

own against overwhelming odds. The continued links between West Bank Palestinians, and the Arab world, through Jordan, provided that society with a network of commercial, political, and cultural ties which were denied to Israeli Arabs and which drastically curtailed their political options.

A vivid indicator of this important difference in colonial mediation is the absence, in the occupied territories, of any significant institutional base for Israeli rule. In the cities of the West Bank one observes Palestinian (i.e. PLO) and Jordanian (i.e. pro-Hashimite) pockets of organized politics (Lesch, 1980:82-95; Abboushi, 1980:6-14), but not of advocates of co-existence with Israeli rule. Those views are confined to individual merchants, lawyers, contractors and minor political figures and journalists.

In the rural sector the picture is slightly different. Here the military government did make a successful bid for the enlistment and limited collaboration by a number of village mukhtars (headmen) and councils of village elders, but only at the cost of enforcing a trend, which was already in process during Jordanian rule, of reducing the status of the mukhtar from village representative, to an appointed governmental functionary--and even informer (Migdal, 1980:50ff.; Baer, 1980:123).

The Village Leagues

At the institutional level the Israelis made further inroads through the formation of the openly collaborative movement known as the Association of Village Leagues. The Leagues were initially established in the district of Hebron, the most conservative and retrogressive region of the West Bank. There, the Association of Southern Villages, appeared in 1977 under the patronage of former Jordanian minister and Hebron clan leader Mustafa Dudeen. By 1981, and under open encouragement of the Israeli Military Government, it became openly pro-Israeli and made several attempts (some successful) to