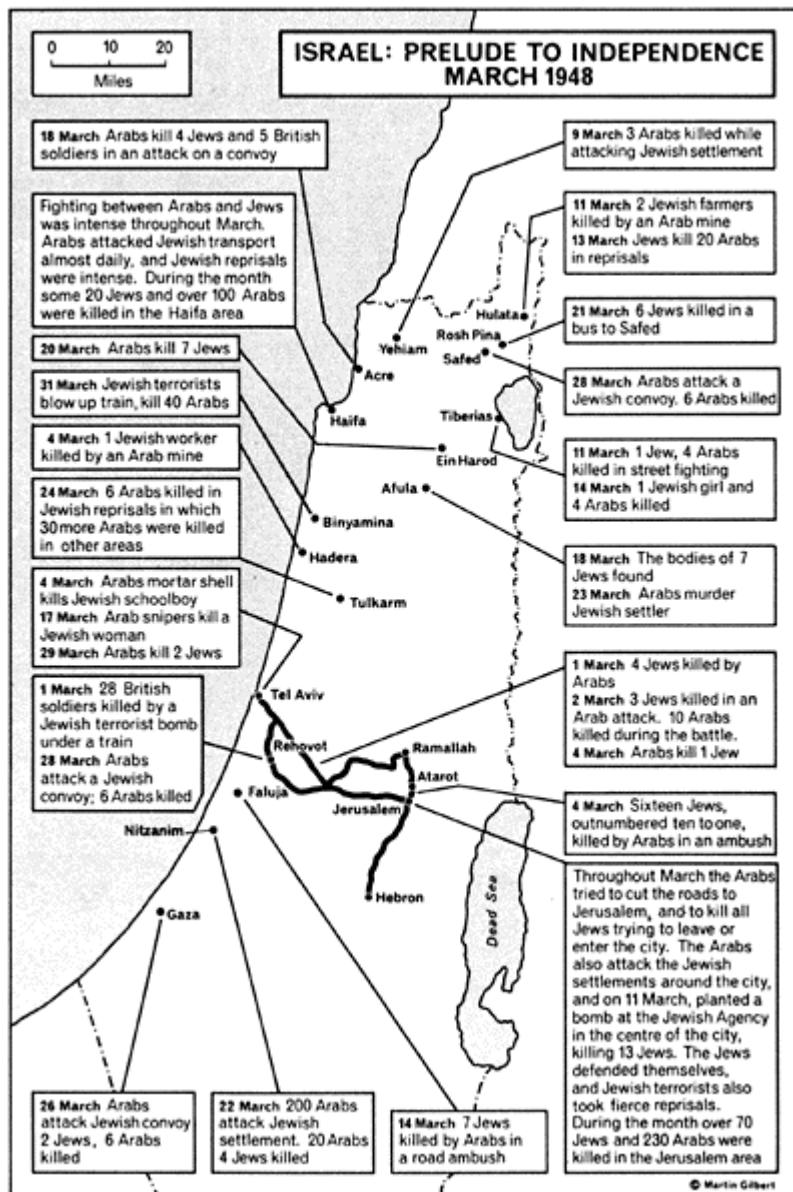


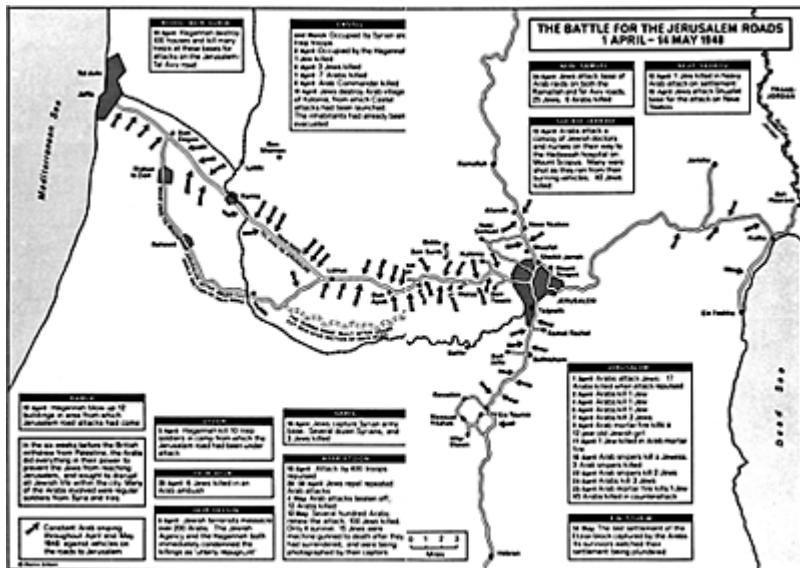


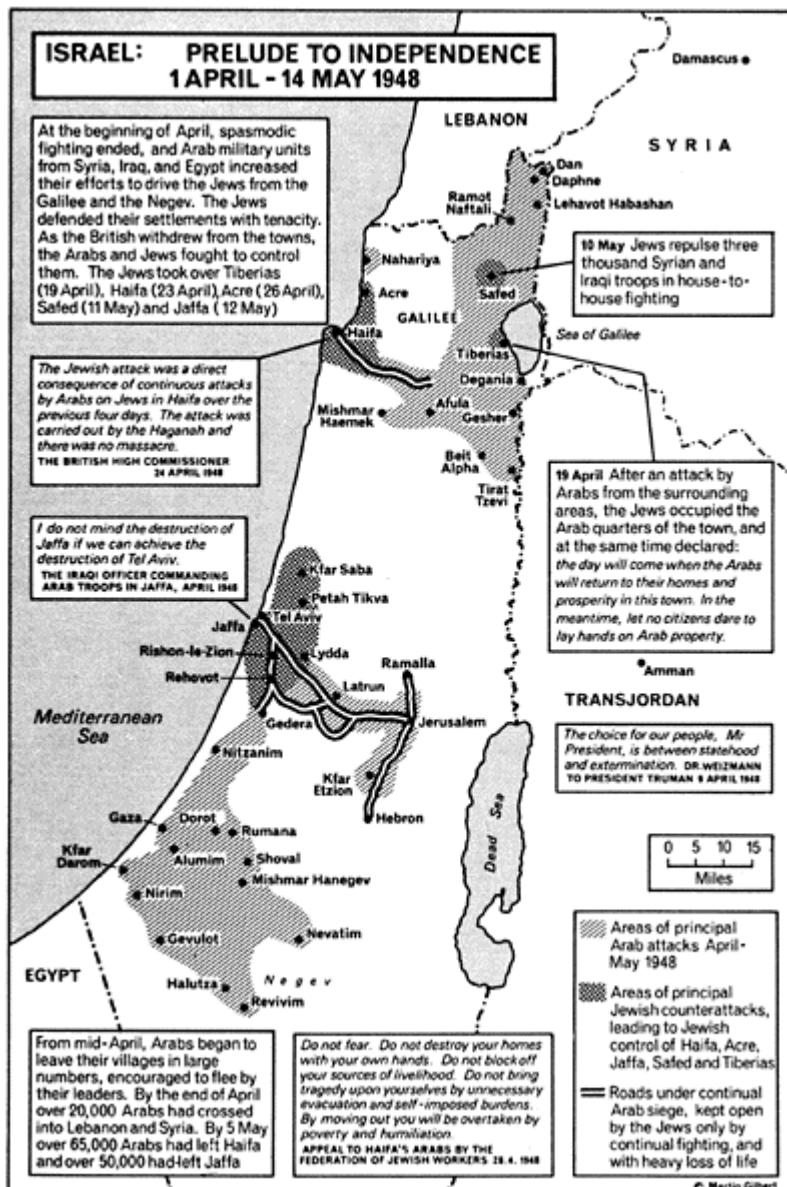


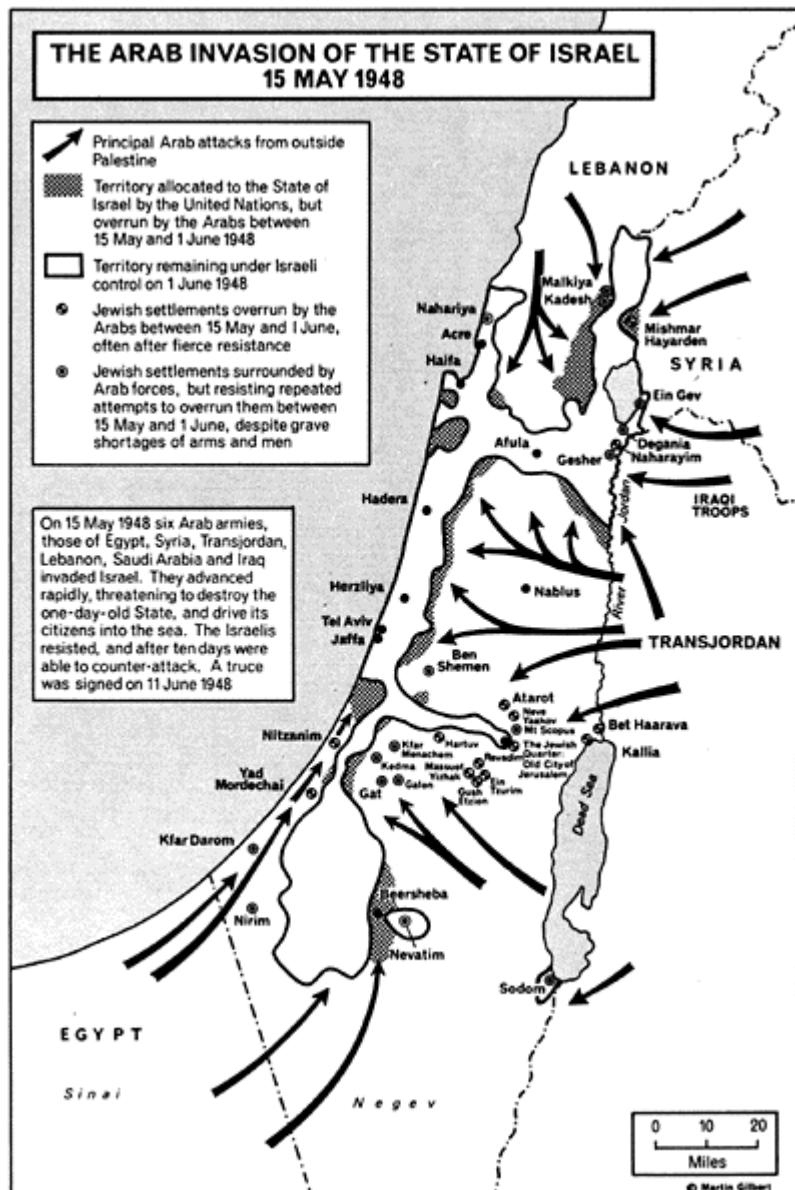


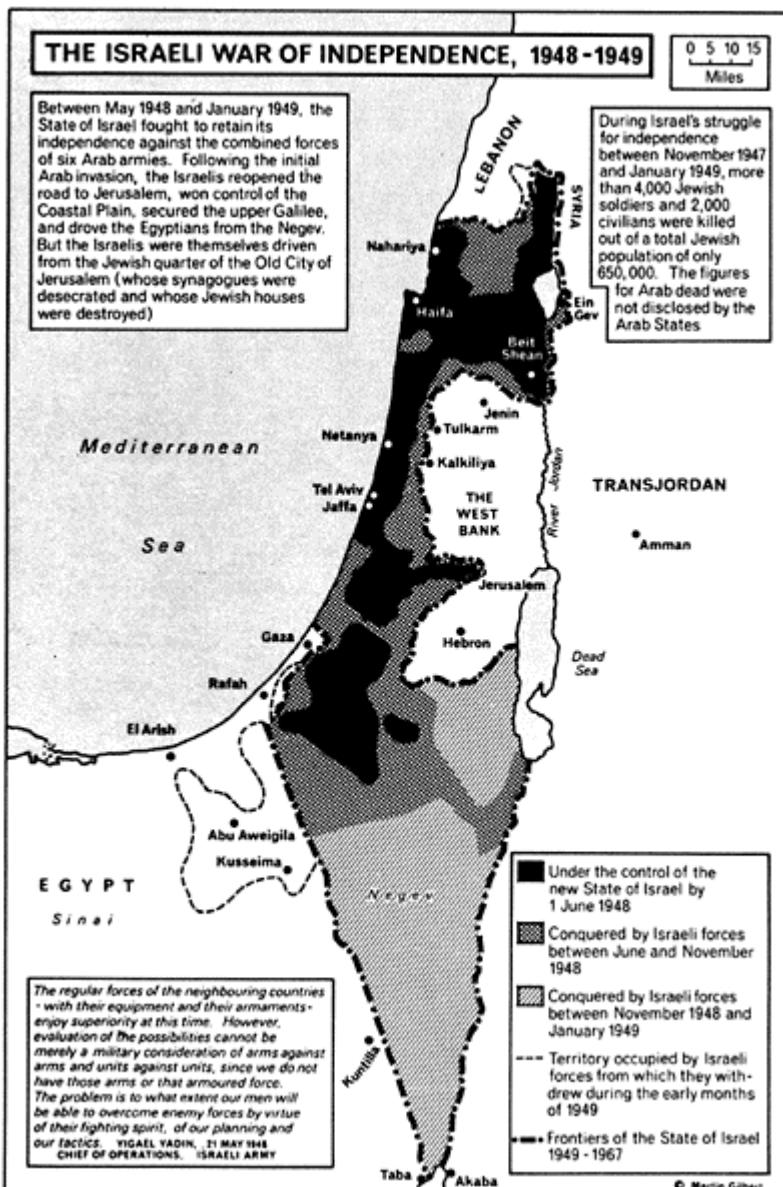


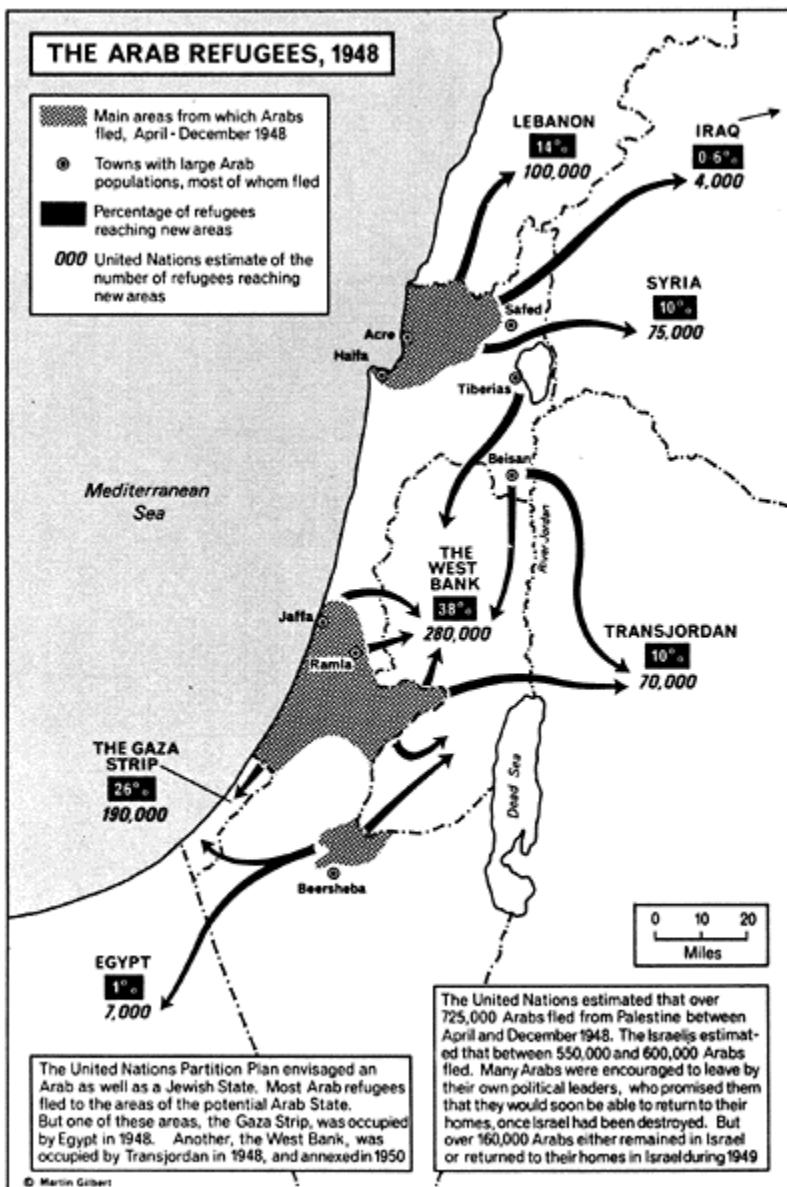


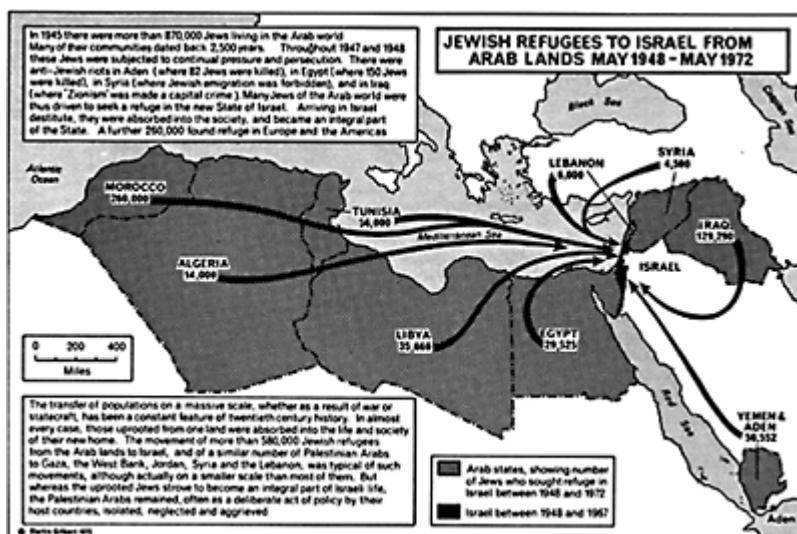




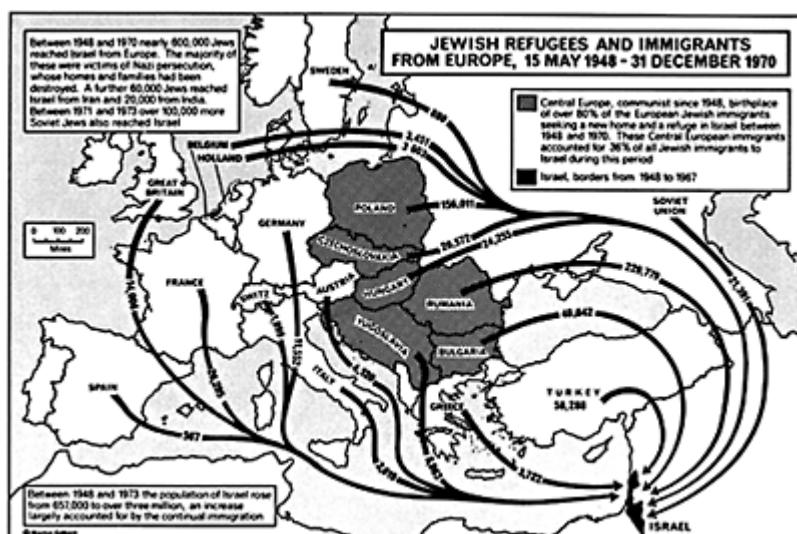




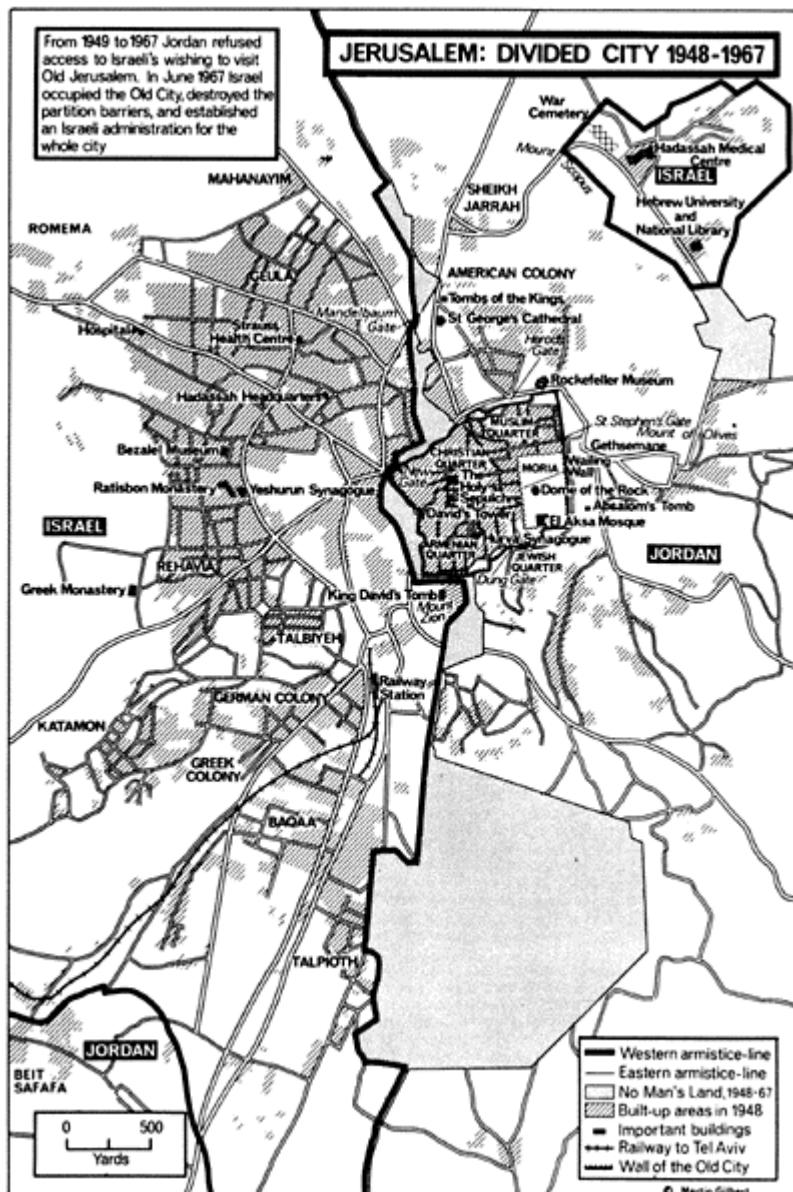


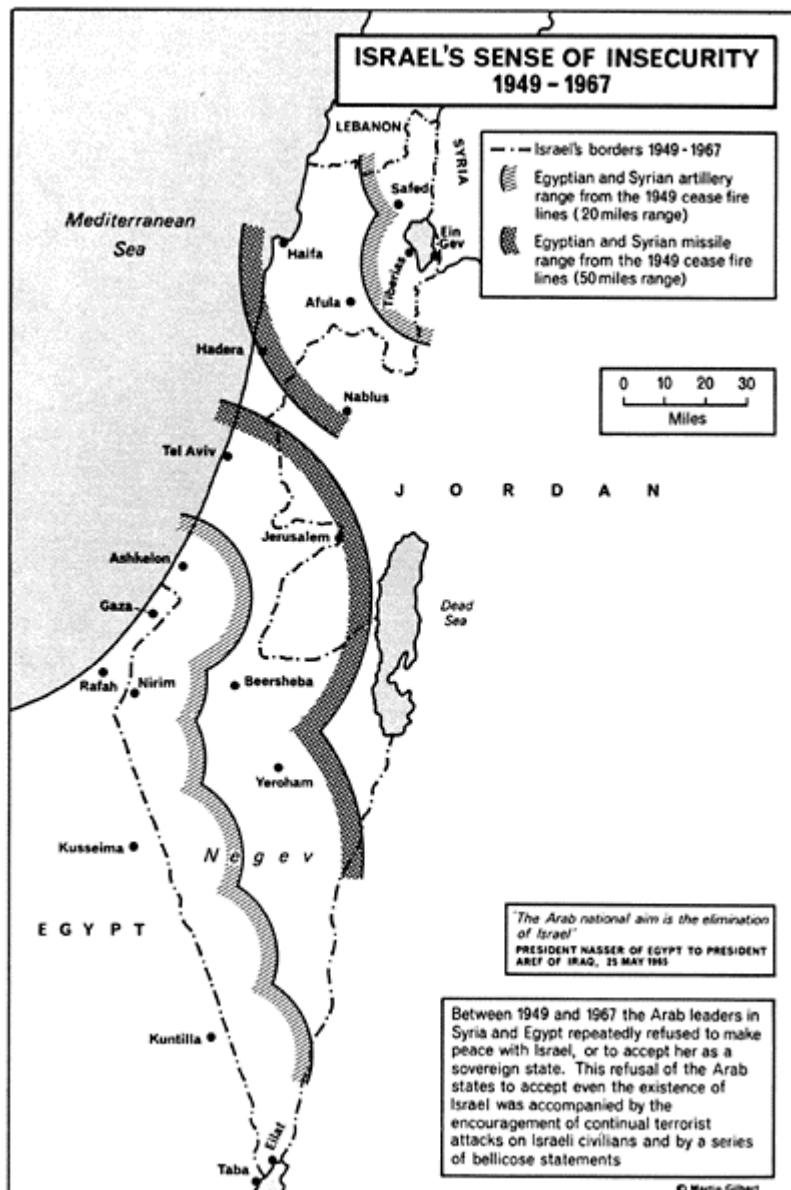


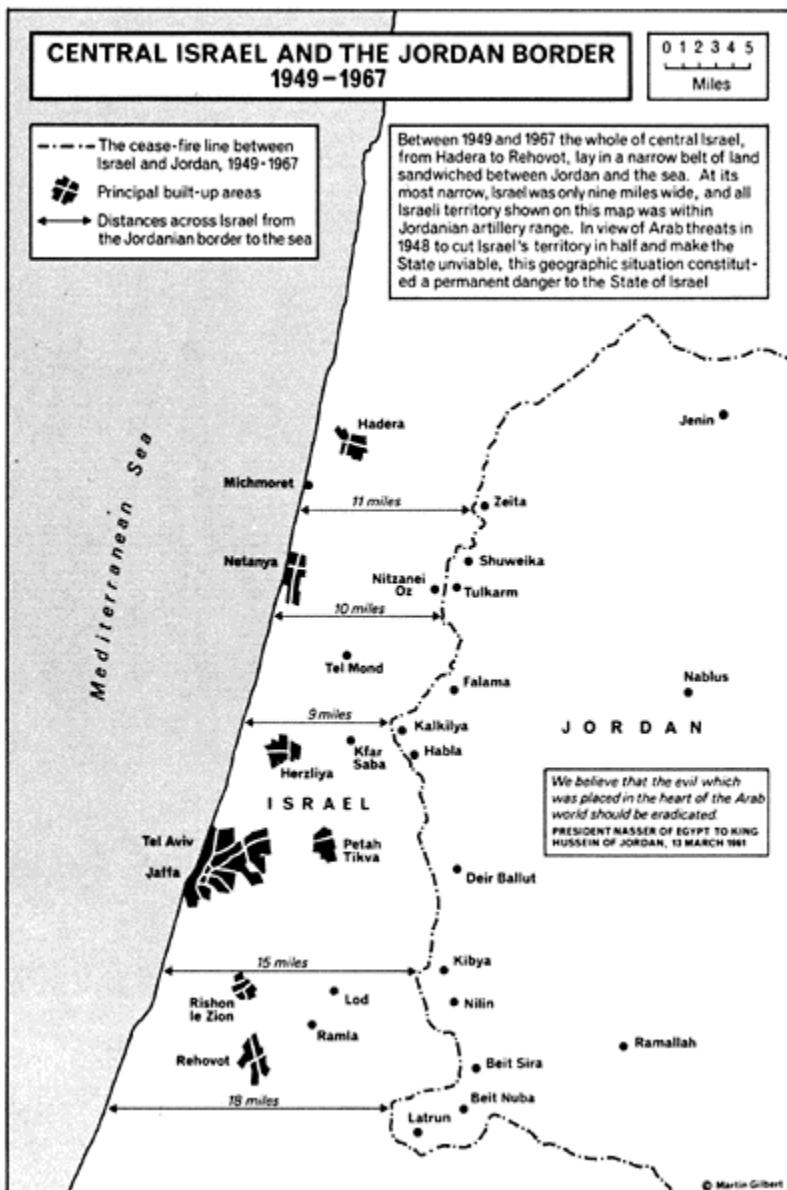
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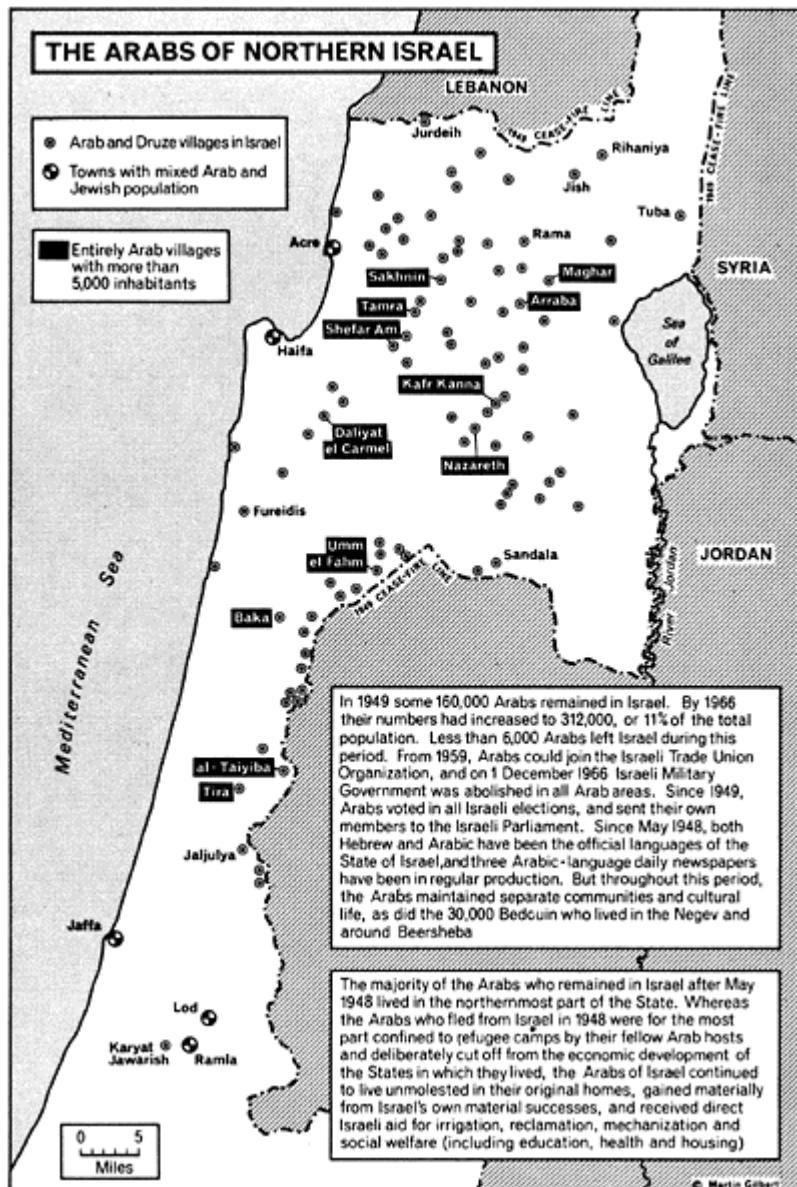


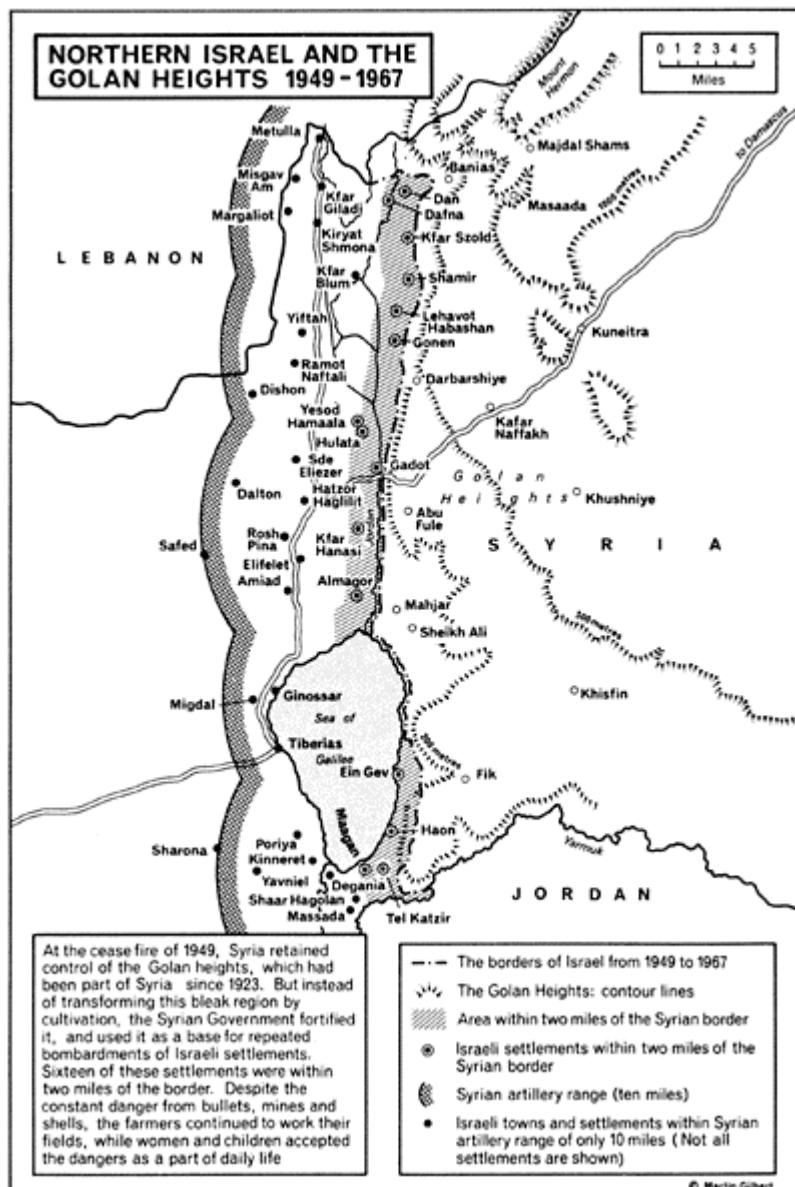


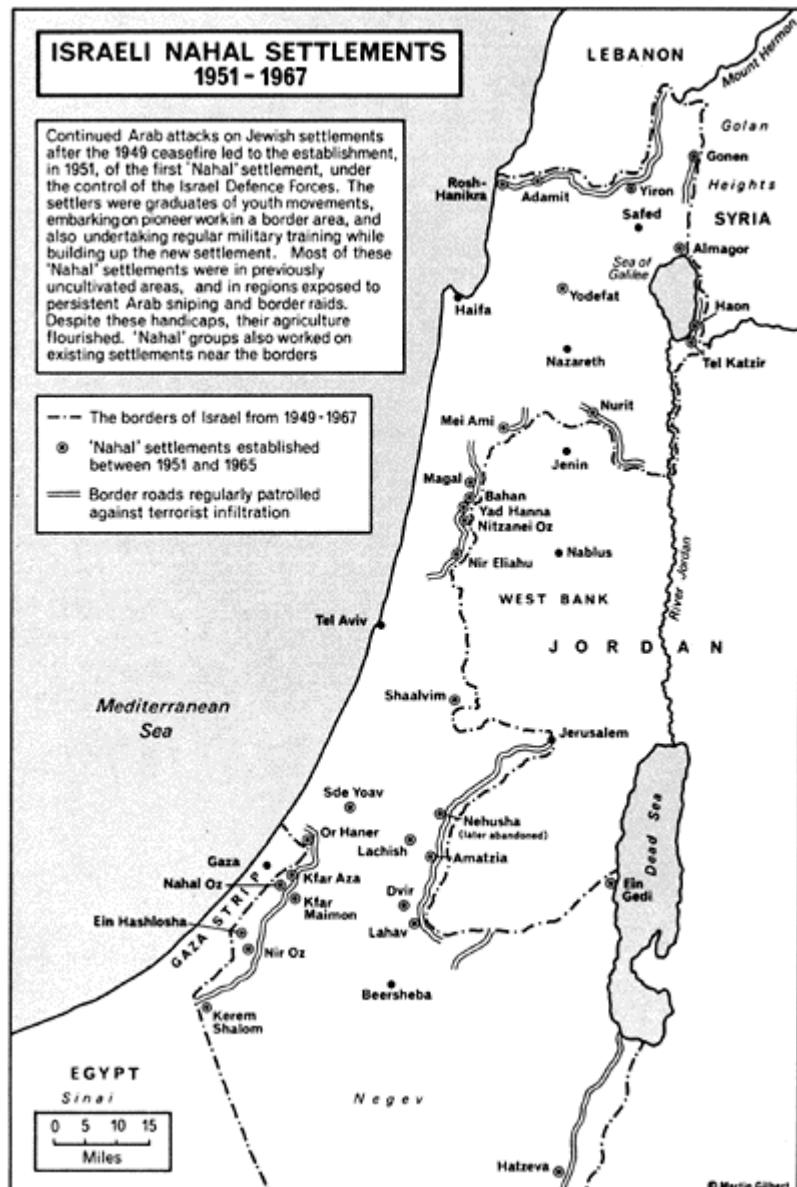


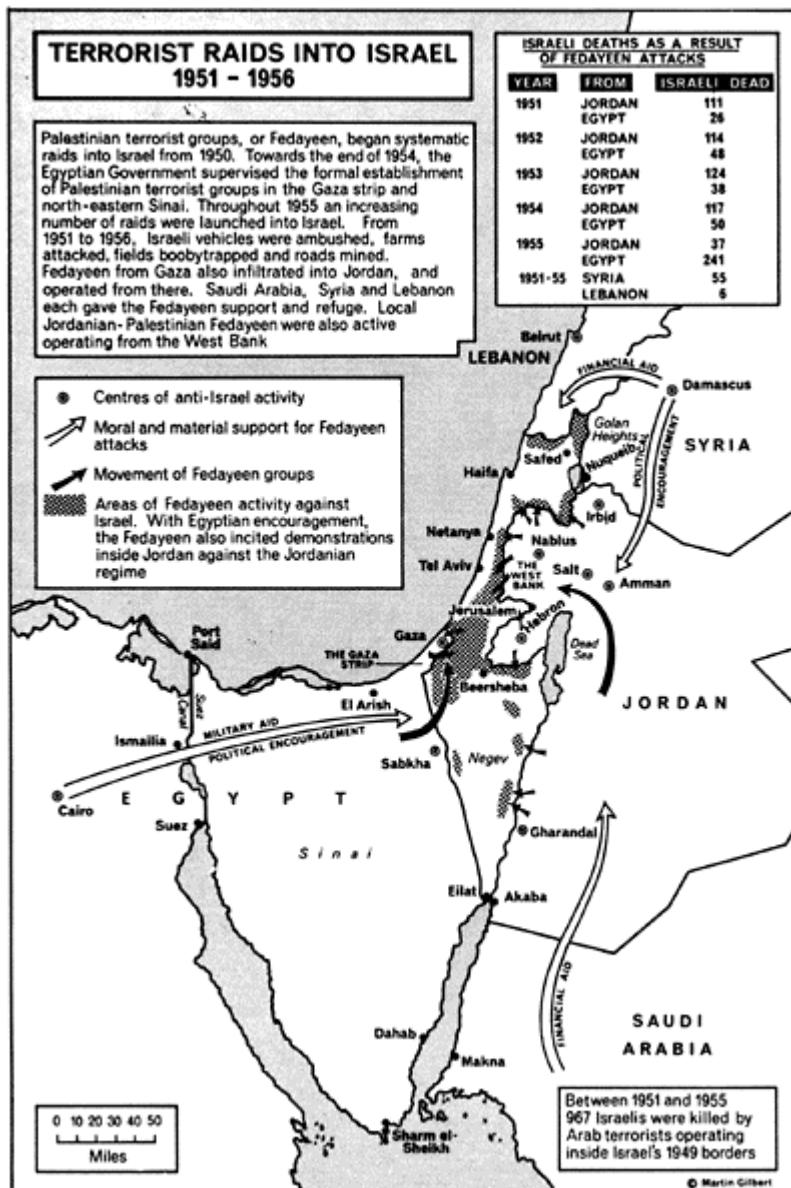


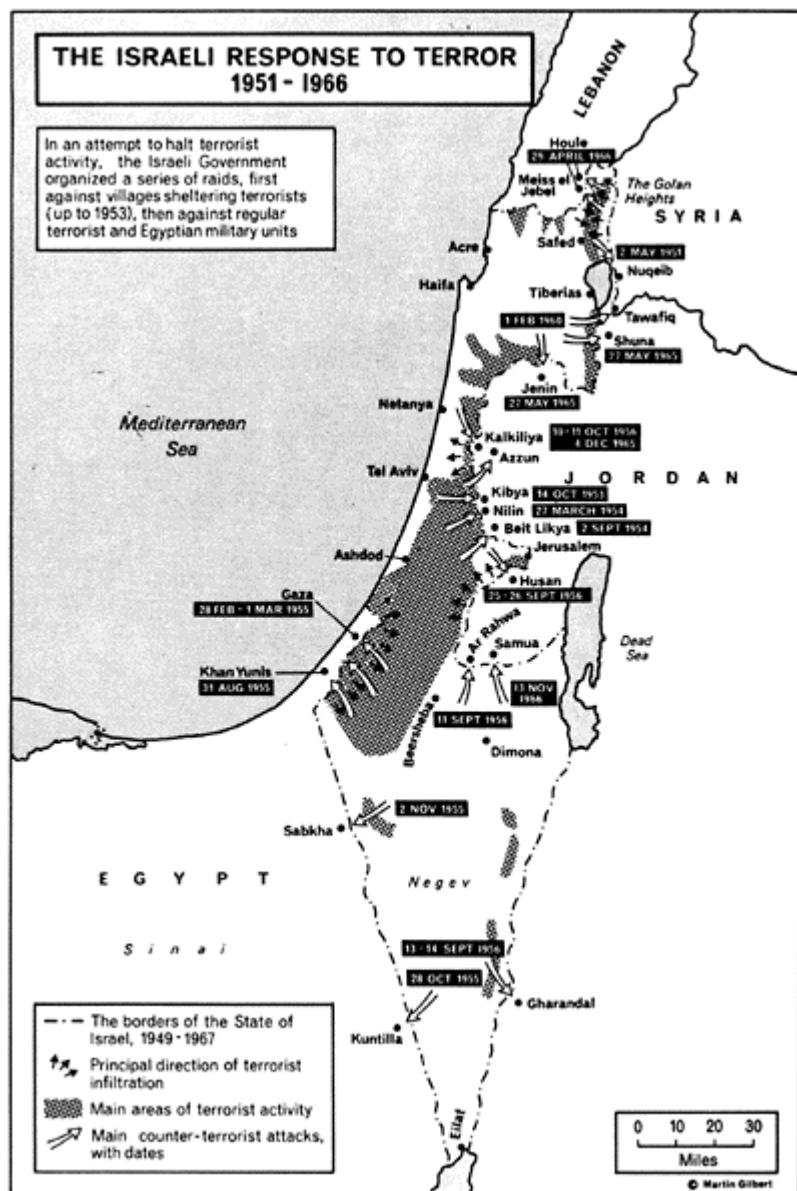


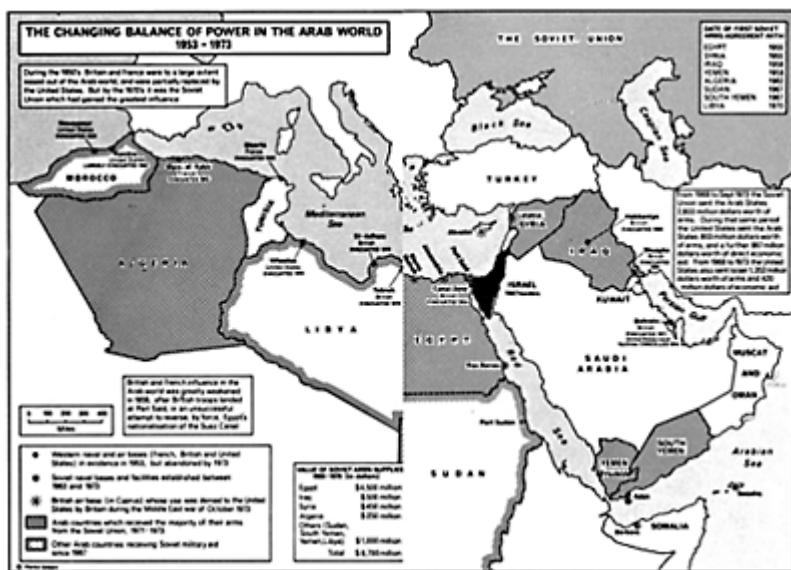


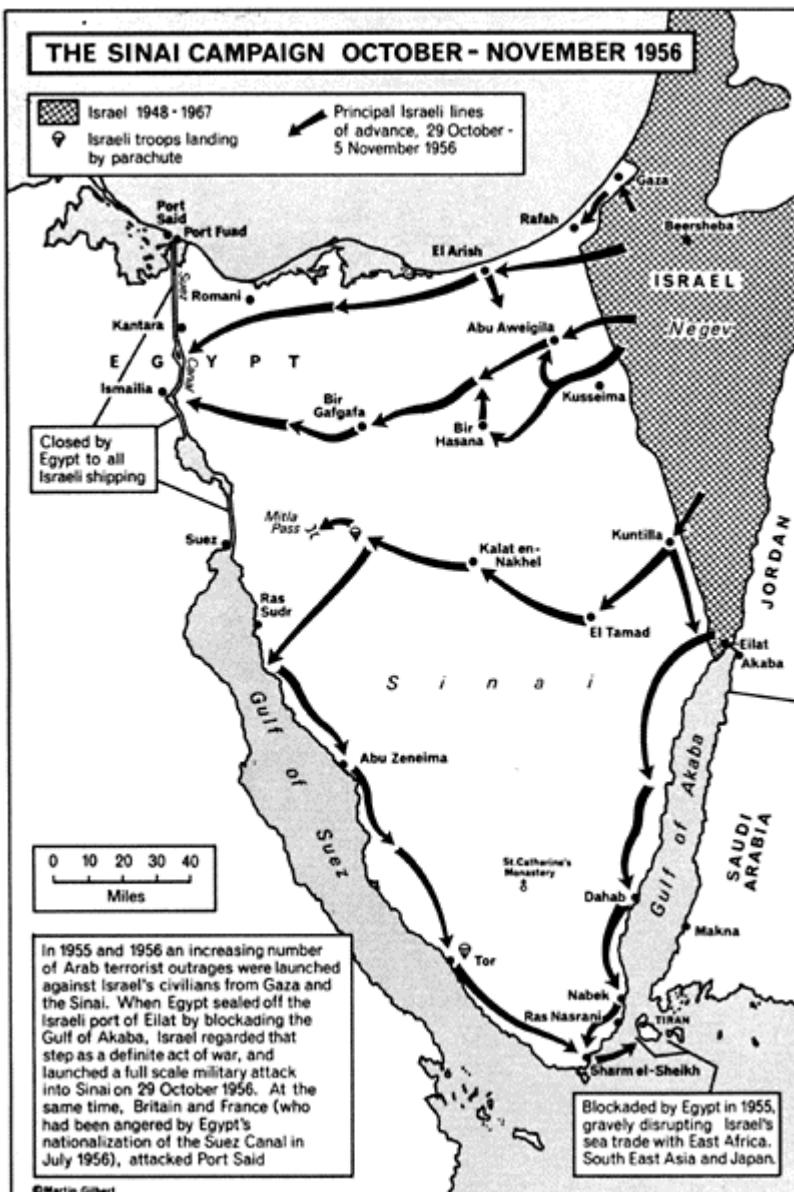


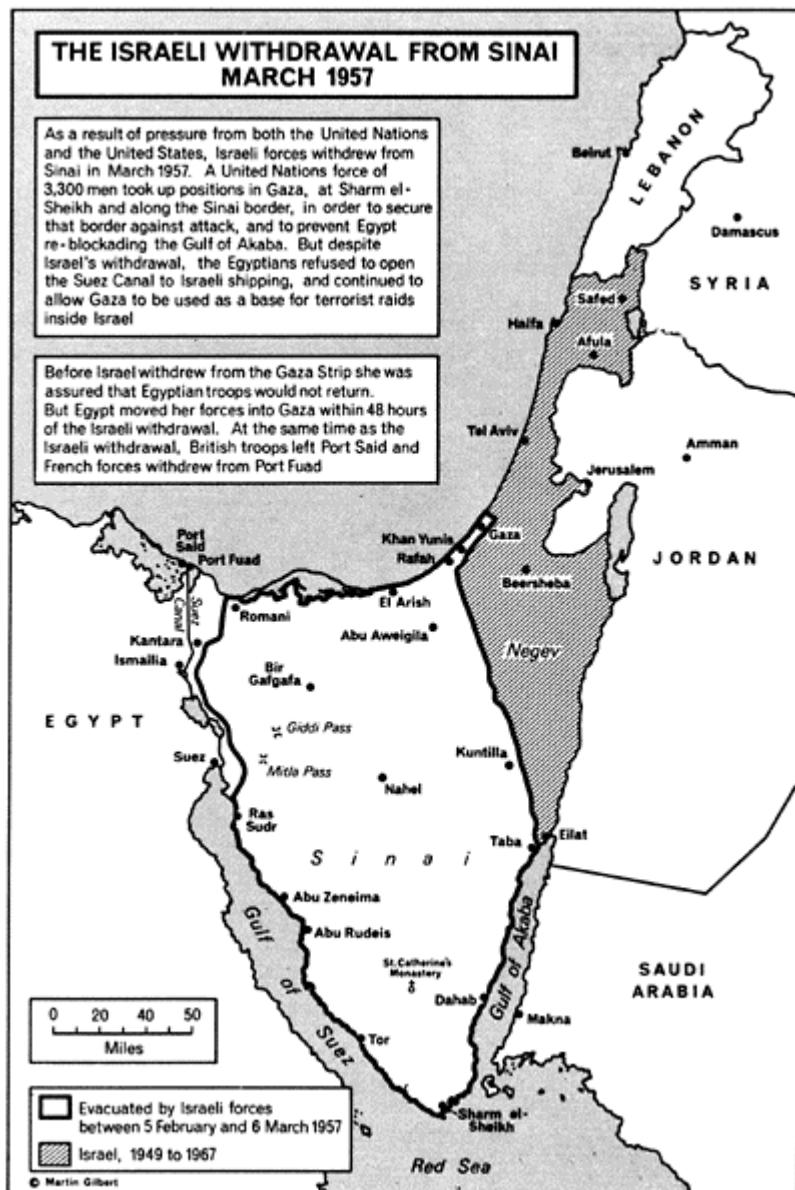


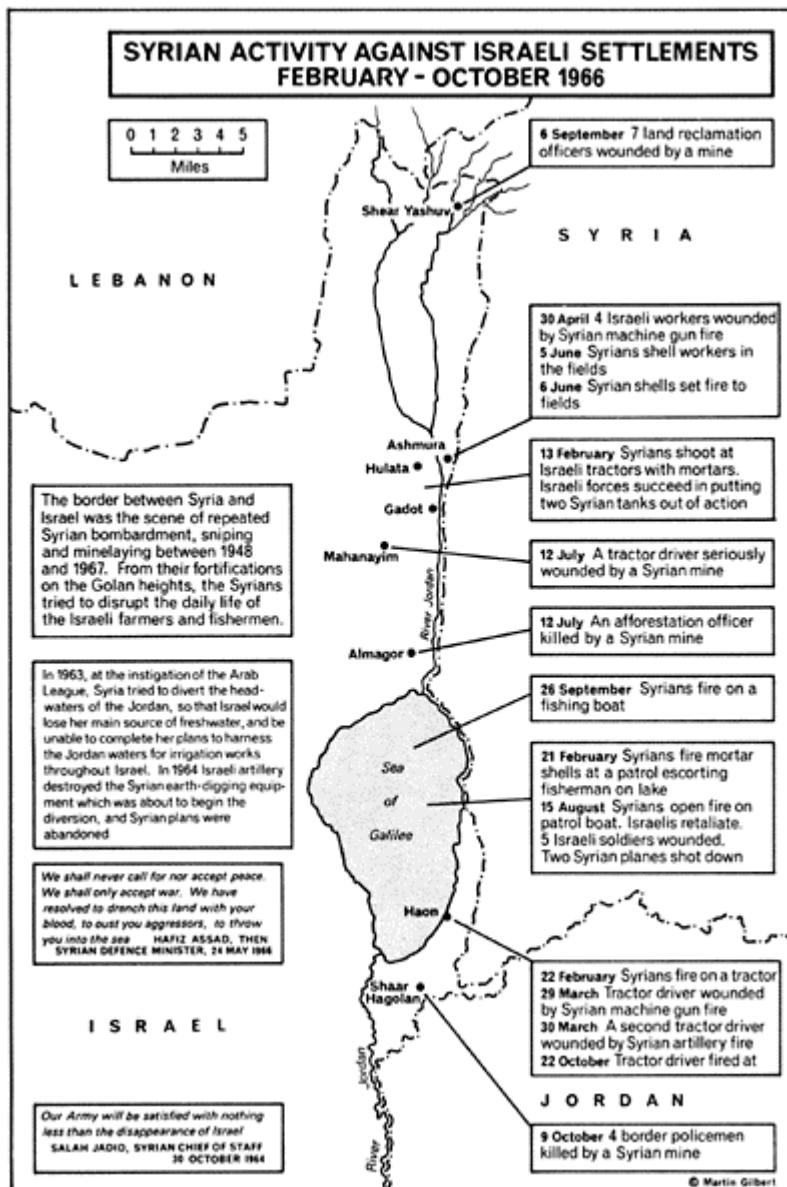


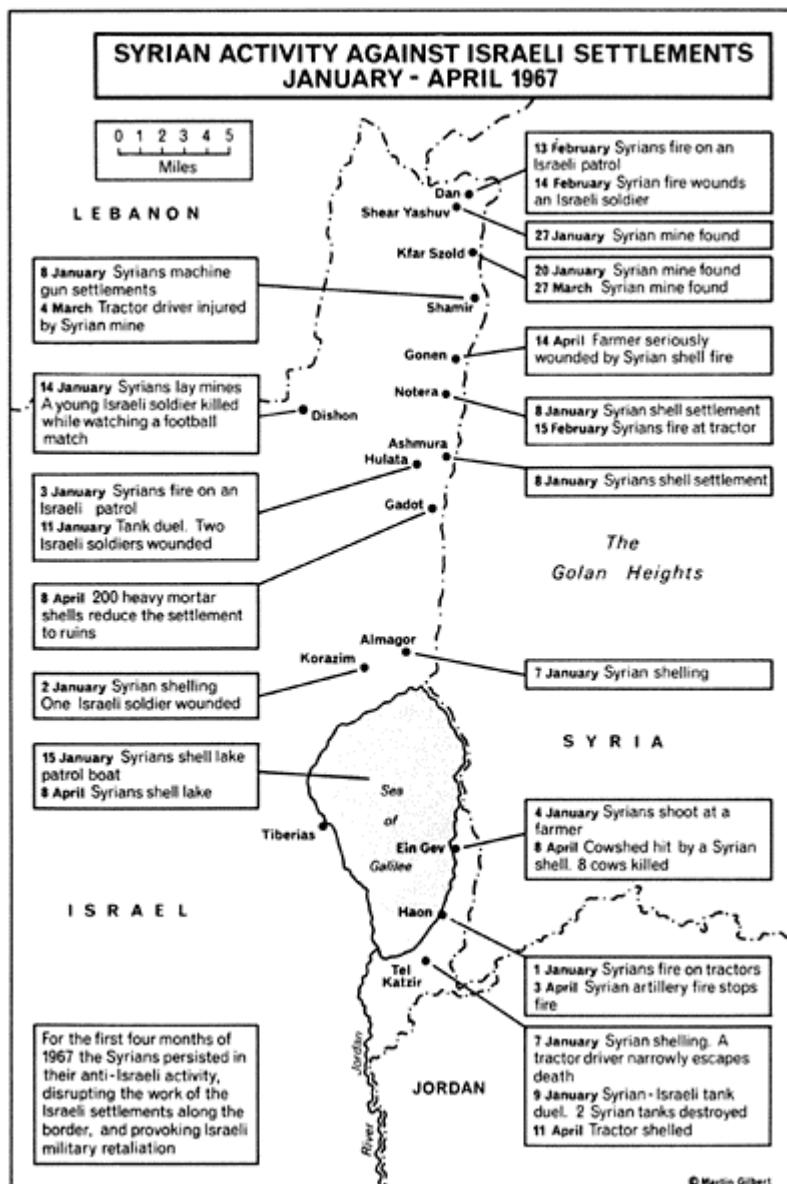


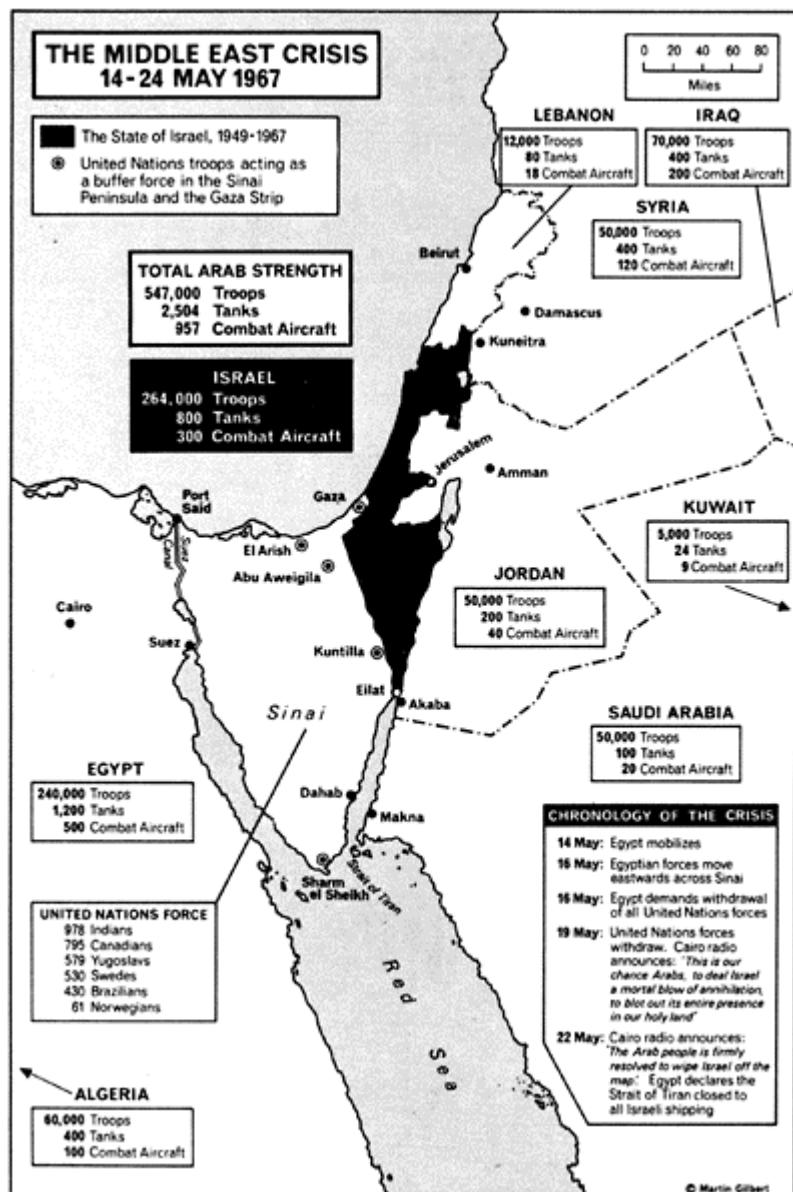


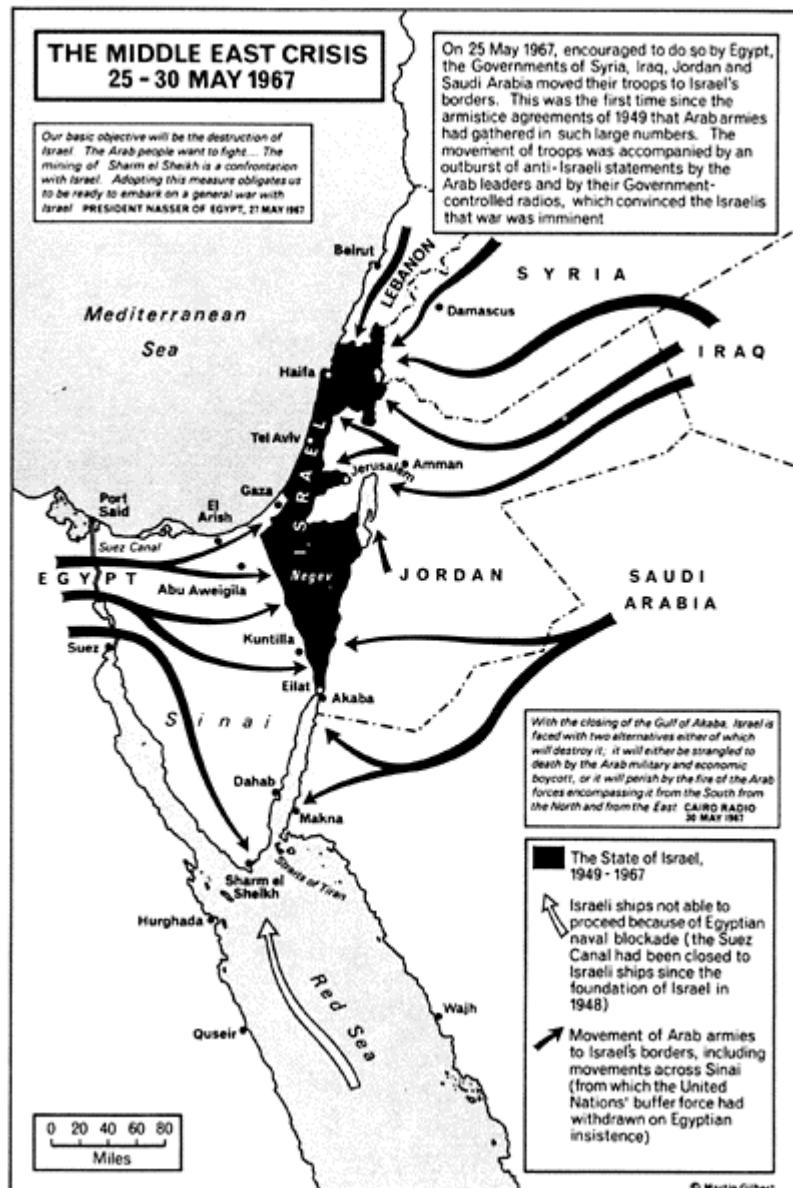




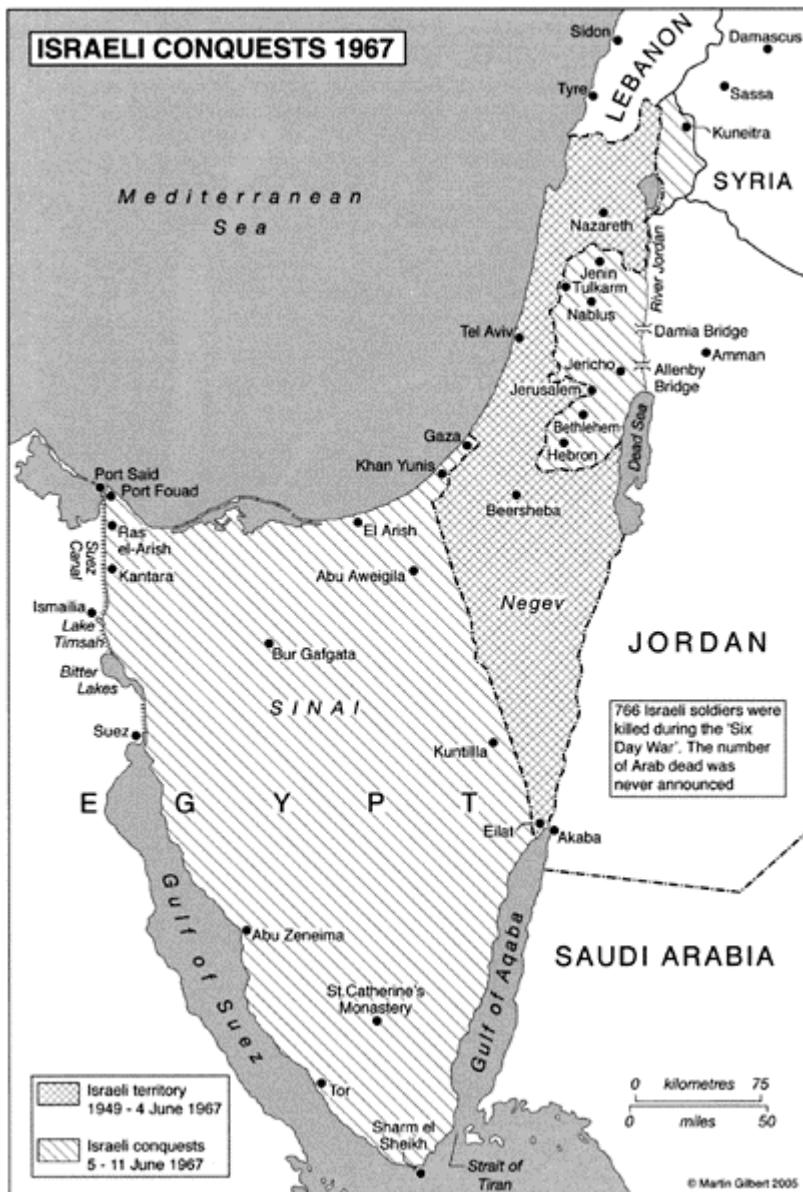


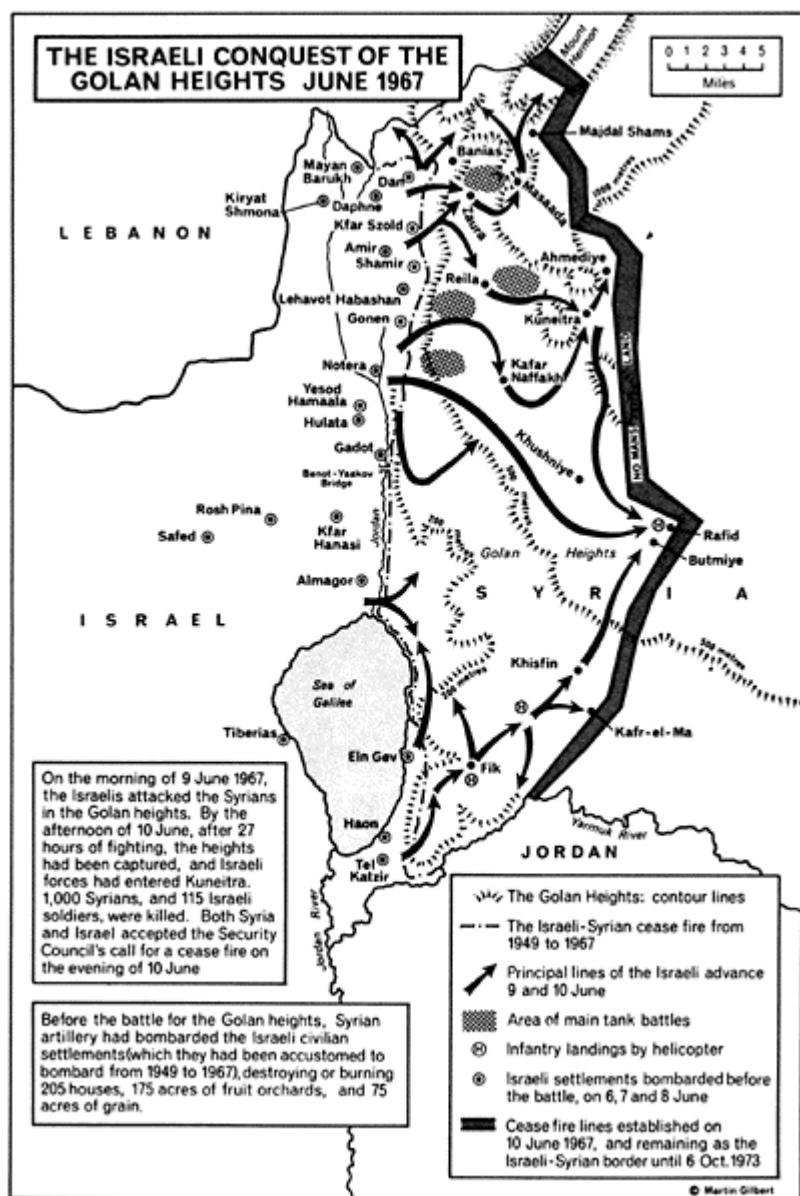


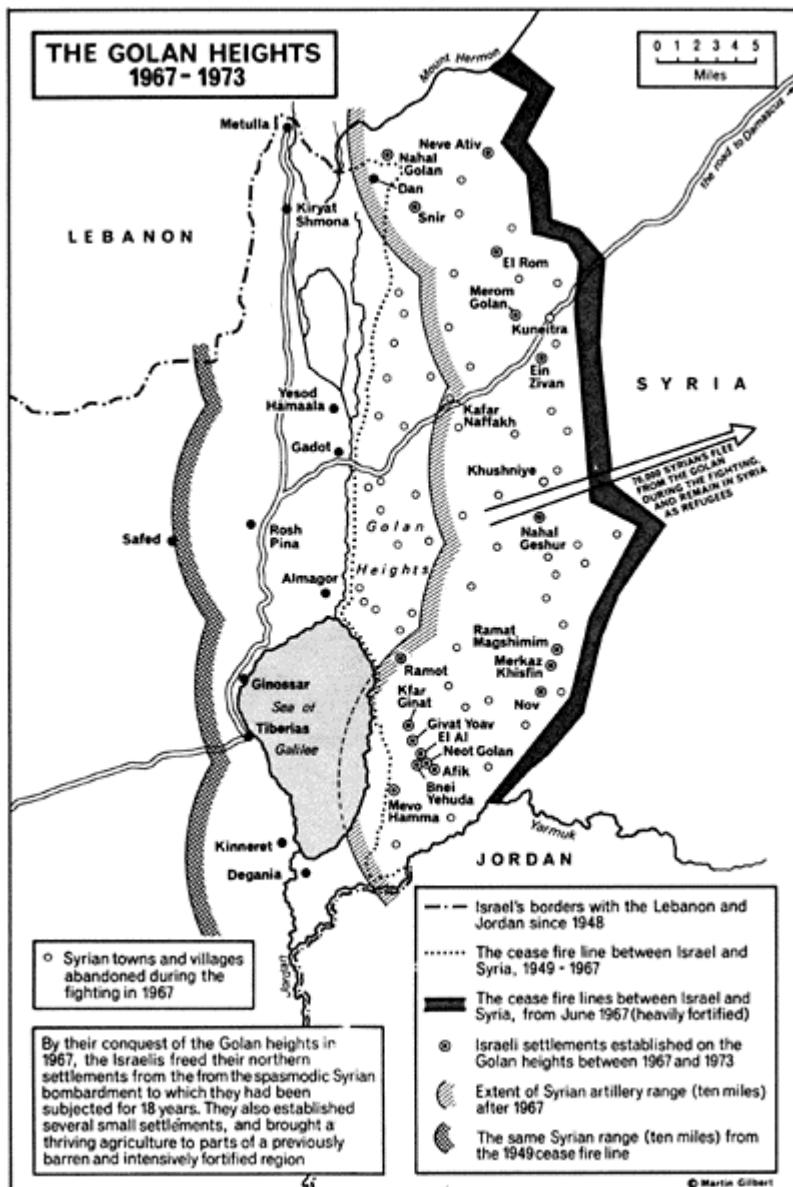


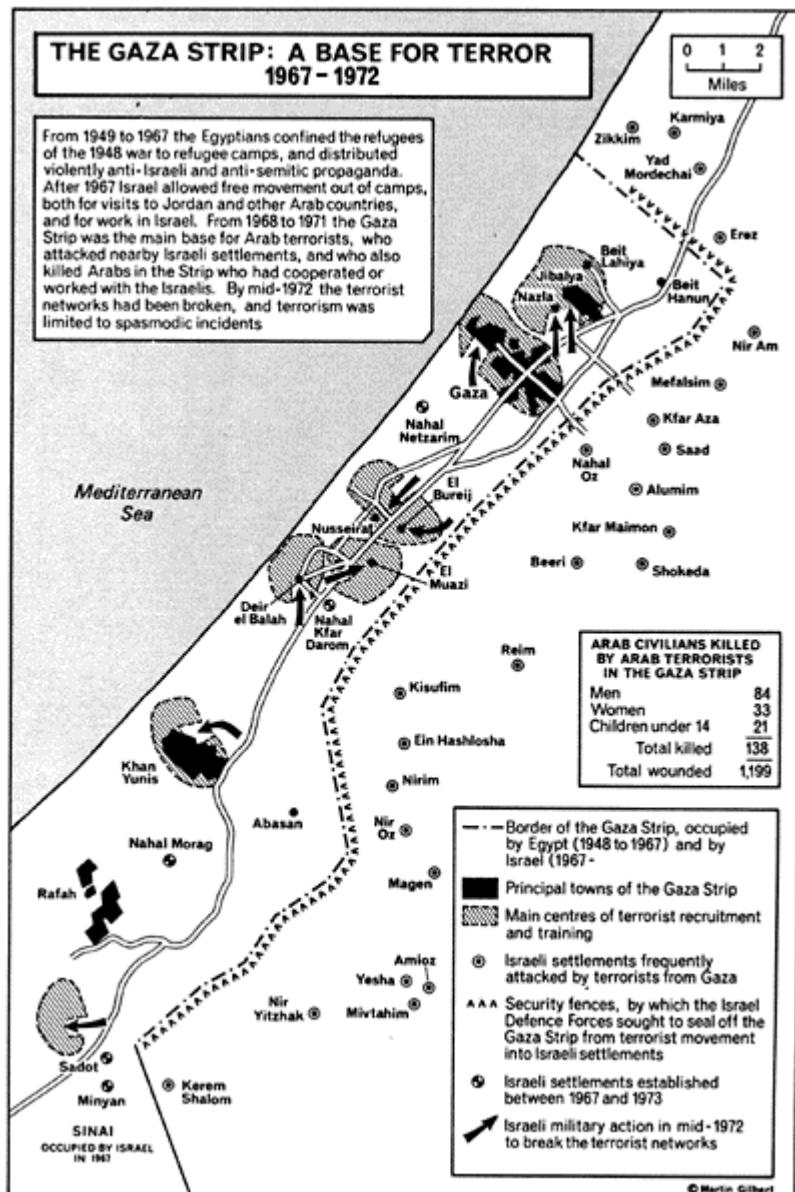


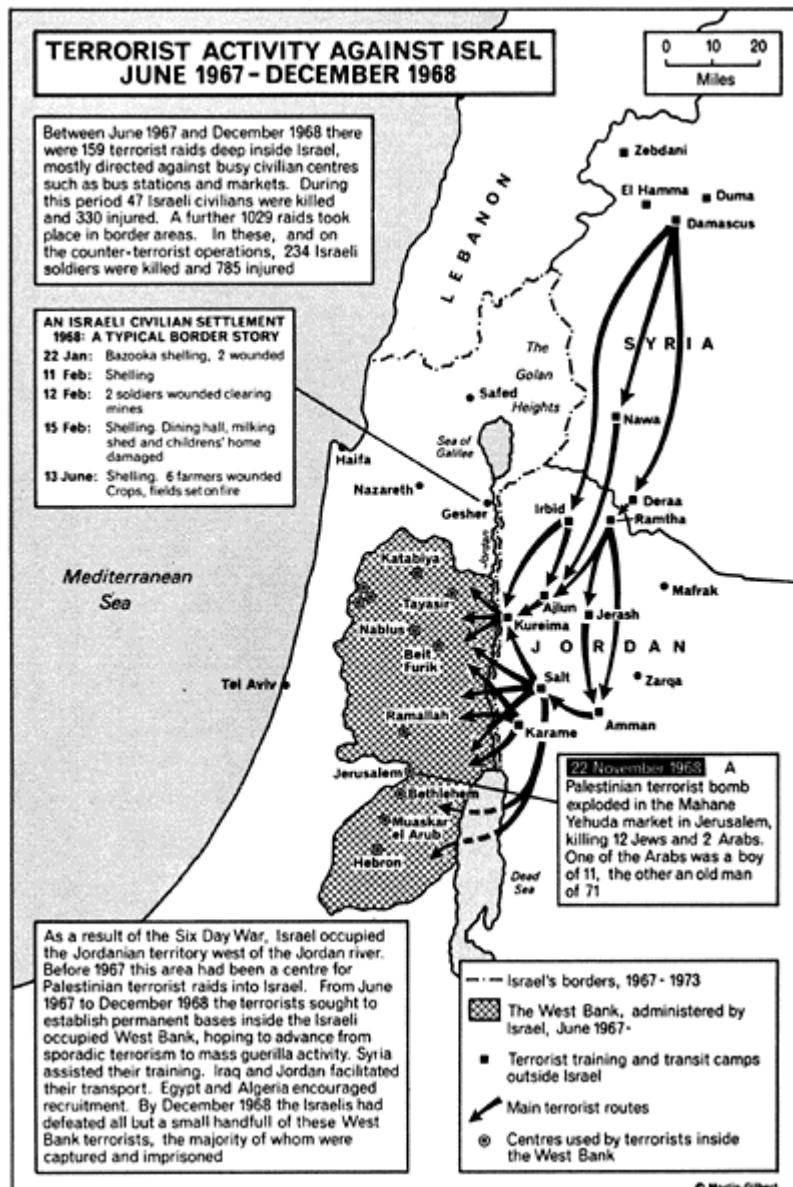


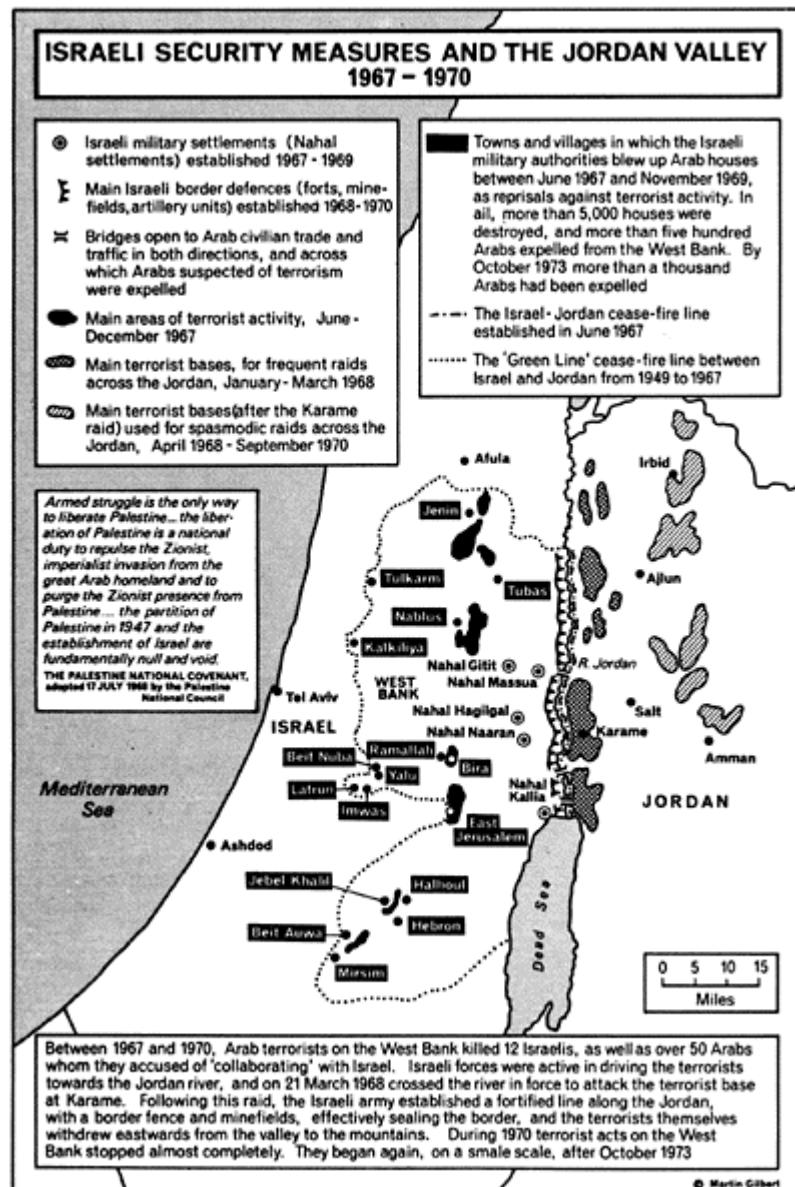


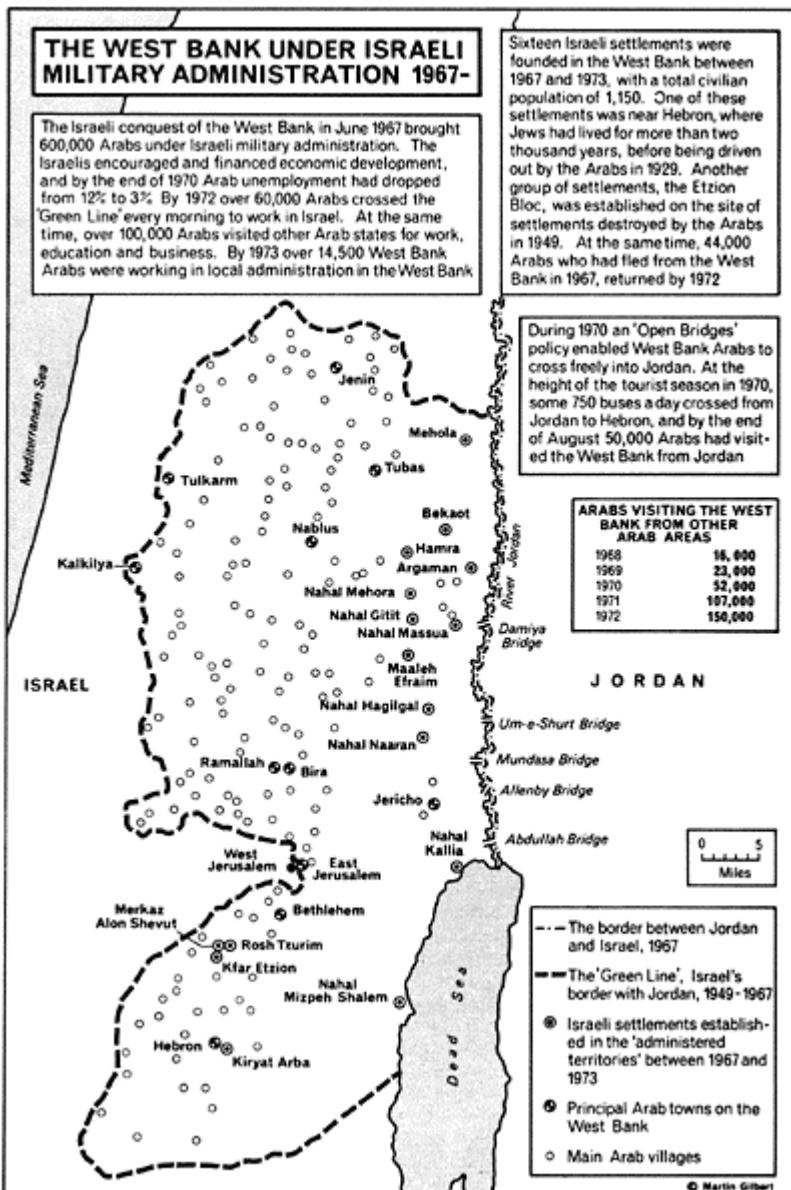


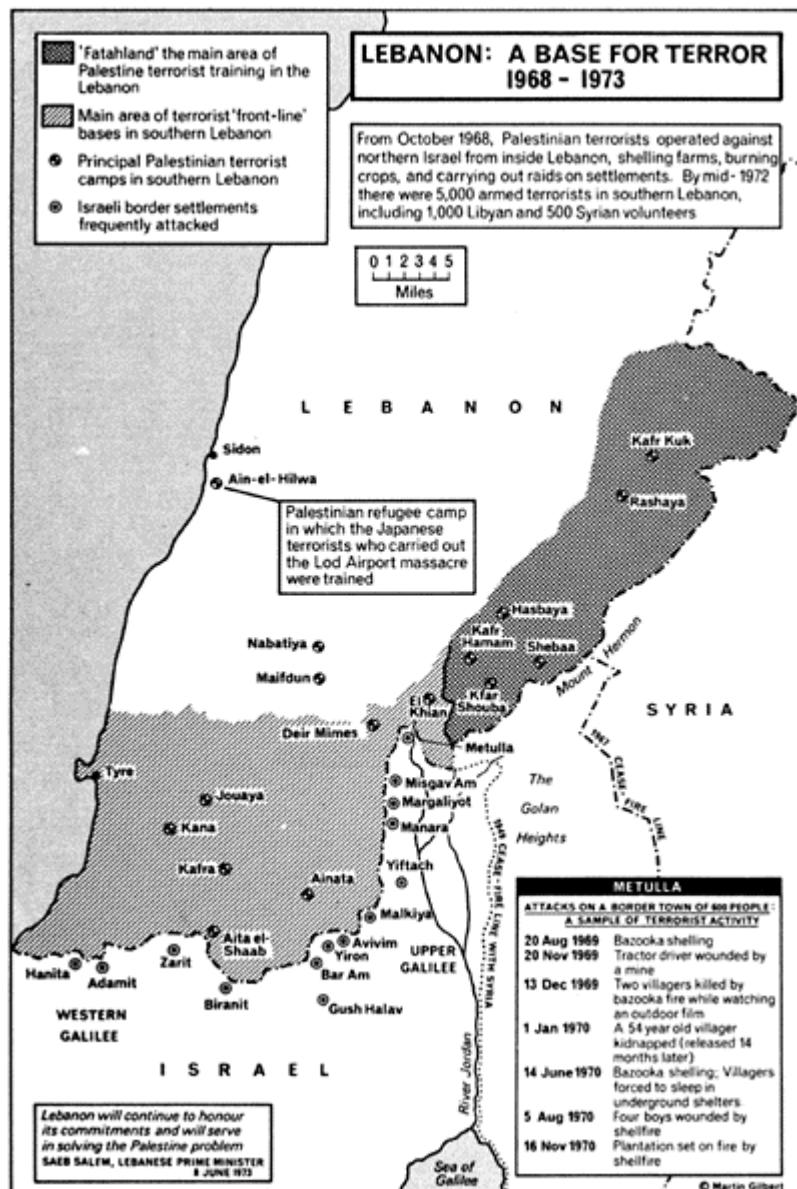


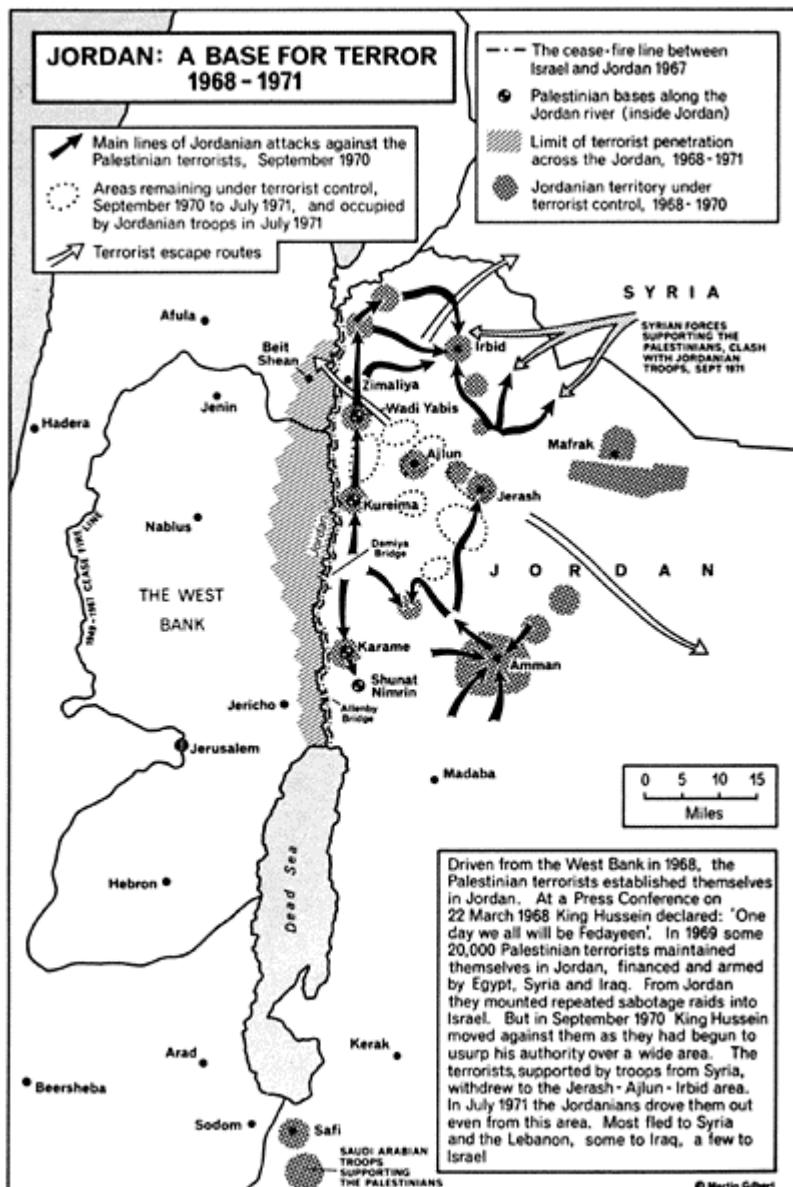


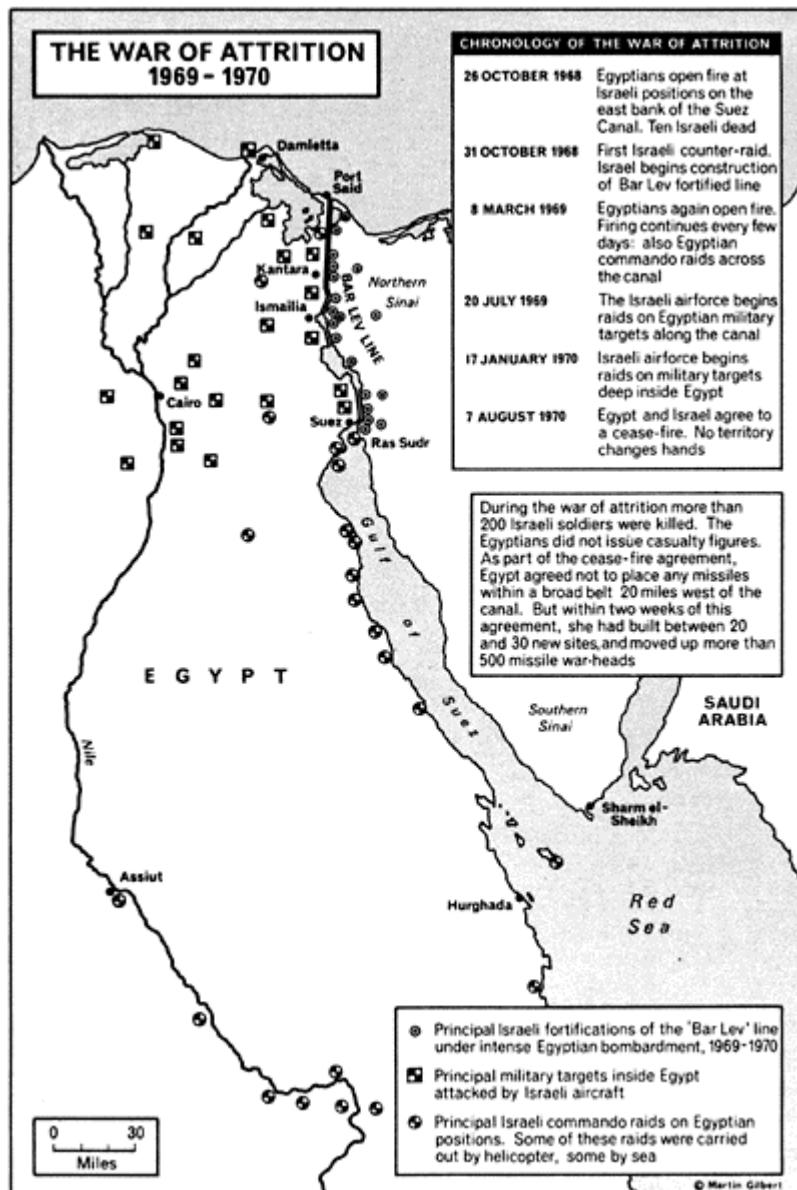


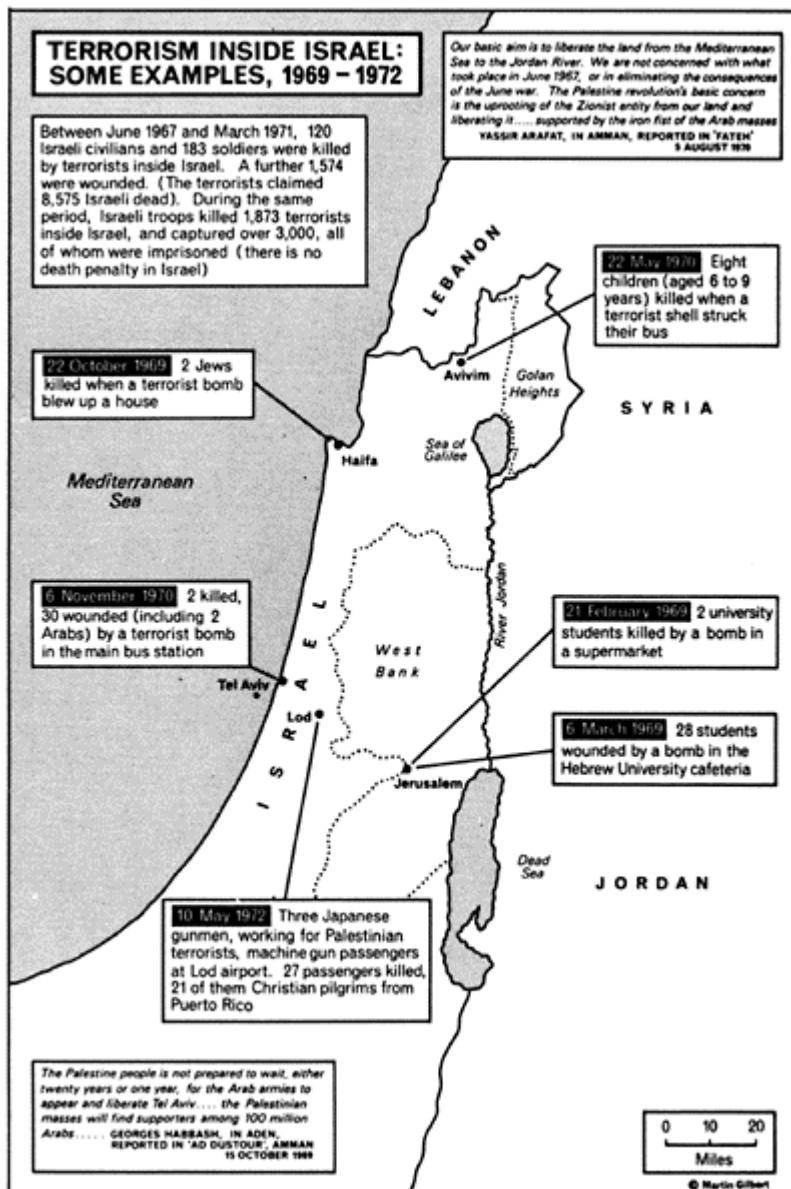


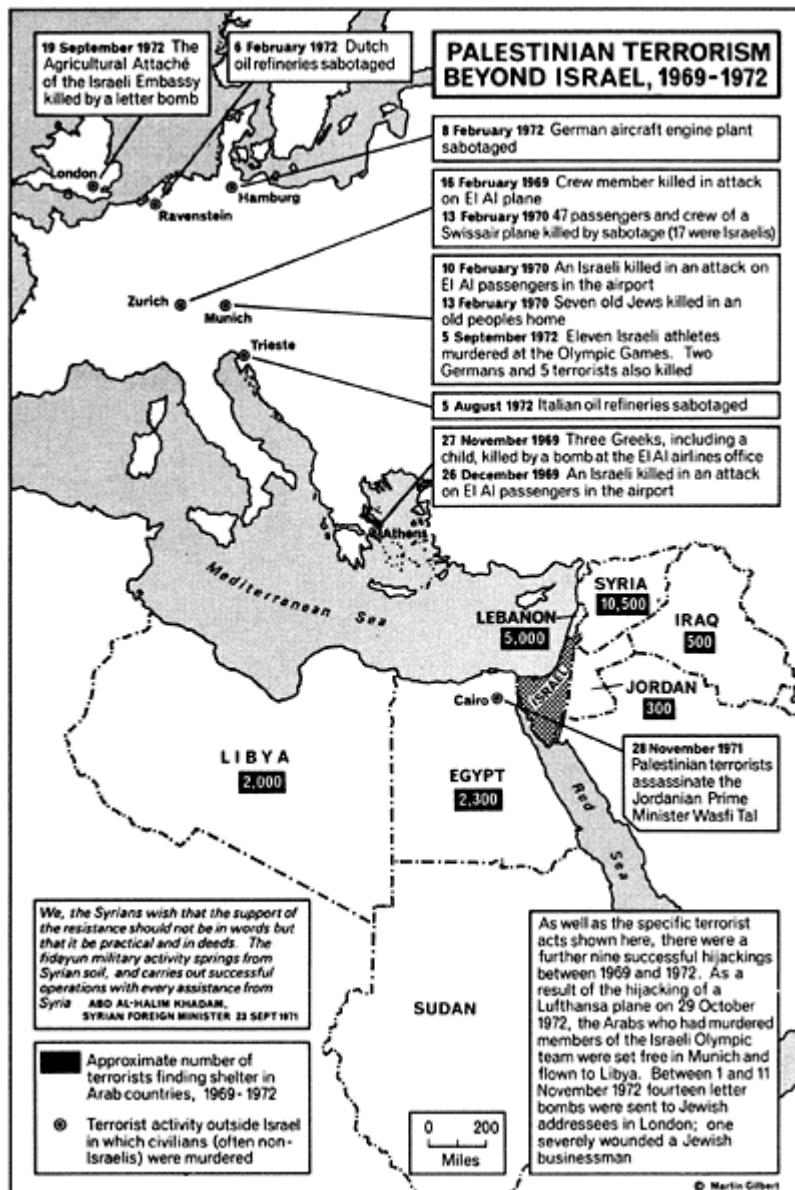


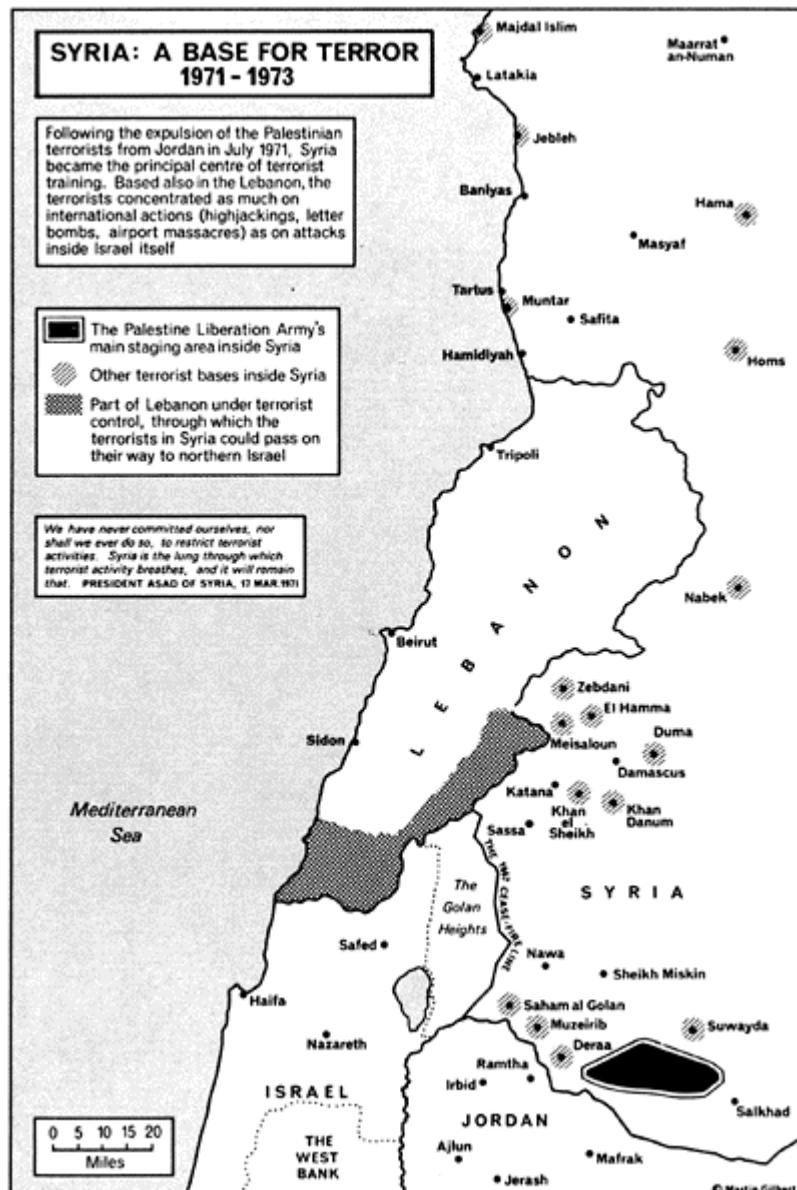


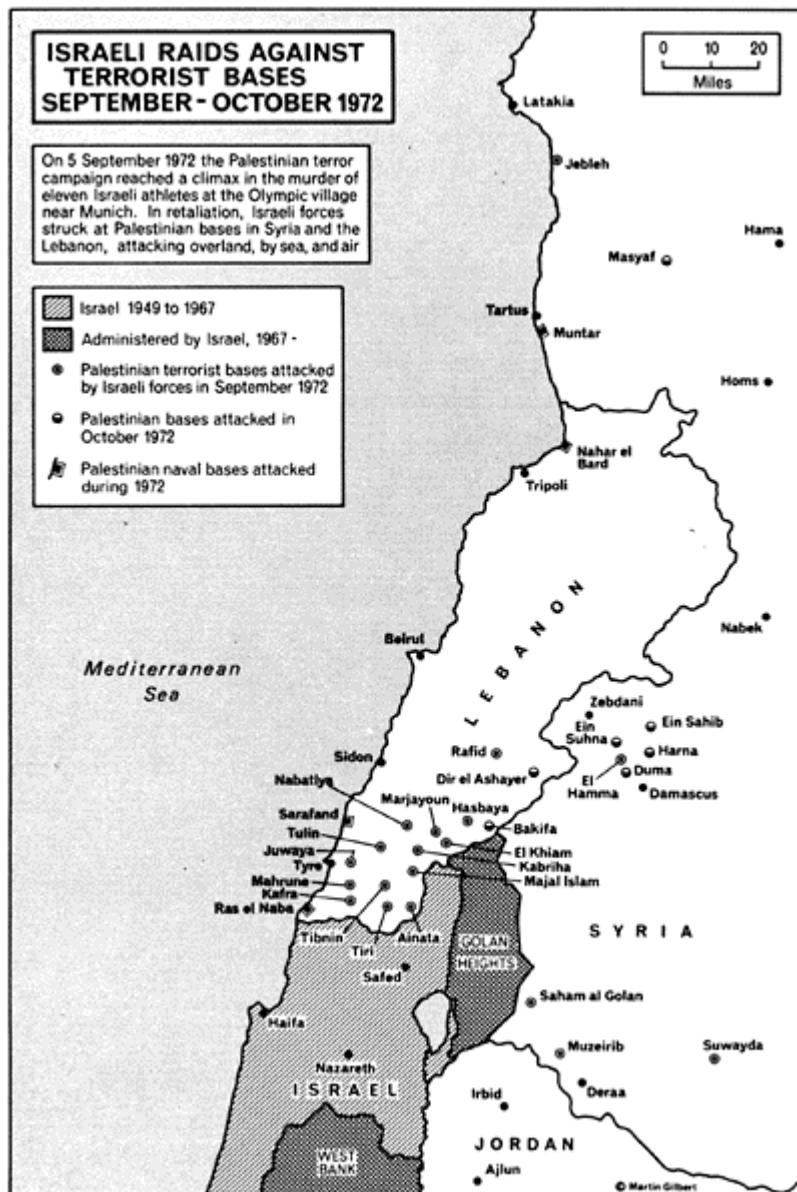


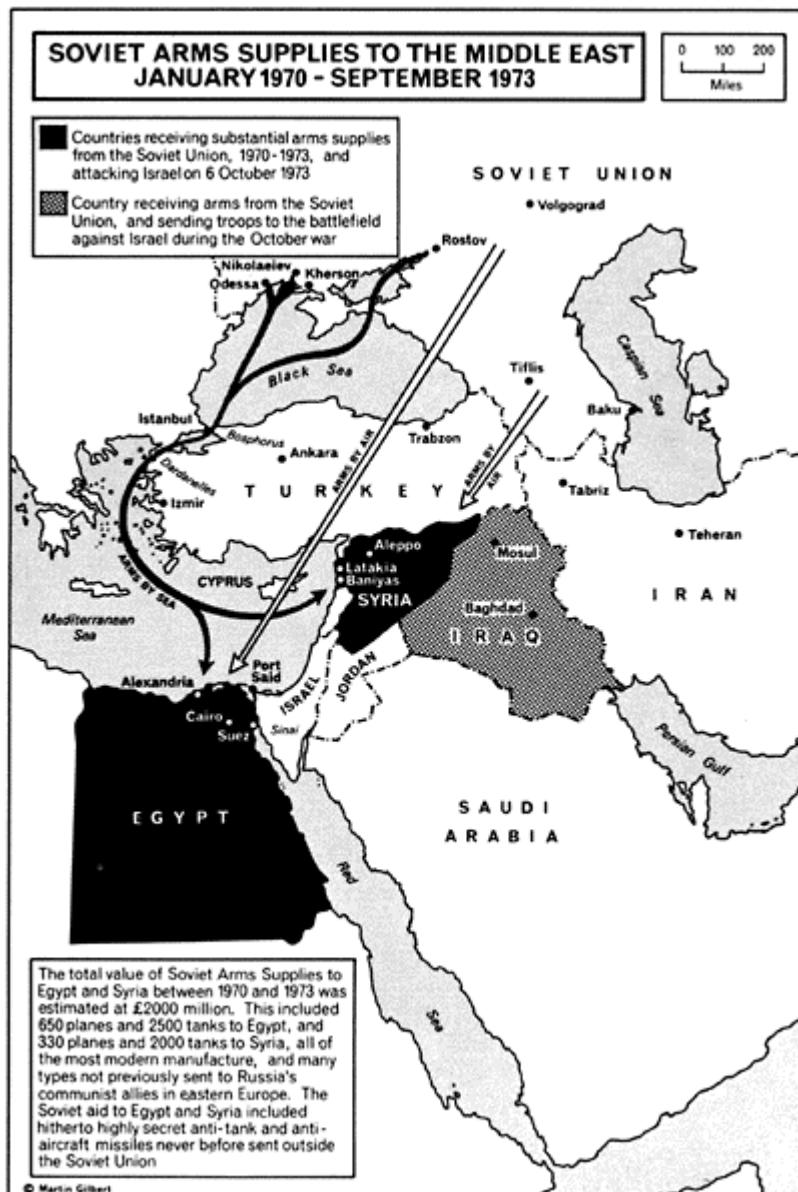


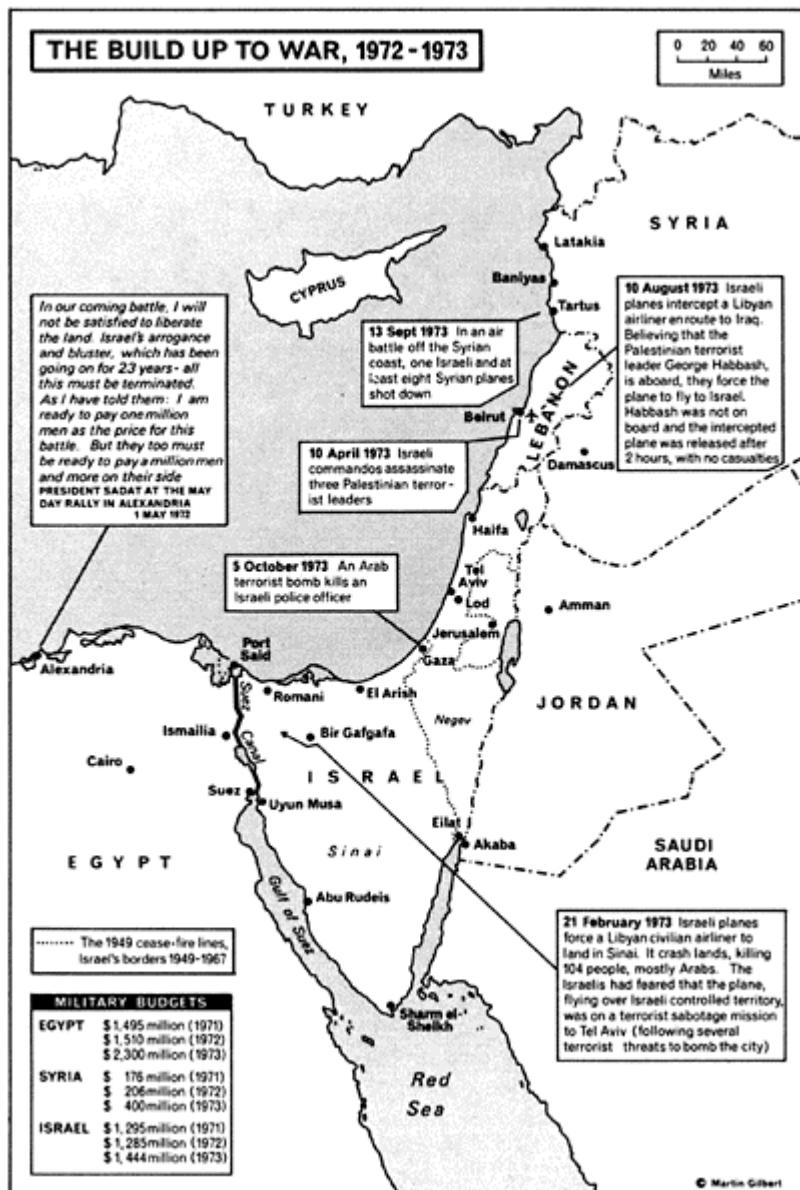


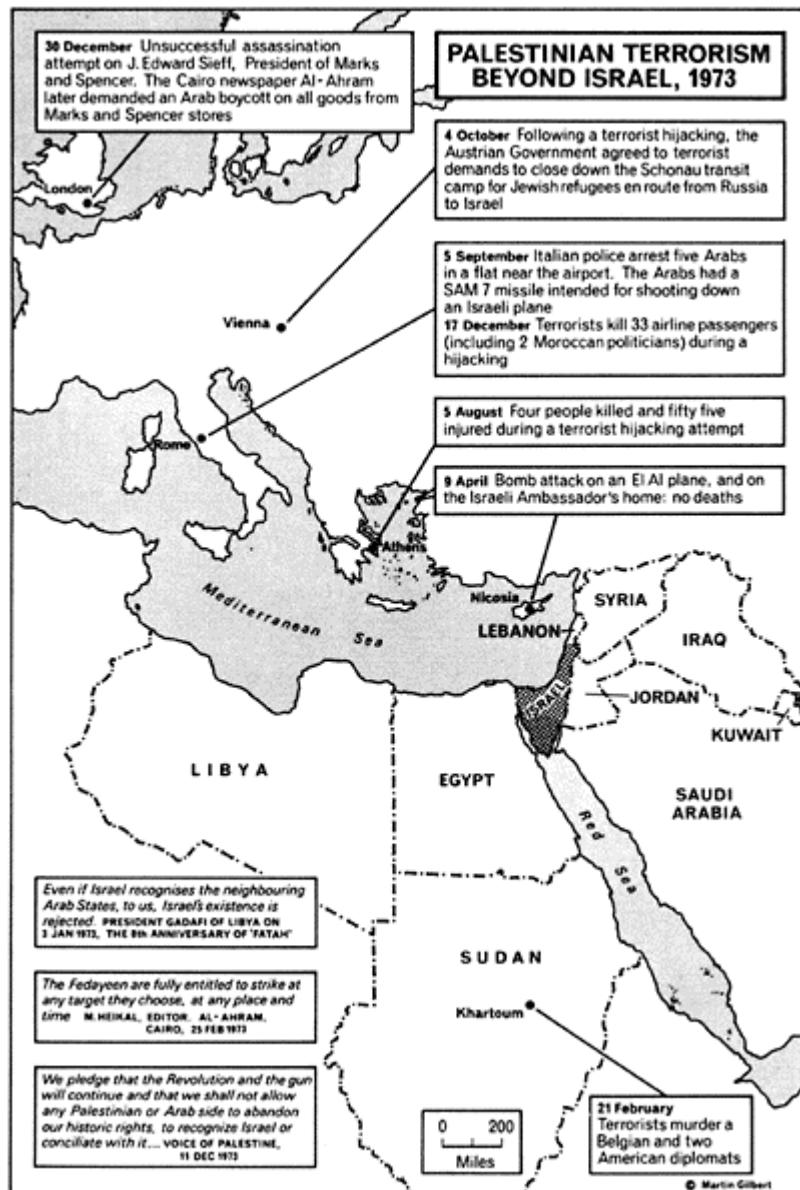






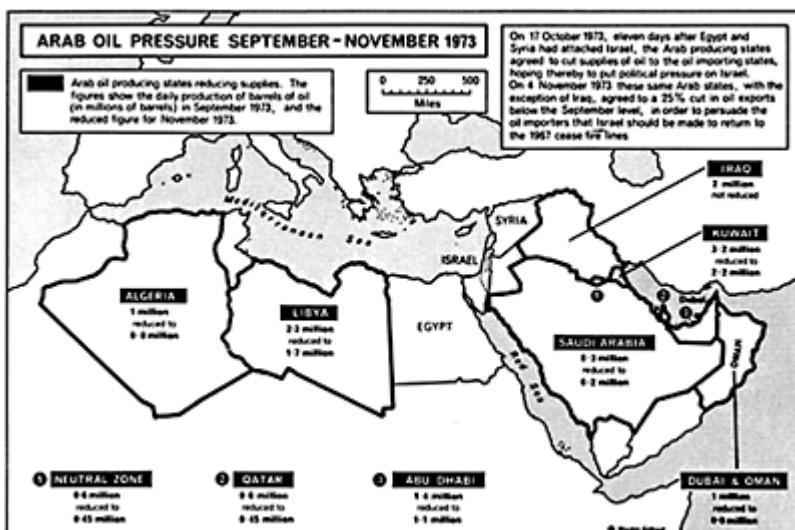




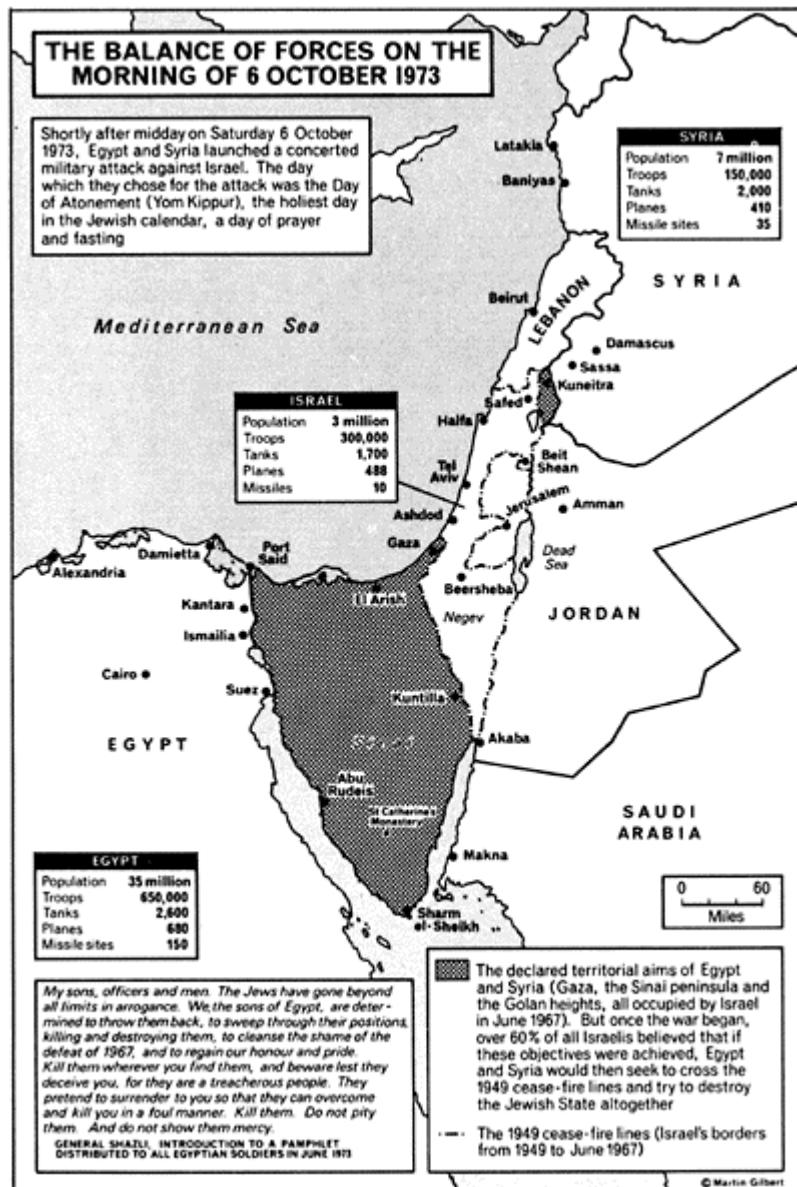


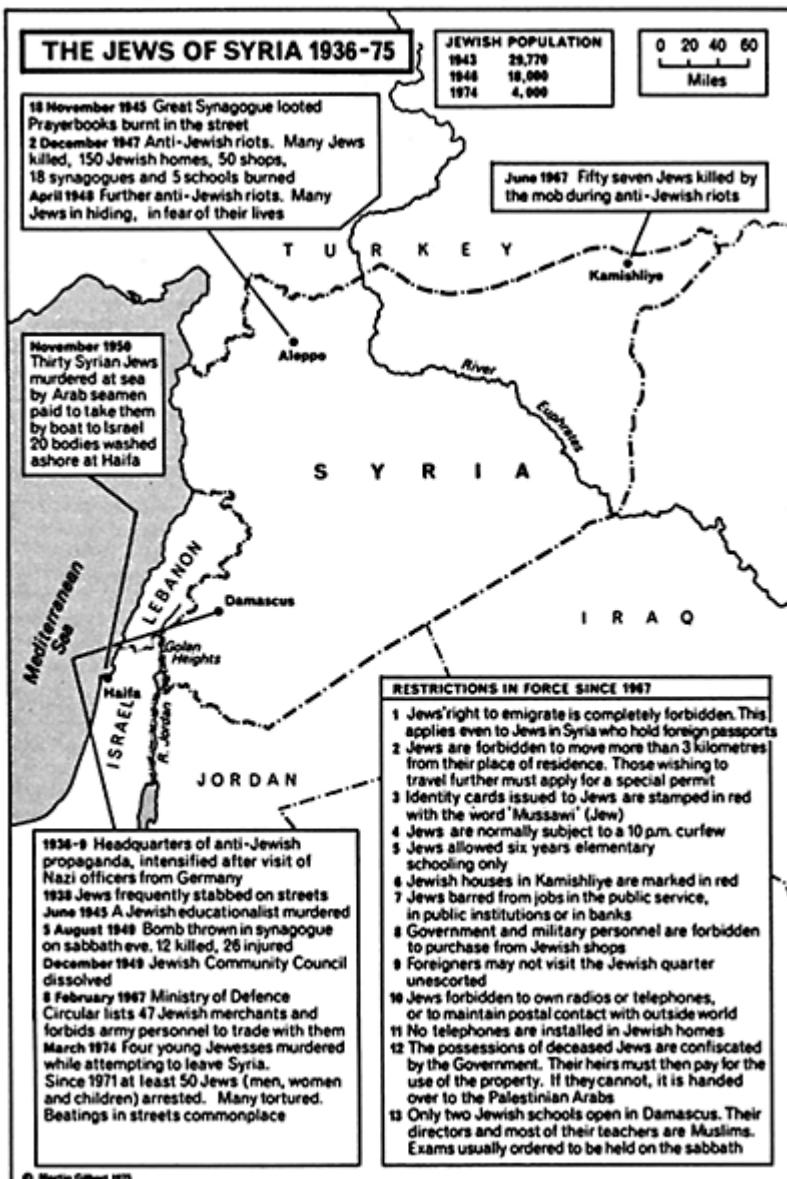


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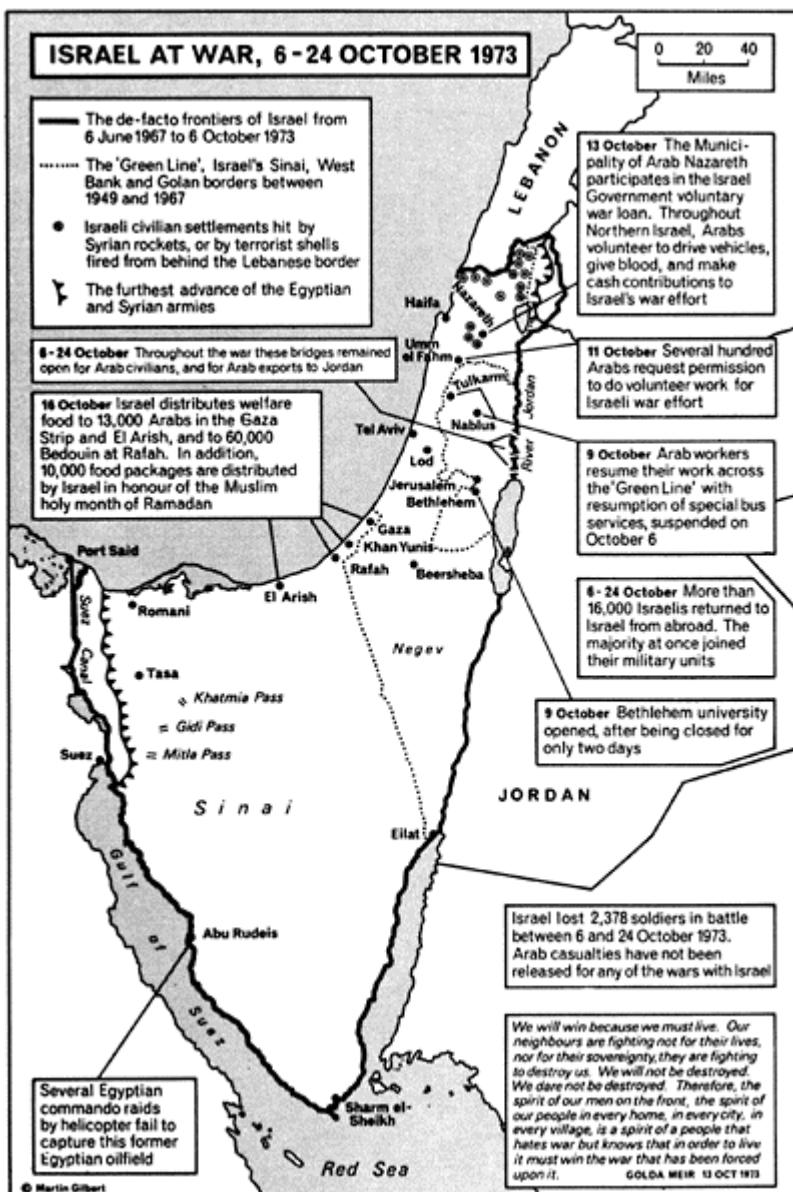
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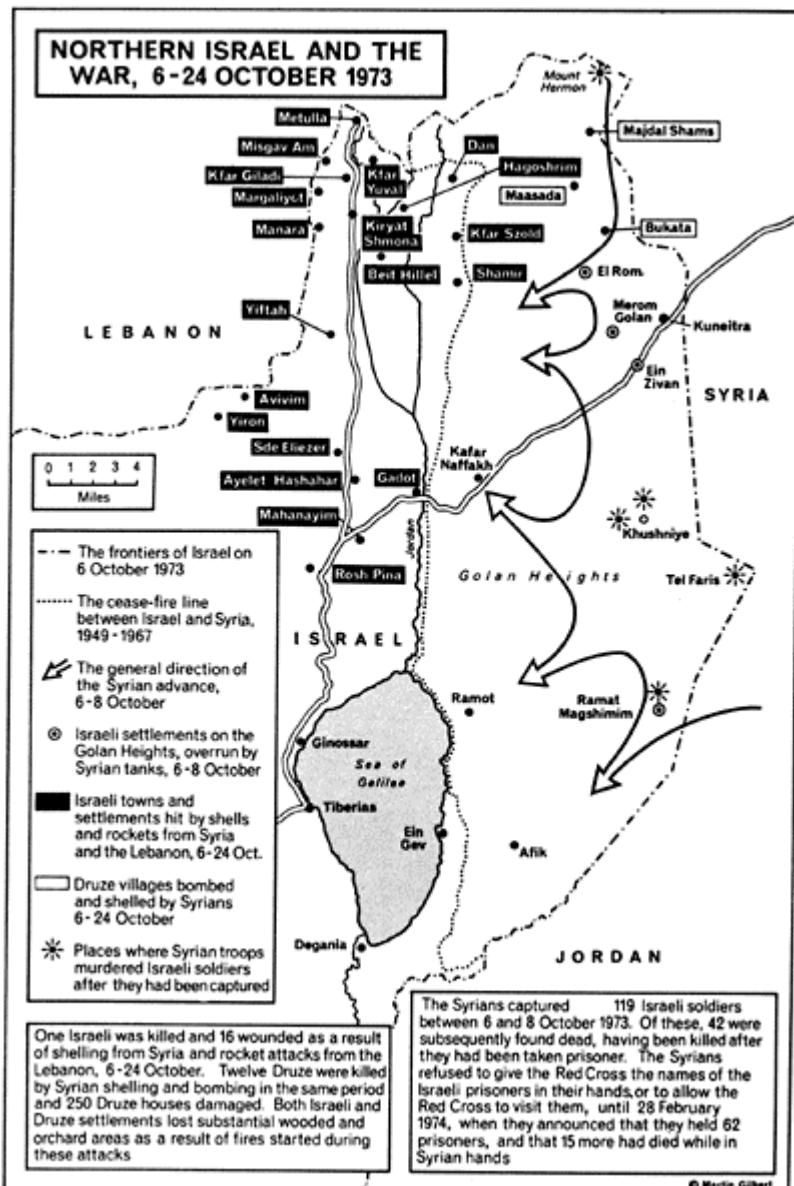
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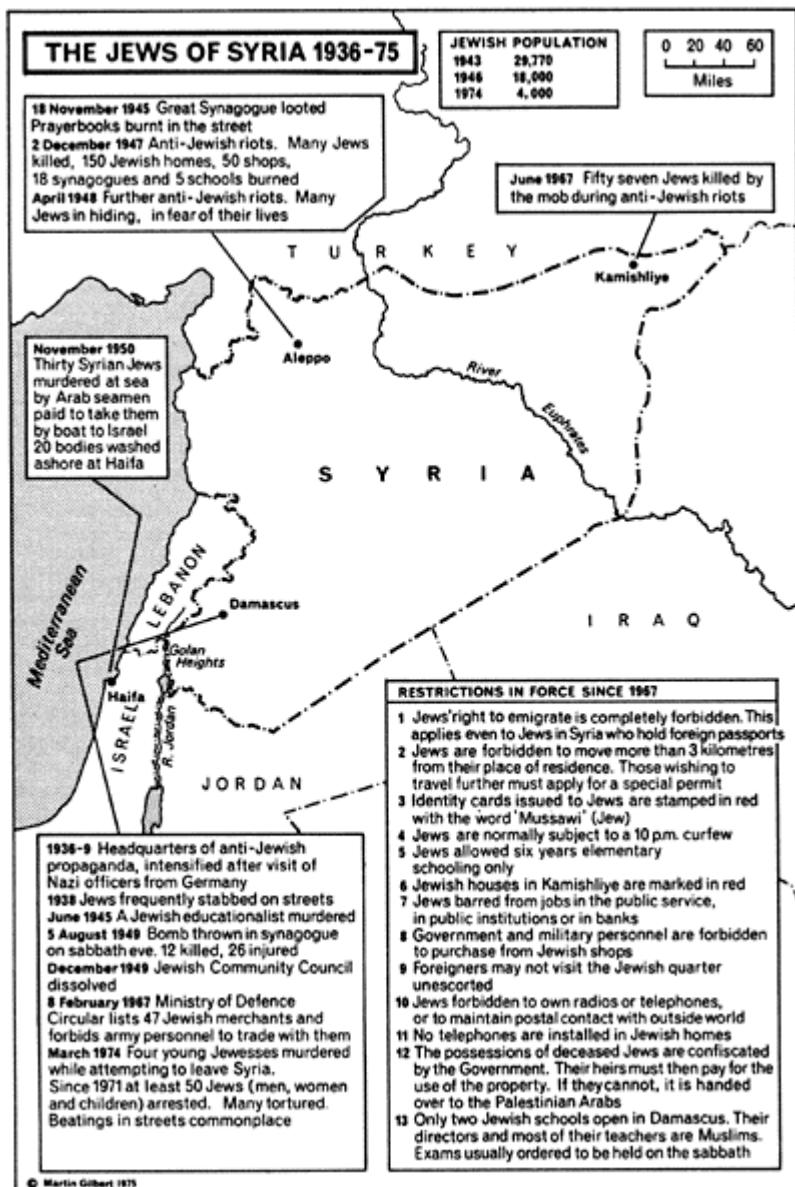
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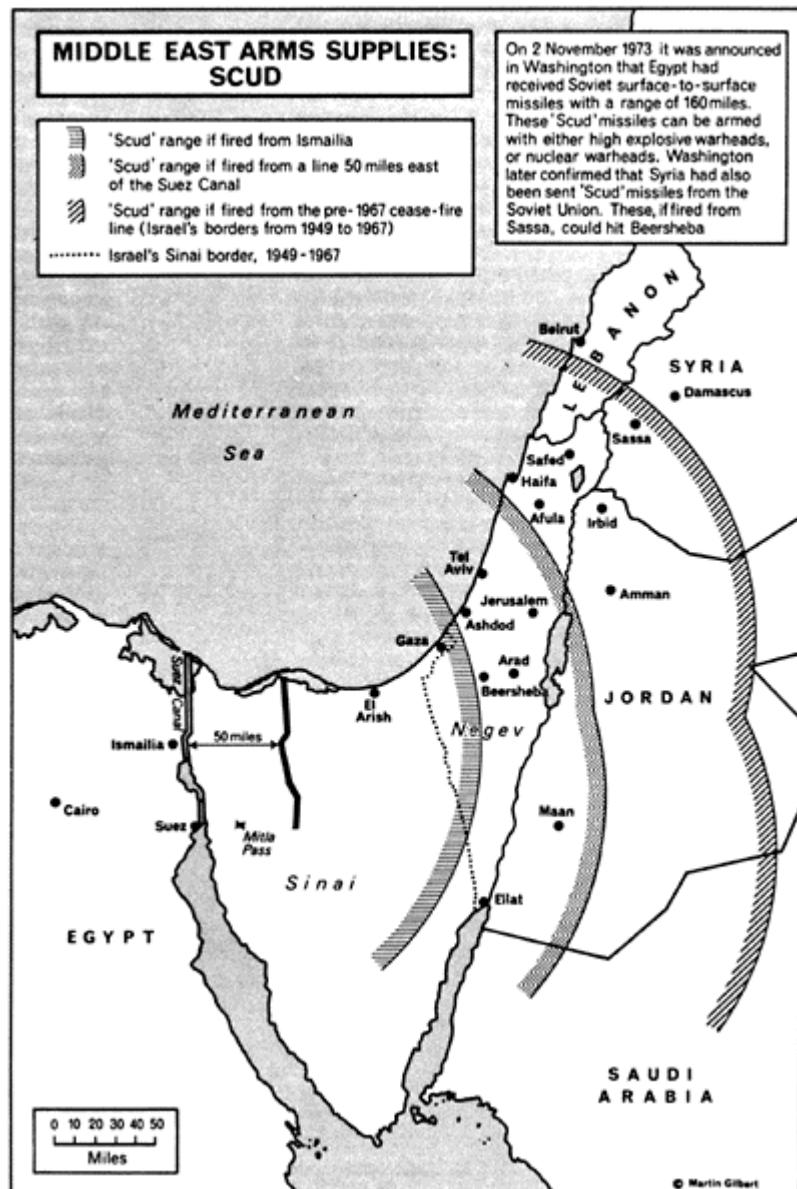
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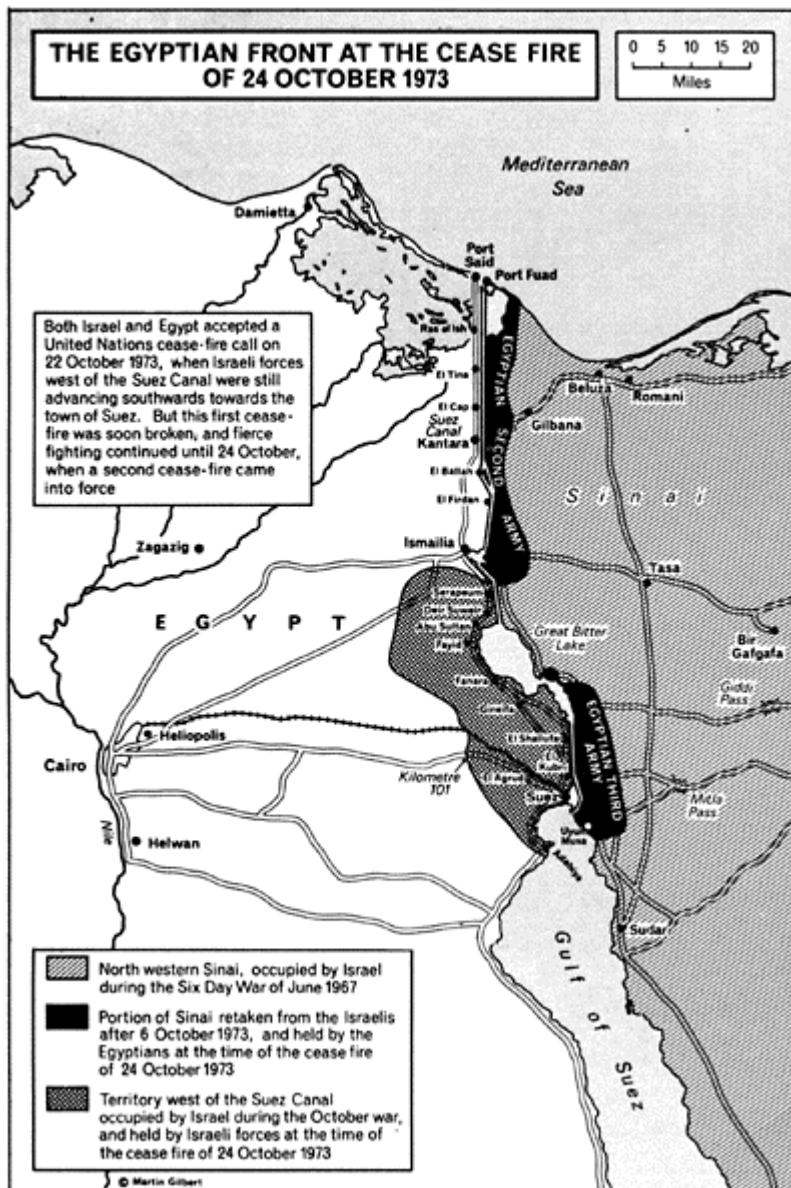
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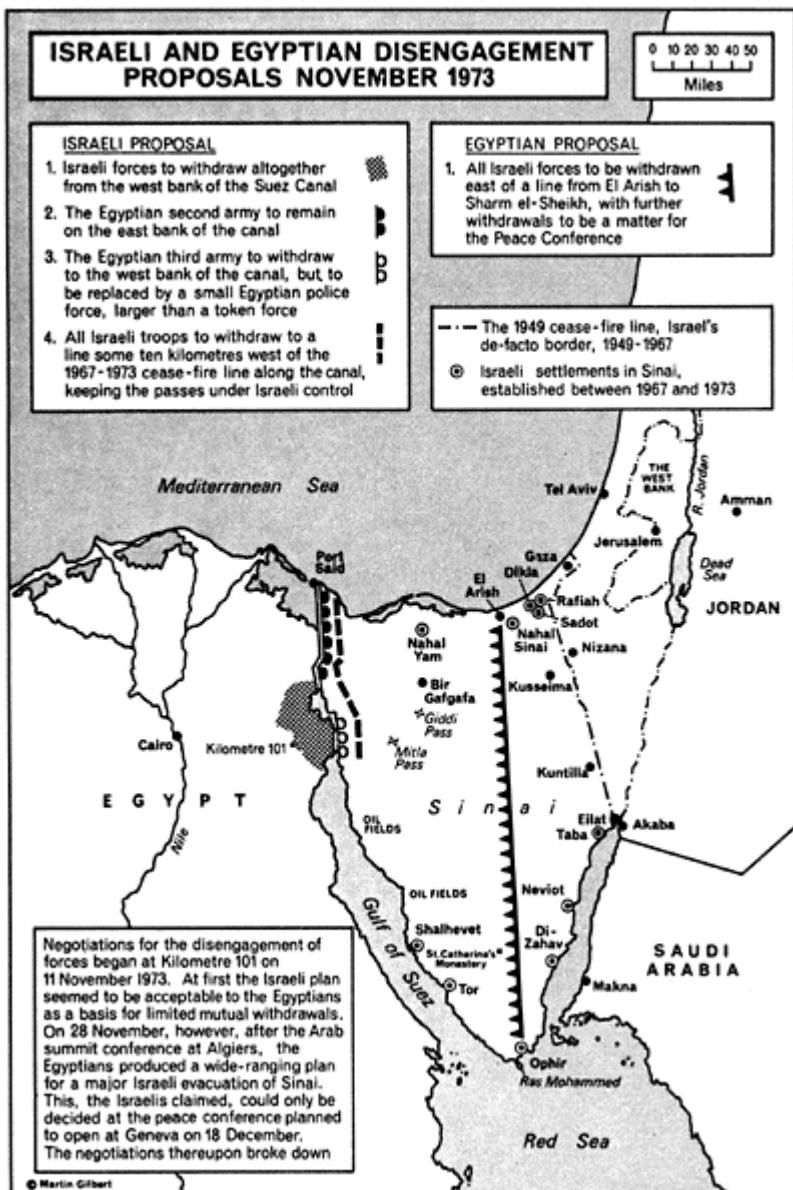


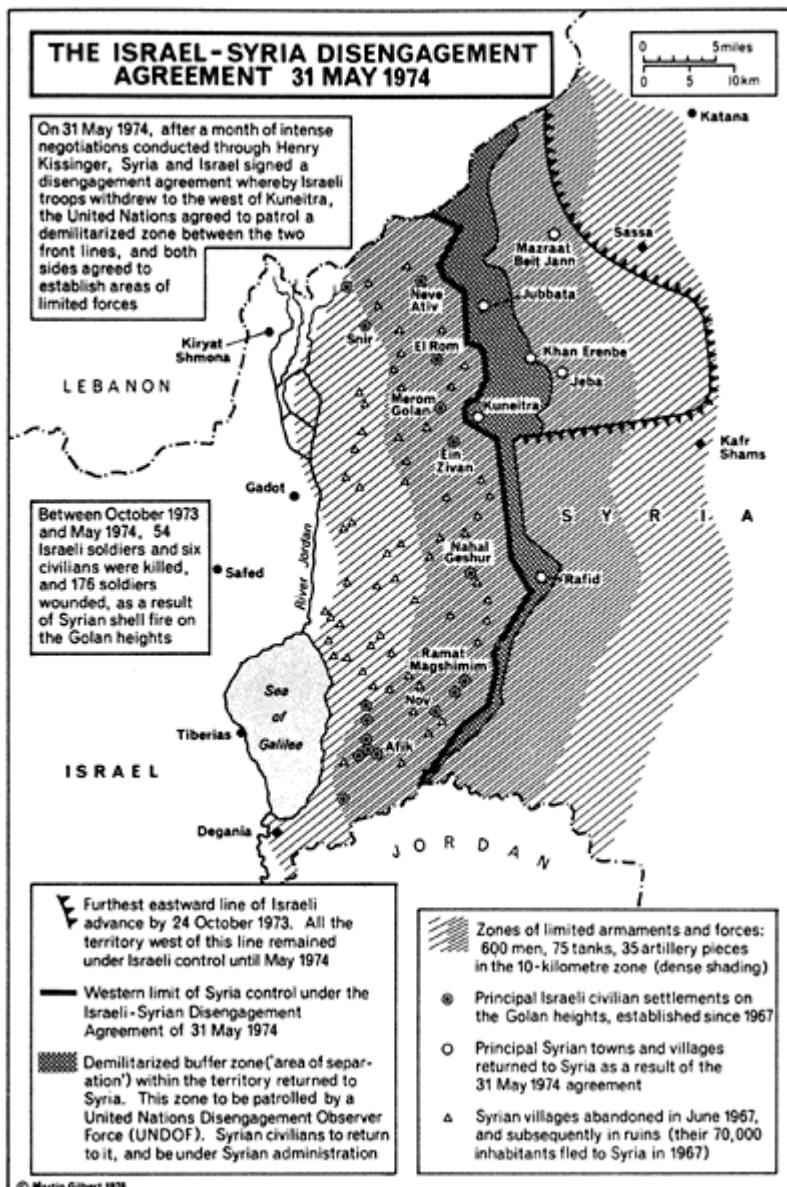












**THE ARAB - ISRAELI CONFLICT:
AIMS AND OPINIONS
NOVEMBER 1973 - MARCH 1974**

The war is not over yet. We must admit that our territory has not yet been liberated and we have another fight before us for which we must prepare. GENERAL GAMASSY, EGYPTIAN CHIEF OF STAFF, 4 MARCH 1974

The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirm that the establishment of a durable and just peace cannot be achieved in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all occupied territories, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are restored. SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD, JOINT STATEMENT 7 MARCH 1974

Palestine is not only part of the Arab homeland but also a basic part of South Syria. We consider it our right and duty to insist that Palestine should remain a free part of our Arab homeland and of our Arab Syrian country. PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA, 8 MARCH 1974

I am not for staying 20 kilometres from the Canal. I do not see in Abu Rudeis, and in oil, the final security line for Israel - although there is oil there - because it means also control of the Suez Canal. I can see all the reasons for wanting control on the Gulf of Eilat, but I cannot think we will have peace with Egypt while we control not only the entrance to Eilat but also the entrance to Suez. M. DAYAN, ISRAELI DEFENCE MINISTER, 10 MARCH 1974

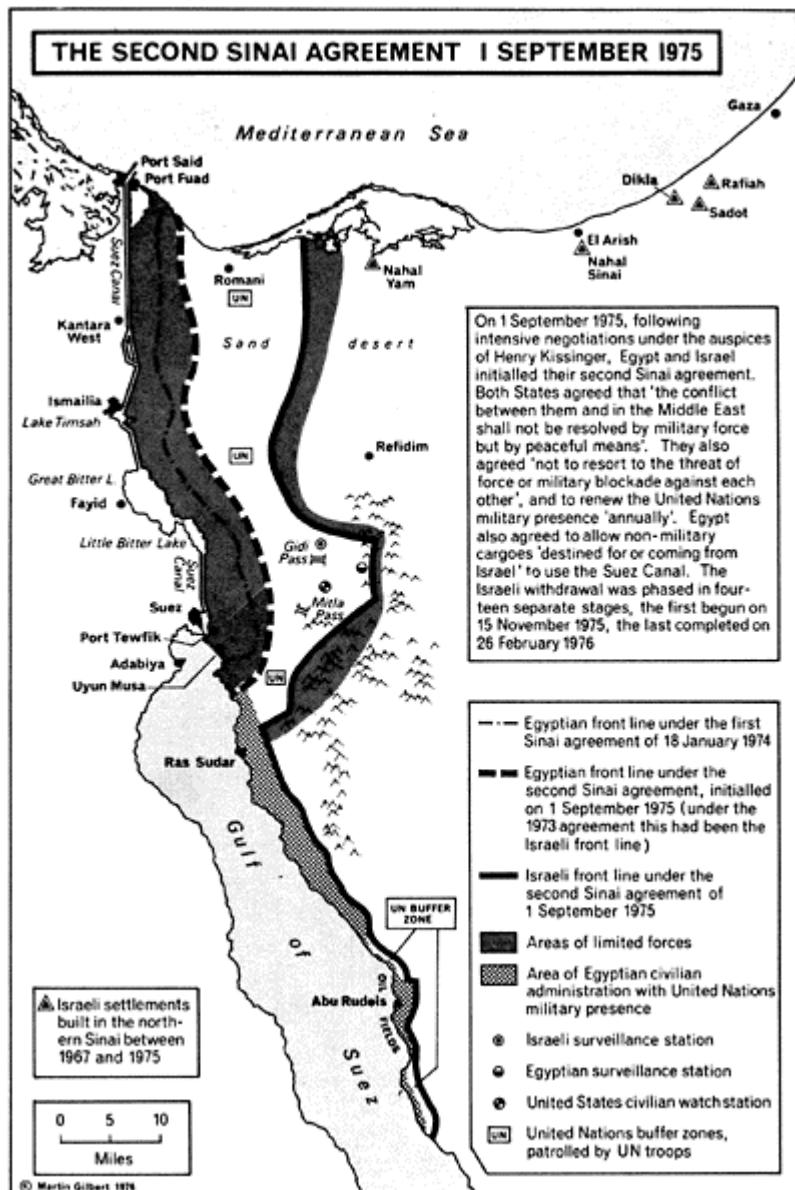
For the Syrians, the occupied territories means not only the Golan Heights, but Jerusalem, and even Tel Aviv. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER, 11 MARCH 1974

...the talk in Israel about a demilitarized Sinai should stop. If they want a demilitarized Sinai, I shall be asking for a demilitarized Israel. PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT, 'TIME' MAGAZINE, 25 MARCH 1974

We stick to our stand that Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories she occupied since June 1967, and say that there can be no peace in this area without complete withdrawal. We also need not say that Arab Jerusalem, that precious jewel on the forehead of this homeland, will never and under no circumstances come under any sovereignty other than absolute Arab sovereignty. KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, 2 DEC 1973

-we will not descend from the Golan, we will not partition Jerusalem, we will not return Sharm el-Sheikh, and we will not agree that the distance between Netanya and the border shall be 18 kilometres... But if we want a Jewish State we have to be prepared to compromise on territory. GOLDA MEIR, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER, 29 DEC 1973

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TERRORISM INSIDE ISRAEL 1974

From April to December 1974, Palestinian terrorist groups, crossing from both the Lebanon and Syria, killed 59 Israelis, mostly civilians and including many children. In June 1974 the Palestine Liberation Organisation (the PLO) increased its executive to 14 members, including the Fatah (led by Arafat), Saïka (controlled by Syria), the Popular Front General Command (supported by Libya), the Arab Liberation Front (controlled by Iraq), the PFLP (led by Hawatmeh, based in the Lebanon) and the PFLP (led by Habash, based in the Lebanon). This last group, which withdrew from the PLO in September 1974, carried out several independent terror attacks.

On 9 December 1974 the Greek Catholic Archbishop Hilarion Capucci was found guilty by an Israeli court of smuggling weapons and explosives into Israel from the Lebanon, on behalf of El Fatah. He was sentenced to twelve years in prison.

LEBANON

- 1 December Two terrorists enter Muslim village by mistake, killing one man and seriously wounding his wife
- 15 May Terrorists seize a school, killing 26 people (including two Arab women on their way to work and 20 Israeli schoolchildren). A further 60 children were wounded.
- 11 April Sixteen civilians and 2 soldiers killed by terrorists who seized a block of flats
- 13 June Terrorists dressed in hippy clothes kill three women working in a kibbutz

S Y R I A

- 26 June Three terrorists, landing from the sea, kill a woman and her two children in their flat near the seashore

ISRAEL

- 6 December A terrorist wounds two Israelis in a kibbutz
- 11 December Two civilians killed, 44 injured, in a cinema, when a terrorist in the audience threw a bomb
- 19 November Three terrorists, crossing from Jordan, seize a block of flats, killing 4 people and wounding 23
- 20 December Bomb wounds twelve passers-by in a street
- 22 December Terrorists attack a bus of Christian pilgrims from the USA, gravely injuring a 17 year-old girl pilgrim

JORDAN

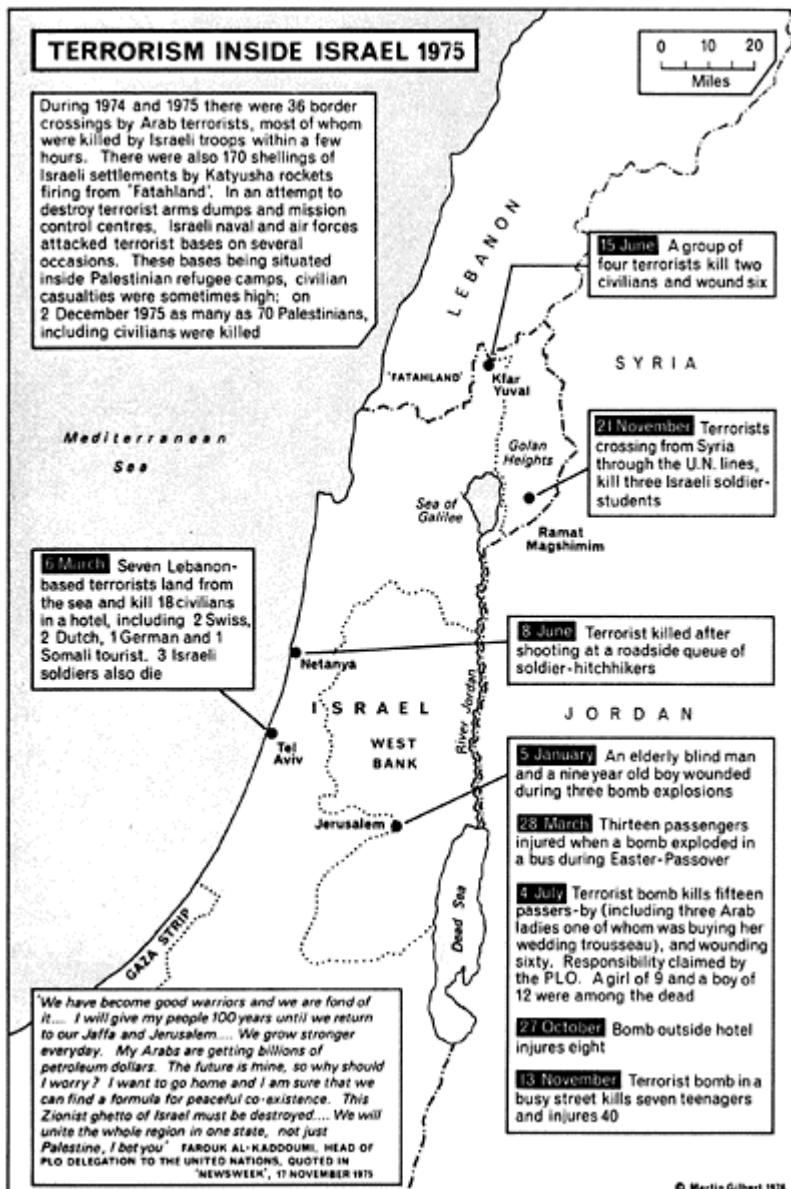
On your behalf and on behalf of the Palestinian people, the gun will continue to liberate Palestine... The Ramadan War was an important turning point. For the first time the decision to fight was an Arab decision and its most important result was this war. Perhaps in ten years time, another decision will be taken to liquidate the arrogant enemy completely' — ARAFAT, SPEECH AT THE PALESTINE POPULAR CONGRESS JEDDAH, 24 JANUARY 1974

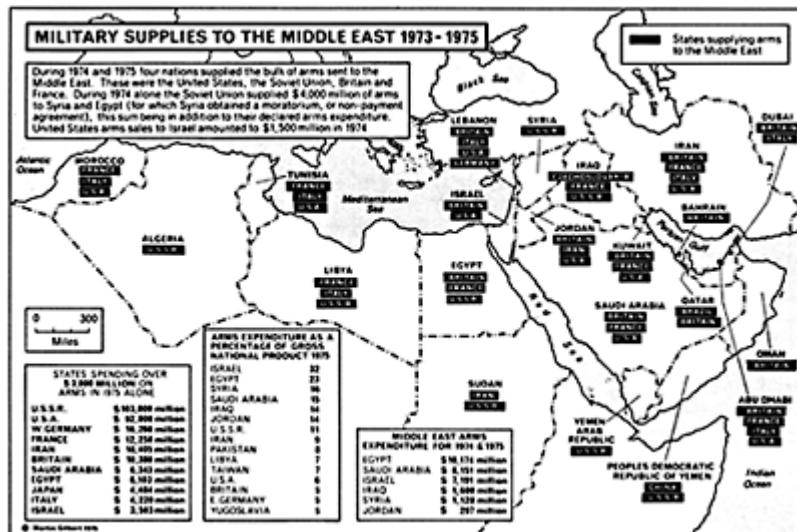
The road is still long. Just as the Hattin campaign was only the beginning of the Crusaders' defeat, the Ramadan campaign is only the beginning of the advance of the Arab nation. This advance will cease only in Tel Aviv' — ARAFAT, SAUT FALASTIN RADIO STATION, 19 JUNE 1974

'Al Fatah, the largest and most moderate of the Palestine resistance organizations, announced today that it was responsible for the guerrilla raid that resulted in seven deaths last night at the Israeli town of Nahariya. The statement was regarded by diplomats here as a sign that moderate Palestinian leaders like Yasir Arafat, who heads both Fatah and the over-all guerrilla group, the Palestine Liberation Organization, had now decided, like their radical counterparts, to maintain pressure on Israel by armed attacks'

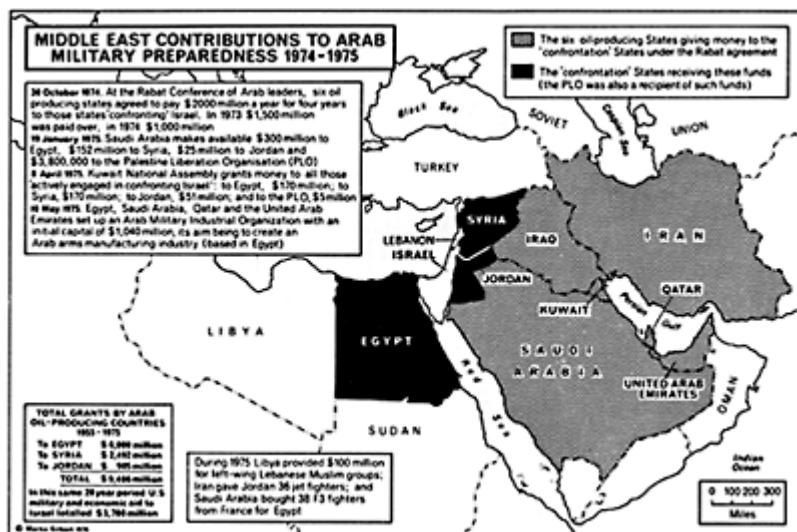
NEW YORK TIMES,
REPORT FROM CAIRO, 26 JUNE 1974

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STATES CONDEMNING ZIONISM 10 NOVEMBER 1975

On 22 November 1974 the United Nations General Assembly voted to accept the Palestine Liberation Organisation as an observer at all UN meetings, as the representative of the Arab Palestinians, whose right to national independence and sovereignty... and to return to 'their homes and property' the Assembly had reaffirmed in its Resolution 181 in 1947. A year later, on 10 November 1975, 187 Arab States, 53 Communist States, 22 African States and 20 other States voted in the UN to condemn Zionism as 'a form of racism and racial discrimination'. This vote was the climax of an international campaign, led by the UNRWA, UNDP, UNICEF, UNIFEM, ... Zionism had been condemned by the International Women's Year Conference held in Mexico and by two UN bodies, UNESCO and the ILO [redacted] 4

Zionism... is a racist and a fanatical movement in its formation; aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims; and Fascist and Nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism." PALESTINE, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, 19 JULY 1948, JOURNAL 25

We shall never stop until we can go back home and Israel is destroyed—the goal of our struggle is the end of Israel, and there can be no compromise or moderation. We don't want peace, we want victory. Peace for us means Israel's destruction, and nothing else. *SA'ADAT, REUBEN MIRSHAVI*, 1978

Anyone might be forgiven for seeing much hope for the future if Mr. Arafat has his way—and he means it quite clear at the end that the terms of the "Palestinian statehood must be kept and this action" as various demands. LETTERS page 100, 10 SEPTEMBER 1994

We have entered the world from its weakest parts. Now Zionism will get out of this world - and from Palestine in particular under the blow of the people's struggle. AGAINST ALL THE GOSPELS

This resolution expresses the
liquidation of the Zionist existence
since the Palestine Homeland is
Palestine, and Palestine at
present is Arab". *Arabia, October*
1941, 144-145, 160-161, 180-181.

**It is inevitable that we exclude the campaign of isolating and rejecting Israel from the institution of community and from the UN—
SARAH SALTZMAN, 1978,
TALKS TO BALTIMORE**



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STATES REFUSING TO CONDEMN ZIONISM 10 NOVEMBER 1975

The 35 States, including Israel, which voted against the anti-Zionist resolution of 10 November 1975

It is an attack not on Zionism but on Israel; as such, it is a general assault by the majority of nations on the principles of liberal democracy, which now are found only in a dwindling number of nations. Some express no ambivalence to this or, at best, none.

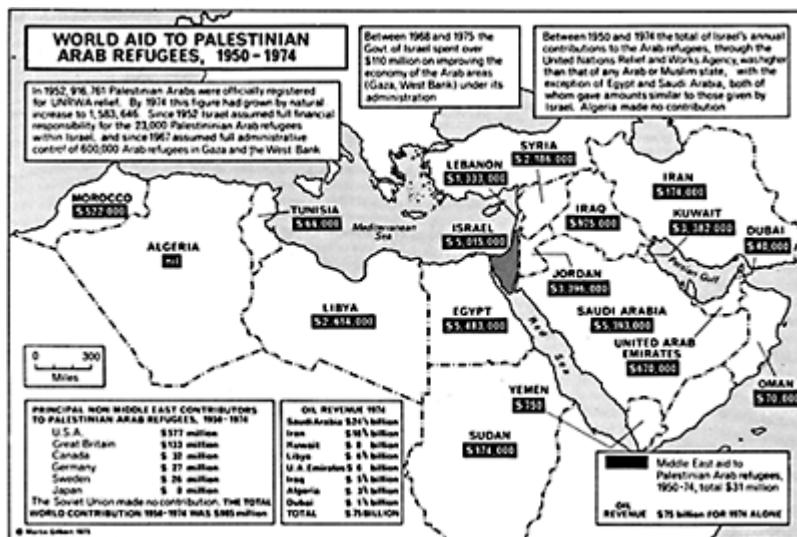
Israel's constitution guarantees equality of citizenship to its Arab minority - a vital difference. Its insistence on being a dominantly Jewish State does not make it any more racist than countries like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia or Mauritania, which, consistently, cast themselves before States' law, tradition, custom and culture as the

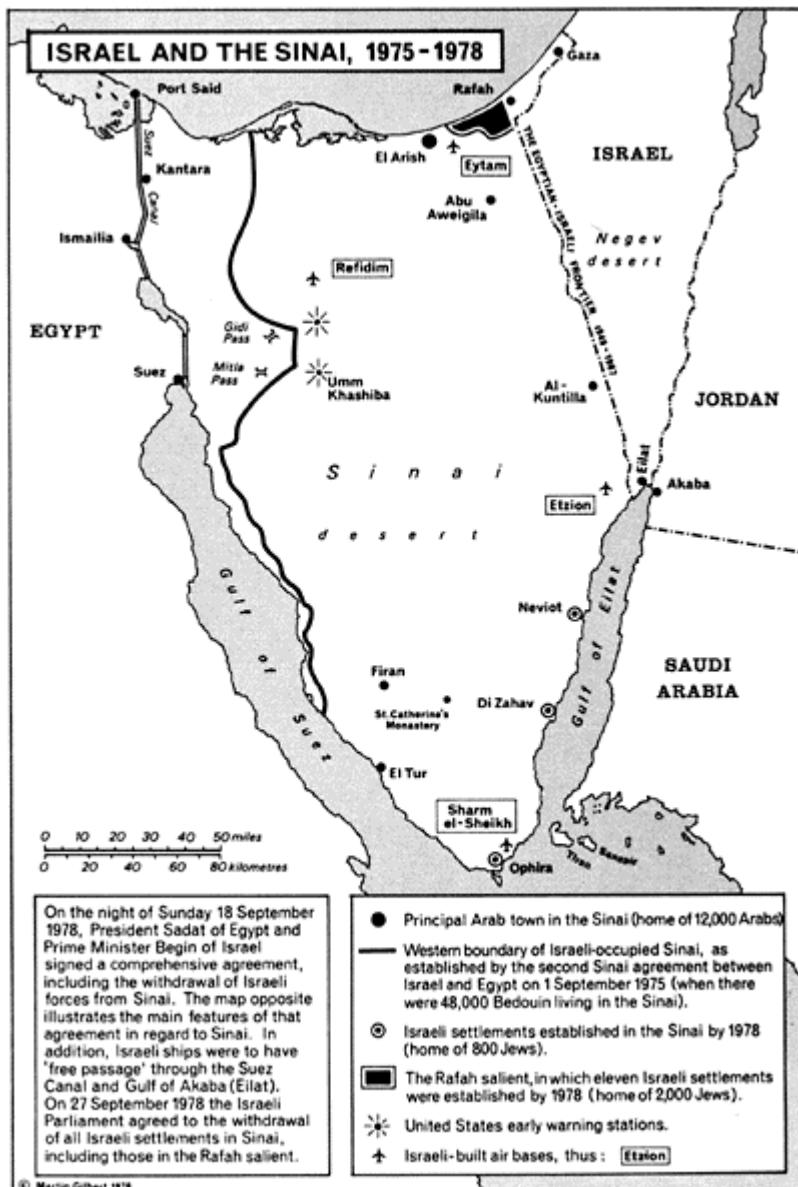
The United States will not abide by, it will not acquiesce in, its enforcement act. A great evil has been imposed upon the world. The administration of antisemitism has given the appearance of international "apartheid".

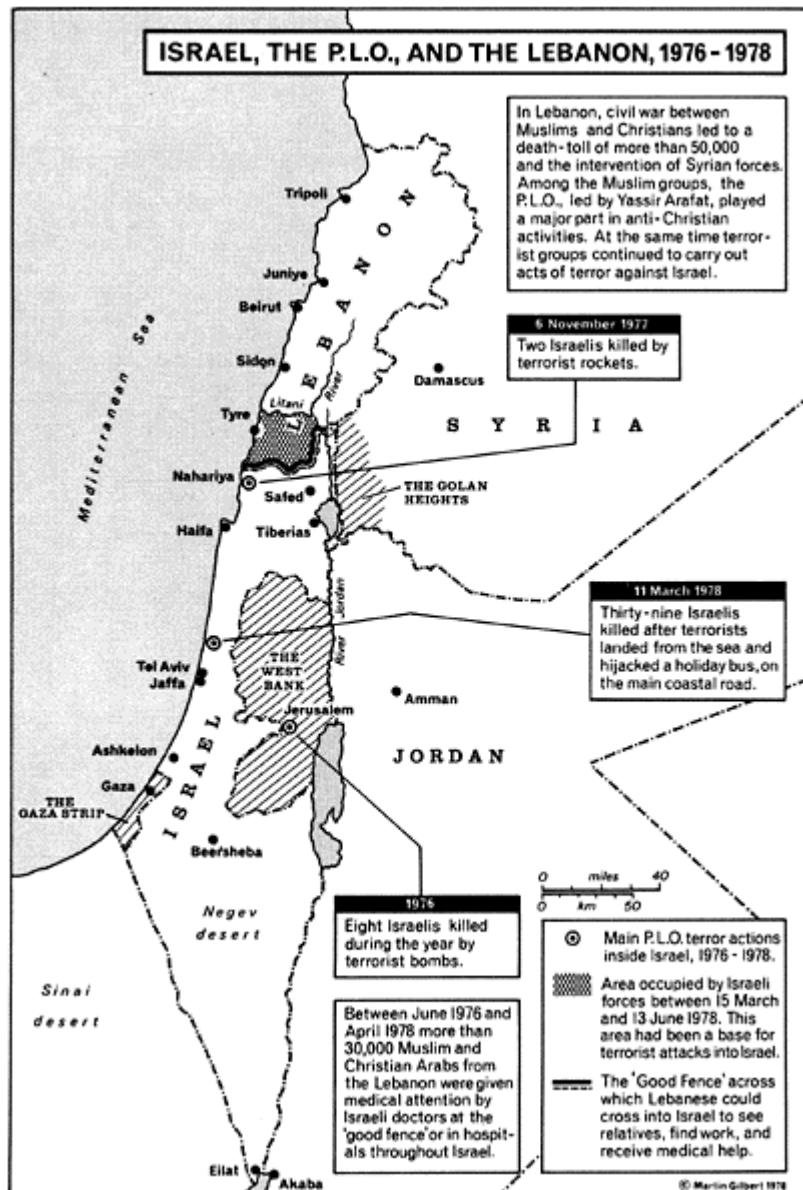
The spirit of the United Nations has been pre-empted by the adoption of a resolution that was shrewdly and needlessly pressed to the vote by diplomats who did not know when they had gone too far. I fear that the full consequences of this vote will appear only too quickly".¹ In these circumstances, we cannot ignore the

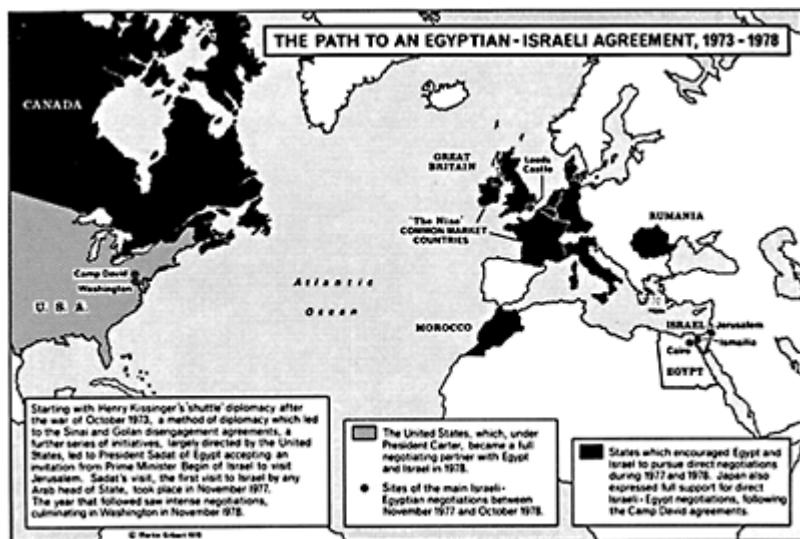


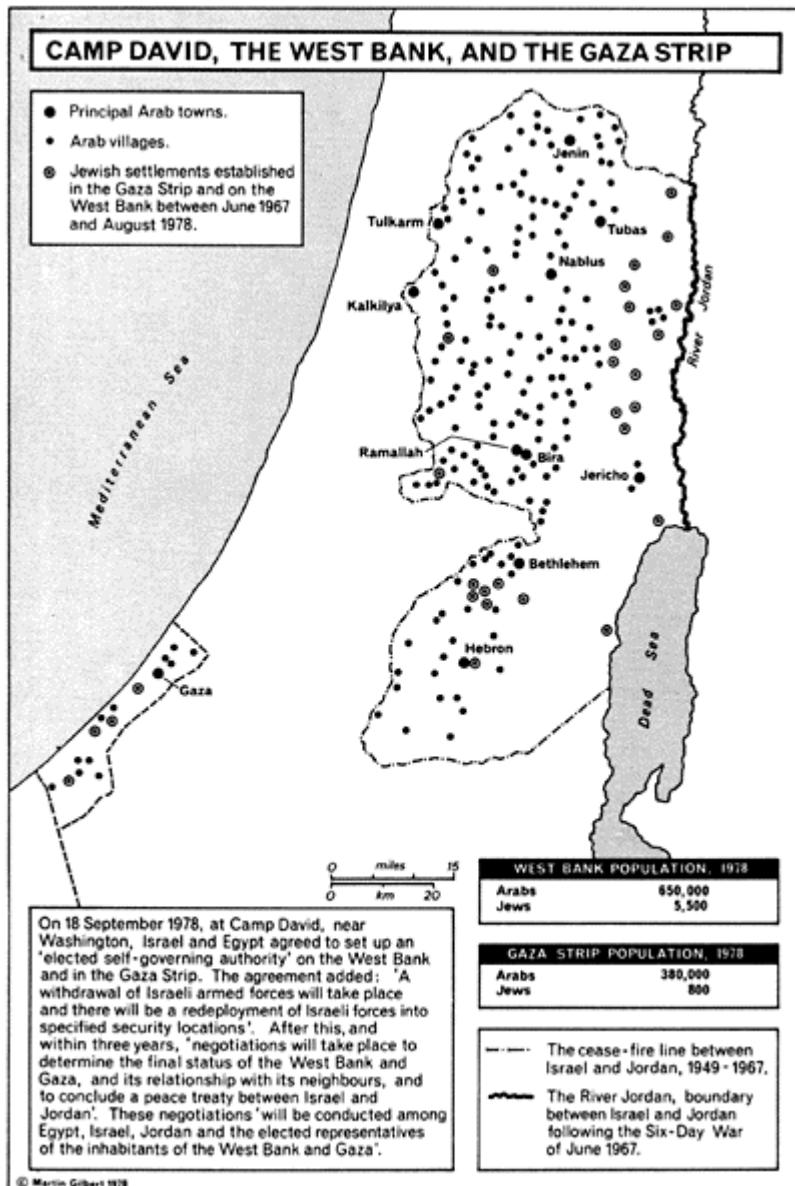
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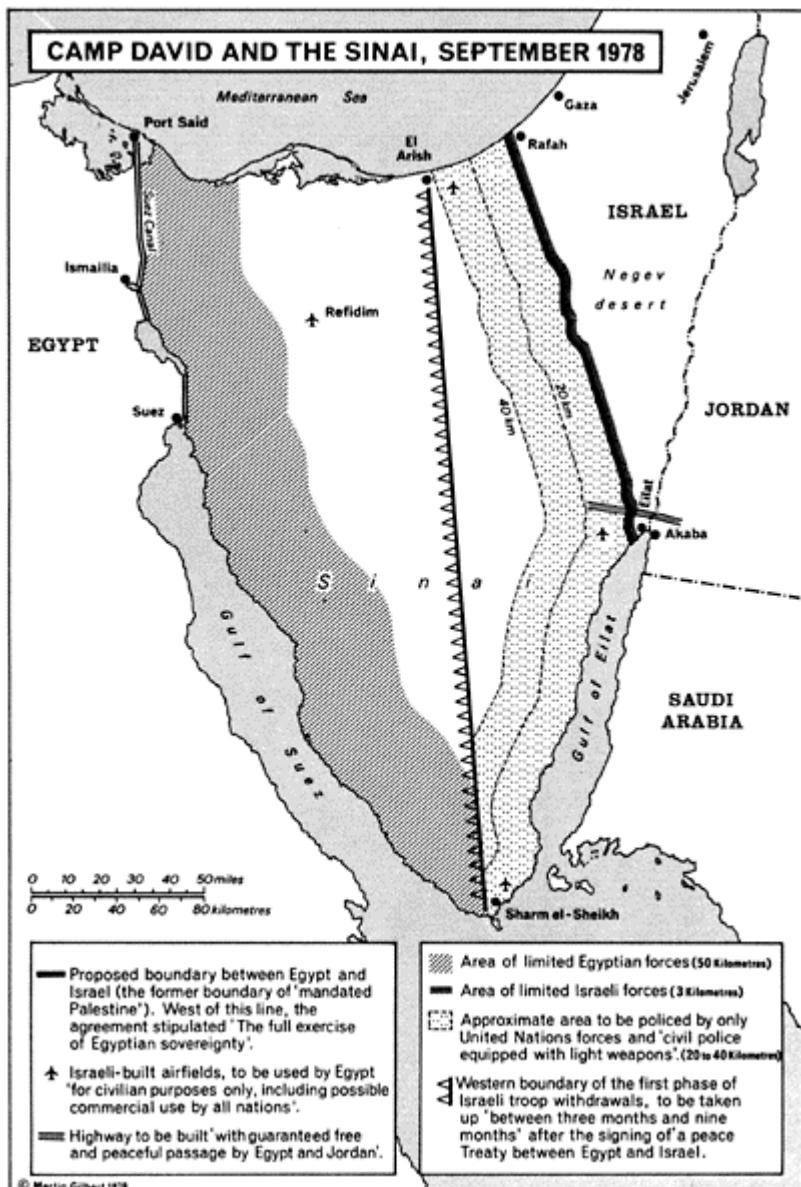


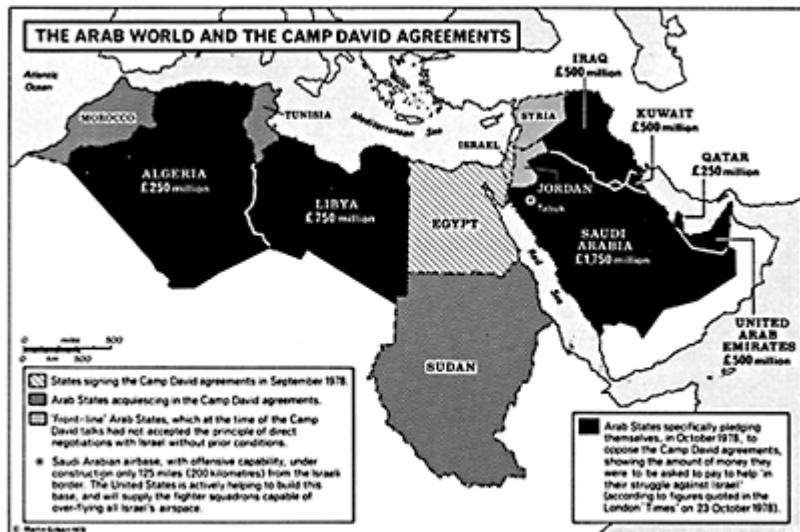








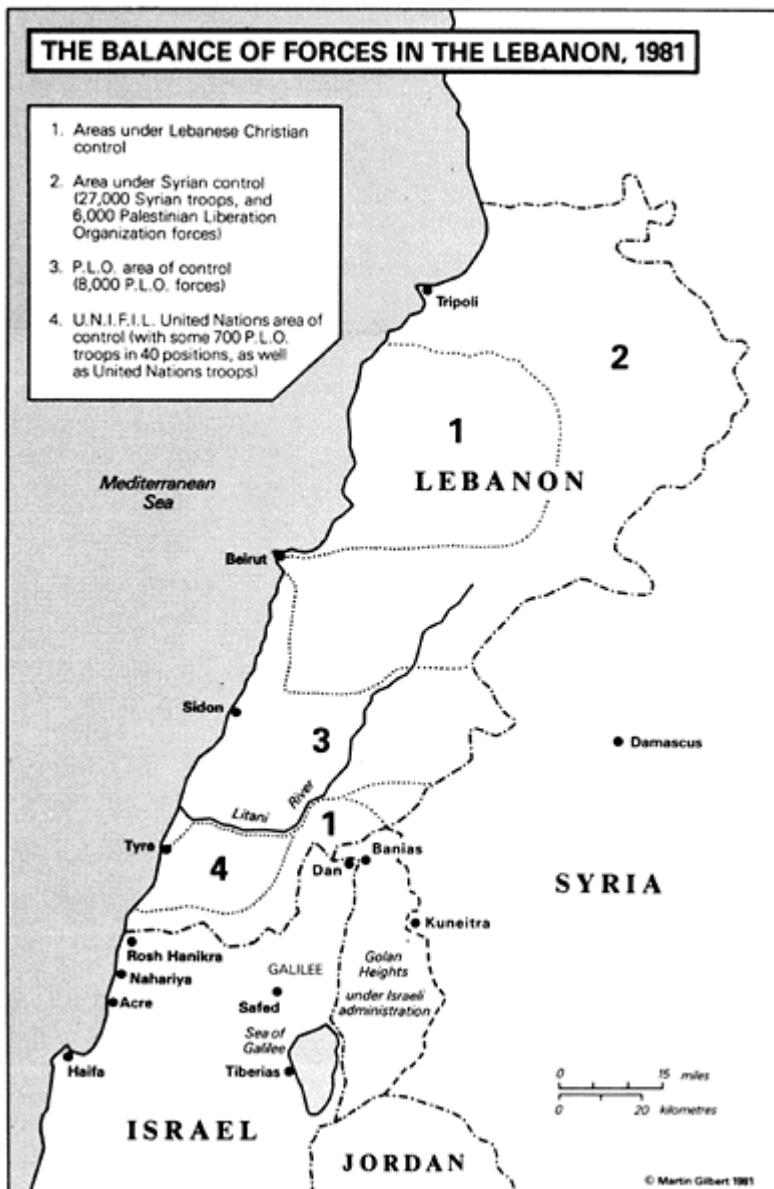


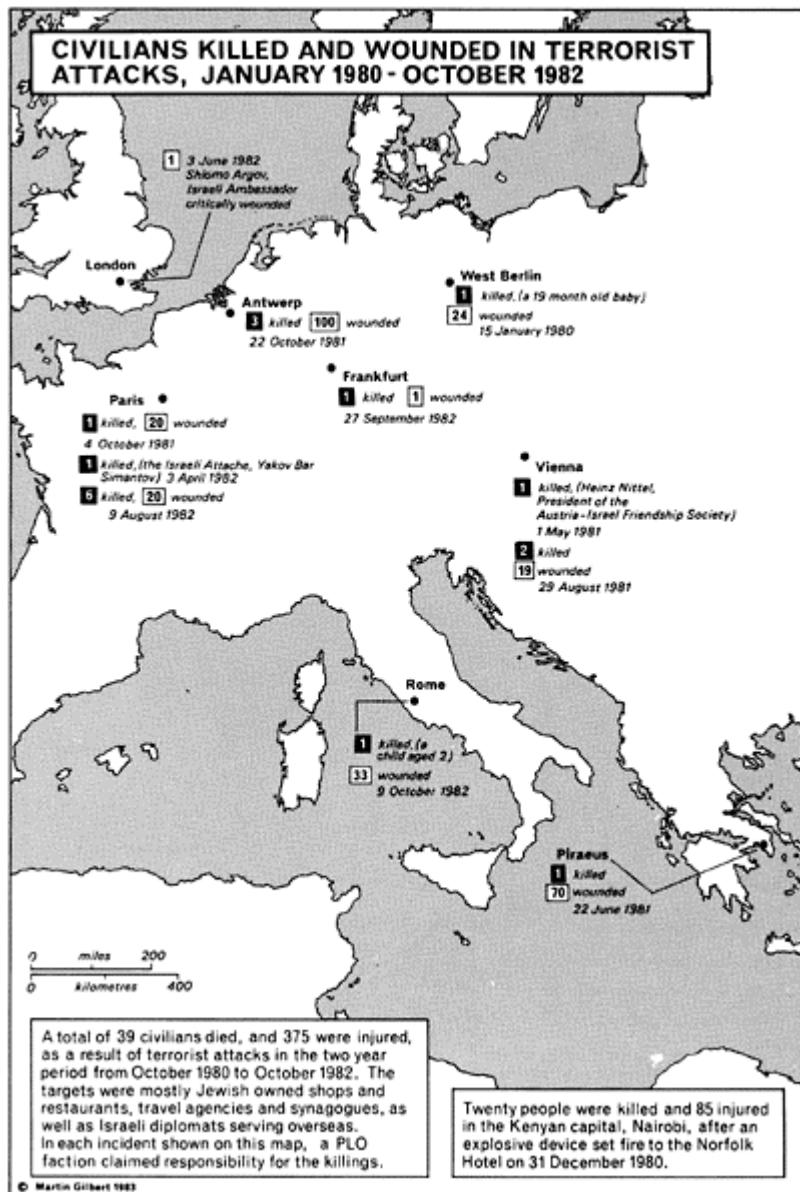


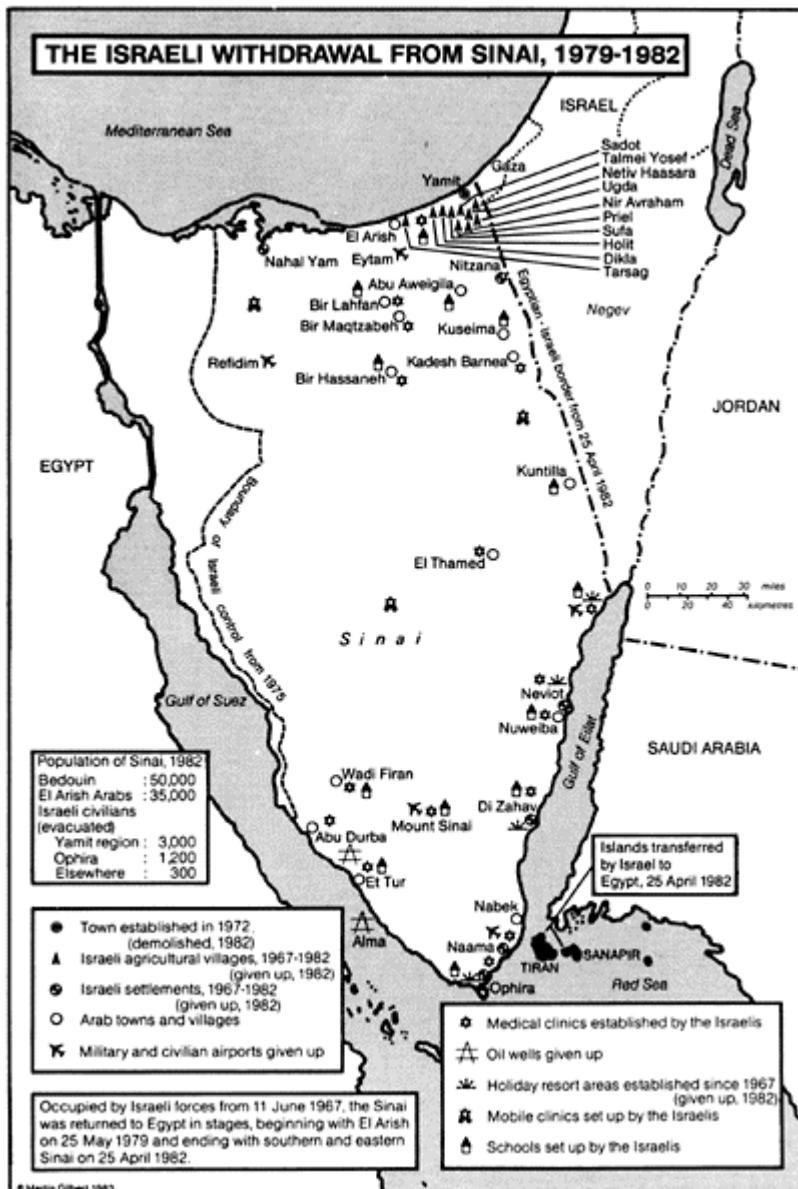
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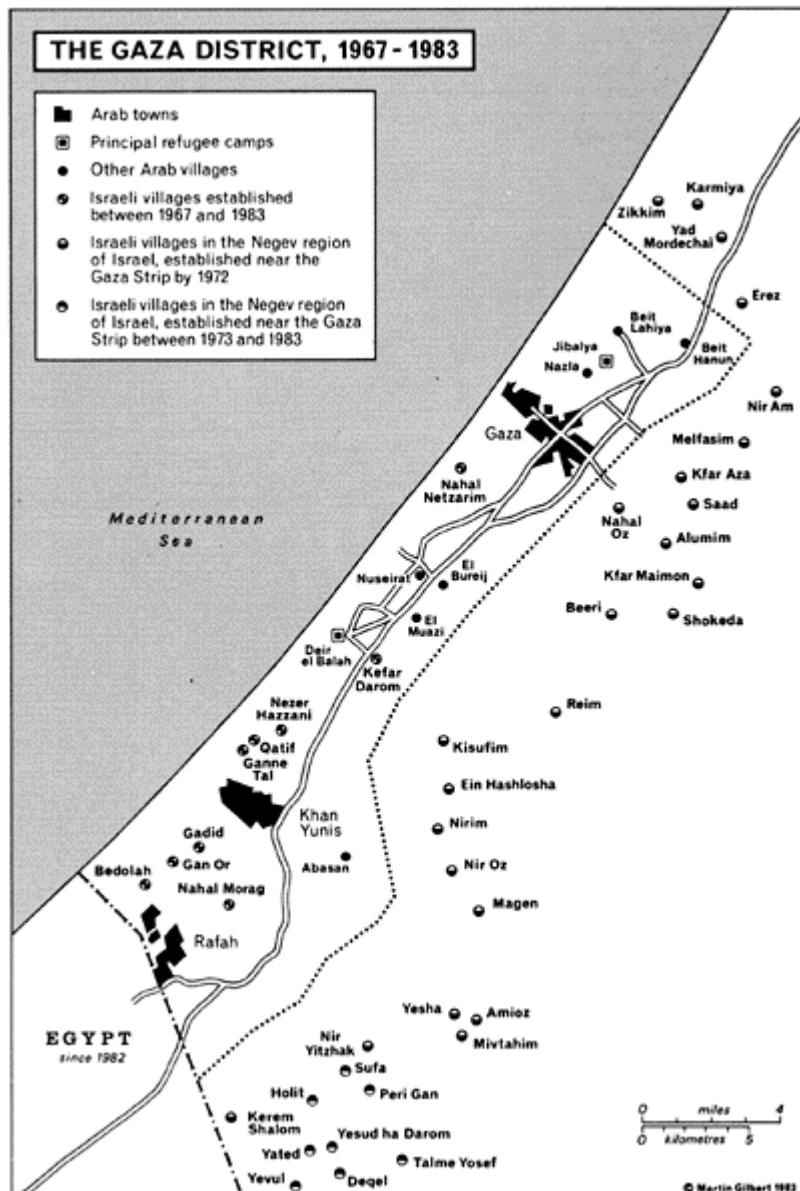


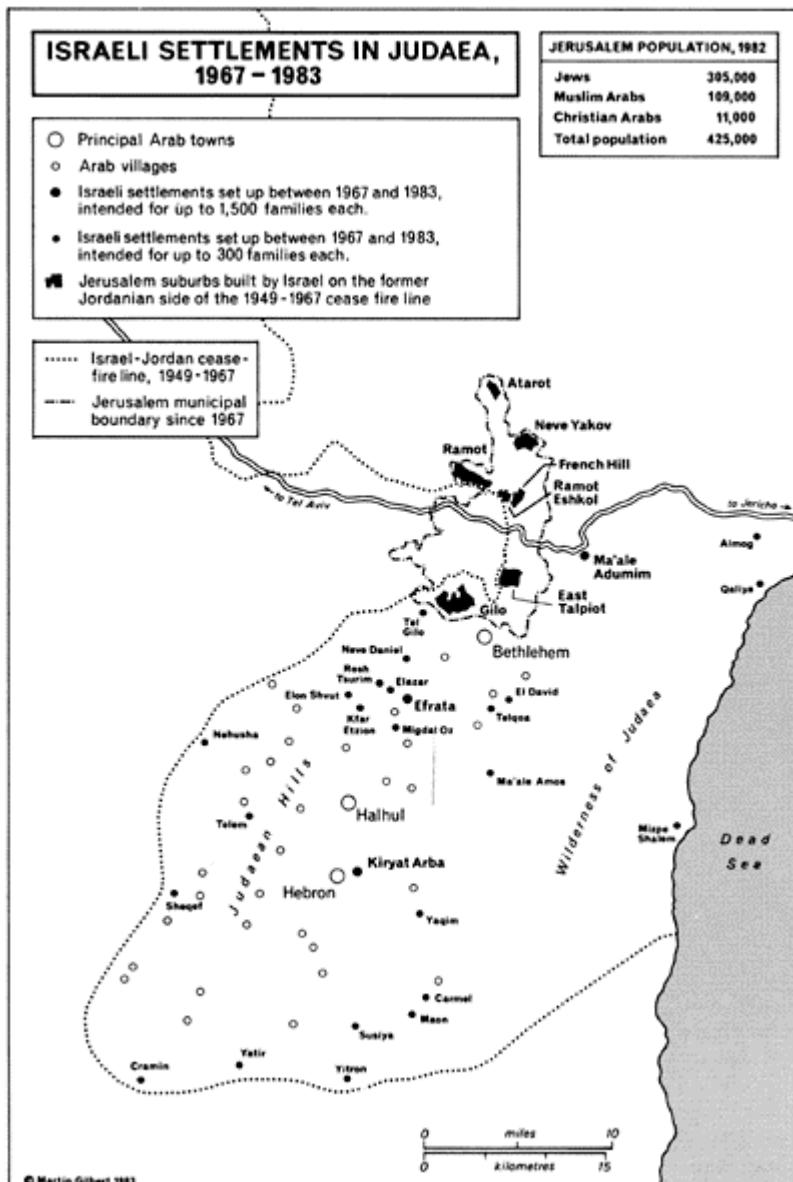
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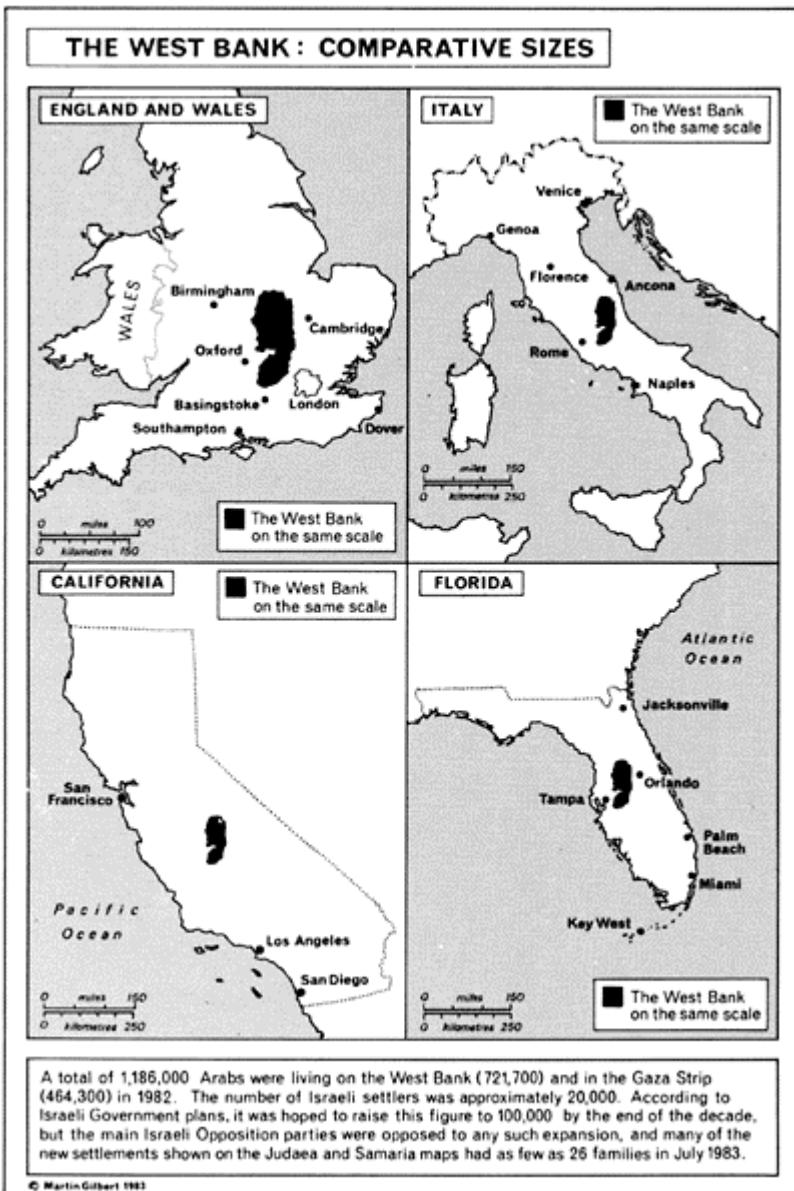


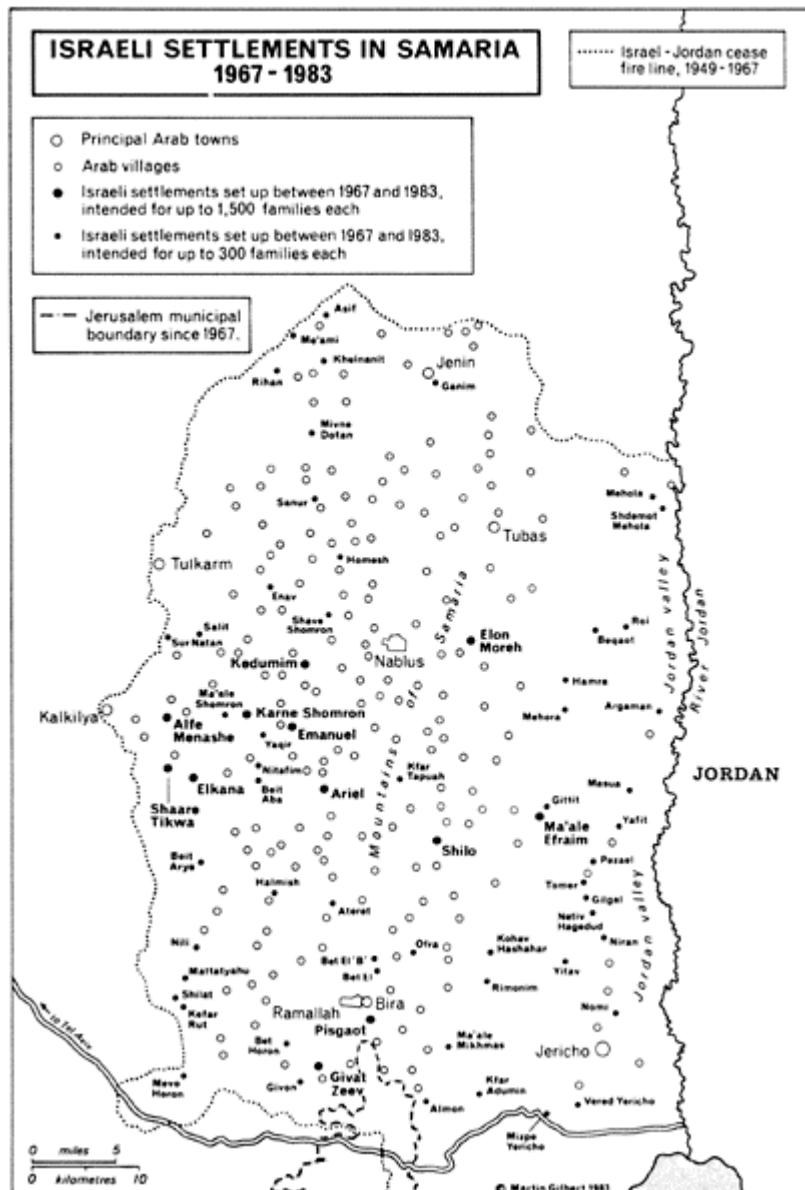


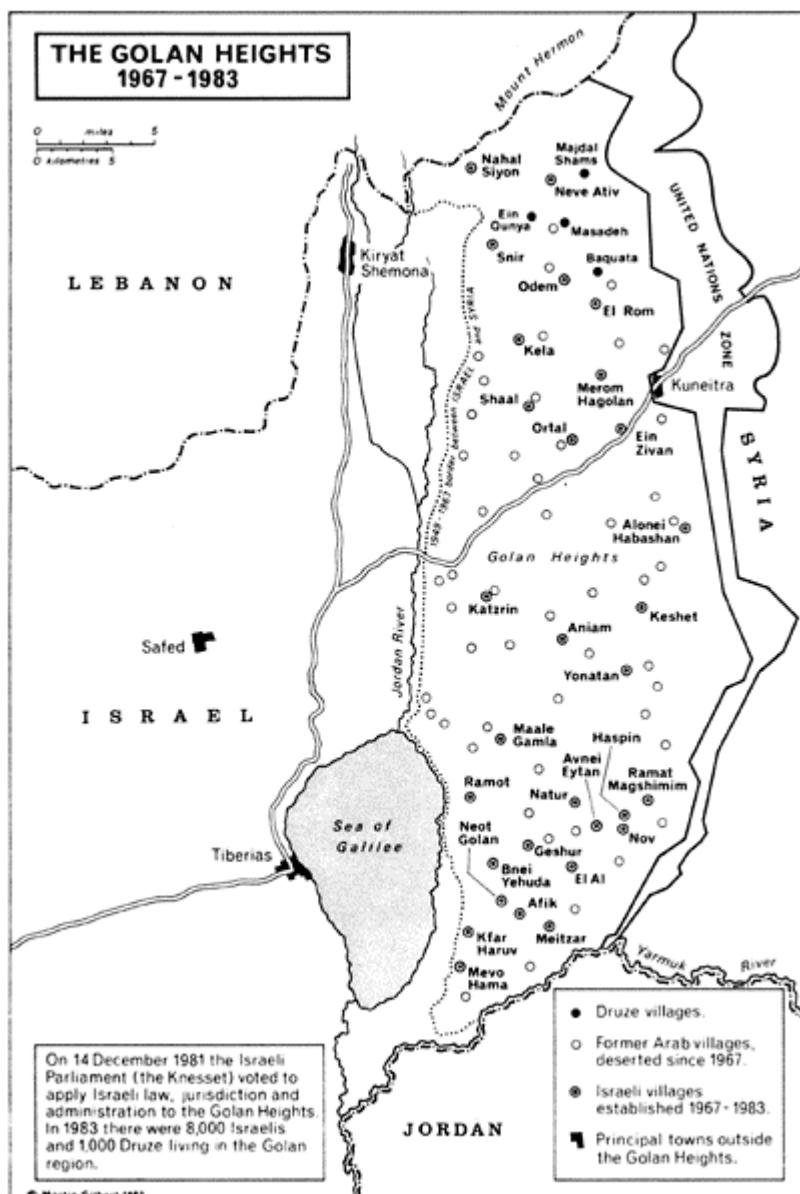




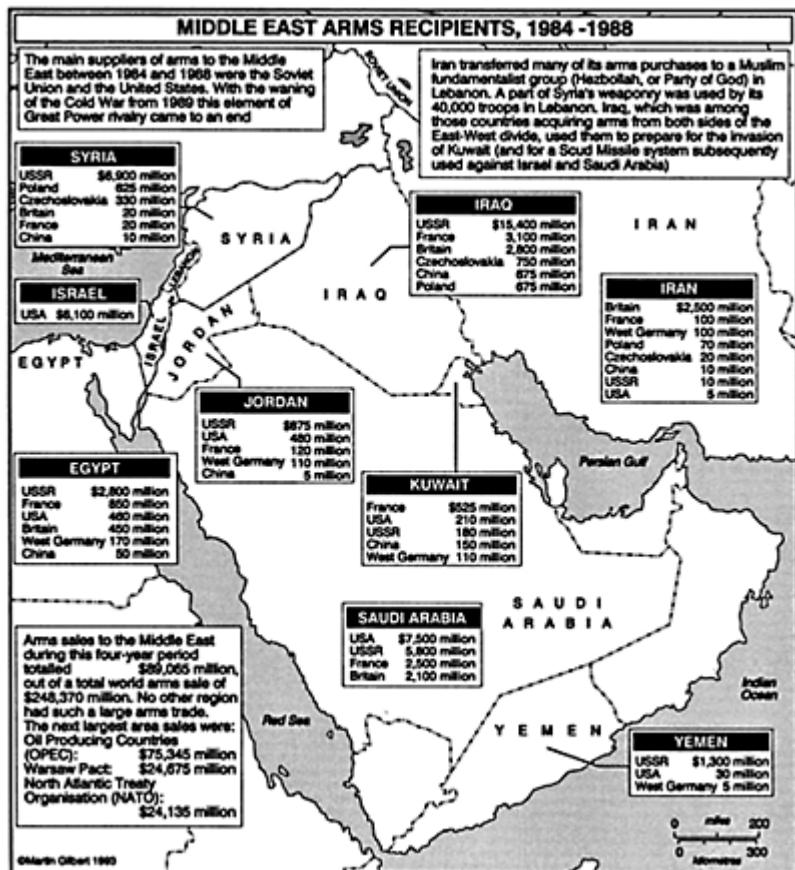








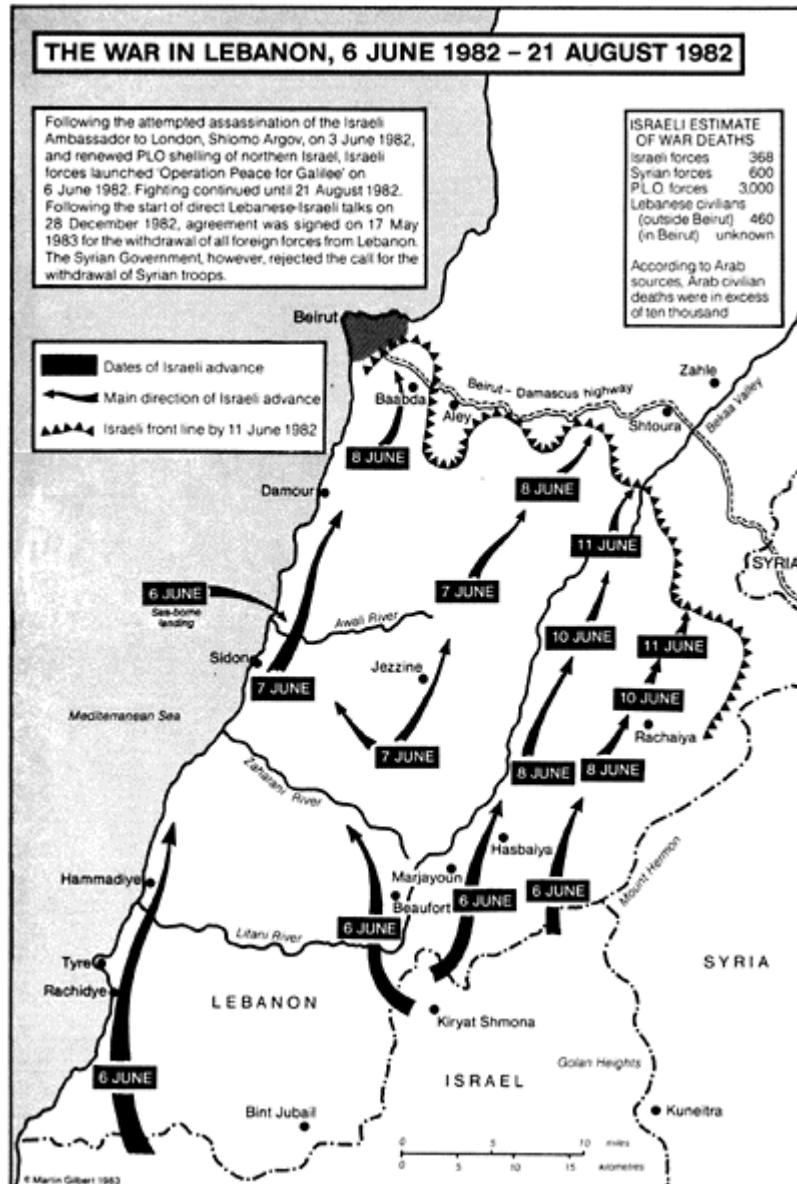


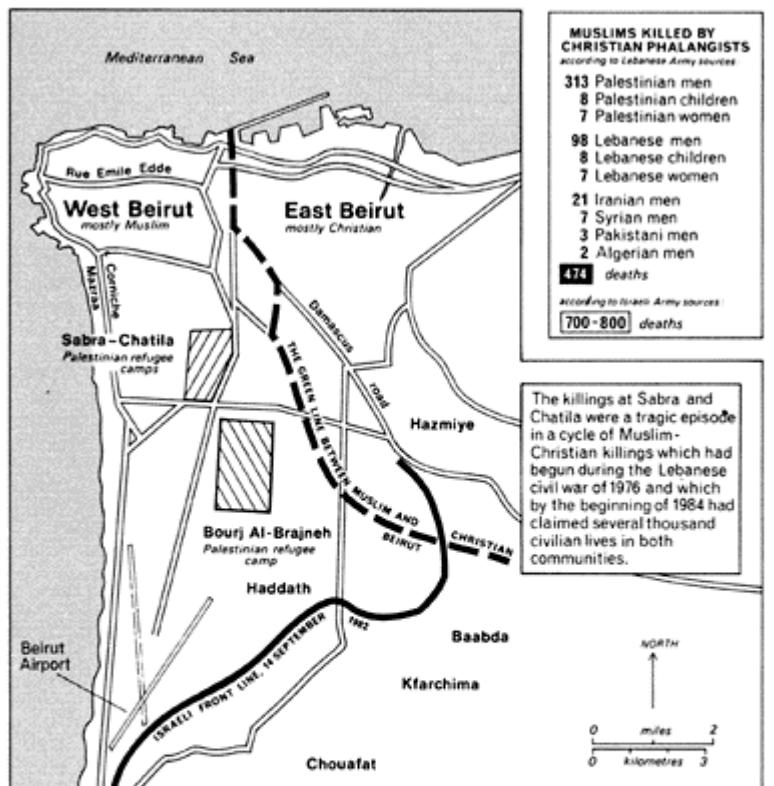


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SABRA AND CHATILA, 16 - 17 SEPTEMBER 1982

14 September: Bashir Gemayel, President Elect of Lebanon, killed in a bomb explosion

15 September: Israeli forces occupy West Beirut 'in order to protect the Muslims from the vengeance of the Phalangists'
(*Israeli PM, Menachem Begin*)

16 September: 'Christian Phalangist forces begin sweeping camps in West Beirut. A massacre of men, women and children took place in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps.'

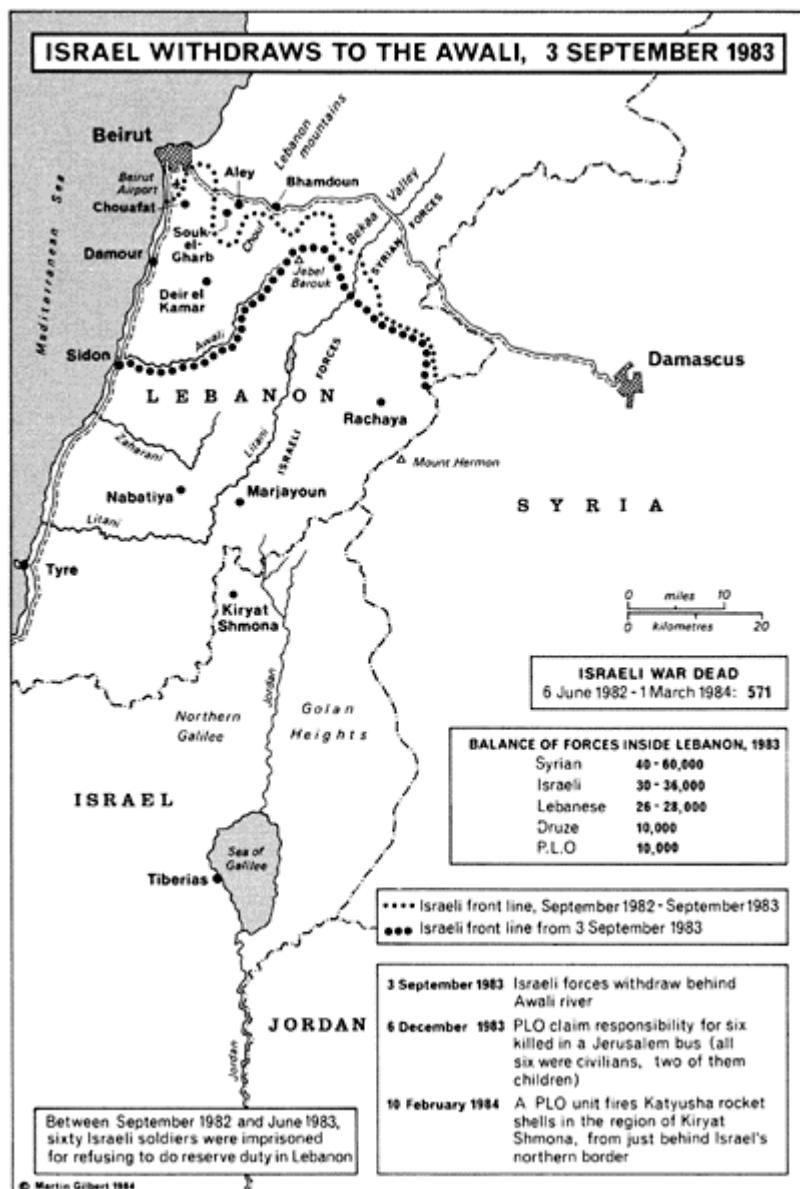
(*The Times, 3 January 1983*)

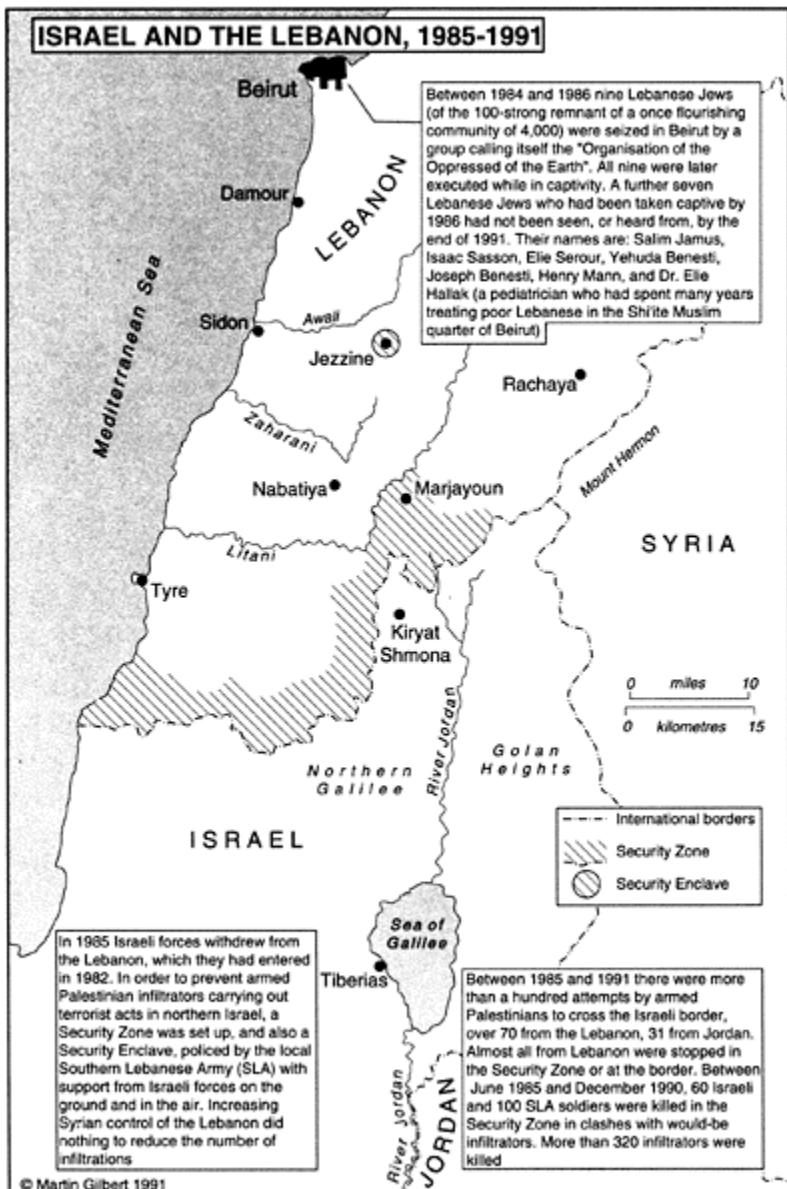
23 September: Amin Gemayel elected President

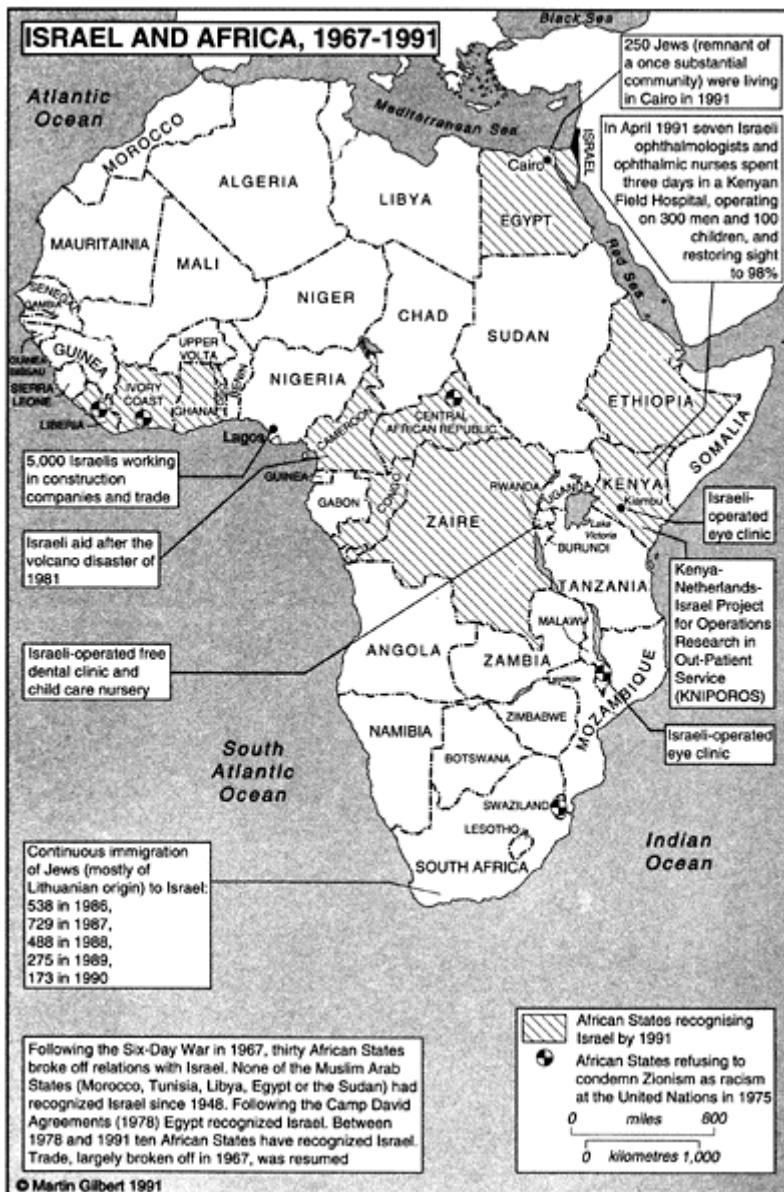
28 September: Israeli forces leave West Beirut

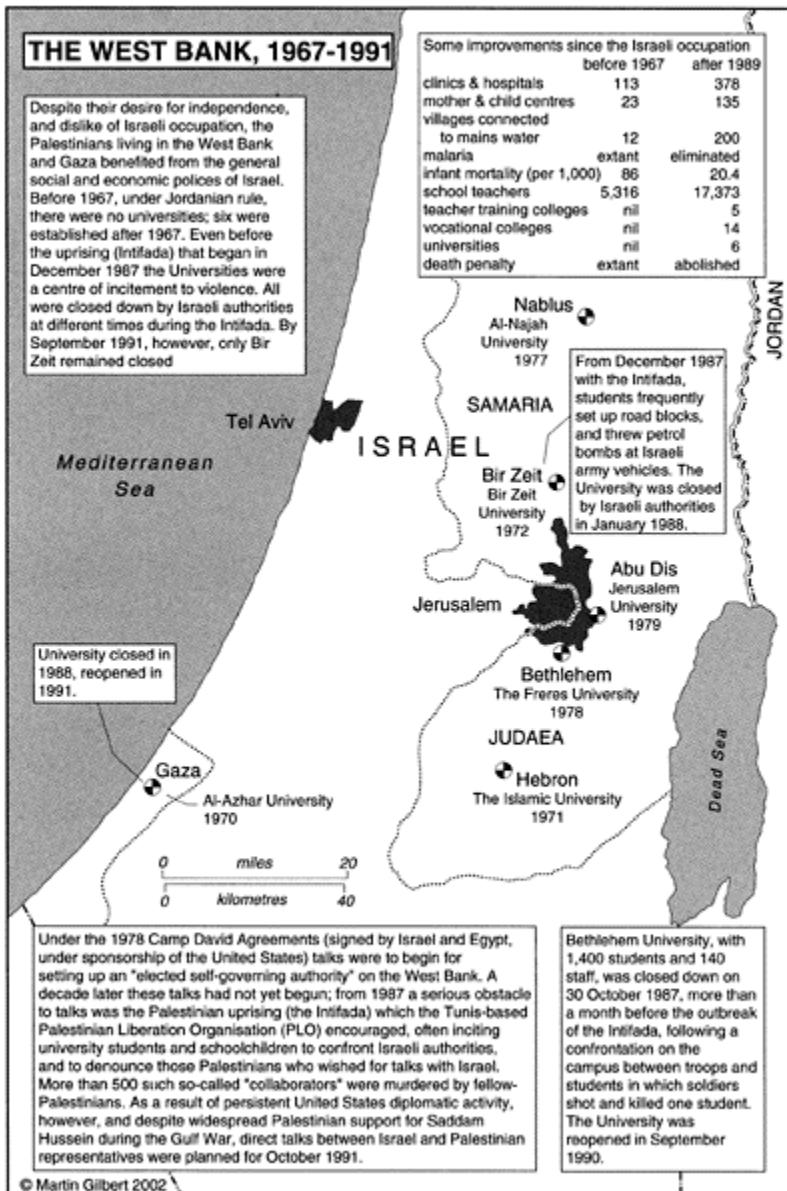
An Israeli judicial enquiry, the Kahan Report, concluded: 'No intention existed on the part of any Israeli element to harm the non-combatant population in the camps'. But the Director of Israeli Military Intelligence was criticized for 'closing his eyes and blocking his ears'; the Israeli Minister of Defence (Ariel Sharon) because humanitarian obligations 'did not concern him in the least'; and the Israeli Prime Minister (Menachem Begin) for unjustifiable 'indifference', and 'for not having evinced during or after the Cabinet session any interest in the Phalangists' actions in the camps'. (*Kahan Report, 7 February 1983*)

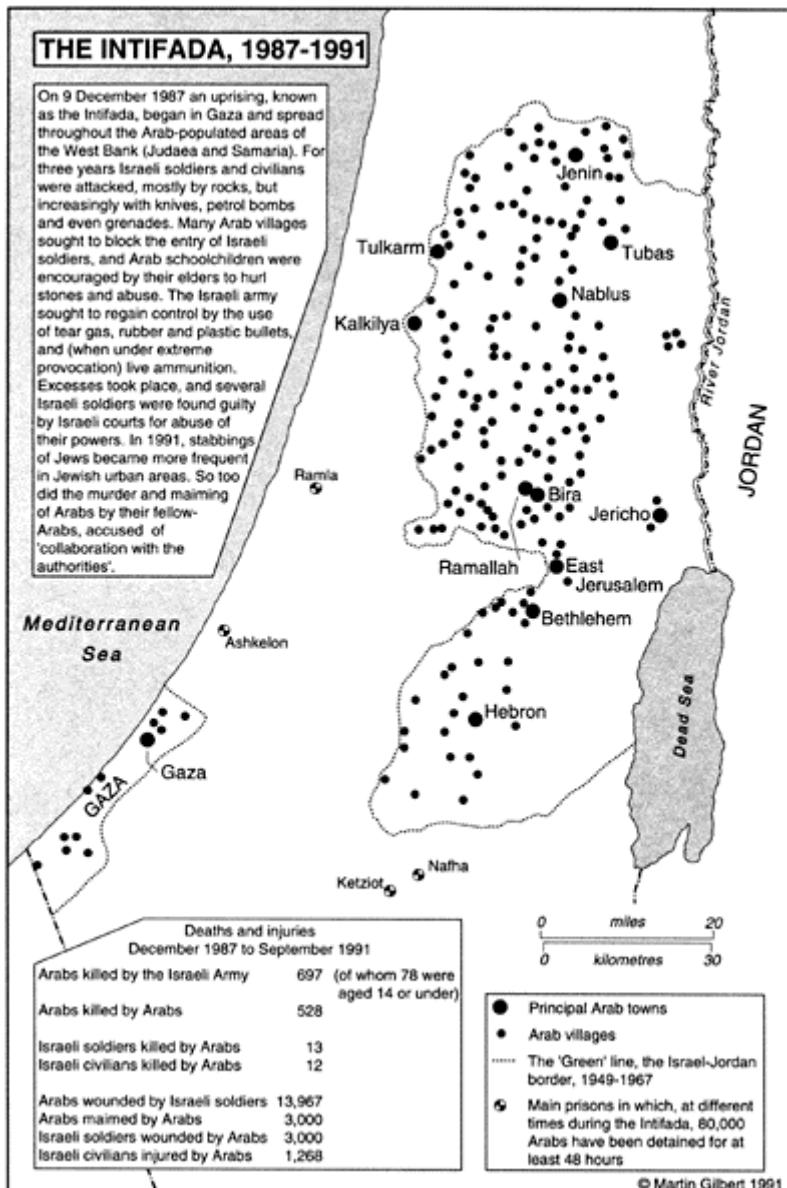
© Martin Gilbert 1984

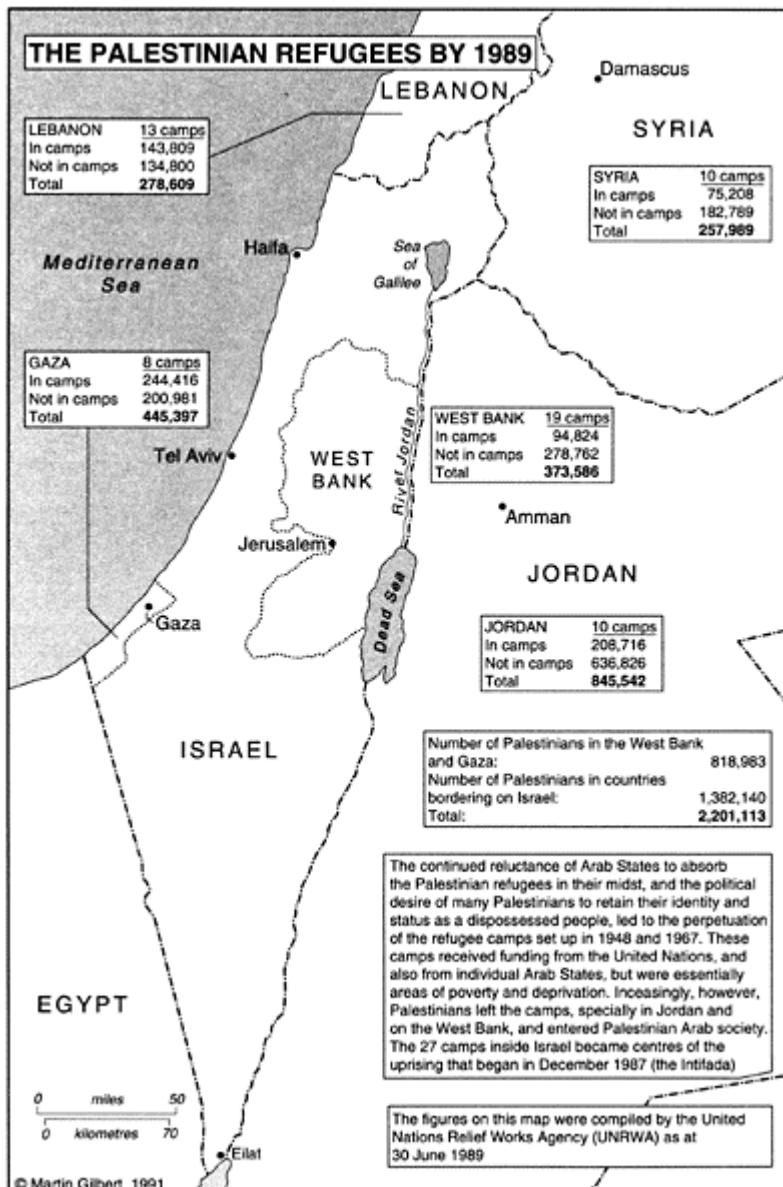






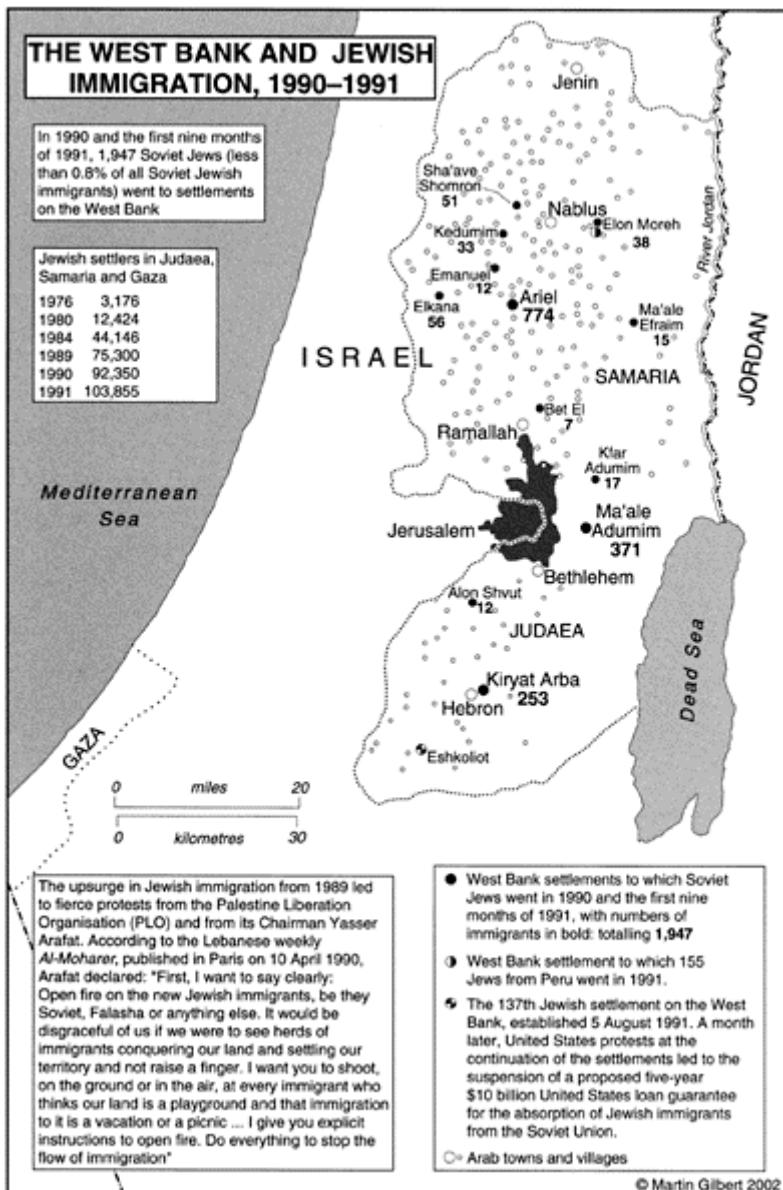


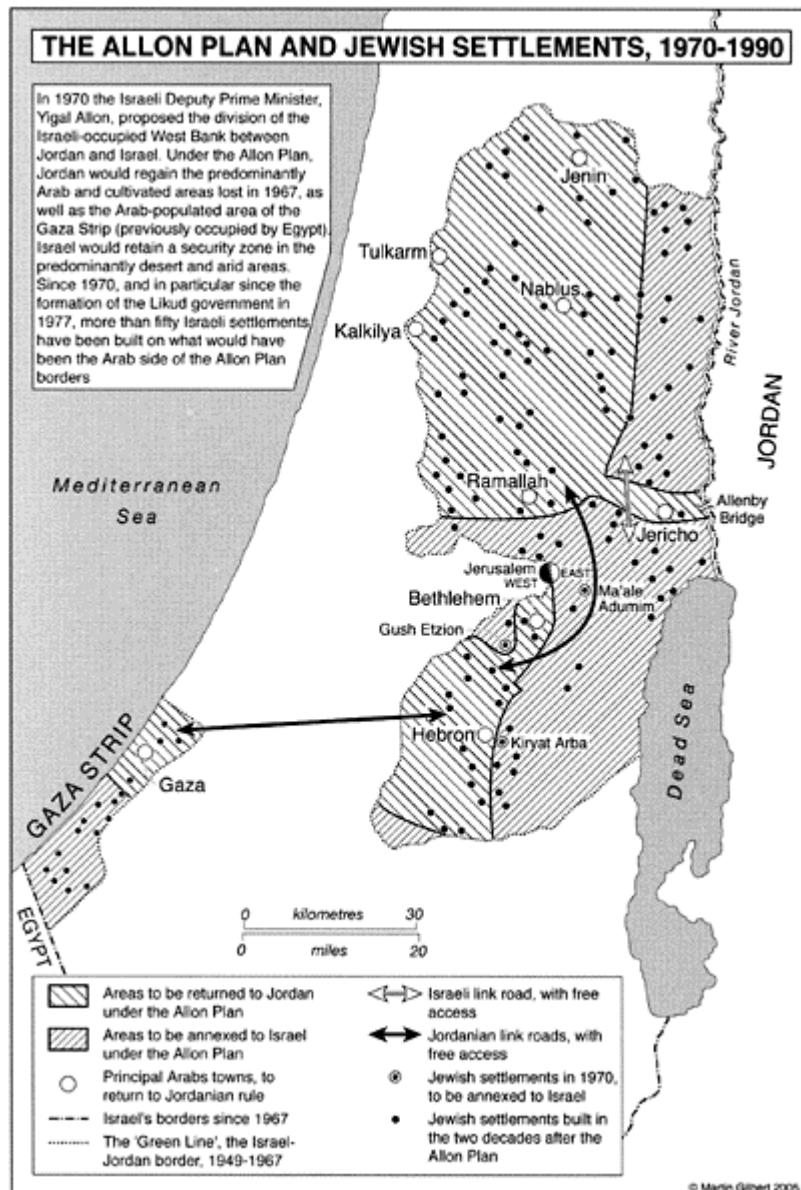


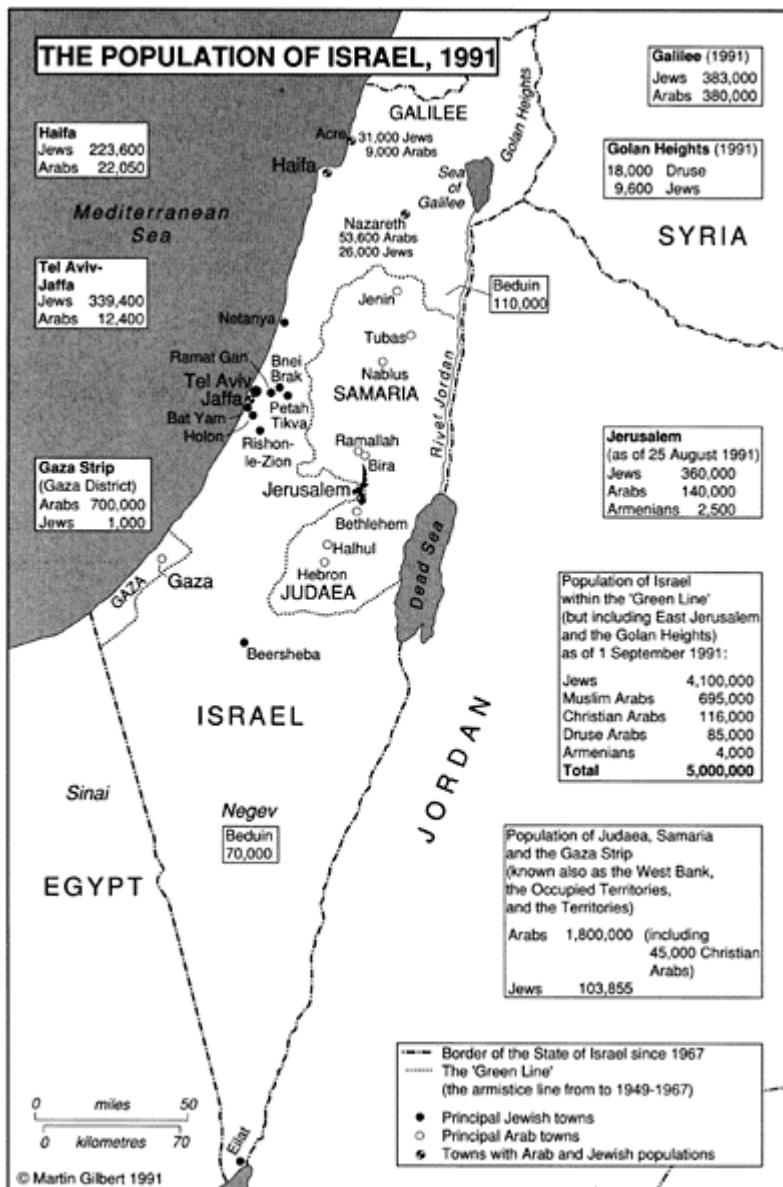


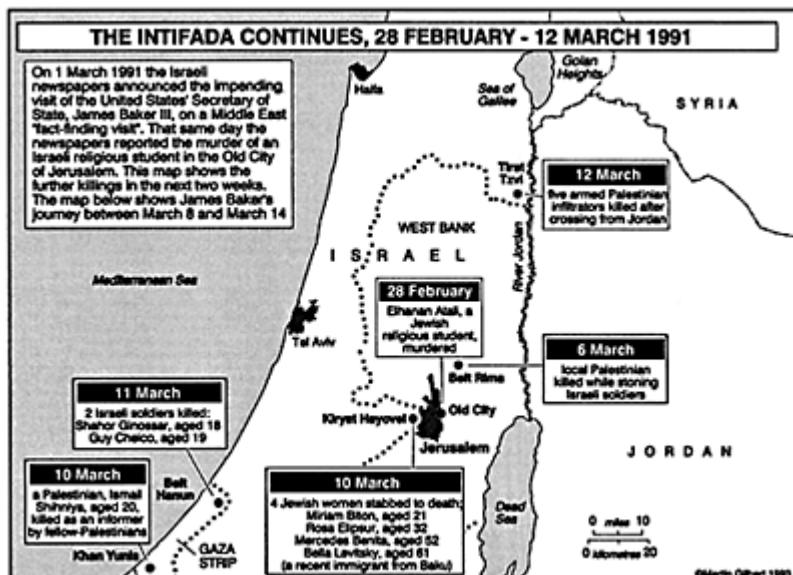




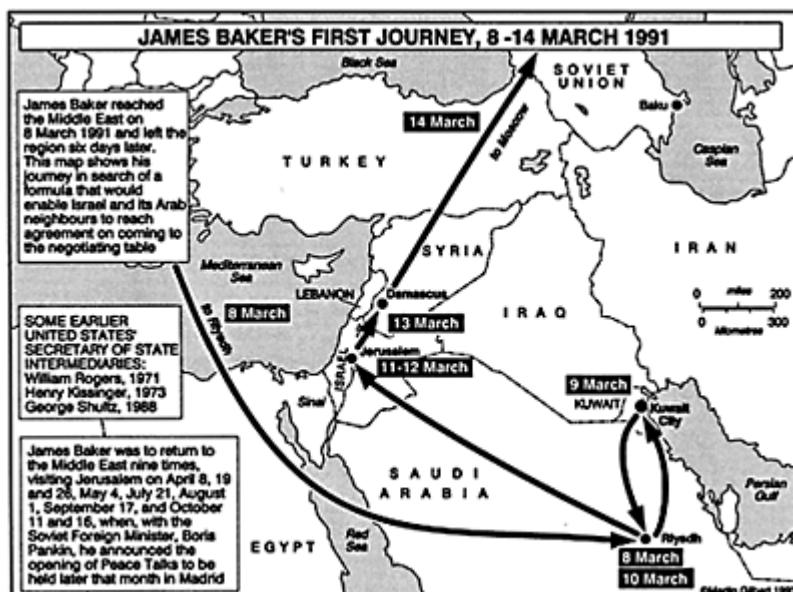








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THE INTIFADA INTENSIFIES, 1 NOVEMBER - 17 DECEMBER 1992

Even as the peace talks progressed, Palestinians who did not want them to succeed intensified their activities. The killing of three Israeli soldiers on 7 December 1992, the fifth anniversary of the start of the Intifada, was claimed by the military wing of the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas. On December 13 Hamas militants kidnapped an Israeli army Sergeant, Nissim Toledo, whose body was found, stabbed and bound, on December 15. Two days later Israel deported 415 Hamas activists (of a total of 1,600 then being held in detention).

Between 1967 and 1973 a total of 1,200 Palestinians were deported on suspicion of terrorist activity. Between the outbreak of the intifada in December 1987, and January 1991, a further 66 Palestinians were deported. On 2 January 1992, 12 Palestinians were deported. On 24 August 1992 a further 11 deportation orders were cancelled as a goodwill gesture by Israel as peace talks resumed in Washington.

13 December
Nissim Toledano kidnapped, tortured and murdered by Hamas. His body was found two days later.

14 November
Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration
27 November
Israeli troops kill

**Israeli troops kill
a Palestinian**

The map shows the following locations and events:

- Sheikh Radwan**: A grey shaded area representing the northern part of Gaza City.
- Gaza City**: The main urban area.
- Khan Yunis**: Located in the southern part of the city.
- Rafah**: Located in the far south.
- Jibalya refugee camp**: Located in the northern part of the city.
- Shati refugee camp**: Located in the northern part of the city.
- UNRWA office**: Located in the northern part of the city.

Incident Dates:

- 1 December**: Israel troops kill a 12-year-old and a 22-year-old stonethrower.
- 7 November**: Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration.
- 12 December**: 1 Palestinian stonethrower shot dead by Israeli troops.
- 3 December**: 3 Israeli soldiers killed.

14 November Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration EGYPT	Kazaf 10 November Israeli troops kill three Palestinians during a demonstration
--	---

LEBANON

SYRIA

ISRAEL

Golan Heights

Sea of Galilee

Balata refugee camp

Nablus

WEST BANK

A-Ram

SAMARA

Jerusalem

Hebron

JUDAEA

River Jordan

Dead Sea

14 November
Israeli troops kill a Palestinian suspected of being a fugitive

3 December
a 17-year-old Palestinian killed while a bomb he was preparing exploded

23 November
Israeli soldiers kill a 12-year-old Palestinian boy while firing at stone throwers

1-30 November
3,000 stoning incidents
400 cars burnt
24 non-fatal stabbings

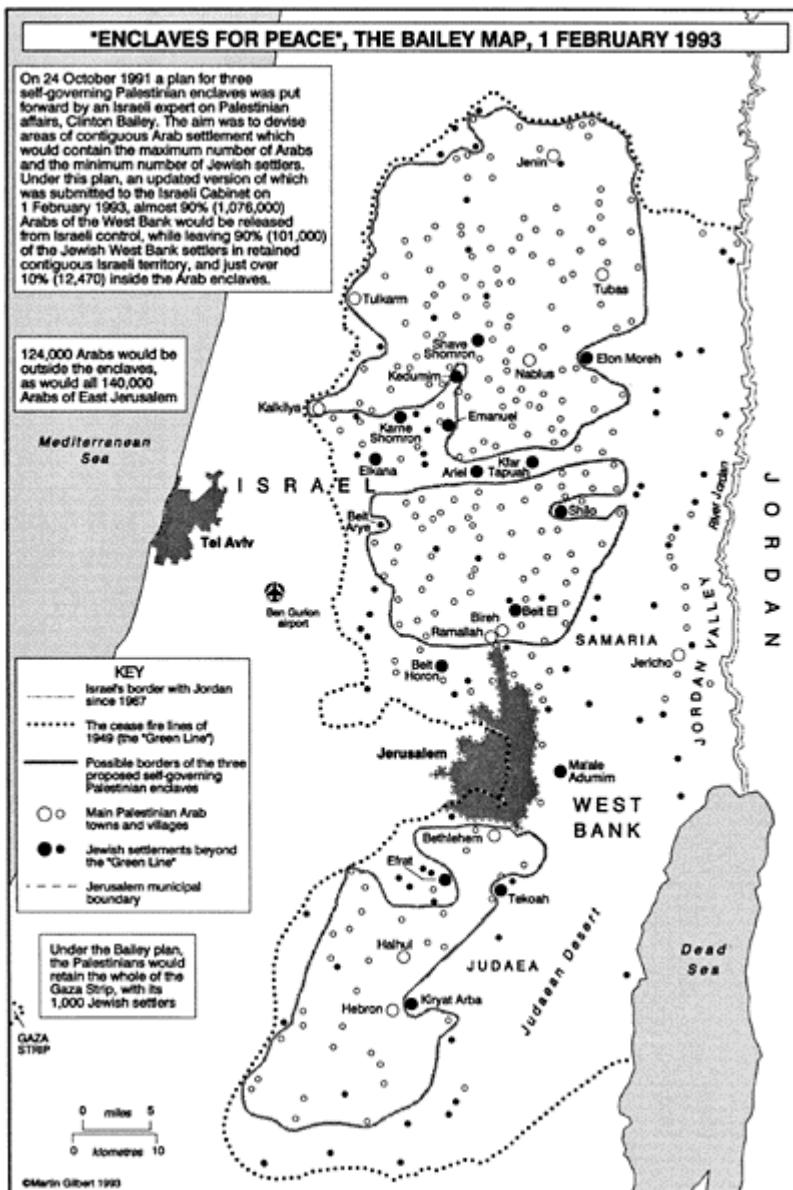
11 November
Israeli troops kill a 15-year-old Palestinian youth in a stone throwing crowd

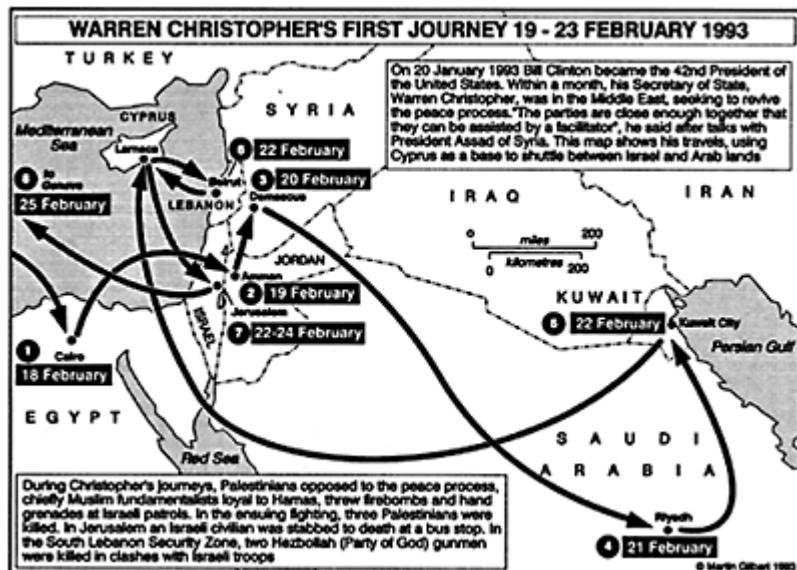
13 November
Israeli troops kill a 17-year-old stone thrower who refuses to halt

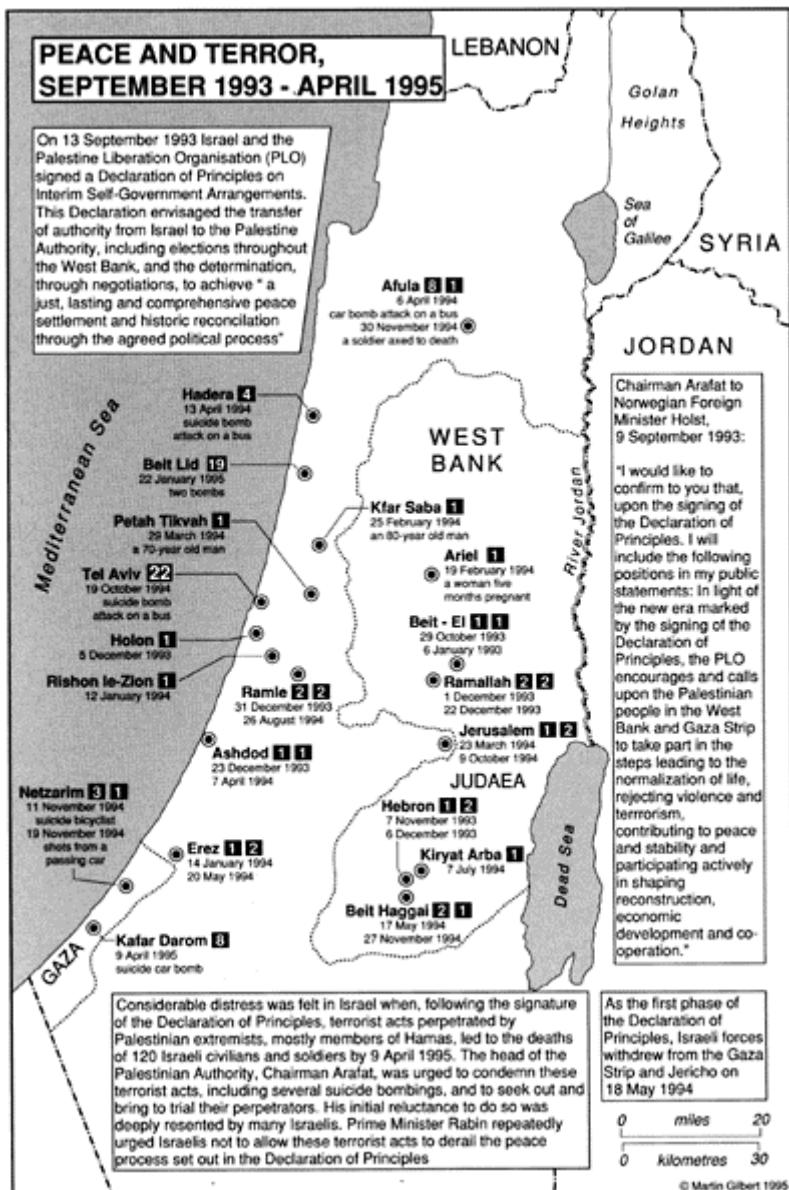
0 miles 10

0 kilometres 20

©Martin Dittmer 1993



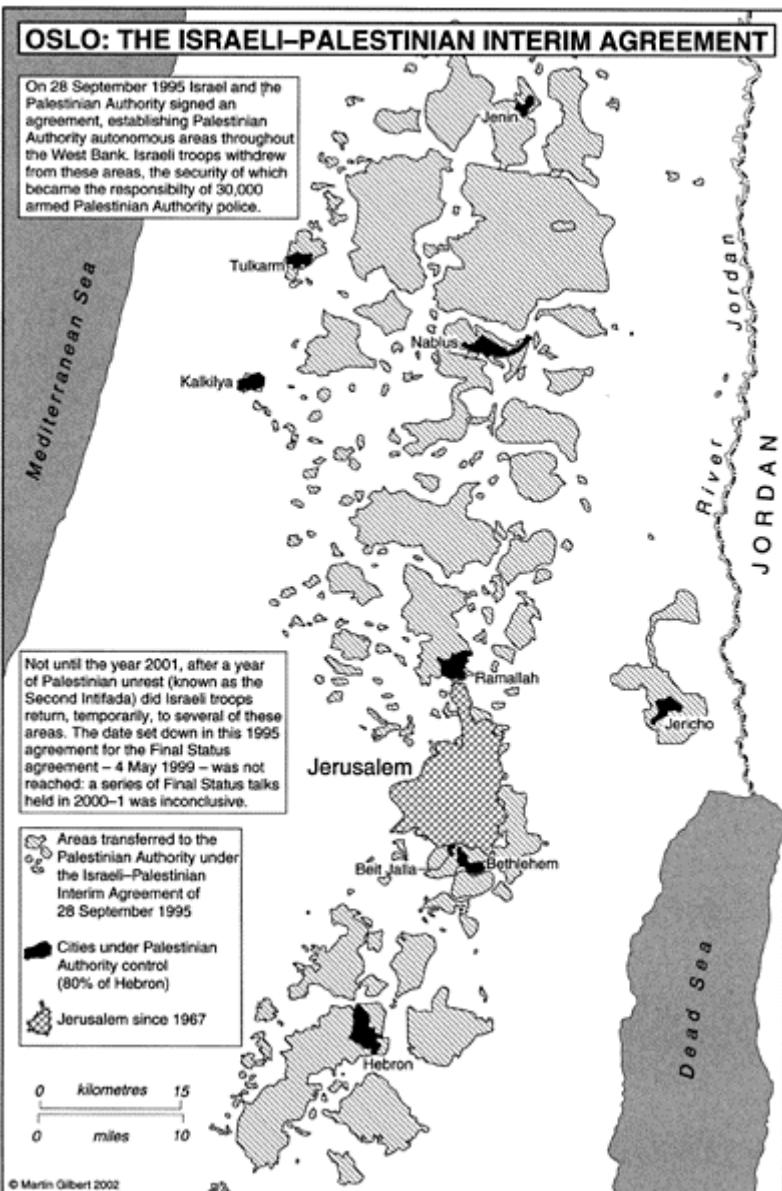


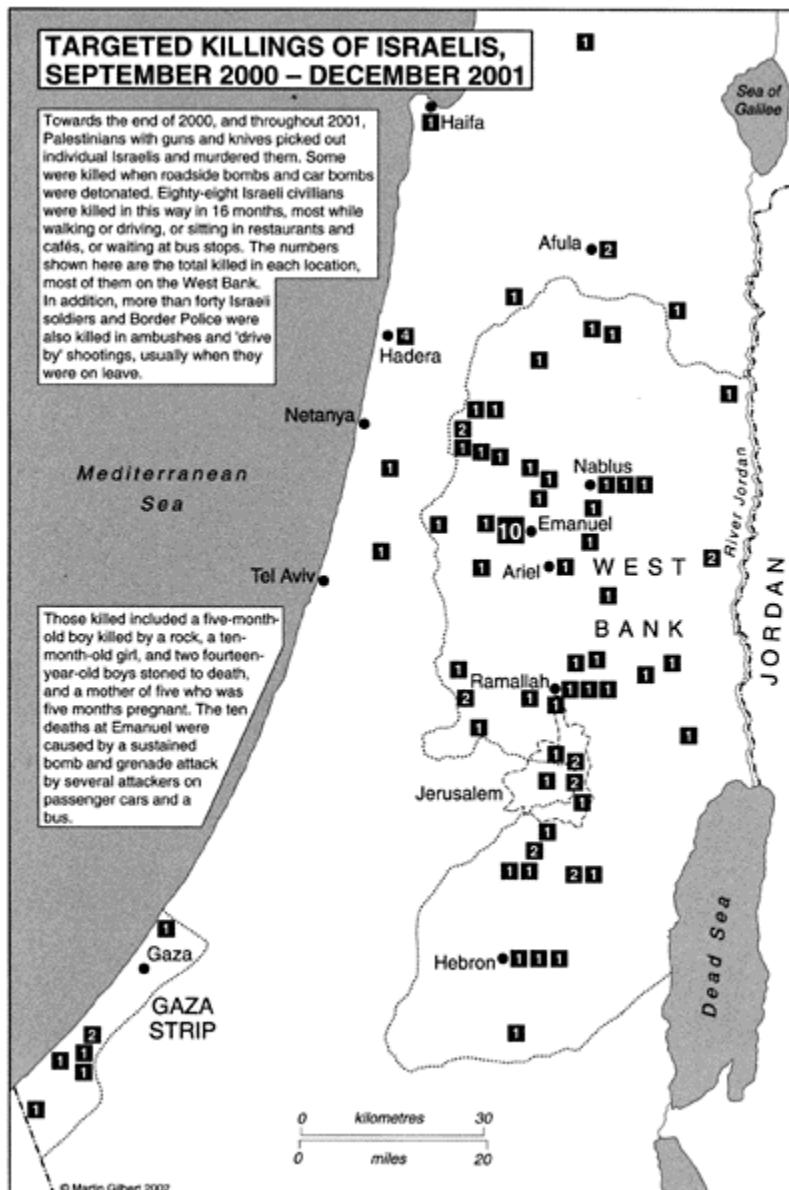


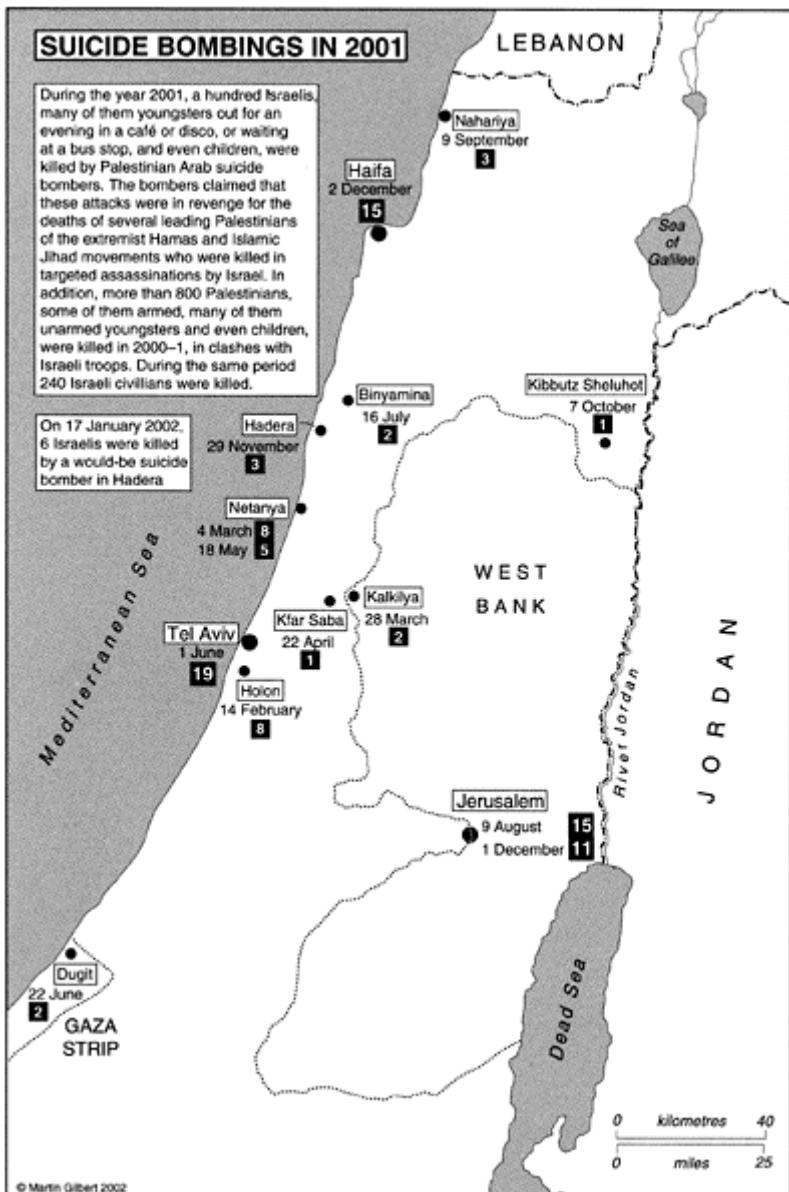


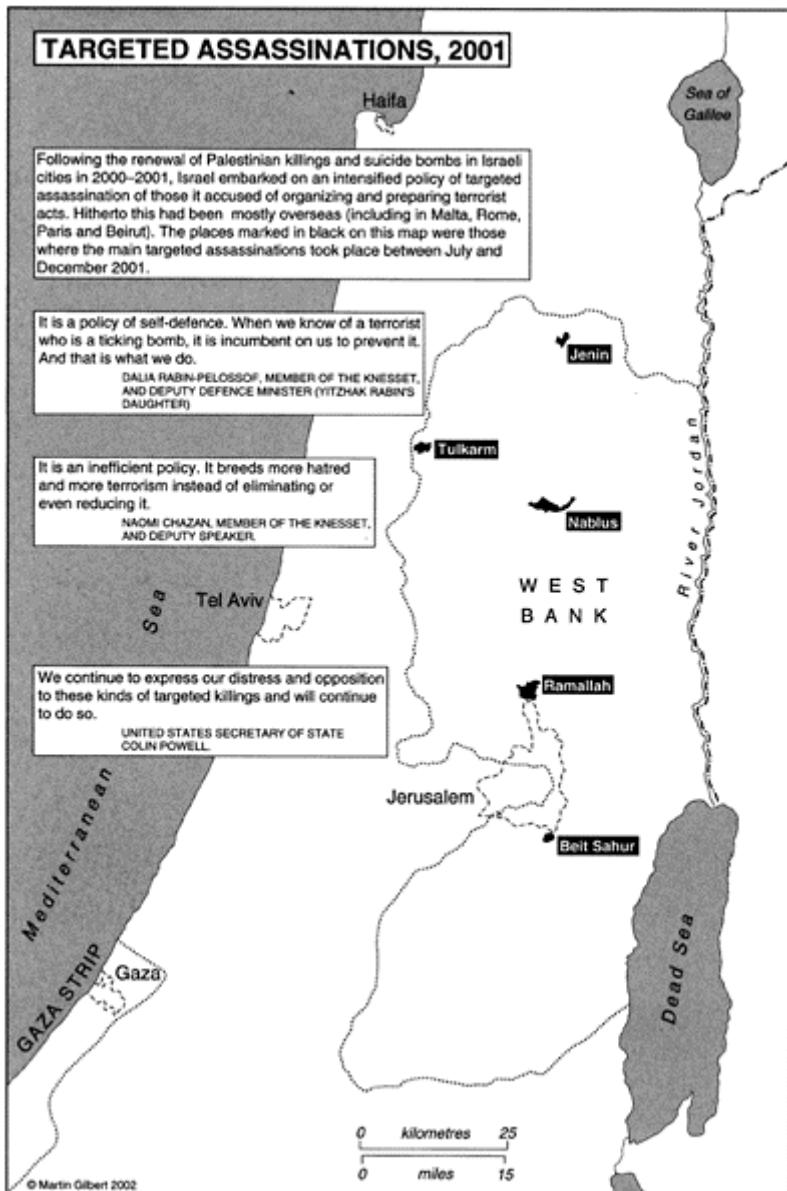


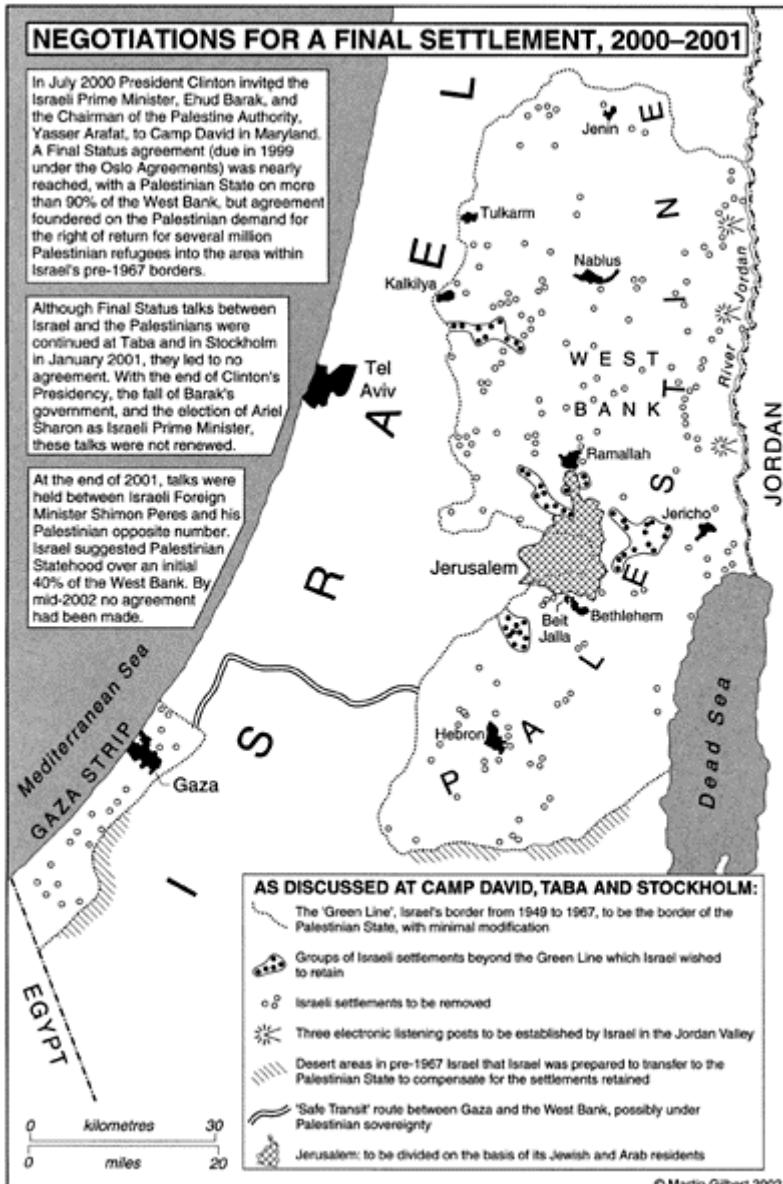


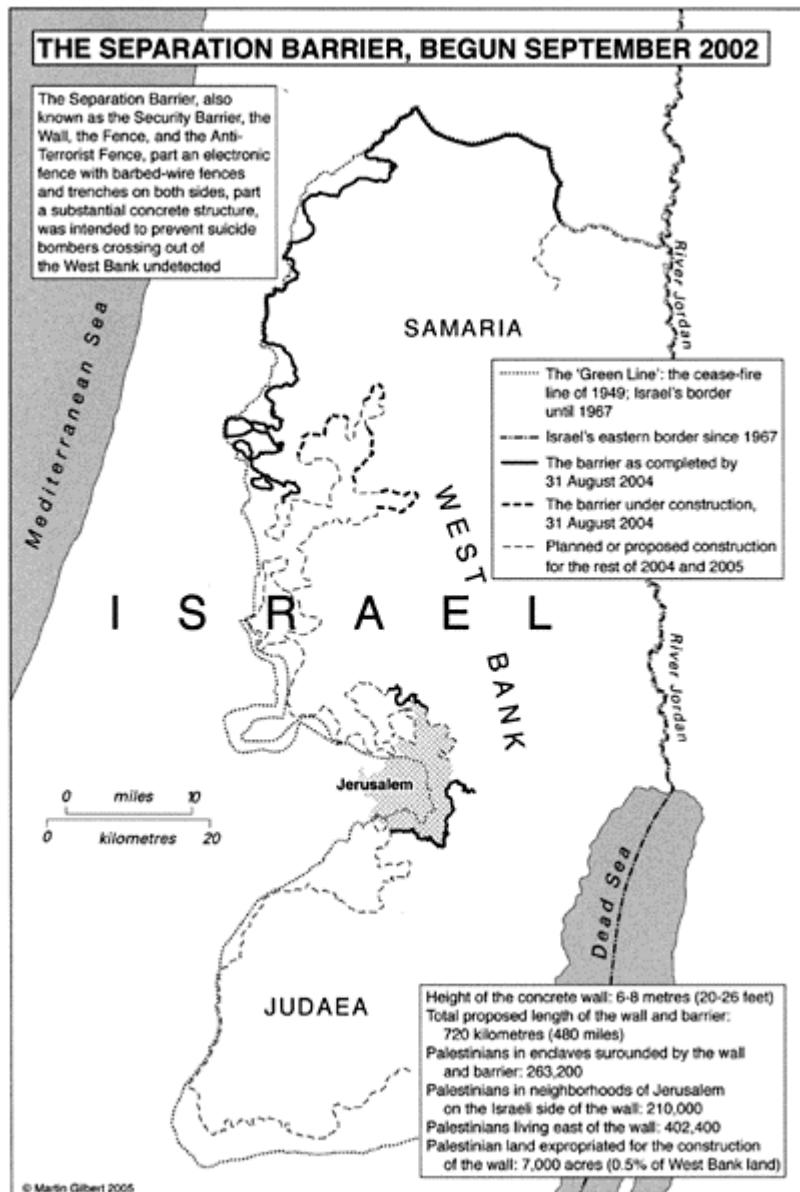


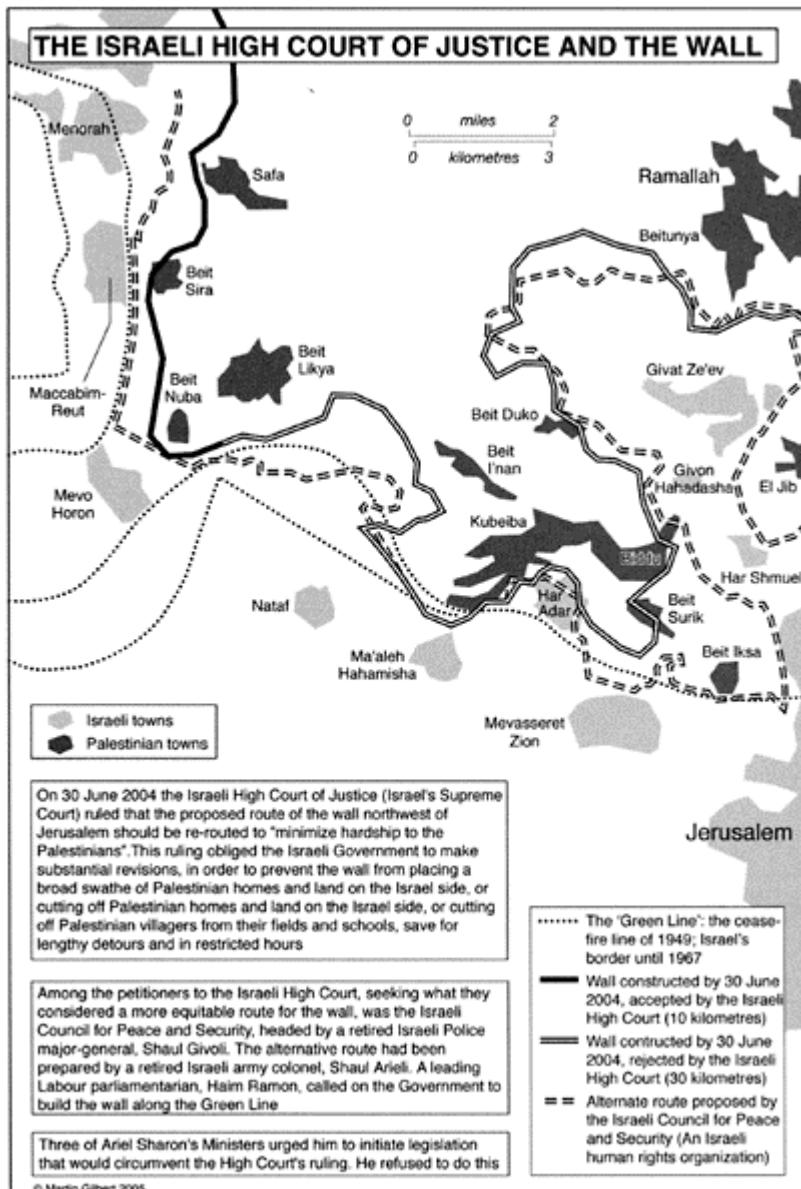








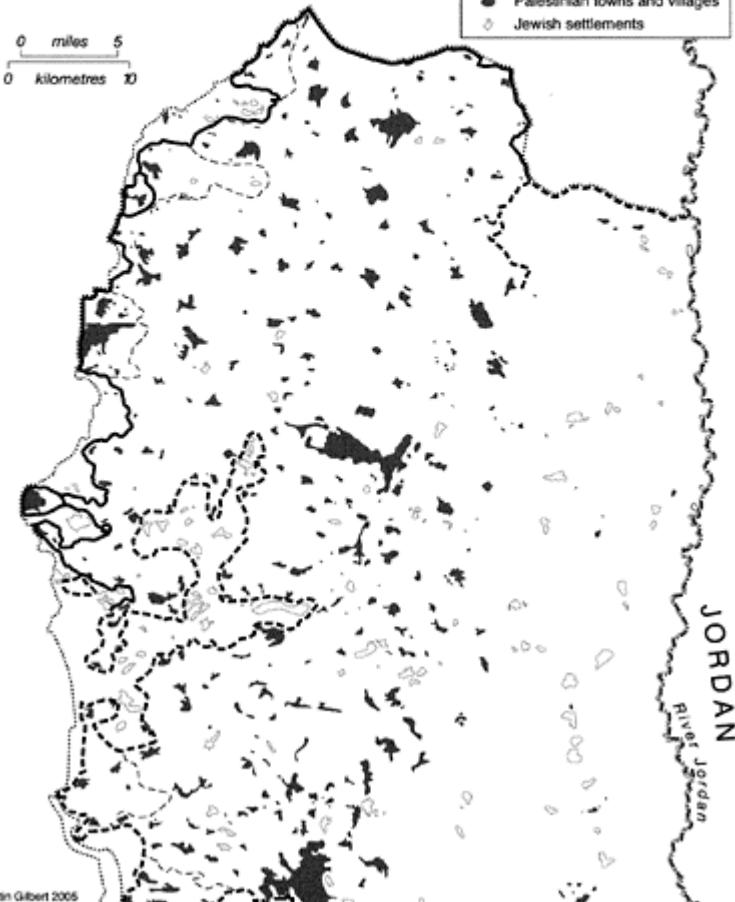


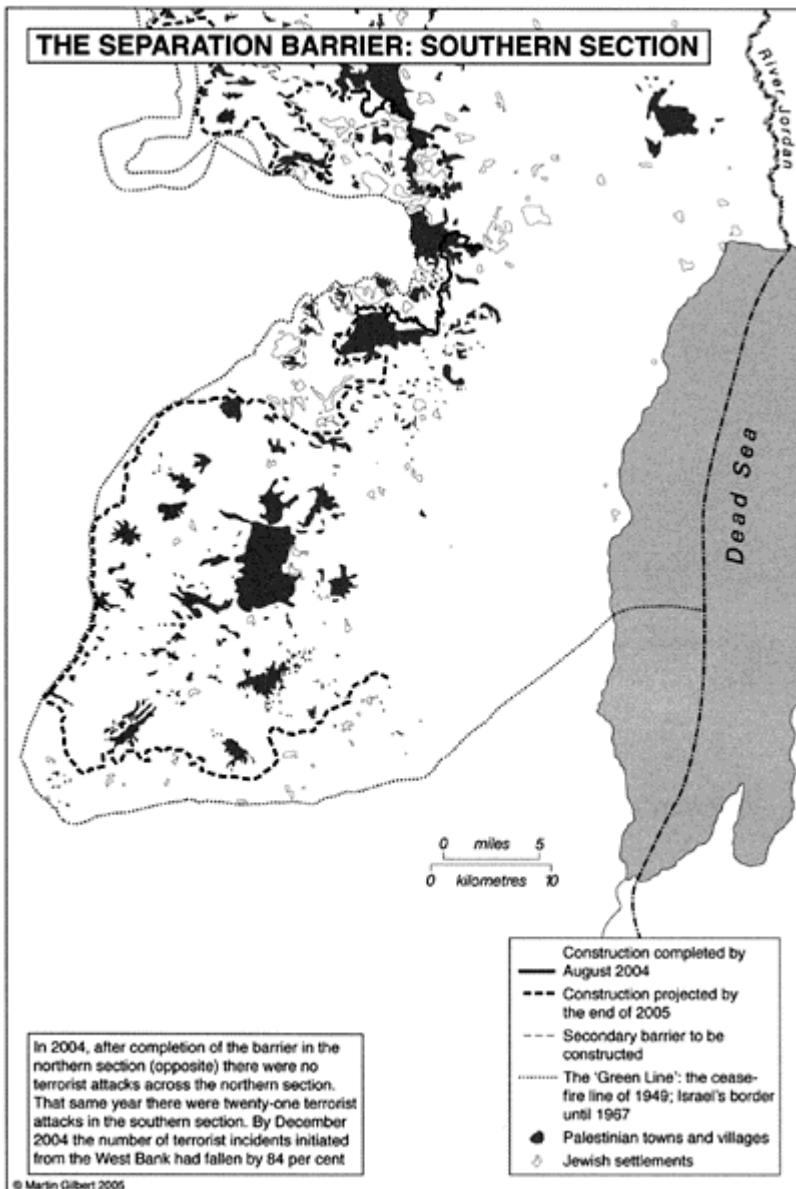


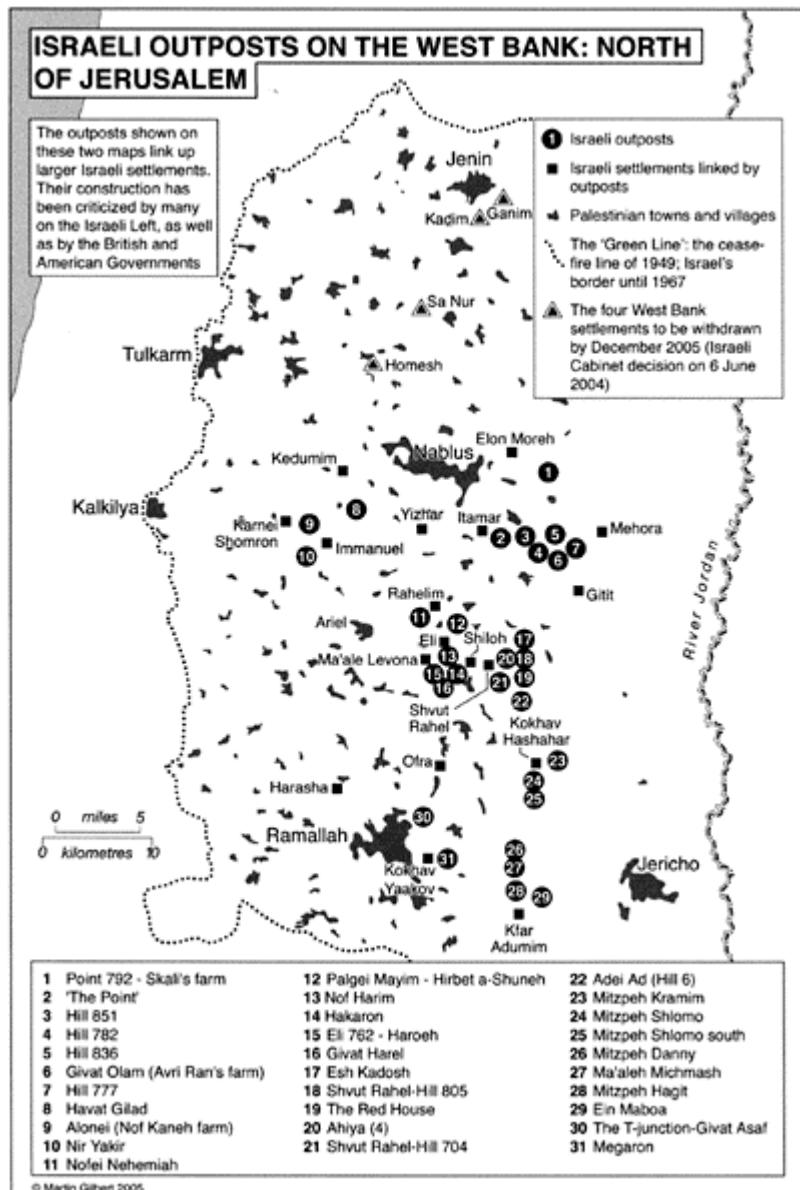
THE SEPARATION BARRIER: NORTHERN SECTION

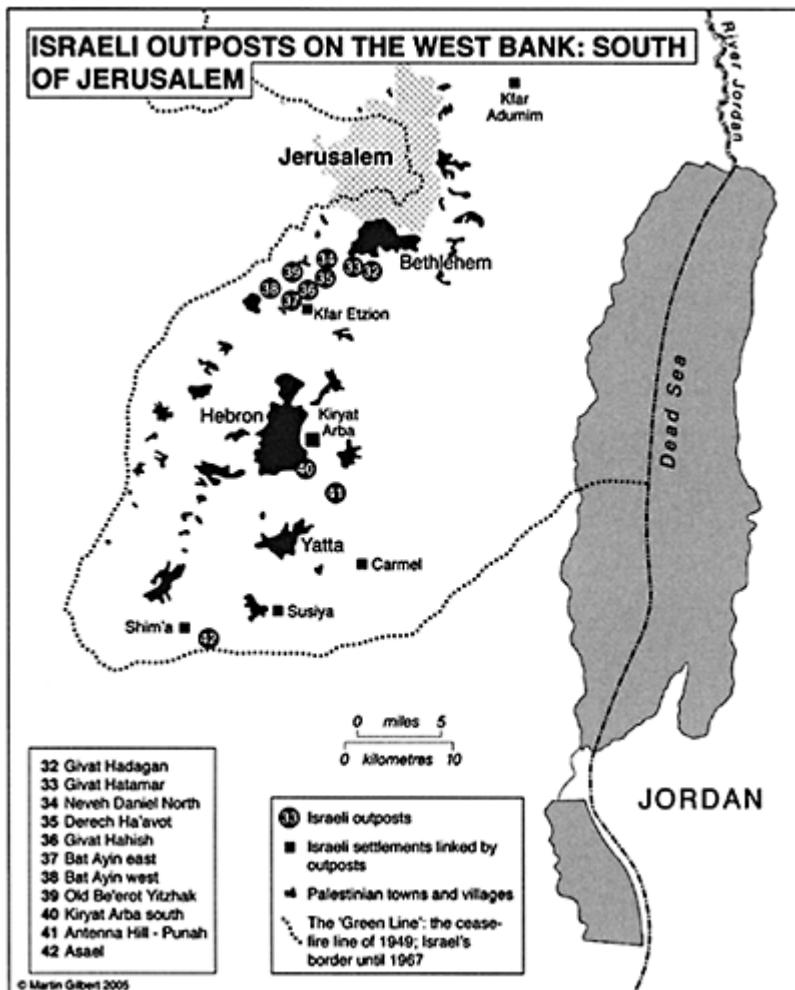
The Separation Barrier, also known as the Security Barrier, the Wall, the Fence and the Anti-Terrorist Fence, part an electronic fence with barbed-wire fences and trenches on both sides, part a substantial concrete structure, was intended to prevent suicide bombers crossing out of the West Bank undetected. Between September 2000 and the completion of all the northern and most of the Jerusalem sectors of the fence eighteen months later, 431 Israelis were killed in 137 suicide bombings, one hundred in March 2002 alone. The rate of killing fell dramatically as the fence was constructed.

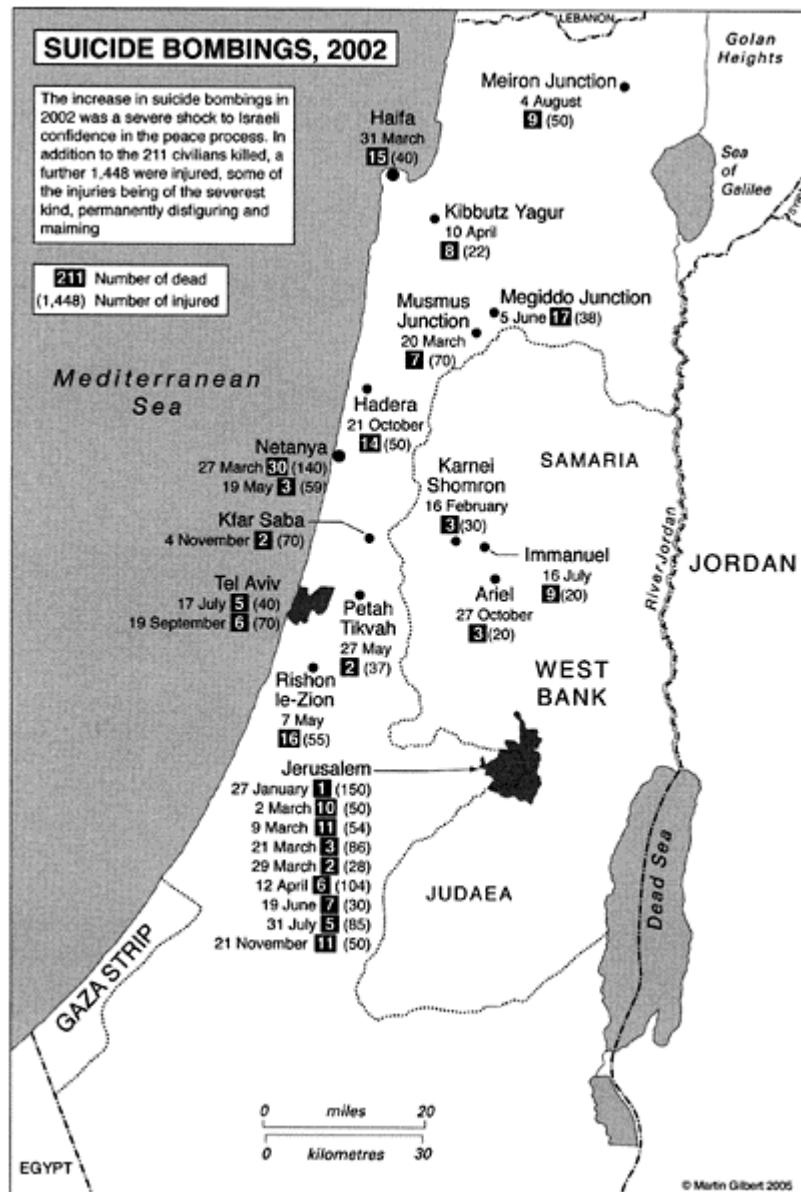
- Construction completed by August 2004
- - Construction projected by the end of 2005
- - - Secondary barrier to be constructed
- The 'Green Line': the ceasefire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Palestinian towns and villages
- Jewish settlements

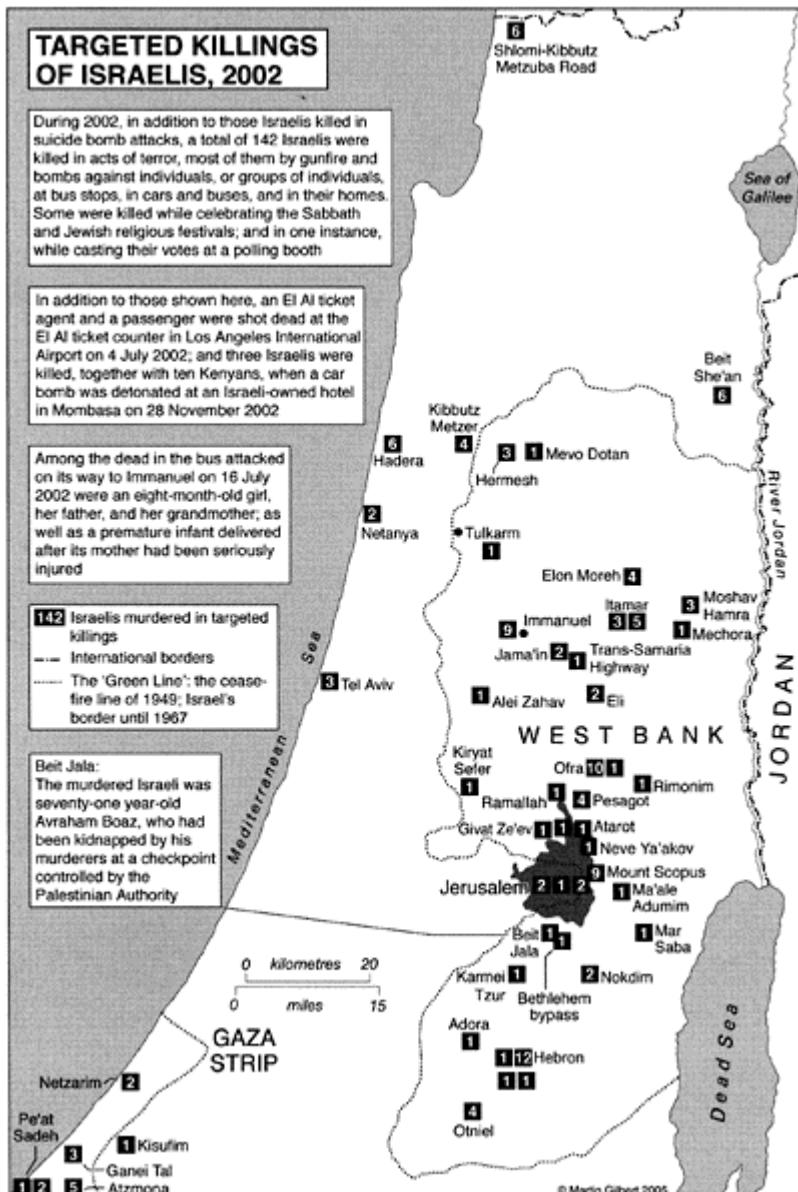


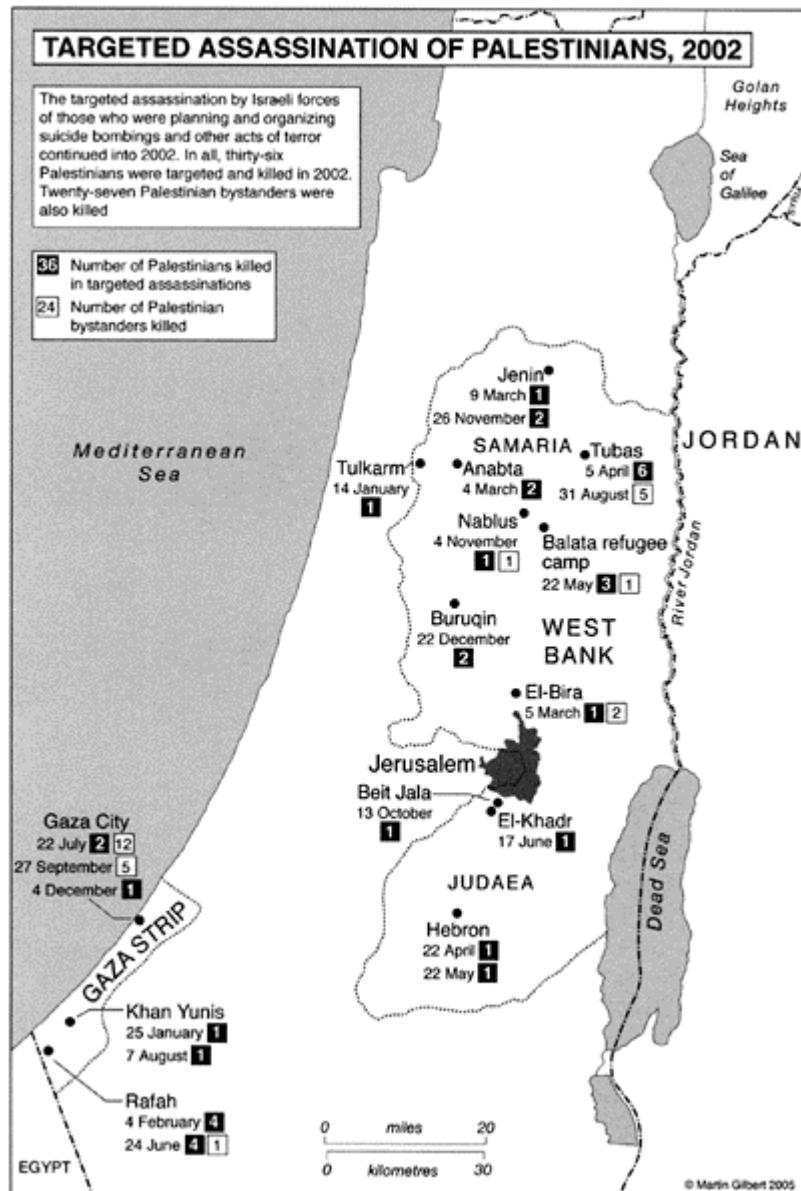


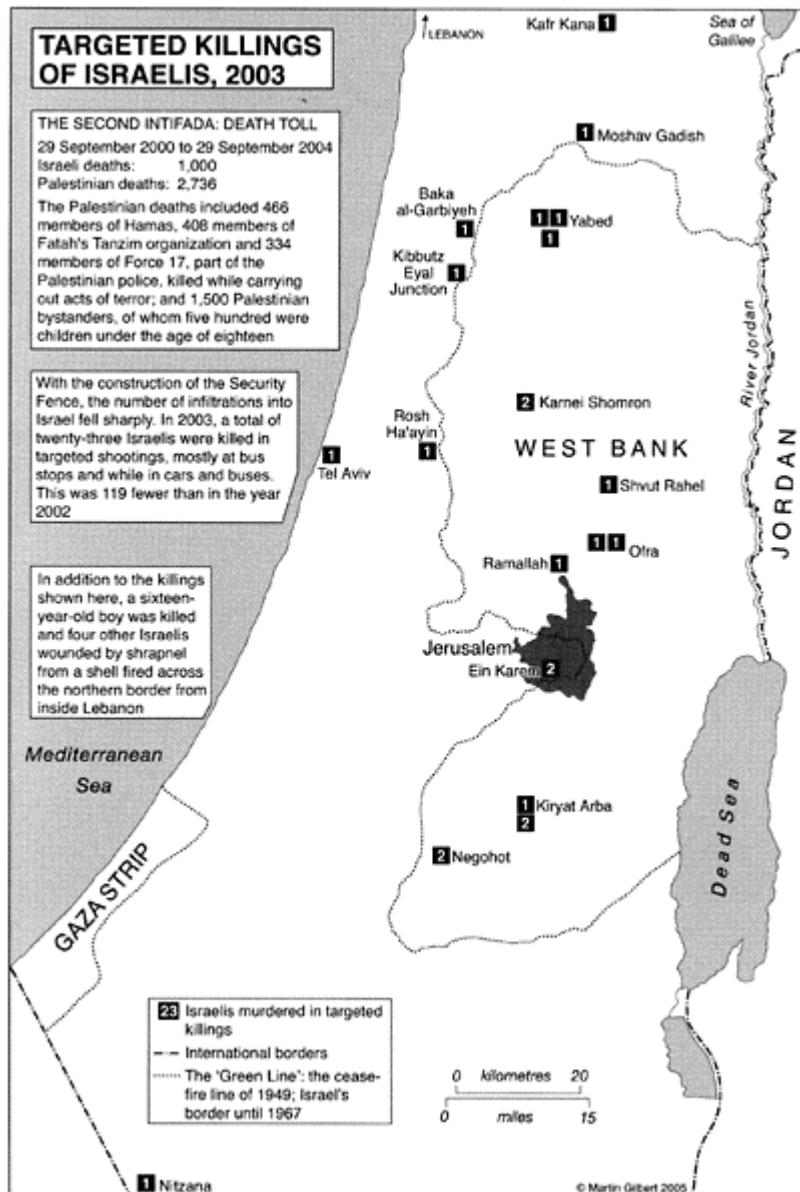


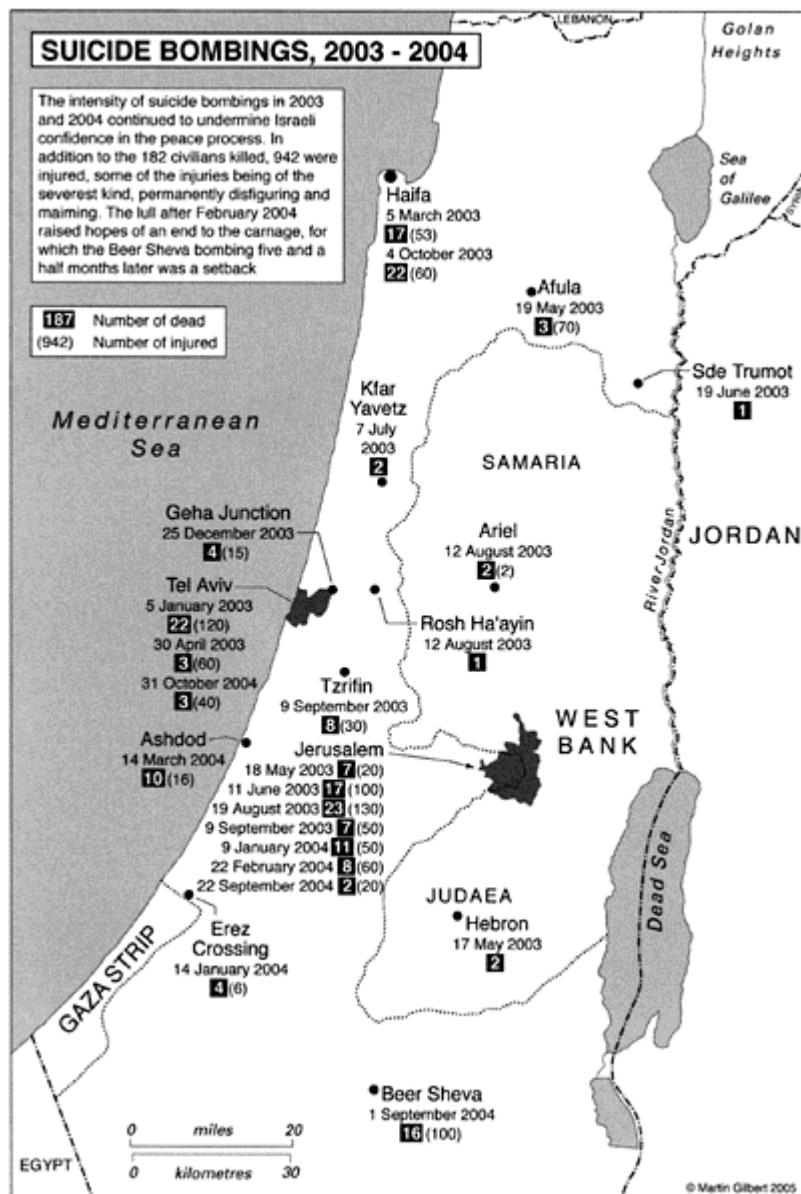


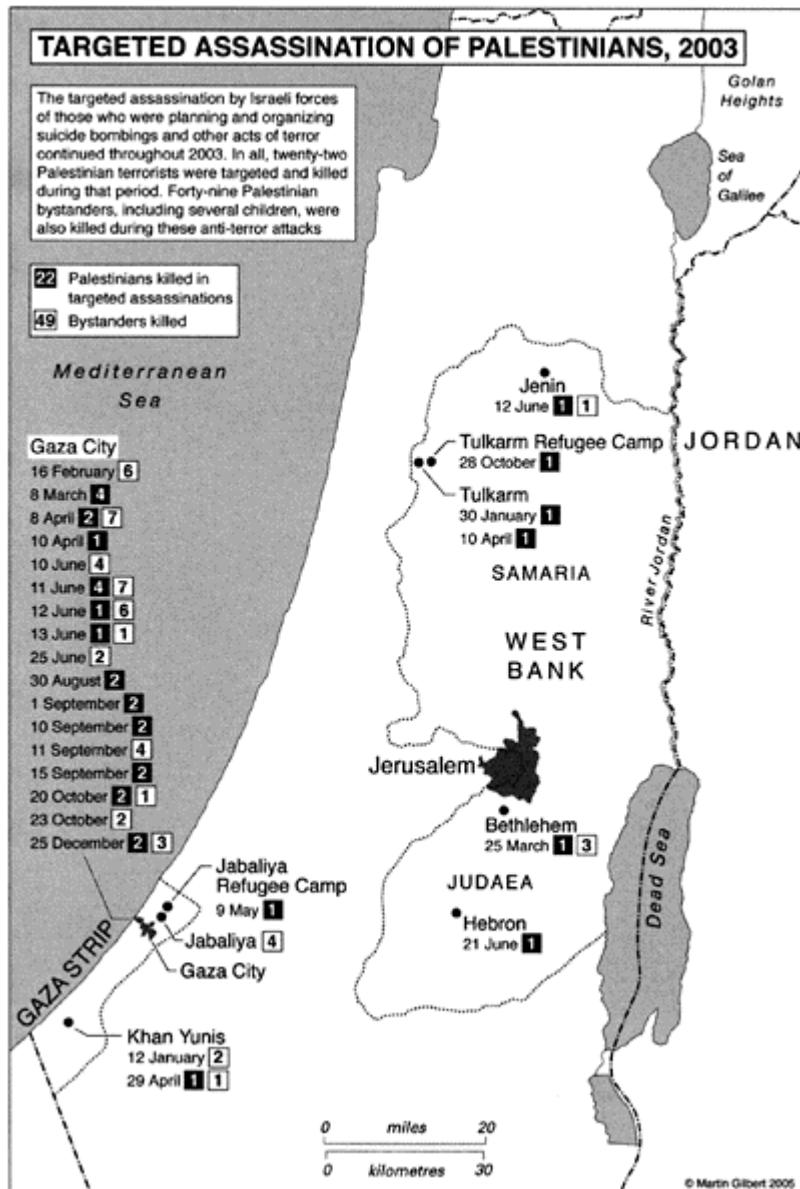


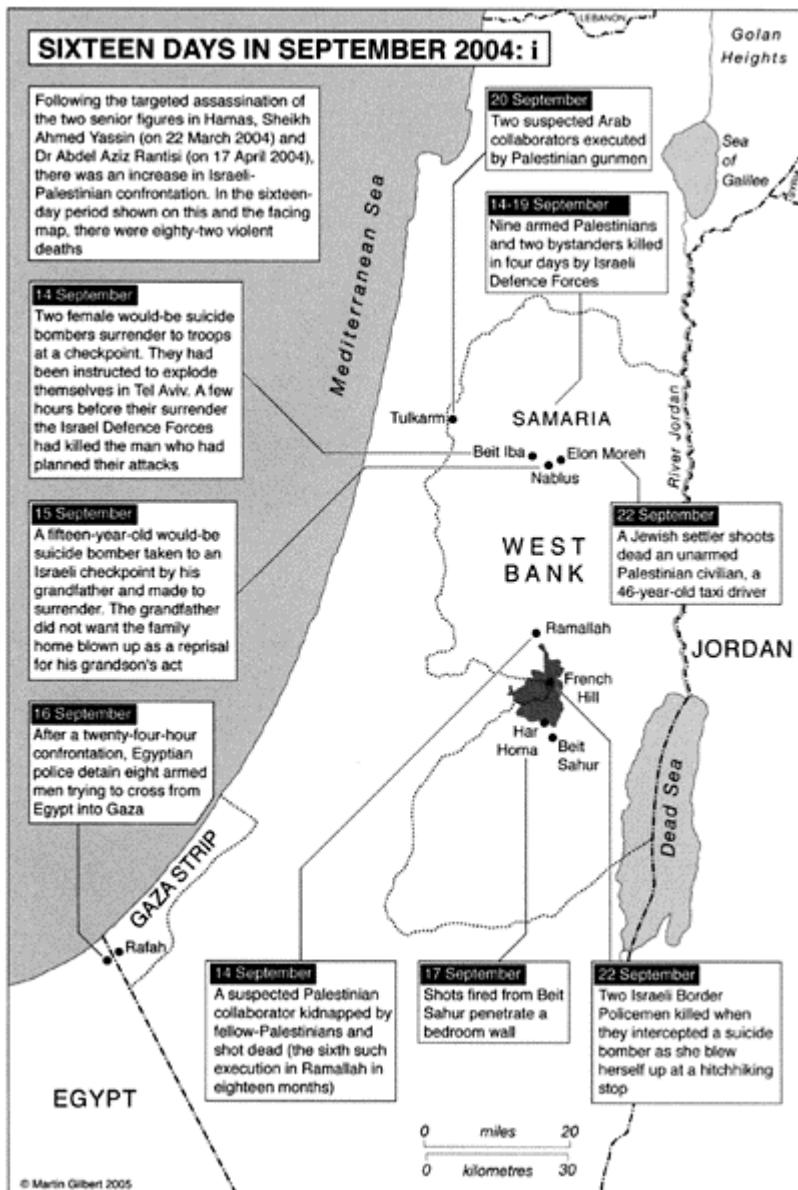


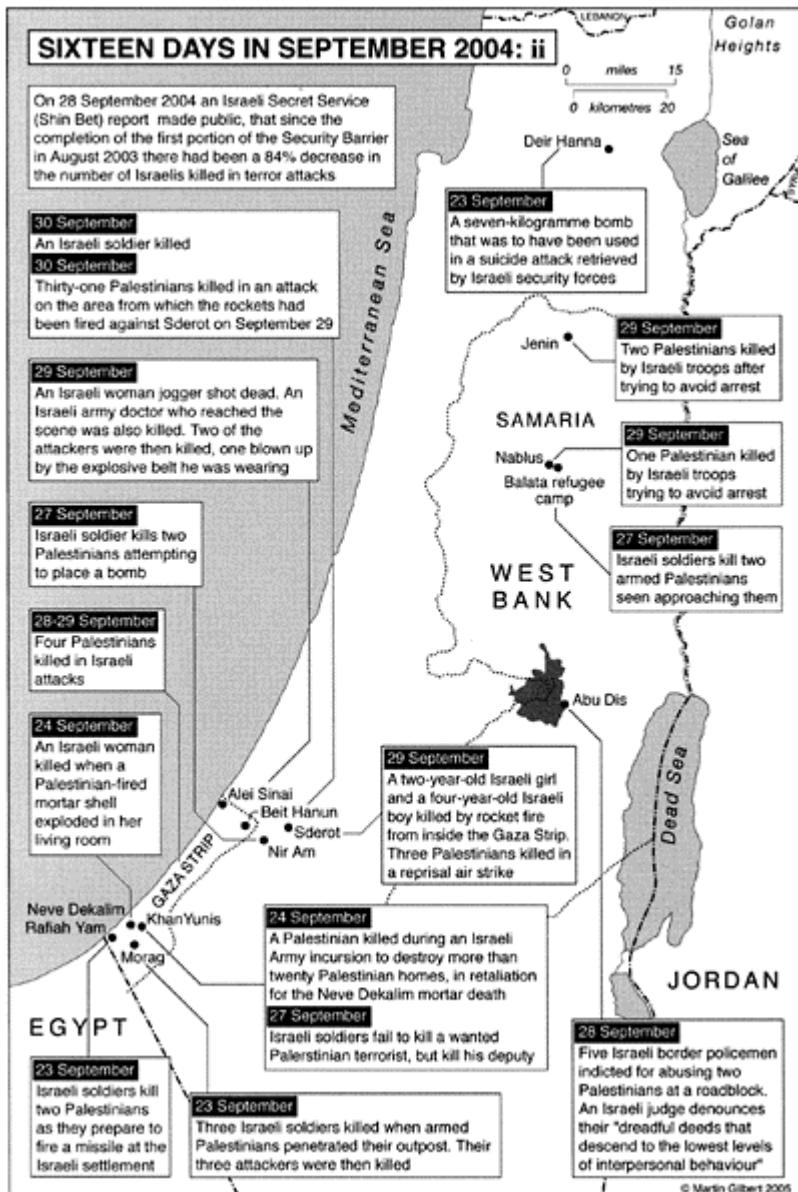


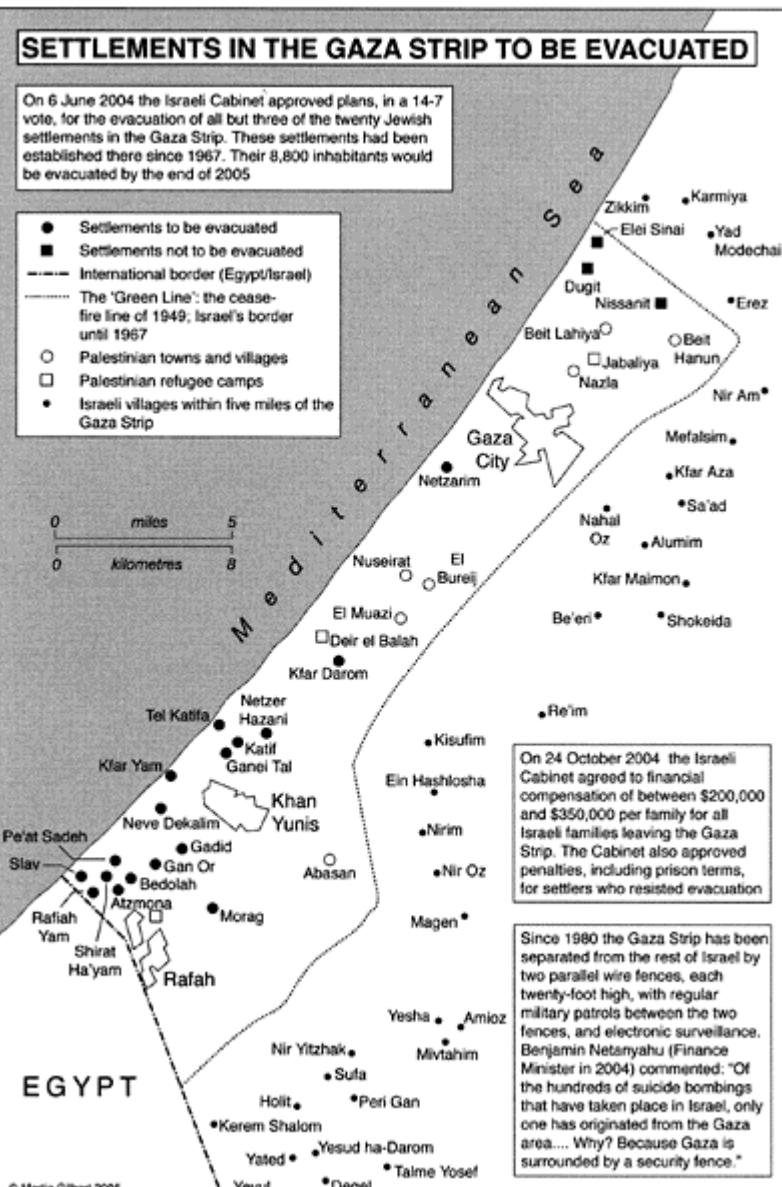
















AVENUES OF CO-OPERATION: PROJECT "COPE"

Project COPE was developed with the aim of improving support for Palestinian and Israeli breast-cancer patients through co-operative activities, and creating the opportunity for an amicable and medically helpful exchange between Palestinian and Israeli women.

- Towns in which many Palestinian members of COPE live
- Towns in which many Israeli members of COPE live
- Hospitals holding joint tumour board meetings (since January 2003)
- ▲ Towns from which more than fifty Palestinian nurses have gone to Israeli hospitals to train in oncology (no such specialized training being available in Palestinian hospitals)
- Training workshop (April 2003) on breast cancer diagnosis, for Palestinian volunteers

Between 2000 and 2003, forty breast-cancer survivors and fifty professionals (mostly nurses) participated in twenty-five professional events organized by COPE.

During 2002, 2003 and 2004 COPE sought ninety permits to enable Palestinian women to come to meetings in Israel. Although eighty of these permits were approved by the Israeli authorities, fifteen could not be used because they were not issued until too close to the meeting, eight were not respected at a checkpoint, and several more could not be used because checkpoints were unexpectedly closed due to a deterioration in the security situation.

Palestinian woman: "At the first meeting I was frightened because it was between Israelis and Arabs, but after fifteen minutes, I realized this disease makes no distinction."

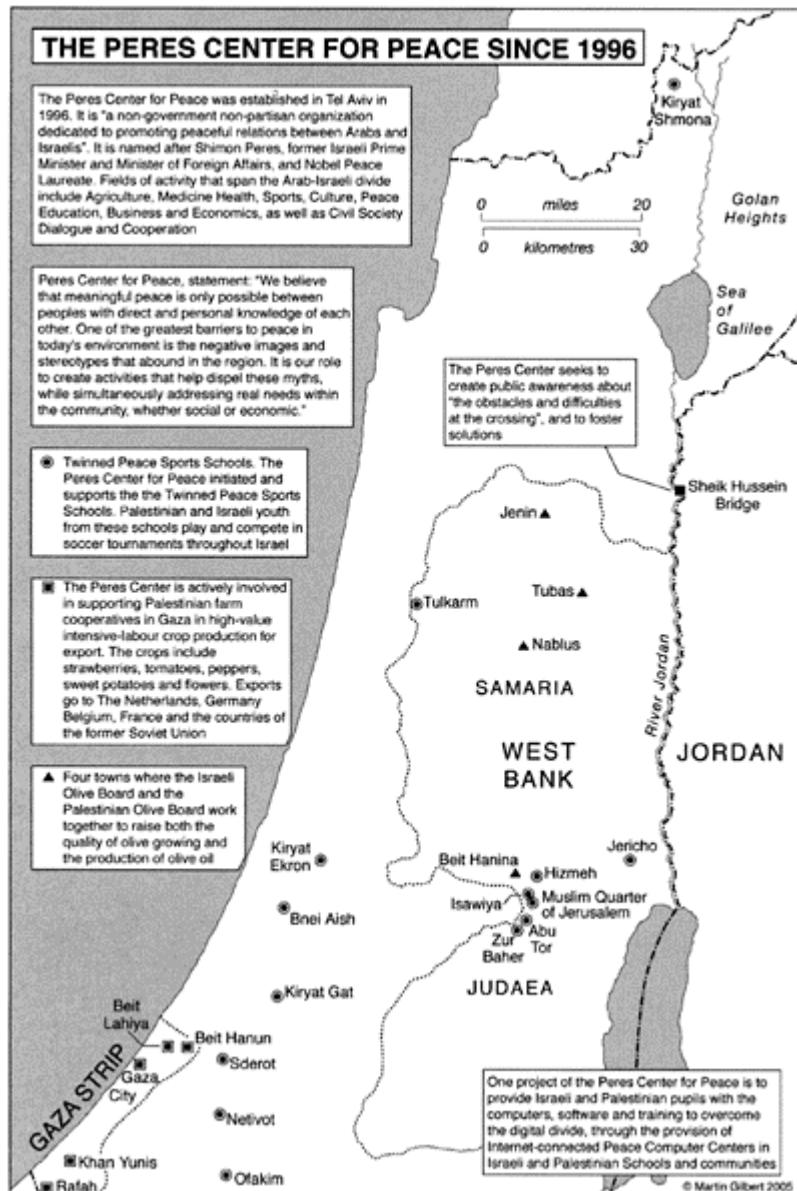
Israeli woman: "At the first meeting I was very excited, because I had hated Arabs in the past, and here I found myself simply wanting to help, because they didn't have the same access to prostheses, wigs, medicines. I felt compassion."

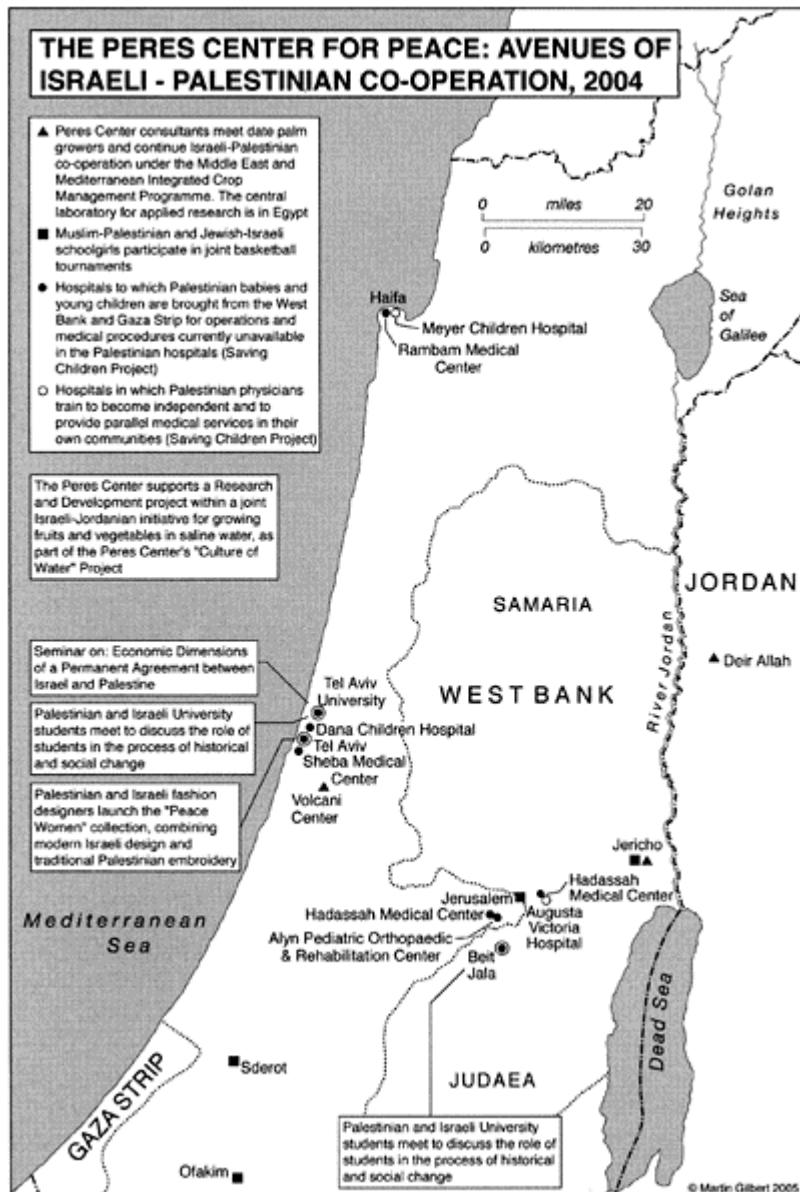
Members of COPE have participated in international conferences in Washington DC and Oslo, Norway.

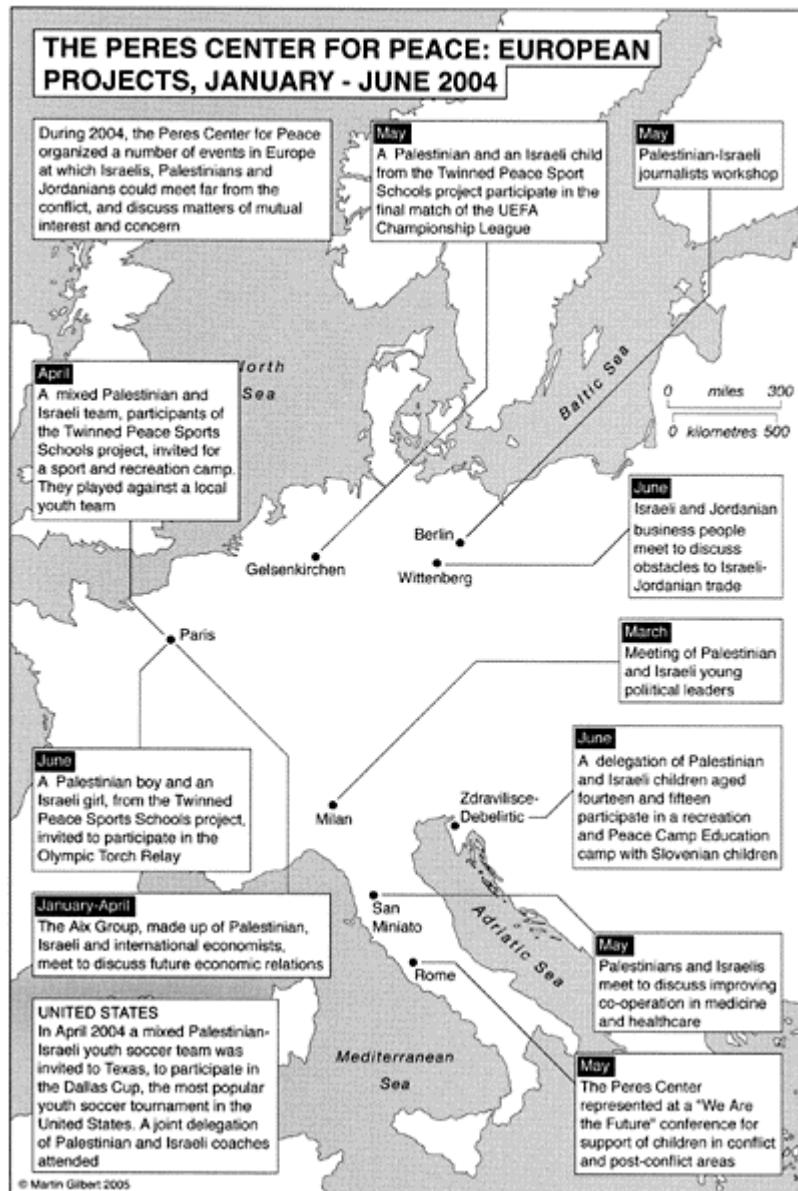
The map shows the West Bank, Samaria, and Judea. Key locations marked include Nazareth, Tel Hashomer Medical Center, Rehovot, Beit Hanina, Mevasseret Zion, West Jerusalem, Hadassah Hospital, Ein Karem, Abu Dis, Beit Jala, Bethlehem, Augusta Victoria Hospital, Mount Scopus, East Jerusalem, and Hebron. The Mediterranean Sea to the west and the Dead Sea to the east are also labeled. The River Jordan forms the eastern border. A scale bar indicates 0 to 15 miles/kilometers. A legend identifies symbols: a circle for towns with many Palestinian members, a square for hospitals holding joint tumour board meetings, and a triangle for towns where more than fifty Palestinian nurses have trained in oncology.

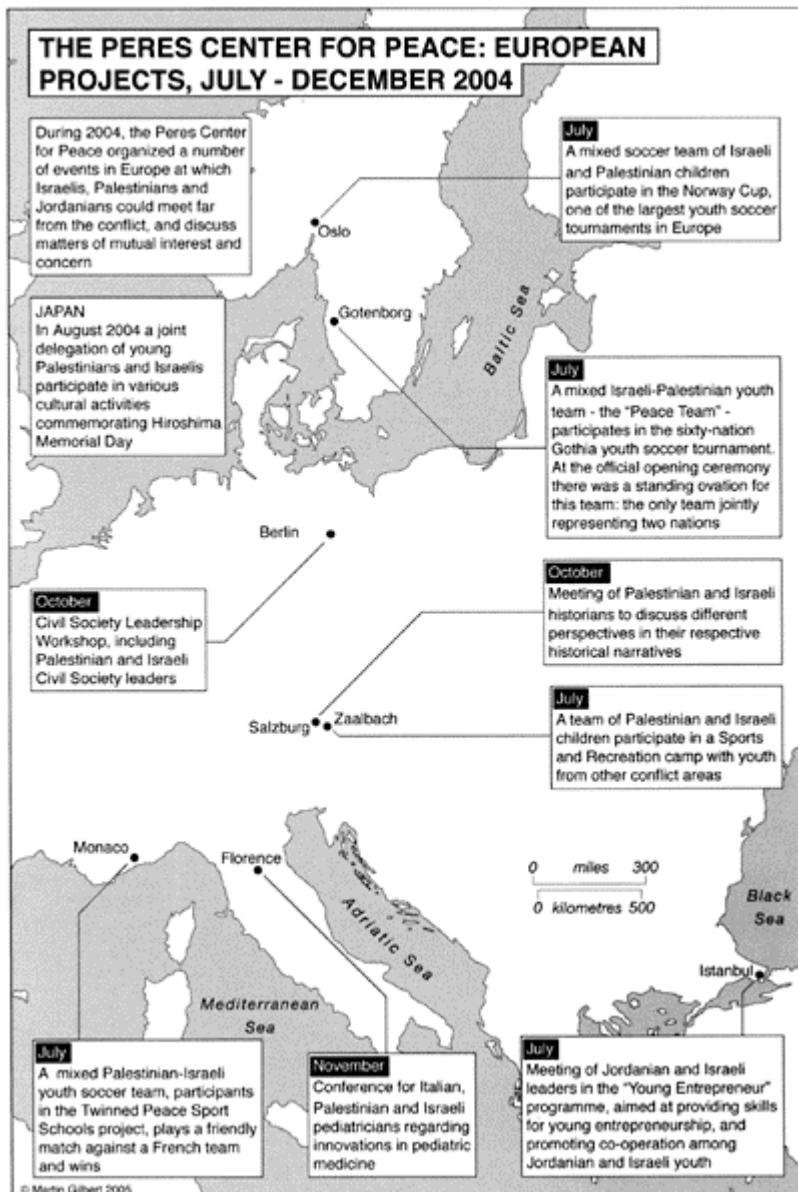
Among the supporters of COPE are the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies (ACBP) and the British Consulate-General in East Jerusalem.

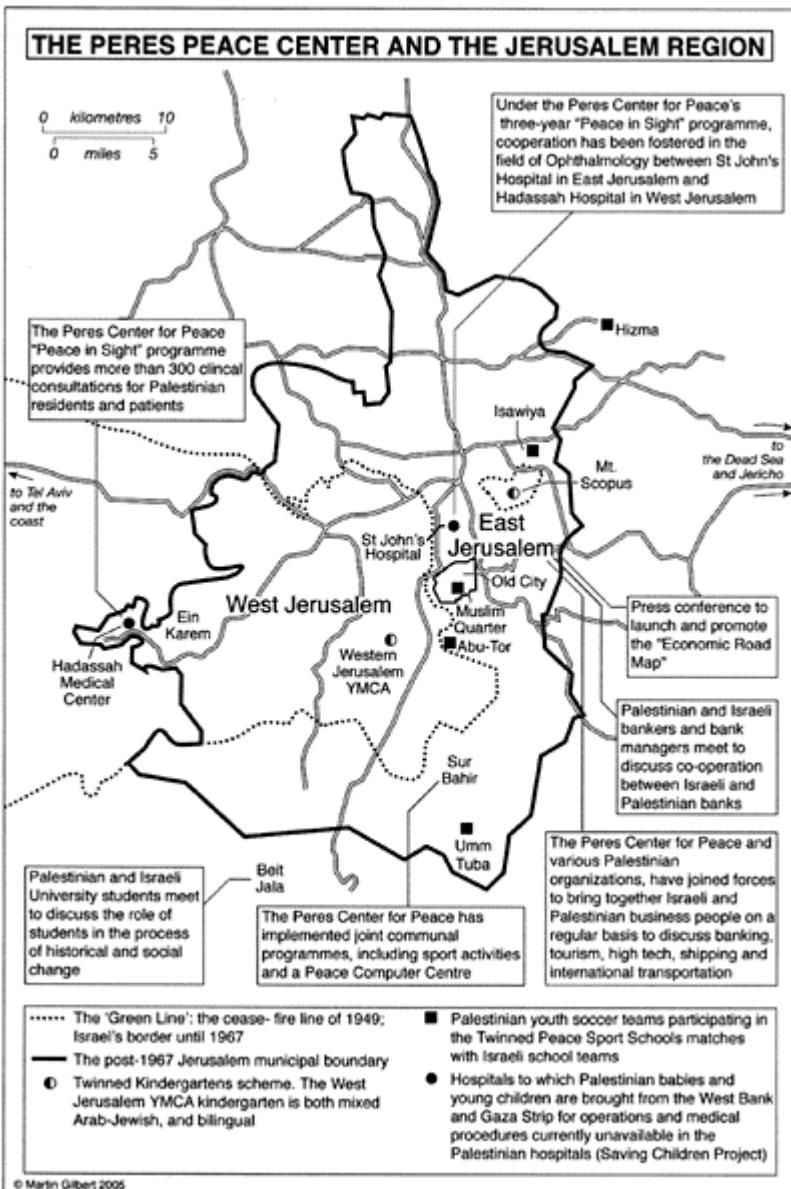
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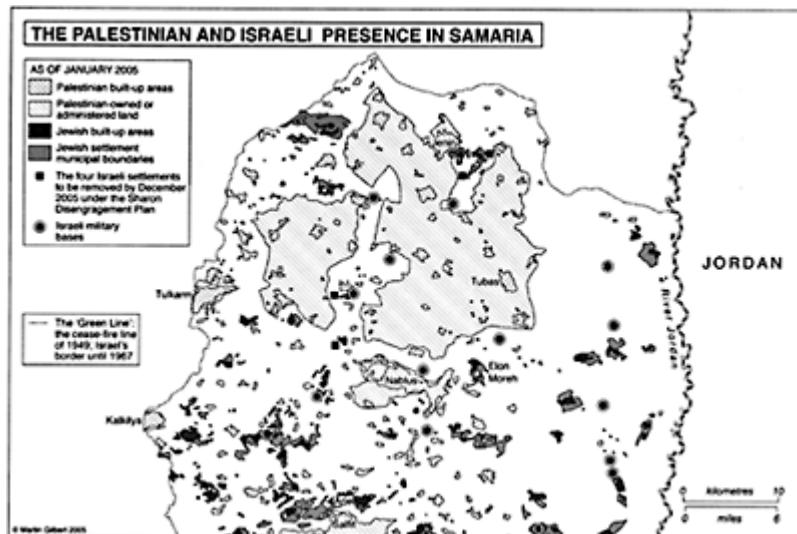




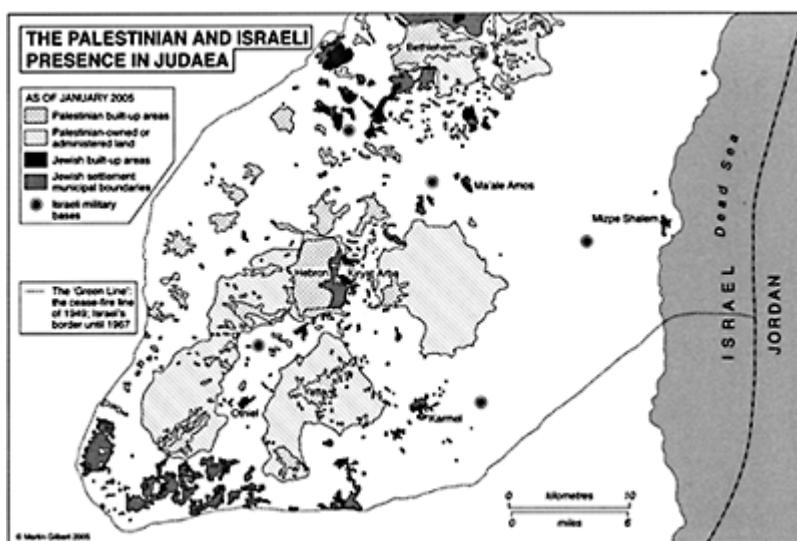








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