

February 11, 1991

Mr. Brian Lamb
C-Span Networks
400 N. Capitol St Suite 650
Washington, D.C. 20001

001453 FEB 20 91

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing several copies of the International issues of Al Fajr. It is the largest Palestinian newspaper in the West Bank. You may be familiar with it. It is pro-PLO. Its editor Hanna Siniora whom I was privileged to meet and talk with when I was living in Ramallah in 1983 was one of two Palestinians who met with Sec. of State Schultz as possible peace negotiators with Israel in 1988.

Please forgive me for the underlining and notes. A leftover from college days - I always read with pen in hand. Sometimes now it relieves stress. For balance I also take the International issue of the Jerusalem Post. Outlook magazine and the Middle East International.

I have attempted to call in but as yet have not been successful. I appreciate CNN and C-Span I&2's coverage. Particularly coverage that brings the Arab perspectives i.e. the Israeli/Palestinian, to the American people. Something that has been sadly missing in the media for many years.

I am also enclosing a copy of notes taken from Michael Saba's book The Armageddon Network on Richard Perle and Stephen Bryen's questionable activities while working in the Defense Department. I continue to see these two men on various talk shows as Middle East experts. Richard Perle testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I am concerned about these persons appearances as "experts" when perhaps the listening public is not aware of their biases and backgrounds. I'm not sure what can be done about it. It truly saddens me that Americans do not bother to read more and search out varied perspectives on vital matters concerning our national interests. That is what I believe your programs try to do and except for the problem I have pointed out does very well.

Keep up the good work you are doing.

Gratefully


Sandwich, IL 60548

PS: I appreciate your having Peter Arnette in Baghdad. You are handling it very well. 

"PERLE AND BRYEN"

1978 Mar 9- Deputy Assist. Sec. of Defense Stephen Bryen
Assist. Sec. of Defense Richard Perle

"What is good for Israel is good for the U.S."

Madison Hotel, Washington, D.C. 4 men Michael Saba (President N. Dakota trade) Executive Director of the Nat'l Assoc. of Arab Americans; Bryen-Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer- "strategies of influence U.S. policy in favor of Israel" - use of "we" Israel: "they" U.S.

1. "I have the Pentagon document on the bases, which you are welcome to see" (top secret defense systems of M.E. countries)
2. Discussed technology Israel would need to manufacture its own jet fighters to avoid high cost of buying U.S.
3. Discussed types of planes

Saba went to Jim Abourezk-Dem. Senator from So. Dakota - Info to Assist. Attorney General for Criminal Division-Benjamin Civiletti

2. media- Jack Anderson of Washington Post; Larry Stern of Post & Joe Speer of Anderson's staff came
3. John Davitt, Chief of Justice Dept. Internal Security Div.
 - a. info to FBI Intelligence Division

Submitted a 13 page affidavit to Justice Dept.

Reviewed affidavit w/ William Quandt- ME expert NSC

1. Quandt asked if Morris Amitay (AIPAC) present at meeting
2. Quandt would send affidavit to Brezezinski

Media: Post run-around; contacted Assoc. Press-AP to break story

Sat. April 1: London based Arab news had already printed story

Adlai Stevenson: Ch. of Select Comm. on Standards and Conduct was interested - later dropped issue

AP story said a report to Sen. Foreign Relations included a description of Saudi air bases. (24)

Post ran 8 paragraph story on inside pages that Bryen was taking a leave to prepare for his wedding after accusations he offered Pentagon document to Israeli

FBI Agent Stephen Pletcher asked Saba to take lie detector test-- Saba passed test; would ask Bryen to take test but he would probably refuse

Aug 14: Friend in Washington heard Bryen to go to grand jury: Saba's lawyer said it was a dead issue

Oct 26: FBI Pletcher called to say he had left FBI June 1 FBI agent Tim Mahoney handling investigation. Why did Pletcher leave FBI? Why wait until next session of Congress to follow up (3 mo.)?

6 weeks later Mahoney called to verify

Mid-January: Bryen to leave his Senate Foreign Relations job (he had returned in November)

1979 Feb 9: Republican Bryen went to work for the Coalition for a Democratic Majority for Henry Jackson & Daniel Moynihan (Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Elliot Abrams) philosophy: "increased military spending; pro-Israel; anti-Soviet"

Bryen & Richard Perle close friends. Perle led fight against Pres. Carter on Salt II treaty.

New York Times article: Stanford Turner, CIA director, had fired a senior CIA (Sullivan) analyst for leaking:

1. top secret material on Soviet missile strength to Perle
2. info on sources & methods of obtaining info about Soviet
3. Turner urged Jackson to fire Perle
4. FBI summary of a wiretap on Israel embassy said Perle heard giving classified info that had been supplied by someone on NSC-Kissinger turned it over to Haldeman- turned over to Hoover FBI to determine was NSC staffer.

1980 April of 1976 Nelson Rockefeller had asked for a check of Perle
Bryen had become Executive Dir of Jewish Inst. for Nat'l Security
Affairs (JINSA) pro-Israel; anti-Soviet.
Was there a State Dept file on Bryen? - media thought so
NAAA-Nat'l Assoc. Arab-American request FOIA- Bryen files-State Dept.
JINSA- Michael Ledeen; Max Kampelman, Saul Stern, Morris J. Amitay;
Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R MN)

1. Apr '80 newslet⁵er focused on Marxist takeover of Grenada
2. Bishop (Grenada) supported Palestinian state
3. Criticized Carter (JINSA)
4. US concerns in Latin America tied to ME & PLO
5. Advocates military build up of US & ME role
6. emphasis on Soviet & Arab ties vs US interests

Perle also left Senate job & formed a consulting firm called
Abington Corp. specializing in defense & security issues.
Partner John Lehman (became Sec. of Navy in Reagan adm.)
Reagan elected: "...we need a presence in M.E...")

Carter: settlements illegal

Reagan: settlements legal: even-handed manner

Perle appointed Assist. Sec. of Def for International Security Policy

Bryen (appointed by Perle) Deputy Assist. Secretary

NAAA-still waiting FOIA files (9 months)

NAAA- sent letters to Congressional leaders; White House aides &
Defense Dept.-enclosing Saba affidavit on Bryen - members of
Senate Armed Service Comm; James Baker; Michael Deaver; NSA
Richard Allen; Ch. House Foreign Affairs Comm.

1. Sen. John Warner (R VA); Sen. Jeremiah Denton (Ala)
submitted questions on Bryen to Perle
2. Sen. James Exon (D Neb) put "hold" on nomination

1981 Perle confirmed Aug 3 (a man suspected of espionage was in charge *Saba*)
of International Security Policy in the US Pentagon)

NAAA letter to James McCue DOD official for security clearances to
review 600 page Bryen file-Sept 28 reply-non-sufficient basis

NAAA to Fred C. Ikle: Undersecretary of Defense (Perle's boss)

Bryen serving as Deputy Assist. Sec. of Defense w/ responsibility
for East-West trade & technology matters:

1. so Pro-Israel influence on US policy to point Arabs to question
integrity & desire for peace of US
2. Federal deficit growing; how long US economy survive the drain
of tax money to Israel
3. Hatred of Soviet-what controls would he demand on US exports
4. How would controls affect NATO allies?

Policies:

1. dangerous to peace
2. seemed to put interests of Israel before US

State Department seemed to stall on FOIA-Bryen File

Reagan Adm. announced it would propose changing FOIA law so federal
agencies could withhold more information from public: FBI & Justice

Saba checked Sen. Clifford Case papers (ranking senator of Senate
Foreign Relations Comm. when Bryen worked for him - 1973)

1. promoted more military aid to Israel
2. limit military aid to Arab government
3. ensure his access to classified agreements between US &
foreign countries
4. tried to downplay importance of Palestinian problem in US
5. staffer does research, briefs the senator, writes his
speeches- so much influence on Senator

Bryen & Perle became close friends - 1973
George Ball: former Assist. Secretary of State

1. war in ME to be avoided
 2. Israel surrender occupied territories & accept a Palestinian state
- Kissinger: to pacify ME by a large commercial development plan
financed by US

Robert Tucker/ John Hopkins Univ. professor: US to seize & hold
the Saudi oil fields (Bryen favored)

1978 Feb: "The Coming War in the Middle East" Syria will attack & Russians
will supply air cover

1982 600 page file had "shrunk" to 150: Apr 6 1983

NAAA filed an FOIA lawsuit for "lost" missing pages

1. In 1977 Bryen while in Amman, Jordan, asked U.S. Ambassador Tom Pickering for documents re: I-Hawk missiles (location, range) Defense Dept. said Bryen did not need to know this info
2. Through Sen. Stone he tried to get photos of Saudi air base at Tabuk

Investigated for a year & a half then case closed

Lawyer for Bryen: Lewin; close friend of Justice Dept. Heymann

Richard Perle: received \$50,000 consulting fee from Israeli company
he recommended for Defense Dept. contracts

Wife: Leslie Barr-Oct '81 working at Commerce Dept helped develop
a Reagan Adm. plan:

1. bars US personnel doing business in Libya
2. total US embargo on purchase of Libya oil
3. ban purchase by Libya of US oilfield equipment & other high technology products

(A multi-billion dollar market was lost to American businessmen)

Leslie Barr-Director of Customs Service International Program
Management Division

Bryen's wife-Shoshona Bryen: Executive Director and editor of JINSA
(Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs) advocates:

1. advocate strategic cooperation between US & Israel
2. massive increases in US aid
3. larger defense budgets
4. tough policies against Soviet
5. deny integrity of our (US) Arab allies in ME

Richard Perle & Stephen Boyer were not to have jurisdiction over
ME issues: their duties:

1. East-West policy NATO
2. nuclear & conventional arms & technology transfers

May 1982: Bryen testified before Senate on need to intensify the
stopping of the flow of technology to Soviet Union & Bloc
countries also to our European allies

COCOM: Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls
Perle & Bryen wanted a military board that would run COCOM

Perle vs Thayer (#2 man in defense) over control of technology
transfer licenses

Damaging info on Thayer leaked to SEC: he resigned: Perle & Bryen
gained the authority they wanted

Perle jurisdiction over:

1. all technology transfer issues including:
 - a. internal guidance systems
 - b. legislation
 - c. liason with industry
 - d. international representation
 - e. technology goods, services, munitions, strategic trade & COCOM

Bryen

1. in charge of technology control in Pentagon
2. other agencies had to work with him when co-ordinating US. Government domestic & international policies
3. control of computer system FORDTIS: Foreign Disclosure & Technical Info System
 - a. electronic depository of data on strategic trade, munitions, military technology (data on who was selling what to whom in US; Western Europe & Japan)

Perle & Bryen vs Wm A Rost (Dir. of State Department Office of East-West Trade) Caterpillar Tractor Co (cost hundreds of Am jobs-Europeans benefited)

Rost-policy changes would give Defense Dept too much control
Rost resigned

Perle & Bryen began moving against Commerce Department: responsible for sales to non-comunist countries-Pentagon: only those to communist countries

Industry against Pentagon as it would slow down as too many restrictions & paper work

1984 Mar 23: Pres. Reagan signed a Memo of Understanding granting Pentagon new authority--Perle & Bryen won again
(Austria, India, Norway, Sweden & S. Africa (12 in all) risks)

Catch 22: Severe restrictions on leaks of high technology to Soviet were seriously hampering our exports thus increasing trade deficit(toys computers, Apple computer etc.)

After food & raw materials, high tech is most sought after US products abroad (the future of trade) Japan has benefitted.

Japan resale to Soviet re: submarine detection)

Israel: 35% tech knowledge acquired from US

1979-CIA report - Mossad (Jonathon Pollard)

Italy Marconi Avionics: equip sent to US for repair was impounded
Brit firm unable to get license to re-import Brit made spare parts

Controls on personal computers (children's toys) over 400,000 items to be banned-tech & economical disaster for COCOM nations-Brit 90% dependent on US tech & spare parts

As Israel was able to gain these w/o restrictions other countries began to purchase from them (Germany, France, Britain & Italy)

Feb 14: Bryen flew to Israel to negotiate a new bilateral pact designed to ease restrictions Israel & US - "Free Trade Treaty" "If the Americans cut you off from their high-tech market, come to us. We can get it for you"

Northrup sales executive "...tens of billions of dollars..."

1977- Carter-Guatemala human rights - Israel moved in

South Africa-Iran (leading suppliers of US arms)

South America- Rep. Lynn Martin (R IL) Israeli arms

merchants bribing Ecuador to buy US planes from them rather than US

early 1980's Israel negotiated a free trade agreement w/ European Economic Community

Israel began to encourage high tech US companies to open offices & joint ventures in Israel (water)

April 11: Perle told Senate committee US should extend tight controls to Western European countries & Japan

Electronic Corporation of Israel

Elron Electronic Industries (offices in US; England, W. Germany France; Swiss; Singapore, Brazil)

Worldtech Israel Ltd: "prepares tech transfer packages for non-Israeli clients"

1982: Tadiran (Israeli company) vs American company, E-System, over a \$39 million contract for 2-way radios in US army tanks. E-Systems had supplied Army for 13 years-Army went w/ Tadiran; E-Systems closed down radio factory laying off hundreds of employees.

Buried in budgets of many US Gov. departments and agencies:
agricultural, medical and scientific research projects carried out in Israel
2. contracts for US AID projects in Africa carried out by Israel
3. purchase of industrial diamonds from Israel at subsidized prices.
4. Star Wars development contracts with Israeli firms *Arrow*

Perle: expand electronic surveillance to prevent sensitive computer software from being smuggled overseas thro international telephone calls

CONTRARY to: American values of privacy-search & seizure powers
1982 Hong Kong - \$817 million in telecommunications equip & \$457 million in data-processing equip (delays, uncertainty & onerous paper work) dropped

Beirut bombing of Marines: Israel offer to help *helicopters, medical aid*
A month after, Shamir & Arens in Washington promoting "strategic cooperation" with US

- pre-positioning Of US equipment in Israel
- combined strategic planning (Lebanon ?)
- joint military exercises
- better sharing of intelligence data *Sudan*
- use of Israeli ports to "service" U.S. Sixth Fleet

Also, delivery of cluster bombs; US military aid money to finance Lavi. \$1.4 billion military aid to be a grant. US & Israel set up a military committee to deal with above 1,2,3

A week later US Navy jets attacked Syrian-held positions in eastern Lebanon (lost 8 marines). Fighting escalated-New Jersey shelled Syrian position (TWA) *highjacking result.*

King Hussein - Mar 14, 1984 (pgs 198-99)

Shoshana Bryen, JINSA, her husband met *at their home* with an official of the Pentagon responsible for working out the agenda for Joint Political Military Group meeting, Jan 24 & 25, 1984) (1981 assurance B not involved in ME issues)

AMERICAN COSTS:

- Political: (loss of bases in ME-Russia gained bases as fear of Israel)
- closer alliance to Israel has lost our credibility w/ Arab states
 - restricting export of US tech has brought tensions between US and our NATO allies
 - Western Europe beginning to question reliability of US as an ally
 - increased effect of Israel as only US ally

Economic:

- US industry has lost billions of export \$'s
- unemployment-US Chamber of Commerce estimate that every billion dollars in ME sales lost to foreign competition costs 25,000 American jobs (perhaps half a million jobs lost to date) (Refusal of Saudi arms sale in 1985 provided British suppliers \$20 billion and half a million jobs)
- lost of incentive to research & develop

Perle & Bryen want to place new controls on scientists the exchange of ideas and info.

*some estimate U.S. loans to Israel \$10 billion a year. Sinai
Camp David Accords cost us \$5 billion for redeployment of Israel's defense.
Lavi - F-16's to be built in Israel to retain Israel's airplane factories - crossed*

Letter to the Editor

January 24, 1991

We are at war. The aftermath of the conflict is going to depend on how we conduct the war. It is time now to consider facts in the area and form a foreign policy that is evenhanded in dealing with all peoples in the Middle East. The political dilemma of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is still basic to our image; therefore, the possibility of a stable Middle East will be dependent on particularly the Arab's image of the U.S. We often hear Israel referred to as the only democracy in the M.E. Technically it is the only recognized democratic state. However, there is another national group functioning to the best of its ability in its present circumstances under democratic principles. It may surprise you to know that it is the PLO.

The Palestinian National Council (PNC) is the highest policy-making body of the PLO. It has 529 members scattered throughout the diaspora, some in the United States. These members represent all geographical and cultural sectors including a number of seats designated for the occupied territories. Israeli control has prevented those designated members from attending the sessions of the PNC. The council membership is drawn from three separate categories in proportion to their strengths. The military organizations; Fatah, Yassir Arafat; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) George Habash; Palestine Liberation Front, Abul Abbas; etc., eight factions in all. Also, to popular unions and associations such as seats to teachers, women's, student's, writer's, workers, etc., and independents. The PNC is analagous to the U.S. Congress. It is pluralistic and reflects all political tendencies in the Palestinian community.

The Council/parliament/congress meets once a year and debates and passes on the policies the executive is to pursue. These include matters of finance, military activities, political strategies and bureaucratic functions such as creating various departments--education, social welfare, culture. Major political programs are binding on the executive when so mandated by the council.

The second action of the council is the election of the Executive Committee and its chairman. They elect by secret ballot fifteen persons who act as the Palestinian cabinet, and they are responsible for implementing the PNC policies. The committee elects its chairman and Yassir Arafat has filled that position for the past 18 years and functions as president or prime minister. Each member of the Executive Committee is responsible for a particular functional department. These bureaucratic departments have over

the years developed rules and regulations of service and operation which have been approved by the PNC. Each of these departments under these regulations are broken down to supply services for the Palestinian peoples in Gaza, the West Bank, the refugee camps, the dispersed Palestinians in Lebanon and other Arab countries as best they can.

The PNC operates under difficulties brought about by the widely dispersed members inability to obtain visas in order to attend the annual meetings which often have to be postponed because of an inability to obtain a quorum. This is sometimes wrongly interpreted in the press as indeciveness on the part of the Council. The departments also operate under the very difficult circumstances of Israeli occupation and the diaspora in host countries.

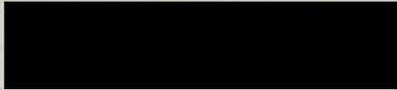
The above organization is the foundation of the State of Palestine that was unilaterally declared at the PNC meeting in Algiers, November 12-15, 1988 with Yassir Arafat as its President based on the 1948 United Nations Resolution 181 declaration of two states Israel and Palestine in the area. The state was publicly announced at the Stockholm December 7, 1988 meeting. The Algiers statement followed by the Stockholm announcement including recognition of Israel and UN resolutions 242 and 338 opened talks with the United States in Tunis with the PLO.

These talks were suspended by the U.S. in June, 1990 following the Abul Abbas May attack on a Tel Aviv beach in Israel. The U.S. demanded that Arafat denounce the raid and begin action to discipline Abul Abbas and remove him from the Executive Committee of the PLO. Arafat replied he did not have the authority to do this. It is because of its democratic form that President Arafat could not expel Abul Abbas. He took the matter to the September PNC meeting where opinions were divided and matters of the Gulf Crisis and Saddam Hussain's takeover of Kuwait intervened.

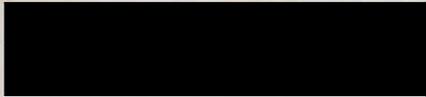
Abu Iyad, Arafat's second in command, had been attempting to gain the allegiance of Abul Abass' supporters for another attempt to remove him from the Executive Committee as Arafat with King Hussein of Jordan were attempting to find a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. Abu Iyad had had substantial success when he along with his bodyguard and another were killed in Tunis by an Abul Abbas supporter. This assassination is also considered a possible warning by Saddam Hussein to Arafat to discontinue his attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement to the Gulf war. The PNC headed by Abul Abbas has been backed by Saddam Hussein since its inception.

~~There are two very good books recently published "Arafat~~

There are two excellent books recently published "ARAFAT: In the Eyes of the Beholder" by Jewish authors Janet and John Wallach. Also, "Blessed Are The Peacemakers" the biography of Rev. Audeh Rantisi a Palestinian.



Sandwich, IL 60548

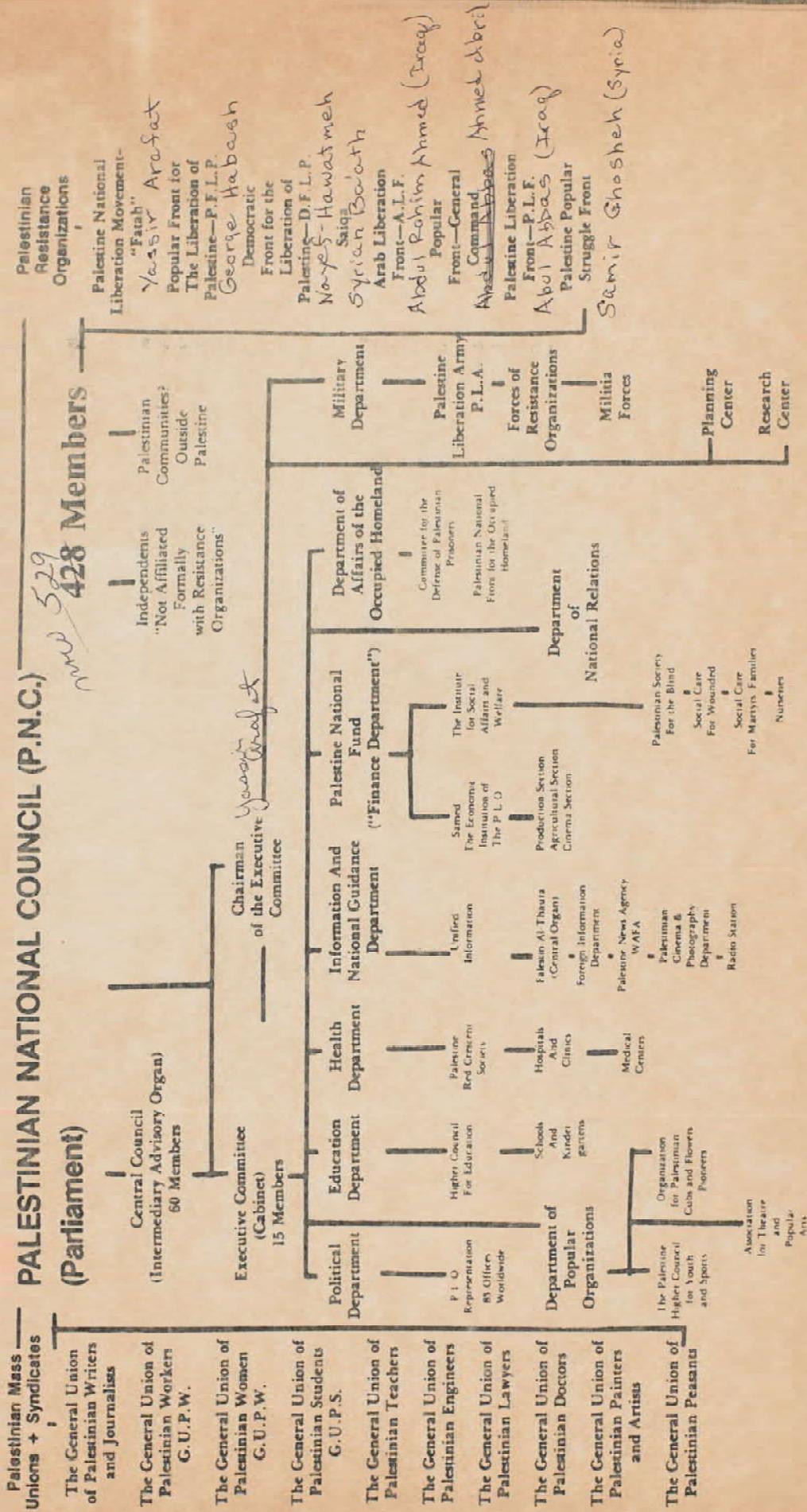


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FIGURE 1

P.L.O. STRUCTURE



Adapted from
A.M.E.U. The Link, XV, 3
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Vol. 11, No. 552
December 17, 1990

Intifada Update

Soldiers shoot and kill 16-year-old schoolgirl

The Israeli army shot dead 16-year-old Ahlam Ibrahim Ayed and 27-year-old Muhammad Mardi al-Madani. The total number of Palestinians killed during the Intifada is now put at 898.

Widespread Palestinian demonstrations commemorating the third anniversary of the Intifada were met with tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition and escalated military presence. Some 250 Palestinians were shot in marches and demonstrations including at least 50 with live ammunition, and at least eight women in Gaza reportedly miscarried due to tear gas inhalation. Settlers shot one Palestinian and beat a Palestinian woman in Hebron.

Curfews and closed military zones confined one million Palestinians to their homes for several days.

An Israeli soldier was killed in Bethlehem and several other attacks on soldiers, police and settlers injured five.

The following are incidents reported during the week:

DECEMBER 8: Palestinians throughout the occupied territories observed a general strike, called by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising and Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, to mark the two-month anniversary of the al-Aqsa Mosque massacre.

The army declared large

areas of the West Bank closed military zones, imposed curfews on much of the rest, and curfewed the entire Gaza Strip except Beit Hanoun and Jabalya town, in anticipation of protests on the third anniversary of the Intifada.

see Intifada, page 2



Israeli police officers grab a Palestinian during a women's march in Jerusalem Dec. 12.

Palestinians say meeting Americans depends on U.S. vote at U.N.S.C.

by Khaled Abu Aker

Leading Palestinian figures confirmed that they may reconsider their decision to boycott meetings with

American officials if the United States votes favorably on a U.N. Security Council resolution on Palestine which is currently under discussion.

Nuseibeh said it would be appropriate for the Palestinians to reconsider their boycott in light of a positive U.S. stand. Nuseibeh said Palestinians must take an American change in position into account, and act accordingly. A U.S. vote in the United Nations in favor of providing protection to Palestinians under Israeli rule would be considered a positive step, he explained.

Even if Palestinians in the occupied territories decide to resume dialogue with U.S. officials, Nuseibeh said, the PLO will still be required to approve the step. The Palestinians will also ask the U.S. administration to reconsider its suspension of talks with the PLO.

The United States suspended dialogue it opened with the PLO in December 1988 after the PLO failed to condemn an abortive armed attack on Israeli shores May 30 by members of a PLO affiliate, the Palestine Liberation Front, headed by Muhammad Abbas (Abu al-Abbas). The U.S.-PLO dialogue began after the PLO recognized Israel, accepted Security Council Resolution 242 and renounced terrorism in November 1988.

For seven weeks, the Security Council has been debating a resolution introduced by Yemen, Cuba, Columbia and Malaysia calling for protection of Palestinian civilians in the Israeli-occupied territories. A vote is expected this week, after four postponements by the United States, which wanted time to change a clause calling for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Leading Palestinian activist Faisal Husseini told *Al-Fajr* that contacts with U.S. officials may be reconsidered if the U.S. votes in favor of the Security Council resolution.

Palestinians in the occupied territories decided to boycott talks and meetings with U.S. officials following the U.S. veto of a Security Council resolution that would have condemned Israel for the May 20 killings of seven Palestinians at Rishon LeZion.

Bir Zeit University Professor of philosophy Sari

ing Palestinian figures from the occupied territories and is currently holding them in administrative detention. Radwan Abu Ayyash is the head of the Arab Journalists Association; Ziad Abu Zayyad is the editor of the Palestinian Hebrew-language weekly *Gesher* (the Bridge); and Dr. Ahmad al-Yaziji is a member of the administrative board of the Gaza Medical Association.

More recently, green identity cards were issued to many other prominent Palestinians, such as Shaher Sa'ad, secretary-general of the General Federation of Trade Unions, al-Mutawakel Taha, secretary-general of the Arab Writers Association, and other well-known Palestinian lawyers, writers,

see Measures, page 15

Israeli measures against Palestinian leaders clearly impede peace efforts

New analysis
by Maher Abukhater

While Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is telling the Americans in Washington that his country is still committed to peace with the Palestinians, the actions of his government in Israel are sending the exact opposite message.

Through administrative detentions, threats of expulsion, the issuing of green identity cards which are the equivalents of town arrests, and by banning travel abroad, the Israeli government has made contact almost impossible for prominent Palestinians in the occupied territories and peace activists in Israel and outside.

In addition, Shamir's government has sent a clear message to all Palestinians actively pursuing a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that if they are not already, they too will be subject to similar restriction, detention or even expulsion if they continue to be outspoken and politically active.

Last month, the Israeli military arrested three lead-

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Intifada

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Palestinians clashed with soldiers in al-Shati, Khan Yunis and Rafah refugee camps in spite of curfews. Protests were staged in Hebron, Jenin, Ramallah, Beit Sahour and Jabal al-Mukaber. Youths in numerous villages marched the day before the Intifada's third anniversary. Soldiers used bullets and tear gas against the unarmed protesters.

A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a military patrol in al-Bureij refugee camp. Israeli reports said no one was injured.

DECEMBER 9: Israeli soldiers shot dead 27-year-old Muhammad Mardi al-Madani in the Gaza Strip village of Bani Suhailah. The military alleged that Madani tried to strangle a soldier and take his weapon. Residents refuted the story, saying soldiers raided the area when demonstrations erupted in defiance of curfew. The soldiers shot randomly, hitting Madani in the right thigh, severing an artery. Madani was later taken to a hospital where he died. His body was taken from the hospital and laid to rest in a large funeral. Madani's 20-year-old brother Sulaiman died Feb. 8 of this year, a day after being shot by Israeli soldiers.

General strike continued throughout the occupied territories for the second day, commemorating the third anniversary of the uprising.

More than one million Palestinians were confined to their homes as curfews remained in force on most of the Gaza Strip and large areas of the West Bank. Other sections of the West Bank continued to be closed military zones.

An Israeli soldier was killed and two others injured in an explosion in front of the Israeli "civil administration" office in Bethlehem. Israeli reports said after a homemade pipe bomb explosion brought soldiers to the area, a second explosion killed one and injured the others. Curfew was imposed on Bethlehem and the surrounding towns, villages and refugee camps.

Palestinian sources reported clashes in several areas in which at least four were shot. Palestinian flags were flown in towns, villages and refugee camps on the anniversary of the Intifada.

Fierce clashes occurred in the Gaza Strip, particularly in Bani Sueilah, following the killing of Muhammad al-Madani. Several youths were shot and injured by the military.

DECEMBER 10: Palestinian demonstrators injured two Israeli soldiers with stones in Jabalya refugee camp. A bomb was thrown at an army encampment in Rafah, two Molotov cocktails were thrown at soldiers in Ramallah and two at soldiers near the Ibrahim Mosque in Hebron.

Curfew was lifted in parts of the occupied territories, but remained in force in many others. The army carried out search-and-arrest campaigns around Bethlehem seeking those involved in the explosion that killed one soldier the day before.

Demonstrations occurred in the Gaza Strip when curfews were lifted. The protests turned into clashes when the army attacked, shooting and injuring at least 15 with live ammunition and 26 others by beatings, Palestinian sources said.

Soldiers in Jenin shot two youths.

In Bani Na'im, two Palestinians were shot and injured.

Soldiers in Rumaneh village beat Palestinians and raided several homes.

DECEMBER 11: The army held many areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip under curfew including parts of Gaza City, Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Husein, Nahalin, Kharbatha, Azmout, Burqa, Marda, Ain Yabroud and Silwad villages and the refugee camps of Shati, Jabalya, Nussirat, Dheishch, Balata, Azzah, Ain Beit Elma and Askar.

Soldiers shot three residents in clashes in Bani Sueilah village in the Gaza Strip.

Israeli soldiers shot, injured and arrested a Palestinian youth in Shuweikeh village near Tulkarm. Israeli sources said the youth stopped an army jeep, pretending to hand over a paper and attempted to stab one soldier. The soldier was not injured.

An Israeli civilian motorist shot a Palestinian in the shoulder in Awarta village, claiming his car had been stoned. An Israeli bus driver was injured by a stone in Beit Hanina, north of Jerusalem. Palestinians also stoned Israeli cars near Shu'fat refugee camp. Border guards scattered the demonstrators.

In Battir village near Bethlehem, Palestinian youths stoned and threw a tear gas bomb inside a passing Israeli train. Guards shot the youths, hitting one in the leg.

Youths stoned army jeeps in Tulkarm refugee camp and two Palestinians were arrested. Stoning incidents in Ramallah left eight arrested and the downtown area under curfew. Nine Palestin-

ians were arrested after stonings in About village and one was arrested in Silwad village.

In Salfit, a curfew was imposed following a large demonstration in which scores of youths stoned soldiers.

Two houses in Jabalya refugee camp were demolished late at night. Members of the households were charged with throwing Molotov cocktails at soldiers three months ago.

An Israeli car was torched on Salah al-Din Street in East Jerusalem.

DECEMBER 12: An Israeli soldier shot dead 16-year-old Ahlam Ibrahim Ayed from Bidya village in the Nablus district. Ayed received a live bullet in the head when soldiers attacked a demonstration in Bidya on the anniversary of the founding of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Several others were injured. Ayed's body was laid to rest by youths while the army imposed a curfew on the village.

Gaza sources reported as many as 200 Palestinians were injured with rubber and live bullets or tear gas in the Gaza Strip. Student demonstrations were reported in Shati, Jabalya and Bureij refugee camps in which two youths were wounded by gunshot. Three women miscarried in the Gaza Strip due to tear gas inhalation.

The army forcefully quelled a demonstration on Salah al-Din Street in East Jerusalem. Demonstrators carried placards saluting the anniversary of the PFLP. Soldiers attacked demonstrators in the Old City with rubber bullets and tear gas.

Curfews were lifted from many areas but remained in force in scattered locations.

Four shots were fired at soldiers in Shu'fat refugee camp. No one was injured but the area was sealed and searched. It was the second time in a week that gunshots were fired in the camp.

In Sinjel village near Nablus, undercover army units shot one youth and arrested three others. At least three soldiers were reportedly injured by stoning in the village and in nearby Qarawat Bani Zeid.

Demonstrators in Jenin were attacked by the army and two were shot and wounded. A sit-in strike at the Red Cross in Jenin demanded the release of arrested students and an end to the curfew on half the city.

Soldiers ambushed and shot a youth in Jenin refugee camp. He was injured in the leg and arrested. A curfew was imposed on the camp.

Clashes erupted in Tulkarm, Qalqilya and Anabta in which five Palestinians were injured by gunshot.

A 7-year-old girl was shot in the neck in Beit Ummar village near Hebron.

Soldiers shot a youth in Battir and a second in Tiqua village.

A soldier was injured in Hebron after being hit in the head with a stone. A curfew was imposed on the city center.

Israeli bus passengers traveling through Bani Na'im fired extensively at Palestinian youths after the bus windshield was shattered by stones.

DECEMBER 13: Settlers attacked and injured a Palestinian woman, torched three Palestinian cars and smashed the windshields of many others in Hebron. The city was declared a closed military zone, and sections were put under curfew.

Five women miscarried following tear gas attacks throughout the Gaza Strip. Two youths in Jabalya refugee camp were wounded by gunshot after stoning army headquarters.

In Beit Hanoun in the Gaza Strip, soldiers arrested two Palestinians and shot and injured a third.

A settler was injured by stones and two Molotov cocktails were thrown at an army patrol in Beit Lahya in the Gaza Strip.

In Jenin and Jenin refugee camp, soldiers shot three Palestinian youths in fierce clashes. Merchants were ordered closed for the third consecutive day.

Student demonstrations were staged in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of al-Tur. Soldiers closed a school after the incident. In Suwanch neighborhood of the city, soldiers shot one youth during a confrontation.

Clashes erupted in Nablus, where three demonstrators were shot. One youth was shot in a confrontation in Jalazoun refugee camp.

Soldiers raided several schools in Halhoul. Clashes also occurred in Nur Shams refugee camp and in the villages of Bani Na'im, Rumaneh, Silat al-Harthiyeh, Jalboun, Arrabeh and al-Arroub, where Israeli soldiers injured two youths.

A curfew remained in force in Battir village for the third day and in Bidya village for the second day. The army raided a number of Bidya homes.

A youth march in Ramallah was attacked by soldiers shooting tear gas.

A bomb exploded near the police station in Gaza City, Israeli sources reported.

A commercial strike was observed in Rafah to protest the sealing of three homes and the demolition of two others.



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Military prosecutors to demand 20-year terms for stone throwers

The Israeli Defense Ministry ordered West Bank and Gaza Strip military prosecutors to demand heavy sentences for Palestinians indicted for stone throwing, reports said Dec. 11. The prosecutors can now ask for a maximum 20-year prison term. The previous maximum term was 10 years.

This order, observers believe, is designed to appease settlers and other extremist Israelis critical of what they believe is the government's leniency in cracking down on Palestinians. So far, the courts have been asked to hand down six-month sentences to youths accused of stoning Israeli passenger cars and buses without causing any damage. Those accused of causing material damage will receive up to one year, and if found guilty of causing bodily harm, the sentence can reach up to 10 years.

These orders apply only to Palestinians. Israelis who stone Palestinian cars are tried in civil courts, if apprehended. Jewish settlers from Elon Moreh, in the Nablus hills, demonstrated Dec. 9 outside the Defense

Ministry in Tel Aviv demanding harsher measures against Palestinians in the occupied territories. They demanded that the military increase its use of firearms against Palestinians and called for Defense Minister Moshe Arens's resignation if he refused to issue these orders.

On Dec. 11, the Israeli Hebrew daily *Yediot Ahronot* reported that the Israeli army began deploying sharpshooters Dec. 10 in locations where stones are occasionally thrown at passing Israeli settlers' cars. The paper said the sharpshooters, who are hidden from sight, shot and injured four youths on the first day alone.

Meanwhile, debate is continuing in Israel over whether the recent armed attacks on Israelis in the occupied territories indicate a new phase of the Intifada. Many Israelis, particularly in the settlement movement and the extremist political parties, believe the recent spate of armed attacks are evidence that Intifada activists are resorting to the use of weapons.

The Israeli military, however, says these incidents do not point to a change in Intifada strategy. The army considers them isolated incidents, like others which occurred in the past. The military and other government officials, however, did not hesitate to warn Palestinians that the use of firearms will bring down the full force of Israel's wrath.

The Defense Ministry is already planning to expel those it considers Palestinian activists, in an attempt to clamp down on Intifada activities. Reports said the ministry is preparing lists of Palestinians who will be expelled.

Other military response measures may include returning firepower with even more firepower. Some Israeli officials have been quoted as saying that if the Palestinians change the rules of the game and begin using arms instead of stones, the military will also change its rules and use more firearms than ever before, without worrying about the moral or international ramifications.



Radwan Abu Ayyash (left) before his detention dialoguing with Ran Cohen of the Israeli Citizens Rights Movement.

Abu Ayyash's detention reduced to five months

by Mousa Qous

The military appeals committee at Jneid Prison in Nablus voted Dec. 10 to reduce Radwan Abu Ayyash's six-month administrative detention to five months. The action was one of several last week that focused attention on Palestinian journalists under occupation.

Abu Ayyash, the head of the Jerusalem-based Arab Journalists Association (AJA), was arrested Nov. 13, along with Ziad Abu Zayyad, editor of the Hebrew-language Palestinian weekly newspaper *Gesher* (The Bridge), who received a six-month administrative detention order, and Gaza doctor Ahmad al-Yaziji who was given one year.

All three were accused of leadership of the Intifada. None of the accused stood trial since the arrests, leaders from the Israeli peace camp have called for the detainees' release.

In a show of solidarity Dec. 9, Israeli Knesset Member Yossi Sarid of the

Citizens Rights Movement visited the two journalists in Jneid Prison. Following the visit, the MK and the journalists issued a statement which said dialogue between Israel and representatives of the Palestinian people is the only way to achieve peace.

Also on Dec. 9, the AJA condemned the Israeli military's continuous repression of Palestinian journalists.

They denounced the arrests of journalists and the issuing of green identity cards, restricting freedom of movement. Journalism in occupied Palestine, they stated, is the victim of Israeli human rights violations.

The AJA called on the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists and the International Journalists Organization in Prague to intervene on behalf of all detained journalists. The Israeli army holds approximately 30 Palestinian journalists in detention, and has handed out at least 10 renewable green identity cards, banning card holders from Israel and East Jerusalem for six months.

Solidarity events inside 'green line' mark Intifada's third anniversary

In spite of some police restriction, Palestinians and Jewish progressive groups in Israel marked the third anniversary of the Palestinian Intifada with marches, rallies and political seminars. Right-wing Israeli leaders expressed worry over the solidarity actions.

In the largest action, more than 1,000 Peace Now members demonstrated Dec. 8 outside the home of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. They chanted slogans on the urgency of peace negotiations.

Arab and Jewish students at Tel Aviv University demonstrated Dec. 9, calling on the Israeli government to reopen the four closed Palestinian universities. The demonstration was organized by the campus Committee of Arab Students. Protesters chanted "Down with occupation," "Negotiations with the PLO now" and "Stop shedding blood."

Israeli police banned dozens of Palestinian members of the Abna'a al-Balad (Sons of the Village) movement from holding festivities to mark the anniversary. Police denied the group permission to demonstrate in Nazareth. Yet the nationalist

political organization succeeded in conducting a march Dec. 8 in the northern city Um al-Fahm.

Also marking the occasion, two opposition political parties, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace, held a political seminar in the northern Triangle area town Taibeh. Arab Knesset members and Palestinians from the occupied territories like Ghassan al-Khatib, a lecturer at Bir Zeit University, delivered speeches focusing on the uprising and the need for unity among all Arab forces inside Israel.

Another commemoration was held Dec. 7 in Haifa. Arab Knesset members and leading figures from inside the "green line" demonstrated on al-Khoury Street in Haifa, alongside peace activists from Haifa and northern Israel. Participants carried banners condemning Israel's policies in the territories, and called for an end to the occupation.

In the Upper Galilee village Kufr Yassif, the Israeli Democratic Front party organized a rally to show solidarity with the Intifada. Speakers praised the upris-

ing, and called on Israel to end its occupation of Palestinian territories.

Latif Dori, secretary of the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, called on Palestinian and Israeli progressive forces to double their struggle for ending the occupation and meeting their common goal of establishing an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership. He made the statement in front of dozens of students at Baqa al-Gharbiyeh Secondary School in the Triangle during a Dec. 9 ceremony for the uprising's third year.

"The first action is to bring down the Shamir government, which obstructs the peace process, practices brutal and oppressive policies against residents of the occupied territories and jeopardizes the future of Israel," Dori stated.

In response to the activities, politicians at the opposite end of the political spectrum, like Israeli Minister of Science Yuval Ne'eman of the right-wing Tehiya party, expressed worry. He was disturbed by the feelings of solidarity Palestinians in Israel had shown with the Intifada.

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Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Paul A. Ajlouny, *Publisher*
Hanna Siniora, *Editor*

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Time for right planning

The United Nations Security Council has not been able to agree on the mere protection of Palestinian civilians, nor to a peaceful framework for resolving the Palestinian question. It was quick, however, to pass a resolution clearly advocating war against Iraq, undoubtedly aware that such a war would bring mass destruction and insurmountable human suffering, not to mention incalculable fallout on both the world economy and international relations.

No one blames the Security Council for being a tool in the hands of the United States. This superpower has the political and economic clout to control the international forum, particularly now that the Soviet Union has become a subordinate to U.S. will. Until recently, the U.S.S.R. brought balance to the international equation. Now, the Soviets' interest lies in good relations with the United States, and angering it, or its ally Israel, means either no salvation, or only a slow trickle of relief from the rich and powerful United States.

Clearly, the old game played during the Cold War, of courting one or the other superpower, is no longer possible. New games and new strategies need to be devised, applicable to today's international order.

Palestinian strategists and policy-makers have a great task to perform. They need to properly evaluate the current developments and changes in the world, put things into their correct perspective and act accordingly.

Today the Palestinians are in the minority camp, though this camp is the ethical and moral one. This does not mean they were better off before and neither does it mean their lot will be worse in the future. What it means is they must take advantage of what is available and make the best of it. In other words, some serious and skillful planning is in order, keeping in mind the Palestinian people's interests and their future.

We must ask, for example, how we should respond to the intentional delaying of a Security Council vote favorable to the Palestinians. We know that the Palestinian cause is a just one, and that no one can deny it. We know that this cause has worldwide support, if not always at the official level. Given these conditions, greater Palestinian aggressiveness on the diplomatic and media levels can yield concrete results. Let us not forget that in a democracy, the people can make a difference. So it is not impossible to persuade the United States -- and even Israel -- to change their minds. Such an action requires creativity, as well as hard, genuine and resolute work.

The PLO is currently facing monetary difficulties because of the Gulf crisis. Its losses are reported to be in the billions of dollars in actual cash flow and other assets. This has prompted the PLO to cut down on its services to enable it to endure the financial crunch, and has led it to order across-the-board budget cuts.

This decision was inevitable, but across-the-board cuts are not the answer. There are certain areas where the budget should not only not be touched, but rather should be increased, because they are vital to Palestinian national interests and our future.

One of these areas is the information battle. In order to make their work more fruitful, this sector of diplomatic corps and the media must be activated and programmed more efficiently. Other less important programs and events can be slashed or canceled altogether to make funds available for more important and timely pursuits.

This is the time for Palestinian planning and it should be done right.

Toward a new Arab world order

by Khalil Barhoum

Stanford, California -- With so much attention now being paid to the implications and possible consequences of an American-led war against Iraq, what is often missing from the debate is a clear reading of how such a potential engagement will be perceived on the popular level throughout the Arab world. Such a reading is quite essential for two simple reasons. First, the Arabs in the present conflict represent half the equation and, consequently, their views on the crisis cannot be easily dismissed. Secondly, no matter how the Gulf crisis is finally settled, Arabs will continue to live in that vital region, and the United States will have to take their long-term interests into account if it is to ensure future Arab cooperation and support.

The United States' stated policy in the region has always revolved around certain well-publicized U.S. objectives, such as protecting the unimpeded flow of Gulf oil, containment of Soviet expansion in the region, and support for Israel (mainly as a bulwark against potential communist threat). In view of the rapidly changing realities of the post-Cold War era, it is easy to see how the last two objectives may now be harder to argue for. Also, the newly emerging global realities are at least partly responsible for the Bush administration's inability to articulate its case against Iraq more clearly or persuasively.

The administration cannot use the principle of defending the unimpeded flow of Gulf oil to justify a *de facto* state of war against Iraq (since it is the United States, not Iraq, which has interrupted the flow of both Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil since Aug. 2, 1990). Nor can the United States depict the conflict with Iraq today as a confrontation between East and West, because on the one hand no such convenient global paradigm exists any longer, and, just as importantly, Iraq's much-touted military might was equally the creation of East and West (both of whom supported Iraq in its war against Iran during the 1980s when Iraq served the useful purpose of confronting the rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism which threatened to sweep the whole region as a result of the Iranian revolution).

Small wonder then that President Bush has had to invoke yet another principle, preservation of a "new world order," in his list of successive justifications for America's military intervention in the Gulf. But what is this new world order anyway, and what implications does it have for Third World nations in general, and the Arab world in particular? From all indications, the term quite aptly describes a unipolar world in which the political will of the United States, supported by a preponderance of American military power, can no longer be challenged with impunity by smaller nations. In the context of the U.S.-Iraq confrontation, the new world order is viewed by many Arabs as heralding the onset of a process of recolonization of Arab land (through American military presence) and an unremitting American monopolization of Arab oil resources. Underlying the American move is an overriding concern for the preservation of the status quo in the Arab world, with all its attendant socioeconomic and political inequities.

It is widely believed that the speed and resolve with which the United States moved

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against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was meant to thwart any attempt at an Arab solution for the conflict. Such a solution would no doubt have led to the political weakening of the rich Gulf mini states -- indeed to the delight of millions of Arabs who by and large view these states as simply too decadent and beholden to the West. The transformation of these states is regarded by many Arab nationalists to be somewhat of a *sine qua non* for the launching of a new Arab order committed to an equitable distribution of wealth across the geopolitical divides of the Arab world.

As a result of U.S. military intervention on behalf of the "rich Arab order," the ensuing Iraqi confrontation with the West has certainly contributed to the rekindling of Arab nationalism and the fueling of pan-Arab aspirations (which have reached levels of intensity not witnessed since the French-British-Israeli challenge to Egypt's Nasser in 1956). The present conflict has squarely placed the West, especially the United States, on the side of Arab rulers who have persistently resisted social and political change, and have shown no inclination toward sharing their vast unearned wealth with less fortunate Arabs. In intervening with so much zeal and force to "defend Saudi Arabia and liberate Kuwait," the United States is conveying the dangerously cynical message: that the only Arabs it cares about are those who are rich and have oil. Most Arabs, meanwhile, have become convinced that if it takes a confrontation with the West to draw attention to their political and economic grievances, then so be it, since appealing to the West's sense of morality (particularly over Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands) has yielded no positive results thus far.

The United States in fact seems quite intent on maintaining the Arab status quo and defending the excesses of the privileged few in the Arab Gulf -- to the point of even threatening to go to war for it. The U.S. position does not take either the immediate past or the future of the region into account. Otherwise it would have been noted that military solutions have only sown the seeds for further conflict in the area. Consider the U.S.-engineered overthrow of the popular government of Muhammad Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 to reinstate the Shah -- an action which of course later came to haunt the United States. Also, Lebanese point to the brief American military engagement in Lebanon in 1983 on behalf of an unpopular government (when the Battleship New Jersey shelled Lebanese villages, inflicting many civilian casualties). That particular incident, coupled with our tacit support for Israel's destructive 1982 invasion of Lebanon and its continued occupation of one-tenth of that country, have been directly responsible for what the West afterward has come to label as "Shi'ite terrorism." Worth remembering is that the taking of American hostages and hijacking of American airliners by Lebanese Shi'ites became a much-dreaded reality only after 1982-1983.

Regardless of how the Gulf crisis is ultimately resolved, one thing is certain: the Arab world will never be the same, and the Arabs' relations with the United States will enter a new critical and more sobering phase. The region is bound to undergo political upheavals as a way of releasing ever-building popular pressure and redressing long-standing social and economic inequities which have long been tolerated, if not encouraged, by the West. If the United States decides to go to war to preserve the status quo, however, it will be setting a new and extremely dangerous historical precedent in its relations with the modern Arab world.

see Arab, page 15

OPINION

False analogies: 1967 versus 1990

by Uri Davis

Part two of a two-part article

In 1967 as in 1948, Israel was wrongly depicted as David versus Goliath. In (1948) Israel flagrantly violated U.N. resolutions and occupied 77 percent of the territory of Palestine (well beyond the 55 percent allotted by the 1947 U.N. Partition Plan, alongside 45 percent for the Arab state). In parallel, in the course of the 1948 war, Israel forcibly expelled the majority of the Palestinian population from the territories that came under its sovereignty (a war crime under international law). In 1967, Israel further inflicted massive defeat on Egypt, turned on the Hashemite army in the West Bank and on the Syrian army in the Golan Heights. The Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory (Sinai Peninsula), Syrian territory (Golan Heights) and Palestine were likewise in flagrant violation of U.N. resolutions and international law.

Israel no longer occupies the Sinai Peninsula. In October (1973) Egypt embarked upon a war initiative against the continued Israeli occupation. The object of the Egyptian military initiative was to implement U.N. resolutions, in particular U.N. Resolution 242 regarding the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war. The United States did not mobilize assistance on behalf of Egypt, whose territory has been illegally occupied by Israel since 1967. Rather, it mobilized massive assistance to the illegal occupier, Israel. The United States chose to ally itself to the party in violation of the self-same U.N. resolutions which the U.S. government claims to support. Without the huge U.S. airlift of military supplies directly to airstrips on the Sinai Peninsula front, the Israeli army could have been defeated and a positive change in the "framework, spirit and essence" of Israel could have been effected. This was not to be.

Still, judged by 1967 standards, Israel did not win a clear victory in the 1973 war. As consequence, a political international process was put into motion resulting in the Camp David Accords (1978), the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty (1979) and the complete Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula which was returned to Egyptian sovereignty (1982).

Israel still occupies Palestine and the Syrian Golan Heights. It also now controls the entire (water) resources of the Jordan River basin.

Israel fought the 1967 war for what it perceived to be its national (Zionist) interest. In this regard, Israel's motive in initiating the 1967 attack on Egypt is similar to the Iraqi motive of initiating the 1990 attack on Kuwait: perceived national interest (in the case of Iraq, oil interests). In both cases, international law was grossly violated. One would, therefore, wish to see that the same U.N.

sanctions directed against Iraq also be directed against Israel. After all, the Israeli occupation of Palestine is 23 years long whereas the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait is less than six months long. Effective U.N. measures to end the Israeli occupation are therefore urgent.

I am confident that both in the case of Israel and in the case of Iraq, international intervention, through the mechanism of U.N. sanctions and through an international peace conference on the Middle East, can effect withdrawal of Iraqi and Israeli troops from the respective Kuwaiti and Palestinian occupied territories, and secure the right of self-determination to the Kuwaiti and Palestinian people.

No effective U.N. sanctions are directed against Israel. Enlightened people throughout the world, and in particular the peoples of the Middle East, are justified in concluding that the immediate application of effective U.N. sanctions against Iraq (backed by massive U.S. support) versus the total neglect of U.N. sanctions against Israel (due primarily to U.S. categorical rejection) have less to do with the right of peoples to self-determination and more to do with the question of who controls Kuwaiti oil and the power-political balance in the Middle East.

False analogy number two

If Iraq is the aggressor against Kuwait and Israel the aggressor against Palestine, are not the Palestinian people guilty of duplicity, in their popular resistance to the Israeli occupation on the one hand, and their popular support for Iraq, against the U.S.-led military alliance in the Gulf, on the other hand?

This falsehood must be dismissed at the outset. Neither the Palestinian people nor the PLO support the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait. Rather, the Palestinian popular sentiment is in support of Iraq against the U.S.-led military buildup in the Gulf.

By way of correction an analogy to Finland may illuminate the case.

Finland struggled to maintain its independence against Stalin's designs of annexation. In popular international political perception, the Finnish struggle to maintain national independence is depicted in glorious and heroic terms. The Finns are the virtuous, a small nation successfully mobilizing to defend cherished values (independence and international law) against Stalinist imperial designs.

The military leader of the struggle (1939-1947), Baron Gen. Mannerheim, was inaugurated Finland's president, and Finland came to

take a place of honor and recognition among the member-states of the United Nations. Finland became a hallmark and an example to follow for small nations and their struggle for national independence. Mannerheim is regarded both by his own people and by the international community as a war hero -- not as a war criminal.

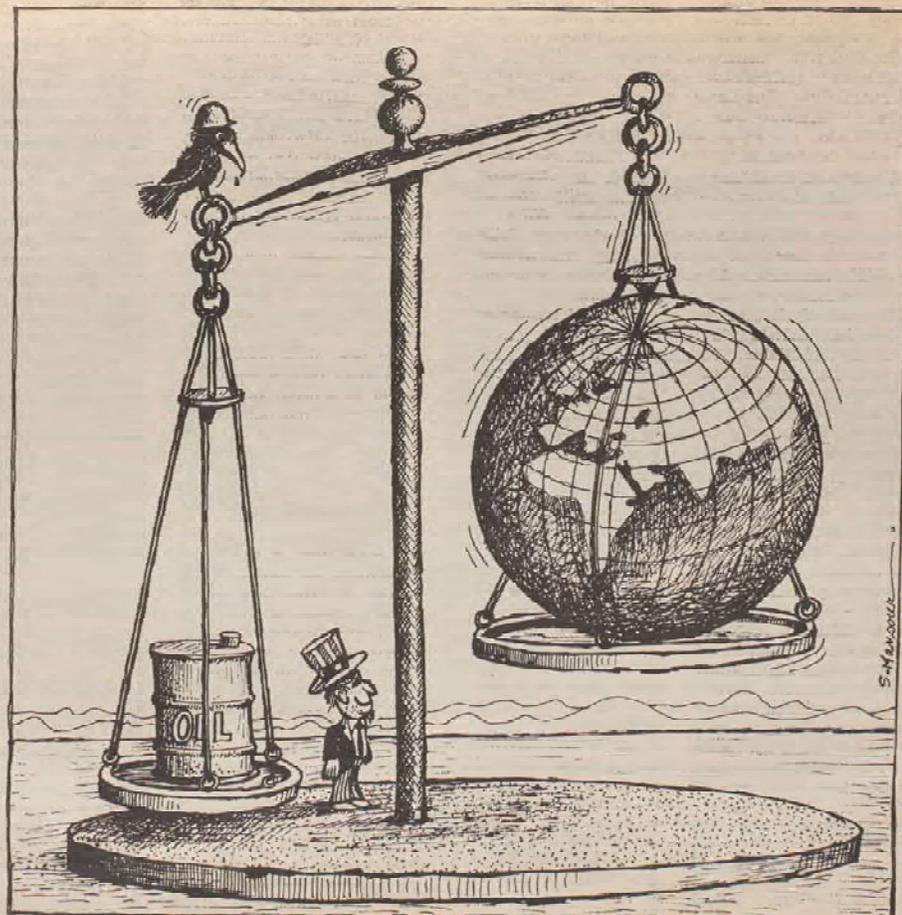
Finland's success in its struggle against Stalin's designs of annexation was largely due to the Finnish alliance with the German Nazi Third Reich.

The Palestinians, in the context of this narrative, are by analogy of the Finns: a small people fiercely committed to achieve and maintain their national independence.

The Finns abhorred and abhor Nazi ideology. Palestinians abhor Ba'ath ideology (and Ba'ath ideology is not Nazi).

The Finns abhorred and abhor the annihilation of Jews and non-Jews in Nazi concentration camps. They evaded German demands to round up and transfer Finnish Jews for as long as they could. Eventually, a group of eight Jewish people was rounded up in Turku. They were, however, never transported to Nazi concentration camps. There

see Analogies, page 15



Dr. Uri Davis is honorary research fellow at the department of politics, University of Exeter.

Felicia Langer recognized for her defense of Palestinian human rights

Felicia Langer, the Israeli attorney who spent most of her career defending Palestinian human, civil and political rights in Israel and the occupied territories, was one of this year's recipients of the Swedish Right Livelihood Award.

The 60-year-old Langer was recognized for her contribution to the defense of human rights and awarded the prize in a ceremony at the Swedish Parliament in Stockholm on Dec. 9, the day before the Nobel Prize presentations.

The awards are presented annually by the Right Livelihood Awards Foundation, a charity set up on the Isle of Man (British Isles) with representatives in England, Sweden and the United States. They are granted to people active in the defense of peace, the environment, social justice and appropriate technology intended to serve humanity.

In her acceptance speech, Langer said: "I am carrying in me the dead of my family, victims of fascism and Nazism who never had a grave, and the victims of tyranny and oppression of all continents.

"I am carrying in me the pain and the sorrow of the Palestinians, oppressed by the orders of the government of my homeland, a government, like its predecessors, which has betrayed our dead."

Langer, who retired earlier this year after what she termed a loss of hope for finding justice for Palestinians in the Israeli court system, described the difficulty of life for Palestinians under Israeli occupation. "The Palestinian tragedy, which is now our tragedy too, is regarded as one of the most important topics on the international agenda," said Langer in her speech.

"It is unbearable to ignore the human suffering of a whole people, denied basic human rights in the last decade of our century, a whole nation without any protection. Blood is spilled daily all over the occupied territories and in Israel too, sometimes of innocent Israelis who are falling victim to Palestinians' revenge for the government's atrocities, a vicious circle of violence turning us into a nation of killers and killed, a new Sparta of the Middle East,



Felicia Langer: Carrying the pain

where the fathers are burying their sons.

"Among the victims are those shot to death as an almost daily occurrence, those who were beaten to death by soldiers, those so-called 'wanted' who were executed, and others, suffocated by gas. Victims of smaller or bigger massacres."

The human rights attorney received the award on the day Palestinians marked the third anniversary of their popular uprising in the occupied territories. "Today is an extremely meaningful date," said Langer, "the third anniversary of the Palestinian uprising, the Intifada, the political message of which was and remains: no to the occupation, yes to independence, yes to peace with Israel through establishing a Palestinian state in the occupied territories alongside Israel.

"But our consecutive governments, and in particular the last one leading us to catastrophe, are determined to continue the belligerent occupation, contrary to the Law of Nations, and to break the Intifada, mercilessly. They have not succeeded, because the Intifada is circulating like blood in Palestinian flesh. But they are not sparing the flesh."

Langer received a stand-

ing ovation at the conclusion of her emotional speech. It was the first time in the history of the award presentation that a recipient received a standing ovation. She celebrated her 60th birthday on the same day she received the award.

Langer received a cable from Palestinian President Yasser Arafat congratulating her on the award. "Our Palestinian people will never forget your defense of their just cause and your defense of their prisoners and detainees," wrote Arafat.

The idea and original funding for the Right Livelihood Awards Foundation came from Jakob von Uexkull, a Swedish-German writer and philatelic expert, who is director of the foundation and a member of the European Parliament. The award was introduced in 1980. The awards are granted the day before the Nobels in order to gain publicity.

Today the award is funded in part from endowment income and by donations from individuals all over the world. The yearly cash award is at least U.S.\$120,000, which is shared by several recipients. The cash is awarded for a specific project, not for personal use.

Lack of rain warns of a drought as farmers brace for major losses

by Sami Abu Ghazaleh

The lack of rainfall so far this year may have catastrophic effects on Palestinian life and agriculture, experts say.

Chief of the weather forecasting center in Jericho, Majed Dajani, says there have only been three seasons this dry since 1960, and both livestock and agriculture are presently in danger.

In addition, natural springs, like Ain al-Ouja in the Jericho area, have dried up. And a further danger is the appearance, and increase, in poisonous insects. These oblige farmers to use large quantities of expensive chemical insecticides, says agricultural engineer and head of the Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committee Ismail Du'iq. The red spider and the white fly are common pests in the Jericho area. Not only do they threaten crops, but they can infect people with a virus they carry.

"The average rainfall in this country is 100 millimeters a year," says Du'iq. Statistics from the Jericho Weather Center show the greatest rainfall this decade was 257.7 mm in 1987-1988. The lowest in 10 years was 85.4, in 1984-1985. Rainfall this year, however, has been the lowest all decade, or less than one percent of the average.

Du'iq says the potential dangers of this shortfall are a huge shortage of drinking water, and a lack of water for crop irrigation. The land is also too dry to support the plants and herbs flocks are dependent on for grazing.

Palestinian researchers and engineers say unusual atmospheric conditions are

responsible for the late rainfall. Temperatures have been high, and much of the water table has been depleted. There has also been an increase in evaporation as temperatures have risen, Du'iq explains. The end result is a potential crisis in fruit and vegetable prices, and general instability in the market.

"The destiny and future of agriculture will be determined by, and is dependent on, the period between the coming week and the end of March," he says. "If rain falls in a scattered way, less than the average, there will be a definite and absolute danger to agriculture."

There is still a chance for the rainy season to come, and make up the shortfall. "If the rains begin to fall immediately, and continue until Dec. 20, the water level will be in the acceptable range," Du'iq explains. "However, the rains must come before the period Palestinians call *Marbu'uniyeh*, meaning 40 days of cold and dry weather, which begins on Dec. 22. Otherwise there will be a real disaster."

The disaster includes "Eastern winds coming from Jordan, which will harm the remaining plants, especially in the Jericho Valley which are directly vulnerable to these winds," Du'iq says. The catastrophe will not only affect Palestinians, but Israelis and Jordanians as well.

But there are some benefits from this year's late rainfall. Du'iq says farmers may plough their fields more easily before the winter rains, and the land is softer when dry, which helps peasants to prepare the soil for their vegetables.

CORRECTION

The photo which appeared on this page of last week's issue was not of Nabil Shaath. Our apologies.

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ARAB AND DIASPORA NEWS

Gulf crisis inflicts massive economic damage on Jordan

by Ralph Dannheisser

Amman, Jordan (USIA) -- Talk with the ordinary Jordanian or with some of the country's leading economists and the view expressed is the same: their nation has suffered more from the fallout of the Gulf crisis than any other but Kuwait itself.

They cite a wide spectrum of economic damage, from loss of export markets and a sharp falloff in tourist trade to the staggering costs of caring for the flow of evacuees from Kuwait and endangered access to the oil that keeps a modern society running.

Many blame their problems, at least in part, on what they see as unfair treatment by the nations allied against Iraq -- discrimination that they say is based on a mistaken belief that Jordan's moderate approach reflects official as well as popular support for Iraq.

The views expressed by the typical worker in businesses that rely on a suddenly absent flow of visitors are personally-oriented and direct.

A taxi driver needs little encouragement to tell his troubles to a passenger. "I have been working since six this morning, for almost four hours," he says, "and I have made three Jordanian Dinars, (worth about U.S.\$1.50 apiece)." He points at his gasoline gauge. "Now I need JD3 in petrol," he says.

The driver makes a sweeping motion toward the boulevard ahead. "Look, it is like a Friday (the normal 'weekend' day off in Jordan). You see nobody."

A small shopkeeper complains to a visitor that he cannot make it, due to early closing hours imposed by the government in order to conserve fuel.

A desk clerk at the Amman International Hotel, near the university, has a similar story. The hotel's occupancy rate is now 17 percent, compared with the nearly 100 percent rate normal at this season, he says.

Even that is an improvement. For August the hotel had been 15 percent overbooked in advance; when the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait Aug. 2 raised the threat of a broader conflict, cancellations swiftly brought business to a total standstill.

"This has really done terrible things to our country," he says, especially at first "when no one wanted to come here." Still, he says, "you must live. You must survive. You cannot sit and

do nothing."

The economists provide the figures to put the situation into broader perspective.

Bassam Saket has served as minister of agriculture and secretary general of the royal Hashemite court. Now he is chairman of a public-private joint venture that operates two major cement factories.

Saket flatly declares Jordan "second after Kuwait in terms of economic losses and material suffering" from the Gulf crisis.

Citing government figures that put the total projected full-year cost to Jordan at U.S.\$3,200-4,200 million, he says even those numbers are underestimates because they reflect only static losses.

While the reduced value of exports may show up as U.S.\$300 million, he says, that ignores "the dynamics of the figures" -- aspects like the decline in potential jobs that are associated with the lost trade opportunity.

The re-entry into the country of many Jordanians who had been working in Kuwait also carries with it costs that have not been fully accounted for, Saket says -- including a curtailed flow of remittances into the country, the need to find jobs for the returnees and increased pressure on services like health and education.

All this is heaped upon major losses to the country's small business trucking operators, staggering increases in insurance rates and problems related to Jordan's almost total reliance on Iraq for oil, he says.

Saket insists that Jordan has not received proper credit for complying with United Nations-ordered sanctions against trade with Iraq, notwithstanding the massive problems that compliance creates. As a result, he says, compensation for the massive losses has been slow in coming.

Another businessman-economist, one with close ties to the present government, strikes a similar theme.

The man, who asks that his name not be used, says Jordan has fared far worse in terms of allied reimbursement for losses than anyone else, despite a higher level of suffering that the sanctions impose.

While gross monetary losses may be on a par with those incurred by the other front-line states -- Egypt and Turkey -- he says, those na-

tions can spread the effect over a far larger population. They each have some 50 million people while Jordan numbers only 3 to 3.5 million, he says. Thus, he notes, the losses amount to perhaps 4 to 6 percent of the gross national product to Egypt and Turkey, but a staggering 30 to 50 percent of Jordan's GNP.

He readily identifies what he sees as the problem: while the government of King Hussein has been clear in rejecting the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait, it has consistently pushed for a diplomatic solution and opposed the build-up of outside forces in the region.

At the same time, elements of the press and public have been vocal in their support of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, clouding the fact that a "silent majority" backs the government.

The result, he says, is that "people outside Jordan confuse what the press and the man in the street say" with the official position of the government.

Thus help has been slow in coming, he says, noting that only U.S.\$17 million has been compensated of

some U.S.\$1,500 million in demonstrable losses so far -- though another U.S.\$150-190 million is expected shortly from Japan and Germany.

Like Saket, he voices concern that failure to address Jordan's needs could eventually undermine the government's stand.

"If there is a serious economic crisis in Jordan, then the man in the street will look at the government and say, 'Why should you implement sanctions any more?' The farmer in the Jordan Valley who is going bankrupt because he can't sell his tomatoes to Iraq will say, 'Why should I continue to see my tomatoes rot? I'm going to break the sanctions,'" he says.

Jawad Anani, a consulting economist who formerly held posts as minister of supply, of labor, and of industry and trade, says the economic crisis could not have come at a worse time for his country.

He notes that Jordan, already suffering from declining foreign earnings, price increases and escalating unemployment, was in the midst of implementing an adjustment plan worked out

with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

"In the first half of this year, we thought we were making it," Anani says. "The inflation rate dropped from 25 percent in 1989 to 12 percent, and we hoped for 1.5 percent real growth in GNP compared with a minus 1 to 2 percent the year before."

But continued improvement depended on growth in exports, on further receipt of some U.S.\$500 million a year in aid from Gulf countries, on increasing remittances from Jordanian workers abroad. "When the Gulf crisis erupted, all these were threatened," he says.

Still Anani is cautiously optimistic. "I would make a bet on the fact that war would not take place, there is ample room for negotiation," he says. And if there is no war, he says, "I am not worried about the Jordanian economy."

Even if a resolution came quickly, Anani acknowledges, "we will spend at least two years trying to convalesce." But after that, he says, steady improvement could be expected.

Differences reconciled in two hours

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington -- It took only two hours at the White House Dec. 11 to straighten out the strained relations between U.S. President George Bush and his guest Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. After the meeting, Shamir expressed full satisfaction with the U.S. stand on the Middle East and pledged his country's support for ongoing American efforts to resolve the Gulf crisis.

Considering that Shamir's visit to Washington was not an official one, his two-hour meeting with President Bush at the White House was a great achievement. In addition to the meeting with Bush, Shamir had talks with Secretary of State James Baker and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney. He also saw congressional leaders and other influential Americans.

Shamir's busy schedule reflected the unique, powerful and multifaceted relationship between Israel and the United States. Israel is the recipient of the greatest share of U.S. foreign aid and the beneficiary of American "protection" in in-



Israeli Prime Minister Shamir with U.S. President Bush.

ternational forums.

Though Shamir's visit took place after long months of tension and disagreements, it brought the parties closer together, ironed out all differences and set them back on their normal cooperative course.

For the past 10 months, Israeli-American relations, at the very best, were unusually bumpy, mainly due to differing approaches to peace efforts and other events in the region. During the past 10 months, the two leaders reportedly didn't speak even once over the telephone.

to when Israel rejected its own "Shamir Plan" for Palestinian elections in the occupied territories, which America supported. Baker, in a dramatic exchange of words, gave Israeli officials the White House telephone number and told Israel to call when it was serious about peace. Then the Israeli government-financed takeover of St. John's Hospice in Jerusalem's Old City dragged the relations between Israel and the United States to a new low.

Then with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the

see Differences, page 15

ISRAELI SCENE

Get out of Gaza, now

Who the hell needs Gaza?
By Ariela Ringel-Hoffman
Yediot Ahronot, 7 Days
December 7, 1990

Six hundred and fifty thousand people are crammed into the Gaza Strip, a narrow strip of about 45 by 8.5 kilometers. The greatest density in the world. And an army of children conduct their war. In the year 2000, in another 10 years, the number of Gaza residents will reach 1 million. Even if the birthrate declines in the coming 10 years, life expectancy will increase and balance the drop in births. Nearly 60 percent of the population is under the age of 19, and 77 percent is under the age of 29. They read newspapers, watch television, and they know that this place is closing in on them, that it can't get any worse. And they feed the Intifada.

Every year, 17,000 children are born in Gaza. Every year, about 5,000 new families are started. Only about 40 percent of these families find housing. The rest attach a couple more tin walls, cover them with a tin roof, lay down a couple of mattresses and raise children.

The number of children born there in five weeks is equal to the total number of Jewish settlers in the Strip. In all of Gush Katif.

Gaza has no land reserves for building. The total amount of agricultural land in production will continue to drop, from 175,000 dunums to 148,000 dunums.

The demand for water will rise, sources of water will dwindle, and the quality of water will continue to decline -- because of infection and disease. Israel will be forced to provide water for the Gaza Strip, and there won't be any place to bring it from. And we're not talking about water for agriculture, we're talking about drinking water.

The Islamic movement, according to the predictions, will continue to gather strength. It will become more and more difficult for Israel to control the situation on the ground.

In December 1987, Shimon Peres spoke of pulling out of Gaza, what was called "Gaza first." In Gaza, they talk of "Holy War now," and PLO activists talk about the noose tying the two people together. Off the record, they say the grave you dug for us will swallow you too.

Three years of the Intifada, 23 years of Israeli occupation. Gaza is a bad place to live, a bad place to do reserve duty. At the end of October, a company of combat engineers finished 32 days of reserve duty. At the end of November, a paratroop company was released from duty. This week, after getting out of there, after returning their weapons to the storeroom, after turning over their vehicles, the soldiers and officers from the two companies signed petitions calling on the prime minister and the defense minister to pull the army out

of Gaza City.

Elon Oron, 41, first sergeant, got 20 men from his company to sign the following petition: "We the undersigned, citizens with varying political beliefs, who have done our army service in a reserve company in Gaza City, call for the withdrawal of the army from population centers in the city. We believe that the presence of the army causes unnecessary friction with the local residents, inflames the Intifada, and unnecessarily endangers the lives of soldiers serving there."

Lieutenants Mossi Raz and Zvika Barnes, company commanders, both 25, got 12 officers from their company and from a reserve armored battalion to sign a similar petition. "We are expressing, as citizens of the state who represent a range of positions on the Israeli political spectrum, our protest against the presence of the army in the Gaza Strip. In our estimation, there is no logical basis, economic or military, for ruling the 750,000 residents of the Strip -- a rule which increases the deep hatred between the peoples, with no solution on the horizon."

Both petitions were sent to the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Defense. The signers of the two petitions don't know one another. They didn't know one another before, and they don't know one another now. It wasn't a matter of prior coordination or common planning. The news of the "Soldiers' Petition" was publicized only after the "Officers' Petition" had reached the Prime Minister's Office.

Thirty-two signatures. The soldiers' petition was signed by attorney Elon Oron, a leftist. The conscience of the company, they tell me. But when it was necessary to fight off hundreds of residents in one of the demonstrations that followed the events on the Temple Mount (the Oct. 8 killing of 17 Palestinians by Israeli police in al-Haram al-Sharif), he fired like the rest. The petition was also signed by Rami Calderon, who the guys call Calder-Norris, after Jack Norris. An elevator engineer, a rightist, a stubborn soldier, tireless when it comes to chasing down stone throwers, he said that Gaza is the closed ward of a nut-house, and he doesn't understand why he has to be there. And also Nissan Ivri signed. A butcher, who now says leave me alone, I was drunk. And systems analyst David Sheffer also signed, but now he denies it.

Company Commander Shmuel Berkowitz, an attorney, didn't sign because he believes that as commander, he shouldn't be involved in matters about which there is a difference of opinion among the soldiers. Law professor Baruch Bracha didn't sign. More than half the soldiers didn't sign. Some because they've had it with petitions, and some because they disagreed with what was written.



Elon Oron's unit, commanded by Berkowitz, was stationed on Nasser Street, one of the main streets of Gaza. Gray houses, exposed cinder block, some of them unfinished. Stores on the ground floor, residences on the upper floors. A wide, two-lane street, crumbling after three years of Intifada.

In the early morning hours, the street is full of children going to school. Later, the women go out to shop. In the afternoon, the children come home. In the afternoon, if there is no curfew, Gaza spills out onto the street. At 8:00 p.m., they shut up in their houses. A few trees, but no flowers.

Army vehicles patrol the length of the street. Making sure the road isn't blockaded, that a demonstration doesn't suddenly explode. They drive slowly in armored vehicles, stones bouncing off the plexiglass. Every alley is numbered. After a few days, every alley is familiar. They know, for example, that it's impossible to pass Alley 19 without catching a stone.

They know the alleys, they know the people. Early in the morning, when the children come out, they

leave. They also leave when the children come home. Less friction, less reason to shoot.

Here and there they conduct little conversations. Come on guys, enough for the day, one of the reservists shouts. The children laugh. During chases, the children update the soldiers: This isn't 70 meters, they shout, you're not allowed to shoot.

It sounds like a game. It's far from being one. During the course of a month, they were the target of three Molotov cocktails, three air conditioner compressors, a disassembled car engine, cinder blocks, steel rods, stones. And those who threw them meant to hit. And those who meant to hit hoped to kill. They sat there during a month of the Temple Mount, Baka (a Jerusalem suburb where three Israelis were stabbed to death by a Palestinian), Saddam Hussein.

Oron: "At a very early stage, people grasp that the most important thing they can do there is to make sure they don't catch a cinder block on the head or skewer themselves on barbed wire that someone strung across the road at night at neck-height. How to get through this

Amas

month, to stay alive, and not to kill anyone either.

"The Molotov cocktails, for example, we caught in the predawn hours. We went out to guard one of the streets, so the workers could go to work in peace. On the way back, we saw three flamca explode between the first and second jeeps. They were the first Molotov cocktails in the city after a long period of relative quiet. Everyone of us knows what happens when a bomb like that falls on you in the jeep, and what a soldier looks like after a Molotov cocktail."

"We've been to Megiddo already," Oron says. "We guarded the prison there. We were in Khan Yunis, now we're here. All the time I looked for someone who would come and explain to me what I'm doing here, why Gaza is necessary, and what it contributes to the security of the state of Israel, someone who will justify running around here like nuts. What is the reason for all the military power invested in the field. All the time I thought: I have an office, I have clients, I have work to do, and I'm sitting in this place, and I know if something happens, to me or to someone else, it will be a crime. A loss without any justification."

Gaza runs from roadblock to roadblock. Every few kilometers, a roadblock. Also on the road that goes around the city to Gush Katif. Nearby, military fortifications have sprung up to protect the roadblocks. They sit in the fortifications, one of the soldiers says, and watch the road. One day, two Arab teenagers approached the fence. They were holding some objects in their hands. For a moment, they seemed to be hand grenades. They made motions as if they were going to pull out the pins, and the soldier put his finger on the trigger. It took another second or two until he realized that they were putting on a show with two cans of Coca Cola.

More than they check the Arab cars that go by, H.Z. says, they make sure that the Israeli cars know where they are going. In the evening, they travel in convoys of at least two cars. During the day there have to be at least two persons in every car.

One eye looks to the side, the other looks behind. H.Z. says that the only ones who continue to drive around, as if they were going to the beach or in Tel Aviv, are the settlers. Women from Gush Katif drive on the Gaza bypass road with cars full of children, alone. They argue with the commanders of the roadblocks when they are told to wait for an escort vehicle.

They brought us here, he says, to protect Gaza because there are Jews living here. In the end, we all protect our asses first, we all want to get home safely. And the question that doesn't stop running around in our heads is: What the hell are we doing here?

Rami Calderon calls himself a rightist. Calderon was the first to agree to sign Oron's petition. And the guys said: If Calderon signed, we'll sign too. "We didn't kill anybody," he says. "We didn't break

any heads, but after being there for a month, I understand where the Givati trials came from. It's frustrating, nerve-racking reserve duty. I want the person who sent me to Gaza to decide what he wants me to do there, except to be an easy target for the forces of the Intifada. I don't understand why I have to take people out in the middle of the night to erase graffiti that will be written again tomorrow. Why should I care if they take down Palestinian flags that will be flown again tomorrow? Why do I have to chase after a 10-year-old child when peaking from behind him are another 20 like him?"

There are two possibilities: Kill or get out of there.

According to Calderon, there are two possibilities: Kill or get out of there. And because I don't want to kill anybody, he says, I want to get out of there. And all the rest is acrobatics.

There is another way of presenting things. Company Commander Berkowitz says "We completed 32 days in Gaza without one killing, without any of our forces being hurt. It was made clear to the soldiers, more than once, that it wasn't a matter of suppressing the Intifada. This can't be done by military means, without damaging our basic moral norms. It is a matter of lowering the level of mutual violence and trying to allow people, to the extent that it is possible, to lead normal lives in this place."

They sat there a month. Talked about open refusal to serve, clandestine refusal to serve. They talked about Prof. Yeshiyahu Leibowitz. Had a few heated arguments. In the end, they came up with the petition. It isn't a matter of refusing to serve, they say. Our unit did reserve duty in Khan Yunis in February and now in Gaza. If they call us back here next year, we'll come. And anyway, the army isn't the focus of the complaints raised in the petition, we just want someone to tell us who needs Gaza.

Gaza 1990. They don't break arms and legs. From December 1987 to April 1988, for example, Gaza's Shifa Hospital registered 1999 cases of broken limbs. They don't shoot at masked activists any more.

They give preparatory talks to battalions coming in. They talk to them about lowering the level of violence. No one talks anymore about liquidating the Intifada. They also don't tell the soldiers who needs Gaza and for what purpose.

Chief of the Southern Command Matan Vilnai participated in a conversation with the paratroop battalion that produced the officers' petition. They asked him who needs Gaza and what are we doing here. That's a political question, Vilnai replied, and I won't respond to it. History teaches, he told them later in

the same conversation, that armies caught in similar situations fell apart. I am happy, he told them, that this hasn't happened to the IDF [Israel Defense Forces].

The paratroopers were stationed in the village of Jabalya. They performed a task similar to the one performed by the guys in the combat engineer battalion, what's called "continuous security." Jeep patrols, foot patrols, more sophisticated action. Among the orders they received was one to patrol the Jabalya village market. They quickly learned that every time they entered the market, they aroused a little Intifada.

Israel has voting booths, and there everyone can express their opinion. Not in uniform and through the ranks.

A little more than three years ago, we came to Gaza for a few days, before the Intifada, when you could still come in a car with a yellow [Israeli] license plate. In the Jabalya refugee camp, we met a foot patrol, six or seven soldiers hopping over the streams of sewage, with little children running after them. It was a hot day, without a breath of wind, and the soldiers were extremely tired.

Col. Efraim Karni, then commander of Gaza, called to one of the soldiers. Soldier, he said, why aren't you holding the butt of your rifle? How many years can you keep holding the butt of a rifle, the soldier said. Ten years, 15 years? Your hand gets tired.

There is a tired hand in Gaza. Holding the butt of a rifle for too many years led to the two petitions. There is a hand that writes the leaflets signed by the United Command calling for the intensification of the struggle. There is the hand of Avi Farhan, who knows the answer to the question of who needs Gaza, and there is the wise hand of Matan Vilnai, who knows the limits of power.

And there is Gaza.

Claude Lanzmann, who made the movie *Shoah* (Holocaust), visited Gaza a little while ago. When he got to the Jabalya refugee camp, he looked around in amazement. Tell me, he asked the person escorting him, have your ministers been here? Dedi Zucker says that, just like the Likud organizes tours of the West Bank, the Labor Party should bring people to Gaza, so that they can see with their own eyes exactly what the situation is.

An ugly strip, with a bit more than 2,000 Jews, not the land of our fathers, and not the narrow waist of the state of Israel. A strip that can't support its hundreds of thousands of residents and has no alternative to offer them. More than half its residents are refugees with no place to go and no place to earn their daily bread. They are by necessity attached to Israel's navel, and nobody wants them. Not Egypt either, which sneaked out of Gaza through the Camp David Agreement.

The petition of the soldiers from the combat engineers battalion was signed by Elon Oron and Rami Calderon; Oron who doesn't want to be in Gaza at all, and Calderon who wants them to let him take his finger off the trigger. Only the Intifada could bring them together as signers of the same petition.

In the end, they both say the same thing, the same thing that the paratroopers say: Gaza isn't ours. The land isn't ours, the houses aren't ours, the sewers aren't ours. And besides, they don't want us here.

It's not ours, they say, and they know that if there was a simple solution, somebody, obviously, would already have found it. What will the Gazans do if we leave, someone from the army says, drink seawater, eat sand? Gaza is our punishment.

At the same time that the paratroop battalion left Gaza, Avi Farhan, Lt. Col. (Res.), also finished his reserve duty in the Strip. As a civilian, Farhan is a spokesperson for Tehiya, and he lives in Aker-Sinai, not far from Gaza City. Farhan was stationed with his battalion in Khan Yunis. And he knows who needs Gaza. According to him, Gaza is needed by the residents of Sderot and Ashkelon, the *kibbutzim* in the northern Negev, and everyone who will be the target of the katyushas that will start falling when the army leaves Gaza.

Those who want to leave Gaza, Farhan says, will have to decide to leave the Galilee and Jerusalem -- and Ramat Gan too, after the incident on Bus 66. For him, Gaza is a metaphor. Those who signed the petition claim to be coming from the field, he says, but I'm coming from the same place. And I know that you have to come up for air. For him, it's a war, a war for the whole shebang. And the army should nip these petitions in the bud, he says.

FEATURE

Stealthy settlement in Jerusalem's Old City

by Stuart Young

"Softly does it" is now the motto for Jewish settlers trying to force Palestinians out of the Old City of Jerusalem. The spate of violent attacks by settlers that followed the al-Aqsa massacre has now been disavowed by some settler leaders in favor of subtler tactics. Whilst some settlers pursue a policy of violent harassment of Palestinians, others are quietly trying to "persuade" homeowners to sell, citing the harassment as a reason to move. But however their means differ, their ends remain the same: the eventual expulsion of Palestinians from the Old City.

The disastrous attempt by a settler group to take over the St. John's Hospice in the Old City's Christian Quarter in April of this year drew the attention of the international media at the height of Easter holy week. The action, partly funded by the Israeli government, brought condemnation from heads of all Christian communities inside the Old City, and from many Christians abroad, and subjected the Jewish settlement strategy in the Old City to intense scrutiny.

Residents of the Muslim Quarter now testify to a low-level campaign involving offers of blank checks and incessant persuasion by Jewish frontmen, in addition to the use of Arab collaborators as middlemen. At the same time, settlers are subjecting residents to attacks and harassment.

The al-Aqsa massacre on Oct. 8 was the signal for mobs of Israeli settlers to rampage. Eyewitnesses reported plain-clothed gunmen wearing kippas (skullcaps) hunting Palestinian youths in the narrow streets, far from the mosque compound. Some were shot and injured, and 27-year-old Old City resident Ahmad Khalidi was mortally wounded near the Holy Sepulchre Church.

Israeli journalist Emmanuel Rosen wrote in *Ma'ariv* the day after of "a consensus ... of violent hatred of Arabs" among the residents of the Jewish Quarter. One, a *yeshiva* student, "opined that 'the border guards were just wonderful,' adding with a huge smile on his face: 'Twenty, 20 Arabs killed.'"

Hamoudi Kastiro and his family of 10 live in Aqbat al-Khaldiyeh neighborhood of the Old City, the front line of the campaign to Judaize the Muslim Quarter, and were the worst hit by settler violence on the day of the massacre. Acting on the advice of the police, Kastiro and his family, along with other local residents, fled their homes, fearing for their lives. At around 11:30 that night their home was firebombed. Kastiro says, "We lost our clothes, all our belongings ... everything" after the blaze gutted their home.

The family are now subjected to frequent uninvited visits by a man calling himself Ezra Elyahu. "He just walks in, demands tea and makes himself at home," says Kastiro. "He keeps on asking me when I am going to sell up. But we know he's working with the Shuvu Banim religious school and we'll never sell."

The Kastiro family shares an entranceway with the notorious Shuvu Banim, a *yeshiva* for alleged born-again Jewish criminals who serve half their prison sentences there. The



Israeli fanatics marching through the streets of Jerusalem's Old City.

inmates of Shuvu Banim are well-known for their violent and uncompromising behavior. Kastiro claims the settlers have threatened his life and the lives of his children in order to force them out, and is sure they were responsible for the attack. The police reaction, Kastiro complains, has been nonexistent.

Just two weeks ago, witnesses saw a settler strike a child playing in the street with a metal bar. The boy escaped permanent injury and, as with every single case in the long history of attacks, no one was arrested or questioned. Local people testify to an apparent complete lack of desire on the part of police to investigate acts of violence by Shuvu Banim and other settlers. Residents claim this is contrasted by aggressive behavior toward all Palestinians present when a scuffle breaks out in the street, even if it is plainly obvious that they are the victims.

An illustration of police partiality was given by Israeli journalist Nahum Barnea, writing in *Yediot Ahront*. Barnea described how, on the day of the massacre, a group of about 30 *haredi* (ultra-orthodox) males, aged between 13 and 25, who

claimed to be from nearby *yeshivas*, ran wild, throwing stones at the windows of Palestinian houses. "An old Arab peasant woman passed by. She hesitated, and yet decided to pass by the gang. She carried a box of black grapes, which she apparently had had no opportunity to sell because of the slaughter. The youngsters first spat on her, then hit her on the back, then pulled her breasts, until she somehow managed to extricate herself from them. The box fell and the grapes scattered over the pavement."

Barnea continues: "Then a platoon of border guards arrived on the scene. The youngsters immediately complained that Arabs had attacked them. But the border guards had no patience for them. 'Go home at once,' shouted the platoon commander. 'But why don't you shoot at the Arabs?' asked one from the gang. 'Because I know that it was you who attacked,' answered the commander while moving away."

Commenting on the events of the day, Israeli mayor of West Jerusalem Teddy Kollek told the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* that the students of the several religious schools in the Muslim Quarter "have the custom to urinate

on their Muslim neighbors." Yet residents of al-Khaldiyeh speak of a much more serious history of violence and intimidation by the occupants of Shuvu Banim, including stones thrown into the street below, attacks on children, persistent death threats, and the throwing of raw sewage onto their houses. Shuvu Banim also allows raw sewage to collect in pools and to seep through their Arab neighbors' ceilings. When a group of householders approached Shuvu Banim for a contribution toward the repair of their sodden roofs, the settlers attacked them. When the municipality refused to help pay, residents had to put up U.S.\$6,000 themselves. Two months later, the Shuvu Banim inmates dug another channel, flooding the repairs.

Palestinian residents also complain of noisy religious ceremonies involving the banging of gongs and drums, loud singing and dancing late at night. "They are just trying to make our lives unlivable," says Hayel Sanduqa, head of the Neighborhood Defense Committee. Sanduqa says Palestinians have constructed fences on the roofs to stop the settlers from using them as walkways, and wire shields to protect themselves from stone attacks. He also points to another, more alarming, factor. "Shuvu Banim are just a bunch of criminals put in the middle of our neighborhood. But Ateret Cohanim are the most dangerous because they buy the houses."

Ateret Cohanim is the most active of the four Jewish settlement groups. There are around 100 Ateret Cohanim *yeshiva* students housed in the Muslim Quarter. Aside from Shuvu Banim there are two other groups with around 30 members each: Torat Cohanim and The Young Israel Movement, the latter headed by Rabbi Nahman Kahane, brother of the slain Jewish far-right extremist Meir Kahane. Torat Cohanim is attended by young Orthodox Jews who join *yeshivas* instead of doing army service. In contrast, Ateret Cohanim students openly carry weapons in the street, and serve in elite regiments of the army. Ateret Cohanim means "the crown of priests" in Hebrew, and the title reflects the devotion of followers to the study of priestly rituals of the Second Temple, in preparation for the destruction of the Dome of the Rock Mosque, al-Haram al-Sharif, and the construction in its place of the Third Temple.

Ateret Cohanim has strong links with Atara Leyoshna, the "Society for the Renewal of Jewish Settlement Throughout the Old City of Jerusalem," which acts as a real estate consortium for the settler groups. Journalist Mick Dumper writing in *Middle East International* described Atara Leyoshna activities as "locating, buying, pressuring Palestinian residents to leave and renovating property in order to build up a Jewish presence in the Muslim Quarter."

Adnan Hussein, of the Islamic Waqf (Trust), the authority responsible for Muslim religious property in the Old City, says 44 properties in the Muslim Quarter have been seized since 1978, including the Tankazyeh

see Settlement, page 15

CULTURE

Siham Ghazaleh fought all odds to become what she always wanted to be

by Khalil Touma

One actress has commanded the attention of both audiences and critics during the currently running Jerusalem Festival of Palestinian Theater at the Al-Masrah theater in East Jerusalem. Besides being one of only a few Palestinian actresses, Siham Ghazaleh's performances have reflected a high level of awareness, education and experience.

"I like to be successful," says Ghazaleh. "I am very happy when I hear the audience applaud. And the sweetest kisses are those which I receive from my audience following the performance."

Ghazaleh says she always dreamed of being an actress when she was a girl in Beit Jala, and believes she has chosen the right path for realizing her beliefs. "I did not want to become another Marilyn Monroe, chased by cameras. As I always told my family and friends, I simply wanted to deliver a message to the audience."

The actress believes Palestinian theater plays an active role in the national life, and is a means of education and awareness-raising, as well as ideological mobilization and the refining of spirit and emotion. What adds to her happiness, she notes, is that her audience comes from various classes in the society who all admire her art.

Ghazaleh was deeply influenced by Egyptian artists in her early childhood, as many Arab youths were. When she was in primary school, she sang Egyptian songs, and wrote songs which she sang with local folkloric music. "I felt art in me, but did not know how it could be best brought to light," she recalls.

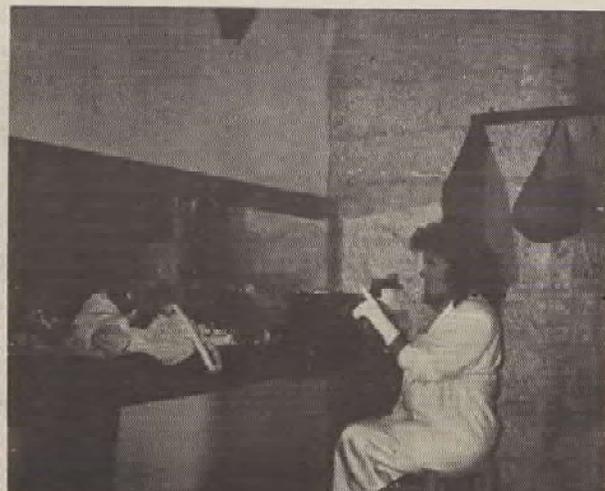
Though she took part in school activities, Ghazaleh says her teachers chose others for the important parts. She still recalls how painful it was, and thinks it was because she came from a poor family, not a socially prominent one. "That made me feel oppressed," she says.

Growing up in a conservative family in the West Bank town of Beit Jala, things were very difficult for Siham when she decided to become an actress. She recalls that when she finished secondary school and told her father she wanted to study theater, he became furious. He was deeply upset that his daughter wanted to be an actress.

Facing the obstacle of her father's disapproval, she decided to study English at Bethlehem University. "I thought the material would be closest to theater. I would be able to study drama and read Shakespeare and other playwrights. I was still convinced I would dedicate myself to theater one day," she recalls.

Ghazaleh was elected to lead the Arts Club at the university, which gave her the opportunity to organize and act in a number of plays. These brought her the admiration of students, and strengthened her resolve to become an actress. For four years, she was actively involved in cultural festivals and plays, while trying to convince her family these activities were part of her curricula and academic requirements.

It was the Palestinian actor George Ibrahim who made it easier for her family to accept her career choice. Ghazaleh is very thankful to



Siham Ghazaleh in her dressing room at Al-Masrah theater.

him. "George and his family were our neighbors, and my family always respected George, so they listened to him when he spoke convincingly about my joining the theater," she says. Even as a high school student, George had taken her to rehearsals and brought her home, alleviating much of her family's fears and suspicions.

"The serious problem started when I graduated from the university," she says. "But I had to make a decisive choice and I did. I chose the theater with all my heart and to this day I enjoy the experience." Ghazaleh adds that she is no longer responsible to herself or her family but to those who come to see her perform.

The actress has also been a teacher of cultural studies for nine years. The course she teaches covers world history and philosophy, for students in a one-year diploma program at the Jerusalem YWCA. Ghazaleh says taking theater seriously does not keep her from her other duties as an educator. "Not for a moment would I let my theater worries waste any of my students' time," she says. Her devotion as a teacher "was always an incentive for my family and other people to respect my art, and to have confidence in me," she notes. Now Ghazaleh notices her students and their families are among her permanent audience.

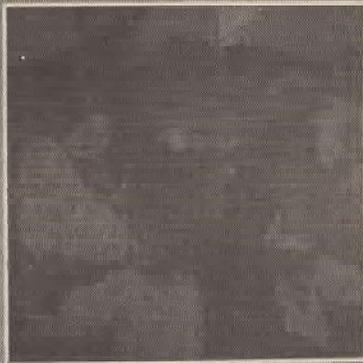
Ghazaleh is optimistic about the future of local theater. "I don't disregard the pitfalls, but I am convinced there is a Palestinian theater movement, dependent on enormous personal efforts." Writers have drawn on local experiences, she says, for both content and new techniques. As a measure of the development of theater in the occupied territories, Ghazaleh cites the currently running

should be more supportive of local theater.

Compared to other Arab countries, she believes committed Palestinian theater is well advanced. The plays currently showing in Jerusalem are far superior, Ghazaleh argues, to the Egyptian and other plays presented on television, and which enjoy the support of the regime they were produced under. "They are a waste of the people's time and energy, and almost totally lack content," she says.

Ghazaleh believes in women's potential to reshape society one day. But today, in spite of the fact that Palestinian women have achieved some leading roles in society through participating in the national struggle, many women still accept a society dominated by men. She notes that Palestinian women understand that they have a role and important duties but still carry a hidden desire to marry, have children and enjoy a private and calm life.

"At all levels, I find Palestinian women who have proved their superior intelligence, but who are still being led by less intelligent men. And the women accept that, willingly," Ghazaleh notes that it seems to be a historical heritage, but cannot last for long. "Through serious challenges, Palestinian women will soon reshape many things," she says.



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PIECES
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AL-MASRAH THEATRE

WEEKLY REVIEW

December 5

TENT ON HOUSE RUIN FORBIDDEN

The Israeli army ordered Khan Yunis resident Muhammad Salamch al-Sha'er, 53, to remove the tent he erected on the ruins of his house. Soldiers demolished Sha'er's home Nov. 7 on the pretext that his son is a "security" detainee.

AL-QUDS

THREE GAZA DEMOLITIONS

The Israeli military government ordered the demolition of three Gaza family homes. Palestinian detainees Fathi Hassan al-Bawwab, 40, Kamal Abdel Fattah Abu Zaydeh, 22, and Musleh Muhammad al-Sharafi, 24, are members of the households. The three were arrested on "security" charges.

AL-QUDS

KNIVES CONFISCATED AT BRIDGES

The Israeli military forbade Palestinian residents or visitors crossing Jordan River bridges into the West Bank to carry knives. They announced that all knives will be confiscated.

AL-FAJR

HOUSE SEALED

Israeli soldiers sealed the home of Abdel Qader Musilman of Beit Awwa village near Hebron, because he allegedly stabbed an Israeli in East Jerusalem three years ago.

AL-QUDS

TREES UPROOTED

Israeli army bulldozers uprooted 31 olive and almond trees from Deir Sharaf village in the Nablus district, on the pretext that a Molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli car in the vicinity.

AL-FAJR

December 6

GAZA SCHOOLS CLOSED

The Israeli military closed all Gaza Strip schools until Dec. 12. Israeli radio said the step was intended to prevent protests on Dec. 9, the Intifada's third anniversary.

AN-NAHAR

SETTLERS KEPT OUT OF NABLUS

Israeli soldiers prevented a large group of Israeli settlers gathered at the Nablus municipality building with

anti-Arab placards from entering the Old City. Soldiers also took the settlers' automatic weapons.

AL-QUDS

HOUSE DEMOLISHED

The Israeli army demolished the sealed house of 17-year-old Palestinian detainee Ayman Muhammad Abed Rabbo in Qussein village near Nablus. Abed Rabbo is accused of stabbing an Israeli police officer in Jerusalem Nov. 10. His house was sealed Nov. 13.

AL-QUDS

THREE LIFE SENTENCES

Israeli military court in Jenin sentenced two Silat al-Harthiyeh village men to life in prison. The two, Ra'ed Muhammad al-Sa'adeh and Muhammad Said Ahmad, are both 27 years old. A third Palestinian from the village, 21-year-old Muhannad Muhammad Jaradat, received a 20 year sentence. A fourth, 20-year-old Munir Muhammad Abu Salah, received 10 years and another 10 years suspended. All four were indicted for planting two bombs in Haifa in 1985 which killed one Israeli.

In Hebron, Israeli military court sentenced 21-year-old Kamal Muraychs to life imprisonment after accusing him of killing a Hebron police officer, Jawad al-Tumeizi, one year ago.

AL-QUDS

15 HOUSES TO BE DESTROYED

Israeli officials notified 15 residents of Bani Na'im village in the Hebron district that their houses will be demolished, on the pretext that they were built without licenses.

AL-SHA'AB

STONING FINE

Two 15-year-old youths from the Bethlehem area were given NIS1,500 fines for stoning soldiers. Mahmoud Shukry Sirhan is from Beit Sahour and Elias al-Shami is from Battir village.

AN-NAHAR

December 7

ANTI-ARAB GRAFFITI IN ISRAEL

Israeli radio reported that the Israeli town of Hadera was defaced with anti-Arab graffiti. Municipality workers cleaned the slogans, written in Hebrew, from a number of buildings and



Israeli police used force to break up a Palestinian women's march in East Jerusalem Dec. 11. Several women were hurt and some were arrested. The march marked the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Photos by Nehaya al-Helo.

parking lots.

AL-QUDS

HOUSE SEALED

Israeli soldiers sealed the home of Yasser Abdel Qader Hijazi of al-Mazra'a al-Sharqiyyeh village near Ramallah. Hijazi is accused of membership in the Hamas movement, several Molotov cocktail attacks on Israeli targets and burning the cars and shops of Palestinian collaborators.

AL-QUDS

December 8

10,000 GREEN CARDS

Israeli television reported that military authorities in the West Bank plan to distribute 8,000 to 10,000 green cards to Palestinian residents. Green card holders are forbidden to enter Israel

or East Jerusalem.

AN-NAHAR

DEMOLITIONS ORDERED

The Israeli military government ordered the demolition of detainee Nabil Diab Abu Qbeita's family home in Yatta, near Hebron. Qbeita is accused of possession of weapons and throwing Molotov cocktails. Lawyer Ali Ghuzlan has appealed the demolition order.

AL-FAJR

December 9

GRAFFITI AND FLAGS IN GOLAN

Israeli police said Palestinian and Syrian flags were flown over Arrabeh and Majdal Shams villages in the Golan Heights. Graffiti denouncing Israel was written in Mas'ada village. The

actions were believed to be in commemoration of the third anniversary of the Intifada.

AL-SHA'AB

LAWYERS BANNED FROM ANSAR 3

Israeli radio reported that the army prevented members of the Gaza Bar Association from visiting their clients in Ansar 3, on the pretext that the Gaza Strip was under curfew.

AL-SHA'AB

MK SARID VISITS ABU AYYASH AND ABU ZAYYAD

Israeli Knesset Member Yossi Sarid visited head of the Arab Journalists Association Radwan Abu Ayyash and newspaper editor Ziad Abu Zayyad in Jueid Prison in Nablus. The three issued a statement saying political

Where are these people to go?

WEEKLY REVIEW

dialogue between Israel and representatives of the Palestinian people is the only way to solve the conflict.

AN-NAHAR

SIX SHOPS TO BE DEMOLISHED

The Israeli military government gave eviction notices to six shopowners in Rafab in the Gaza Strip. The shops will be demolished because a hand grenade was allegedly thrown in the vicinity.

AL-SHA'AB

LAWYER FREED

Palestinian lawyer Khaled Abdel Hadi al-Oedra from Khan Yunis was released after 15 months in Ansar 3. The 60-year-old attorney is the deputy head of the Gaza Bar Association. Oedra was accused of communicating with the PLO.

AL-SHA'AB

LAND CONFISCATED

Yitzhak Mordechai, Israeli military commander of the Central Region, signed an order confiscating 40 dunums of land in the Ramallah area. He also ordered a nearby tract of 1,200 dunums sealed off.

AL-FAJR

December 10

SEVEN HOUSE DEMOLITIONS

A military appeals committee in Gaza upheld the demolition order for three families' homes. Members of the households Fathi Hussein al-Bawwab, Kamal Abdel Fattah Abu Zayed and Musleh Muhammad al-Sharafi are all detained on alleged "security" charges.

Three Rafah families with members in prison were issued demolition orders by the military government. Ramzi Ahmad Abu Tayem, Abdel Munim Abdel Aziz Abu Obeid and Abdel Nasir Zaki Abu Qaoud are all held in Israeli prisons.

Another Palestinian, Muhammad Abdel Hadi of Qibya village near Ramallah, received a demolition order for his house. His 16-year-old son Nidal is accused of stabbing an Israeli police officer in Jerusalem Nov. 30.

AL-OUDES

THIRD WEEK OF HUNGER STRIKE

Fares Ahmad Hassounch, a 38-year-old administrative detainee from Bureij refugee camp, is continuing his hunger strike. Hassounch

has been held without charges since the beginning of the Intifada. His lawyer says he began the hunger strike 14 days ago because his detention order was renewed for another year.

AL-OUDES

TWO HOMES SEALED

Two Nablus brothers, Mamdouh and Akram Subh, will have their homes sealed because three sons in the family were arrested for unspecified "security" charges. The youths are 22-year-old Jaser Mamdouh Subh, who was arrested two weeks ago, and 19-year-old Basem and 18-year-old Imad Akram Subh, who were arrested last year.

AL-OUDES

ARMY DESTROYS WALL, TREES

The army destroyed a stone wall near the military headquarters in Bethlehem where two bombs exploded, killing an Israeli soldier and injuring two others. A number of trees lining the Bethlehem-Hebron road were also uprooted on the pretext that stone throwers take shelter behind them.

AN-NAHAR

MOSQUE CANNOT EXPAND

The Israeli military government prohibited a resident of Beitilo village in the Ramallah area from beginning construction to enlarge the village mosque, on the pretext that the building lacked a license.

AN-NAHAR

December 11

JUDGE ISSUED GREEN CARD

The military government gave a judge from Deir al-Ghussoun village near Nablus a green card, preventing him from entering Israel. The judge, who works in the Nablus district court, was administratively detained at the beginning of the Intifada.

Some 250 Toubas village residents were ordered to report to military headquarters to receive green cards. In Idna village in the Hebron area, 60 residents were summoned.

AL-OUDES

11 FAMILIES EVICTED

Israeli officials in Gaza ordered 11 homeless families to evict a hospital in al-Bureij refugee camp where they sought shelter after their homes were de-

molished. Hundreds were made homeless by military demolitions in the aftermath of the killing of an Israeli soldier by camp residents Sept. 20.

AL-OUDES

GRAFFITI IN GALILEE

Police in the north of Israel are investigating anti-Israel graffiti which appeared on the walls of two schools in Deir al-Assad village in the Galilee, according to Israeli radio.

AL-OUDES

CAMERAS CONFISCATED

Two Palestinian photographers covering an incident in Bir Zeit had their cameras confiscated. The photographers took pictures of soldiers in the Ramallah area town dragging and injuring a person on the ground for 300 meters. Photographers Abdel Rahim al-Rimawi and Rula al-Halawani were ordered to the Ramallah "civil administration" headquarters.

AL-SHA'AB

HOUSES DEMOLISHED

Israeli military bulldozers destroyed three homes in the Jenin area belonging to the families of Amjad Khaled Suleiman Amer, 24, Abdel Azia Sadeq Yassin, 35, and Maher Khaled Oassem, 30. All are serving seven-year prison terms and are due to be released in 45 days. The homes were allegedly demolished for lacking building licenses.

AL-FAJR



Shu'fat refugee camp in Jerusalem has been facing serious water problems, but not due to lack of rain. The West Jerusalem municipality cut the water supply to the camp, claiming that camp residents had not paid their water bills. As a result, camp residents have been using primitive methods to get water. This problem has not been resolved more than two weeks after the water was cut. UNRWA is in charge of refugee camps.

TREES UPROOTED

Israeli soldiers uprooted 15 olive trees in Toubas village in the Nablus area

which were the property of Hayan Tawfiq Sawafta, on the pretext that stones were thrown in the area.

AL-OUDES

PALESTINE TODAY

EDITED AND DESIGNED BY KAMAL BOULLATA

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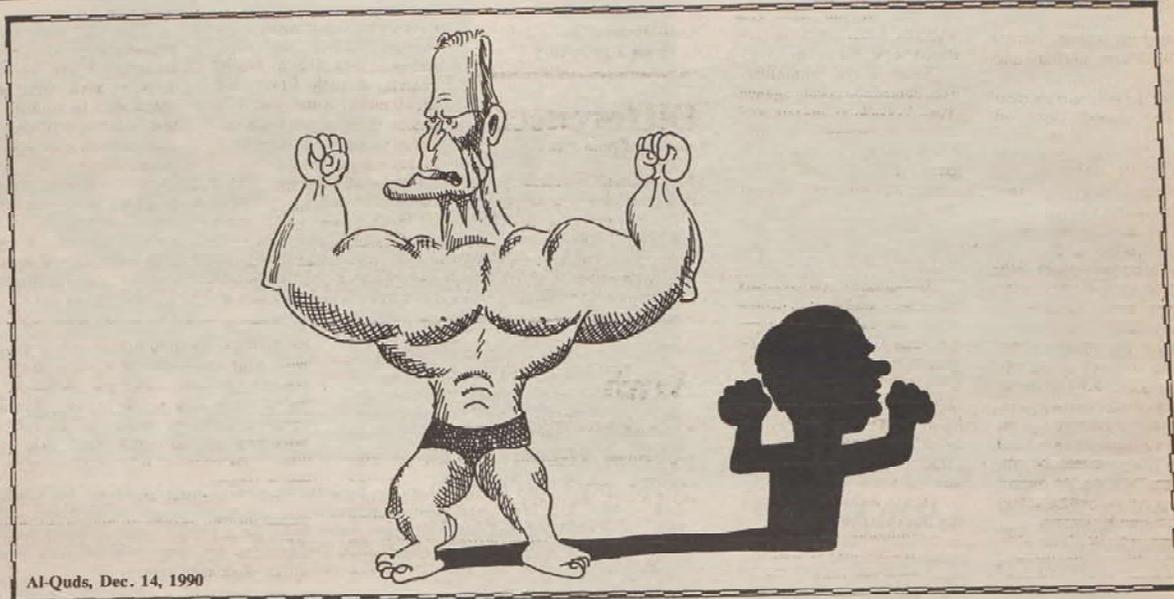
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has been held without charges since the beginning of the Intifada. His lawyer says he began the hunger strike 14 days ago because his detention order was renewed for another year.

WEST BANK PRESS



Al-Quds, Dec. 14, 1990

Papers say U.S. working against Palestinian interest

Editorials in the Palestinian press this week concentrated on the upcoming U.N. Security Council vote on the Palestine question, and on Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's visit to Washington.

Al-Tali'a's Dec. 13 editorial noted that during his visit, Shamir did not hide his familiar, hardline Likud stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict, yet he was received with surprising warmth. The United States seemed to forget its opposition to Israeli settlement in territories occupied in 1967, and expressed its willingness to delay the U.N. Security Council vote on Palestine introduced by Arab and non-aligned states. "Shamir was in contradiction with America's stand which supports Security Council Resolution 242 and opposes the annexation of Arab East Jerusalem," the paper noted. "Nevertheless, Shamir was welcomed warmly by the U.S. administration."

The newspaper noted that the United States seemed at times to play the middleman's role between Shamir and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, whom Shamir also met in Washington to discuss the Gulf crisis and their common foe, Saddam Hussein.

On Dec. 12, *Al-Fajr* commented that "Shamir agreed to concern himself with the 43-year-old Arab-Israeli conflict after the Gulf crisis is solved. But now, he is bothered only with the ways and means of solving the Gulf crisis alone," refusing to address the future

step. Likewise, Shamir demanded that Washington use its veto power in the Security Council to prevent the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, and to block the dispatch of U.N. protection for Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation.

On Dec. 10, *Al-Sha'ab* noted that American opposition and stalling tactics in the Security Council prove to Arab and non-aligned states that the United States is wholly opposed to satisfying the Arab desire for an international peace conference and protection for Palestinians, until after the Gulf crisis is solved. The editorial calls this "a connection between the two conflicts, but a negative connection, which doesn't serve anything except American colonial interests and objectives, and carrying the region farther away from peace." The paper mocked American diplomatic initiatives and declarations about a peace process, saying, "the United States announces positive declarations, and then nothing happens."

On Dec. 12, *Al-Sha'ab* predicted a U.S. veto is on the way in the Security Council, and wrote, "the Palestine question needs no new international resolutions supporting Palestinian rights. There are many already, and another is unnecessary to shift around the terms for peace. What is needed," the editorial concluded, "is a real, honest and sincere desire for peace, or we will return to the double standard and continue to ignore international law."



Measures

continued from front page

university professors, journalists, physicians, students and unionists.

The Israeli government has also issued bans on travel for at least three months to Sari Nuseibeh, professor of philosophy at Bir Zeit University, and other activists.

What distinguishes many of these people is that they are in constant touch with Israeli peace activists, meeting them in Israel or in East Jerusalem to continue a dialogue for peace, and traveling abroad to participate in joint Palestinian-Israeli peace discussions sponsored and supervised by international organizations and foreign governments. In other words, they are the Palestinian people's ambassadors, to Israel and the world.

Some, like Radwan Abu Ayyash, have actually met high-ranking U.S. officials in Washington, and have been considered highly probable candidates to nego-

tiate peace with Israel on behalf of the Palestinian people. This chance is now killed, for at least the coming four months, the remainder of the term Abu Ayyash must spend in administrative detention.

Even if the administrative detention order against Abu Ayyash is not renewed and he is released on time, he is likely to receive a green identity card which virtually imprisons him in his home town, Ramallah, and makes him especially vulnerable to army harassment.

In addition, the renewed threat of expulsion is worrying many Palestinians: Israel has used this weapon in the past, in spite of international protestation, to empty the occupied territories of its local leaders whenever it came under pressure to negotiate with local Palestinians for a settlement.

These measures contradict the rhetoric Shamir used in Washington, that the so-called peace process will resume once the Gulf crisis is over. By the time that crisis is finished, there may not be any Palestinians left in the

occupied territories to talk to. And with both Israel's major parties, the ruling Likud and the opposition Labor, strongly opposed to talks with the PLO, a peaceful settlement is far from becoming a possibility.

Differences

continued from page 7

United States appealed to Israel to maintain a low profile, and not endanger the American alliance in the Gulf. This did not sit very well with Israel. Finally, Israel refused to accept the

U.N. Security Council resolutions after the killing of 17 Palestinians in the al-Aqsa Mosque compound, while the United States supported resolutions condemning the killing, further increasing tensions. But like a family quarrel, it took Israel and the United States just one session to work out their differences and to resume their previous relations.

In their two-hour White House meeting, Bush thanked Shamir for keeping a low profile since the outbreak of the Gulf crisis, assured him of U.S. intentions to maintain Israel's regional

military superiority, and steered away from discussing Israel's refusal to accept the U.N. resolutions on the al-Aqsa killings.

The Gulf has featured prominently in Shamir's meetings. Upon his arrival in New York City, Shamir stated that Israel will reject any solution to the Gulf crisis achieved at Israel's expense. Shamir also said so on the American television program *Face the Nation*. "We will not accept linkage." Peace in the Middle East, he said, will not be part of the deal between Iraq and the world.

Arab

continued from page 4

The untold devastation to Arab life and property, possibly including the very oil fields which the American troops were presumably dispatched to protect, will undoubtedly for years to come provide a more enduring and powerful context for rising anti-American sentiment throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds.

To quote a prominent Egyptian political commentator: "Force is sterile and will lead

to nothing. The best approach is to seek a new Arab order for the future. Respect for borders, however arbitrary, should be balanced by a sharing of wealth. Legitimacy should also reflect human values and aspirations and the fact that these change with time. No solution will succeed unless it offers a vision."

The socioeconomic and political grievances of the people in the Arab world are all too real, and must be recognized and addressed, not denied and stifled. A new world order can only gain acceptance if it is based on human vision, not military force, on consistency, not double standards, and on justice, not selective morality.

Analogies

continued from page 3

were no further roundups. The Palestinians abhor the massacre of the Kurds by chemical weapons in Halabja and elsewhere. They defended and secured food supplies for the Lebanese Jewish community in Beirut, under siege and bombardment by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Given the balance of power in the area, and given America's role in the denial of Palestinians' right to

national independence, the Palestinians refuse to join the U.S.-sponsored anti-Iraq military alliance. This does not entail uncritical Palestinian support for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The PLO opposes the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and, with others, has consistently called for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops. International public opinion is polarized, and such parties as are not in the U.S.-led war camp are depicted as uncritically pro-Iraq. This is a deliberate and dangerous misrepresentation directed to undermine, not promote, the prospects for a peaceful U.N.-backed solution.

Being a small nation fiercely committed to achieve and maintain

their national independence, and given the role of the United States in the denial of Palestinian national rights and independence, the Palestinians' only choice is to take the position they have taken. Palestinians stand in opposition to the acquisition of territory by force (linkage of Kuwait and Palestine); they support a political solution under U.N. auspices (linking Kuwait and Palestine); and advocate convening a U.N. international peace conference on the Middle East, to resolve all outstanding problems of the region (including Kuwait, Palestine and Lebanon).

The Finns aligned themselves with Hitler not because of his racism, but because of his tenacity

against the first enemy of their independence: the Soviet Union. The Palestinians aligned themselves with Saddam Hussein, not because of his criminality (and Saddam Hussein is not Hitler), but because of his tenacity against the first enemy of their independence: the state of Israel and its first and foremost ally, the United States.

Assuming that we all share a commitment to universal humanism both conceptually and emotionally, and that we abhor and despise the application of double moral standards, then the Palestinian case today and the Finnish case during World War II deserve to be judged by the same yardstick.

Settlement

continued from page 10

(a 600-year-old Mameluke structure) and the Khaldiyeh library.

"There are a remaining eight properties now inhabited by Palestinian families, who have been threatened with eviction orders," Hussein adds. "But so far the authorities have not acted on them." The *Waqf* has helped in the restoration of these houses, to protect them from being seized on the pretext of being dangerously dilapidated, and Hussein says the *Waqf* is doing everything it can to halt further settlement. "They have the power now, but they will not succeed in taking these houses over."

All of the settler groups claim they work by peaceful means. However, Barnea Selevan, a leader of Ateret Cohanim, admitted he desired "shoot to kill" policy against "kids

throwing stones." "If that happened then we would have no problems... [The army] should forget tear gas, rubber bullets -- just shoot live bullets -- to kill." Selevan also hinted that his group aimed at the immediate expulsion of the Palestinian inhabitants of the Muslim Quarter. Selevan is coy over the sources of Ateret Cohanim's funding, but concedes that settlement is heavily supported by "American benefactors."

Despite their grand aims, Jewish settlement in the Old City has yet to achieve the interim target of 5,000 Jews inside the ancient walls. Including the Jewish Quarter, the total Jewish population makes up only 7 percent of the Old City's 20,000 inhabitants. However, the settlers are backed by several government ministers, including Foreign Minister David Levy, Religious Affairs Minister Avner Shaki (of the National Religious Party) and Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, who has taken up residence in the Old City in a property owned by Atara Leyoshna. On Oct. 9, Sharon declared that all Palestinians, including those holding Israeli citizenship, "will have to be expelled in the same manner of 1948"

Israeli human rights leader and Holocaust survivor Israel Shahak points out that "not a single minister of the present government nor, for that matter, any top-ranking figure in the Labor Party, has distanced himself from a declaration which sounds as if uttered by some latter-day Nazi." Shahak writes that "Jewish chauvinism, whether religious or secular, is also growing." He cites the example of a Knesset member from Likud quoted as "deploring that only 21 Arabs were killed, rather than 2,000" in the al-Aqsa massacre.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir voiced his support for settlement in an Oct. 6 speech inaugurating a new *yeshiva* on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem's Palestinian neighborhood of al-Tur. The *yeshiva* was founded by the fraction of the St. John's Hospice settler group who were expelled from the Old City building by a court order. Shamir spoke of his hope for the creation of "a new Jewish neighborhood" in al-Tur.

The prime minister later tried to retreat from his remarks, saying he had "no definite plans... only aspirations," but there is ample evi-

dence of his continuing support for settler groups through religious funding and other grants. (More than U.S.\$1.8 million was provided by the Ministry of Housing for the attempt to purchase the St. John's Hospice. Under previous governments, Atara Leyoshna received U.S.\$250,000 in 1984 from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and in 1986 the Ministry of Housing granted Ateret Cohanim U.S.\$40,000, despite the fact that the sum was not allocated in its annual budget.)

Adnan Hussein of the Islamic *Waqf* concludes that "taxes and violence and police harassment are the tactics used for evicting Palestinians from the Muslim Quarter... From time to time they create problems until they drive people out." Hayel Sanduqa's analysis is definitive: "The government supplies them with money and the police back them up." The campaign of Jewish settlement in the Muslim Quarter continues unabated, supported covertly and overtly by the Israeli government, and nourished by a growing mood of messianic nationalism inside Israel.

Yossi Beilin, Knesset member from the Labor Party:

'Gaza first' solution is needed more now than ever before

Labor MK Yossi Beilin has proposed the immediate establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip, as a part of an interim arrangement, while Israel and the Palestinians negotiate a final peace settlement. Labor Party Secretary Micah Harish and party leader Shimon Peres denounced the suggestion. Yet, Beilin's controversial idea seems to have struck a chord with a newly emerging sentiment in Israel, particularly among those familiar with conditions in Gaza.

Recently, in two unrelated incidents, 12 reserve officers and 20 paratroopers finished serving a month in Gaza and sent petitions to their leaders calling for an end to Israeli rule of the Gaza Strip (see story pages 8&9). MK Beilin discussed the details and rationale behind his proposal for sovereignty for Gaza, and considered current Labor Party debates on the Palestinian question in the following interview with Al-Fajr's Khaled Abu Aker.

Q: Can you explain your proposal to establish a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip?

A: The idea is instead of having a long interim agreement on autonomy for the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, as a part of this interim agreement to immediately have a state in Gaza, which will have sovereignty, a flag, representation in the United Nations -- it will be a Palestinian state. Of course for us, this Palestinian state will have to be demilitarized, and there will be some important security arrangements for Israel, and a special arrangement for the settlers.

Parallel to this, we will negotiate

with the new Palestinian state, and with the representatives of the West Bank and Gaza about the future of the West Bank. Here [in the West Bank], what we should have is autonomy, but not an autonomy restricted to a certain number of years, but [determined by] a peace agreement with the Arab states: Iraq, Syria, Jordan and of course the others. This is the main problem. It will be very difficult for Israel to accept a Palestinian state when there is no peace with the Arab states. When there is peace with the other states, the West Bank should get its own self-determination, and then they can make a plebiscite, whatever, if they want to create a federation, a confederation or a separate state. The possibility is for us eventually to create a kind of Benelux, a common market, composed of some Arab states and Israel. That is my dream, and that was my suggestion.

Q: Who do you think should govern in the Gaza Strip? The PLO?

A: It's not up to me.

Q: You mentioned arrangements with the settlers. Do you mean to keep the settlements in the Gaza Strip?

A: I do not see any reason why there should be no Jews under the Palestinian state, just as there are Arabs under Israeli control. There are Arab villages in Israel, and if the peace is a real one, I believe that they should both be committed to live there. Exactly, formally what the arrangement will be is not up to me but up to the negotiators.

Q: Have you discussed this with Palestinians?

A: Yes -- not in a very organized way, not formally, but I raised this idea informally with some... important Palestinians. I cannot say that it was rejected by them, and I cannot say that somebody formally adopted it, but I came out with it only after I understood that it was considered in a favorable way.

Q: Why have you made this proposal now?

A: I suggested it now because we in the Labor Party are preparing for our convention, and we are preparing materials for this convention. It was just an idea. So the timing is actually due to the internal agenda of the party.

Q: Do you think that such a proposal would gain support among members of the Labor Party? The doves in the Labor Party recently suggested negotiating with the PLO and it was rejected.

A: There was no formal suggestion like this, and it was never rejected as such. I believe that the main thing is to create an atmosphere in which proposals like this are legitimate. That is the most important thing. I can't promise you that this idea will be accepted by the party. I don't want to deceive myself or you. What is important is that people know that there is a group in the Labor Party which is not marginal, but a group of perhaps a third or 40 percent which is ready for ideas like this.

Now, this specific idea should of course be discussed between people

in the party. We have just raised the idea within our group in the party, Mashov, a group of about 100 members of the central committee. We should talk about it, and I intend to talk about it, [along] with the other doves in the party, and build support for it, and fight for it at the party convention. This is my aim.

Q: As Israelis move to the right, do you think it's possible for the Labor Party to adopt such a proposal?

A: Well, I'm not sure that the electorate is going toward the right. I believe that the electorate is going toward the solution. More and more people understand that some solution should be found. Some of them would like to find it on the right, others would like to find it on the left. But many of them are afraid that the big parties are not suggesting real solutions. That's why I believe that our party, which is the biggest party, should offer some realistic solutions. And what I'm suggesting, at least, seems to me very realistic. I believe that if the party adopts an idea like this, Labor will eventually be much more popular than if it was content just suggesting territorial compromise or the Allon Plan, which of course are important and nobody can dismiss these plans, but I'm afraid they are not enough.

Q: So who should take the first step now?

A: I do not believe that the government of Israel today will accept such an idea. What is important to me now is just to know exactly where the Labor Party stands, and to help mold its policy vis-a-vis the Palestinian issue, and to continue the informal dialogue with the Palestinians. So eventually, when Labor is back, it will be easier for us to implement the arrangement and the agreement and to launch a very intensive dialogue and not just then begin to think about what can be done. In the meantime, what I believe we should ask of the Shamir government is to lift all the laws which prevent Palestinians from investing in their own economy in the territories, to enable us to detach ourselves from the territories, economically speaking -- to ensure that people who lose their employment in Israel can find a substitute in the territories.

A point of view by Rana Arda ji

Bereaved families show peace is possible

The meeting between the Israelis and Palestinians ended with the shaking of hands and mutual recognition. Unfortunately, they were not the hands of official representatives. Muhammad Dkeidek is the father of 18-year-old Ibrahim, shot dead in last October's al-Aqsa Mosque incident. Geora Pomerantz, is the brother of Amnon, the Israeli military reservist killed in al-Bureij refugee camp in September.

Reasons, goals and manners of death were different, but both Amnon and Ibrahim were buried under the same brown soil. The two suffering families sat facing one another across the same table. But what followed their loved ones' deaths was not the same at all.

Ibrahim was his parents' only son. He was in the 12th grade at Freres School for Boys in East Jerusalem. A proud father, Muhammad narrates how Ibrahim's name appeared each year on the honor list, and how he was a peaceful person, who was not brought up to hate Jews. His intention was to study and get high marks.

As a carpenter in the Old City of Jerusalem, Muhammad always had good relations with Jewish businessmen. His family, he explained, never hated Jews or believed in violence. They always believed peaceful coexistence was the solution. It made the shock of Ibrahim's death even greater to his father, and also to his mother, who still has trouble accepting that her son is actually gone.

Amnon Pomerantz was heading for his military

camp in Gaza when he lost his way. Instead of his camp, he found himself in al-Bureij refugee camp where his yellow license-plated car was stoned. Trying to drive away, his car hit two Palestinian children. This was enough for the camp's residents to burst into anger. Their rage was enough for them to set his car on fire, killing him behind the steering wheel. Following the death, the Israeli military demolished scores of Palestinian houses and arrested hundreds of people.

Amnon, an electronic engineer with the *moshav* movement, was affiliated with the Israeli left. He had lived in the United States for two years and had married an American. Geora, who had trouble accepting the idea of meeting his Palestinian counterparts, says his family always had leftist ideals.

Unfortunately, his beliefs were not strong enough to keep Amnon from putting on his military fatigues, taking up his gun and going to the occupied territories where he met his fate. There in Gaza, Amnon was no longer an ordinary person, a leftist. He was a soldier, representing occupation. For the Palestinians, the bullets in his gun each meant an injury or a death of somebody, and a suffering family, like the Dkeideks.

It took great efforts for peace activist Dr. Ahmad Tibi and B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, to bring the Dkeideks and the Pomerantzes together around the same table. How many more bereaved families will there be before Israel comes to the negotiating table?

Rana Arda ji is a Palestinian journalist.

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Intifada Update

Hundred injured in Qalqilya clashes

Red Cross officials averted a potential massacre in a large and violent clash with soldiers in a Qalqilya schoolyard which left some 100 Palestinians injured. Several fierce confrontations also erupted throughout the week in Jenin.

At least 30 Palestinians in Gaza Strip refugee camps were wounded by live ammunition in clashes centered in Shati, Rafah and Deir al-Balah refugee camps. Dozens of others were beaten and tear gassed, and four Gaza women suffered miscarriages.

At least eight schools in the occupied territories were closed, scores of green identity cards were issued preventing entry into Israel and East Jerusalem and numerous homes were demolished. Hebron-area settlers reportedly attacked a local family. The following incidents were reported during the week:

NOVEMBER 24: Clashes in the Gaza Strip left 20 Palestinians with live gunshot injuries. Another 25 were injured by beatings and 15 were overcome by tear gas, fired extensively at protesters in Rafah, Khan Yunis, al-Maghazi, al-Burcij and Jabalya refugee camps and throughout Gaza City.

Fierce clashes erupted in Jenin. Clashes were also reported in Hebron. Settlers attacked a Palestinian house between Yatta and Hebron and the family was beaten

severely. Three required hospitalization.

Many schools were targeted for closure by the army. In Tulkarm, a secondary school was closed until further notice. The army closed the Bani Na'im Village Secondary School for Boys for one week, and schools in neighboring Dura were all forcibly shut. Local sources said several schools in Qalqilya were besieged and soldiers harassed students.

see Intifada, page 2



Israeli border guards searching two Palestinians in Jerusalem.

Abu Sirhan receives three life terms for killings Settler gets 18 months for killing 17-year-old Palestinian schoolgirl

The Israeli High Court ordered an Israeli settler jailed for 18 months for killing a Palestinian schoolgirl in Gaza in November 1987. Meanwhile, on Nov. 29, the Israeli District Court in Jerusalem sentenced Omar Abu Sirhan to three consecutive life sentences plus 20 years for the Oct. 21 killings of three Israelis and the attempted killing of a fourth in the Baqa'a neighborhood of West Jerusalem.

The Israeli High Court decided Nov. 28 to overturn a lower court decision in the case of Shimon Yifrah, a Gaza Strip settler who killed 17-year-old Intisar al-Attar. A Beer Sheva court had convicted Yifrah of negligence for opening fire into a schoolyard, resulting in the killing of Attar, and had sentenced him to seven months suspended. It claimed that Yifrah had shot in the air and had not intended to kill Attar.

Even though the High Court concurred with the lower court's ruling that Yifrah "did not intend to hit the victim or anyone else," it found that he "shot in the direction of the schoolyard where the girls were." The court said this act "constituted gross negligence as well as rashness and indifference to human life," adding that Yifrah "must have been

aware of the danger in opening fire in the direction of the school."

The High Court, therefore, decided to sentence Yifrah to 18 months in prison.

Attar was at Sukcinch Girls School in Deir al-Balah on Nov. 10, 1987 when a car of settlers passed by and opened fire on the girls gathered in the schoolyard preparing to enter their classrooms. Attar was hit in the back and died instantly. Yifrah and three other settlers in the car were later arrested but released two days later without charge.

The settlers claimed they opened fire in the air to disperse stone-throwers. However, Israeli press reports said that the settlers' car continued on the road after being stoned, then made a U-turn and returned to the school where two passengers opened fire on the schoolgirls, killing Attar. Yifrah was later found to have fired the fatal bullet.

Omar Abu Sirhan, from Obeidiyeh village, near Bethlehem, went on a rampage in Baqa'a stabbing a woman soldier, a man and a police officer to death before he was subdued and arrested. He said he carried out the attack to revenge the Israeli police killings of 17 Palestinians at al-Aqsa Mosque on

Oct. 8. Abu Sirhan's home and his father's home in Obeidiyeh were demolished.

Abu Sirhan was brought to the District Court under heavy police protection. Relatives of the dead Israelis attempted to attack him but were stopped by police. Abu Sirhan's father, however, was beaten and injured by several relatives of the deceased.

The prosecutor said the three consecutive life sentences would guarantee that Abu Sirhan would never leave prison as long as he lives.

Universities to remain closed 3 more months

by Khaled Abu Aker

A Nov. 30 Israeli military order renewed the closure of four Palestinian universities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for three months. The pronouncement disappointed Palestinian academics who hoped the universities would be gradually reopened, as Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens promised in September.

"It is a disaster," said Dr. Na'im Abu al-Hummus, general-secretary of the Council for Higher Education (CHE), an inter-university coordinating body. "The policy of punishing our people is continuing, while the world stands by watching," he said.

Israel closed all six Palest-

inian universities in January 1988, alleging they were hotbeds of Intifada activism. In what many called an attempt to reduce international criticism, Israel reopened al-Quds and Bethlehem universities, and 20 percent of the occupied territories' student body returned to their studies. But an-Najah, Hebron, Bir Zeit and Islamic Universities all remain shut, and CHE says a financial crisis is crippling the schools, while at least 80 percent of university activity has ground to a halt.

Four days before the military's announcement, CHE called on the world's nations to fight the ban on Palestinian higher education. At a

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Intifada

continued from front page

Protesters in Ramallah threw a Molotov cocktail at soldiers in the morning. No injuries were reported. The area was closed and searched. At least 20 were arrested. A curfew continued for the third day in sections of neighboring al-Bireh.

In the Old City of Jerusalem, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a Jewish settler's house. Israeli media said no damage was caused.

A curfew was imposed in the morning on Balata refugee camp, in the Nablus region.

NOVEMBER 25: Many were injured in violent clashes in the Gaza Strip's refugee camps.

In al-Shati refugee camp, youths stoned Israeli soldiers posted at the camp's entrance. Four Palestinians were shot. In Rafah, clashes continuing late into the evening left three wounded by gunshot. Two more were shot in confrontations in al-Maghazi refugee camp. Two pregnant women in nearby Beit Hanoun village miscarried after soldiers attacked with tear gas. Soldiers injured many others in the clashes with rubber bullets and beatings.

Demonstrators threw three Molotov cocktails at an army patrol in Jenin. One jeep was damaged. The area was cordoned off and searched and merchants and vendors were violently closed down.

The army put Rummaneh village under curfew and searched the area for youths. The village's mosque was raided and its loud-speaker confiscated, allegedly because Palestinian flags had been flown from the mosque.

Soldiers raided Rafah, N'leen and al-Mughayer villages, issuing green identity cards which prevent card holders from entering Israel or East Jerusalem.

Palestinians in the Old City of Jerusalem threw a Molotov cocktail at a Jewish settlers' religious school. No damage was caused but a number of local residents were arrested. The Old City of Nablus erupted in clashes and was declared a closed military zone. Soldiers used stun bombs against protesters. Clashes also occurred in Hebron, Halhoul and Samoa.

NOVEMBER 26: About 100 Palestinians, mostly students, were injured in fierce clashes with the army in Qalqilya. At least eight received live bullet wounds. The incident erupted when three soldiers in disguise topped and beat three stu-

dents in the center of the city, and took them to al-Sa'diyeh School where they continued to beat them with pipes and clubs.

When Palestinians in the city discovered the assailants were soldiers, they gathered and attacked. Students on the school grounds joined, hurling stones and empty bottles. Soldiers swarmed the school, and crowds rushed to the scene, clashing violently. Soldiers shot tear gas extensively, and fired live and rubber bullets in the school's vicinity. Students eventually left the school with the intervention of Red Cross representatives.

Palestinians also attacked the military in other parts of the city. The army tear gassed a second school, and opened fire upon students there as well. Clashes continued all day. Merchants went on strike in the city, which was declared a closed military zone.

The Israeli military governor summoned a number of city notables later in the afternoon to persuade them to calm the situation. But the notables accused the military of planning the attack. Local sources noted that had the Red Cross and others not intervened, there would have been a massacre.

An allegedly unlicensed house was demolished by soldiers in Beit Jala. The homeowner strongly denied the allegation and presented the press with his municipal license.

The army closed the Bethlehem Secondary School for Boys until further notice, allegedly because stones were hurled at soldiers in the vicinity.

Several hours of fierce clashes were reported in Sa'ir village between youths and soldiers firing quantities of tear gas. Many residents' water tanks were also vandalized by soldiers.

NOVEMBER 27: The military government ordered eight West Bank schools closed. Four secondary schools in Nablus, Huwara and Lubban and four schools in Qalandia refugee camp north of Jerusalem were shut down.

Clashes were reported in the Gaza Strip, focused in Deir al-Balah refugee camp. One pregnant Palestinian miscarried as a result of a beating by soldiers. Four Palestinians were wounded by gunshot throughout the Gaza Strip.

Students of Qalqilya protested violent army attacks on schools in the city the day before. In Jenin, students staged a sit-in strike in their schools demanding the district educational supervisor keep the army away from their schools and stop soldiers from harassing female pupils.

Fierce clashes were also

reported in Jenin. Scores of youths attacked Israeli soldiers with stones and empty bottles.

Clashes were also reported in Dahiya al-Barid, north of Jerusalem.

Soldiers carried out an arrest campaign in several villages in the Bethlehem and Ramallah areas.

NOVEMBER 28: Students demonstrated and clashed with the military in various areas of the occupied territories and six schools were closed.

In Dura, near Hebron, students staged a massive demonstration and were attacked with tear gas by soldiers. Several students were hospitalized for tear gas inhalation.

In the village of Sawahreh, near Jerusalem, students stoned police and border police who retaliated with rubber bullets and tear gas. The village school was closed for two days. In the Old City of Jerusalem, 30 Palestinian students from the al-Aytam School were arrested, accused of attacking a settler's house. The school was also searched and closed for two days.

The army closed an UNRWA preparatory school in Nablus and a nearby government school in Huwara village for one week, while the Beit Sahour Boys Secondary School was closed until further notice.

The Freres School in Bethlehem was besieged by soldiers following stoning incidents. The school was closed for the day.

Fierce clashes were reported in Jenin where youths attacked an Israeli jeep. One youth was shot. Two Molotov cocktails were thrown at two Israeli fuel tankers in the city and scores of youths were arrested following the incidents.

Qalqilya observed a commercial strike to protest army attacks earlier in the week.

The village of al-Mughayer was raided and a house demolished allegedly for being built without a license.

A curfew remained in force in parts of al-Bireh for the sixth consecutive day. A curfew also continued in Dhahriyeh village for the second day.

Fierce confrontations in Rafah and Shati refugee camps, in the Gaza Strip, left five Palestinians injured by gunshot. Reports said, soldiers injured an additional 31 by other means. Four miscarriages were also reported as a result of tear gas inhalation.

Soldiers in civilian clothing ambushed youths writing graffiti in Shati refugee camp. The youths escaped without injury but hundreds of residents took to the

streets at the sound of gunfire and attacked the military.

NOVEMBER 29: A general strike was observed throughout the occupied territories on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the U.N. resolution to partition Palestine.

The army imposed curfews on several areas. In Dheishch refugee camp, a curfew was imposed after violent confrontations. Two youths were shot, one is in

serious condition. Fara'a, Jabalya and Nusciirat refugee camps were also put under curfew, along with the Ras al-Ain neighborhood of Nablus. A curfew remained in force in Dhahriyeh village for the third consecutive day.

Confrontations broke out in Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. One person was shot and injured.

Protesters threw two Molotov cocktails at an army patrol in Gaza City. No one was injured.

Kahanists campaigning against Palestinian labor

As fascists in Israel escalated their attacks last week on Jewish businesses employing Palestinians, signs advertising "No Arabs employed here" appeared in the windows of Israeli shops. Police took limited action against the Kach movement members believed to be behind the violence.

A Jewish-owned vegetable stand in the Geula neighborhood of West Jerusalem was set ablaze last week, causing an estimated NIS100,000 (U.S. \$50,000) in damage. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, graffiti left on the wall of the stand read, "A warning to an employer of Arabs."

The owner of the stand told the press he had been approached by youths associated with the Kach movement the week before who threatened him not to employ Arabs.

The incident was one of several attacks and acts of arson carried out against Israelis employing Arab workers in the past two weeks. In another attack two weeks ago, the Israeli owner of a butcher shop was stabbed by an Israeli extremist when he tried to defend his Palestinian employee, a resident of East Jerusalem. The Palestinian was stabbed and seriously wounded.

Following the attack, the butcher placed a sign in his window which read, "No Arabs employed here." Similar signs began appearing in other shop windows, particularly in the Bukharan quarter of West Jerusalem.

Extremists also posted signs calling on Israelis to boycott businesses employing Arabs. Leaflets were also distributed by racists in the city, telling Israeli employers to fire their Arab workers.

Police took limited action following orders from the Israeli government's legal adviser, police arrested three Kach leaders last week.

One of the three, Tiran Pollack, is the secretary of the Kach movement. The others, Noam Federman and Baruch Merzel, are two prominent Kach spokesmen. Pollack and Federman were remanded for six days on Nov. 27, charged with incitement against employers of Arabs, and the distribution of inflammatory material. Merzel was released after two days.

The current wave of violence and hooliganism against Palestinian workers and their Israeli employers has led many workers to quit their jobs to avoid attacks.

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Israeli municipality cuts water supply to Shu'fat refugee camp

by Mousa Qous

The municipality of Jerusalem cut off the water supplied to 8,000 Palestinians in Shu'fat refugee camp. Residents say the city bulldozed the camp's entire water system on Nov. 25.

Now residents fear one result of the water crisis may be an increase in disease.

The destruction was the latest move in an ongoing water battle between the refugee camp and the Israeli government. At the heart of the dispute is the question of which party is responsible for financing the camp's water. Refugees say Jerusalem destroyed its water system to pressure residents to settle alleged unpaid water bills.

"Building the water system in the camp cost the refugees JD200,000" (about U.S. \$285,000), said Muhammad Abu Zneid, head of the camp's utility committee. He added that neither the municipality nor UNRWA provided any financial assistance for the construction of the water system, completed more than 10 years ago.

The camp's water supply has been disrupted by the municipality several times before. This year alone, the city of Jerusalem cut the water off on four separate occasions. The first cutoff on June 6 lasted for two days, until residents managed to reconnect water pipes, without the municipality's knowledge.

An UNRWA official says in addition to the cutoff in June, Jerusalem also reduced the quantity of water supplied to the camp by re-

placing the four-inch water pipes with two-inch pipes.

During the several water cutoffs to the camp, Palestinian children filled pails, from holes in pipes passing through the camp on the way to neighboring Israeli settlements. The water comes from Ain Fara spring, west of Jericho in the West Bank.

From 1969 onward, in accordance with an UNRWA agreement, Jordan provided the camp's water, though Israel had annexed East Jerusalem, including Shu'fat, in 1967. But Jordan stopped paying for Shu'fat's water when it officially broke all its legal and administrative ties with the West Bank on July 31, 1988.

Since then, the Jerusalem municipality has been demanding that the Palestinian refugees in the camp pay the city for their water. But camp residents have refused to cooperate, saying they only recognize UNRWA's sole authority over refugee camps in occupied Palestine.

Several Israeli financing schemes have failed. In recent months, UNRWA rejected the city's suggestion that it hire two collection agents to gather water payments from camp residents. Shu'fat residents also refused the municipality's suggestion that an elected committee in the camp collect money for water services.

"UNRWA is now attempting to find a solution to the problem," UNRWA spokesman Mahor Nasser said. He added that the organization will continue to mediate between Shu'fat refugee camp residents and the Jerusalem municipality.



Canada's Foreign Minister Joe Clark with Faisal Husseini.

Palestinians to Canadian minister: Double standard encourages abuses

by Khaled Abu Aker

After meeting six leading Palestinians Nov. 26, visiting Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said he understood Palestinians' view that a double standard was being applied to the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but refused to make any link between the issues.

"There can't be a linkage between the two issues. I do not think that importing one very difficult problem will help us solve a second one," Clark told *Al-Fajr*. "But there is no doubt that the question of the rights of the Palestinians has to be dealt with in the region if we are to have peace," he added.

The Canadian minister paid a one-day visit to Israel and occupied East Jerusalem. In a meeting with the Canadian official, six Pales-

tinian figures described Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied territories and the deteriorating local economic situation caused by the Gulf crisis. They also presented the Palestinian position on current international developments.

The Palestinian figures told Clark the double standard applied by the international community in the Gulf and the Middle East crisis offered support to Israeli violations in the occupied territories. "We consider the use of double standards to be an encouragement to Israel to continue its crimes against us," said Dr. Sa'eb Erakat, professor of political science at an-Najah University.

Riyad al-Malki, professor of engineering at Bir Zeit University, said the participants pressed Clark to "play a fair role in the region, and

reconsider the double standard being applied."

The Palestinians also called for the implementation of U.N. Security Council resolution 672, and for the provision of international protection for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

They further urged the Canadian government to allocate economic assistance to the Palestinians. Clark said Canada will give U.S. \$75 million to the countries affected by the Gulf crisis. Jordan will receive one-third, and an unspecified part of that is slotted for the occupied territories.

The Palestinian figures also pressed Canada to play a greater role in pushing the regional peace process forward. They said a peaceful solution was necessary in the Arabian Gulf, and rejected the military option.

They also asked Canada to develop its talks with the PLO.

The Canadian minister described the meeting as "very helpful, constructive and very valuable." Faisal Husseini described it as "very important."

Following the meeting, Clark spoke on the need to achieve peace in a region he said was suffering from extremism on both sides. "I am aware that there is a danger of extremism, and I think that recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinians would not exacerbate that problem," he said.

During his stop-over visit, Clark met both Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister David Levy. Israel was the last stop on Clark's trip through the Middle East, which also included visits to Jordan and Egypt.

Villagers say state expropriated their land

When a village landowner in Aroura saw Israeli government surveyor's markers scattered across his farmland, he sent his lawyer to court to find out why. He, and landowners in adjacent Abwin village, discovered that 6,000 dunums (approximately 1,500 acres) of their land had been confiscated by the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property as of Sept. 16, 1990.

The Israeli official in charge of so-called absentee property, attorney Daniel Cramelot, claims the owners of the confiscated land were informed by military order of the action. But the affected families in the Ramallah-area villages of Aroura

and Abwin say they were never notified at all.

The lands, in areas called Jabal al-Ros and Ain al-Sofia, are planted with olive trees and provide the primary income for the villagers. The landowners have hired several lawyers to argue their case. They say they have all the required documents, identifying their unquestionable ownership of the area.

The lands are estimated by the villagers to include about half the village. The Israeli government claims only 681 dunums (about 170 acres) have been confiscated, but they refuse to provide the families with maps for clarification.

The villagers point to a similar attempted confiscation six years ago. But at that time, their land was returned in full after owners went to court and proved the illegitimacy of the military order.

Thirty-three residents of Beit Fajar village, near Bethlehem, are also battling Israeli lands officials. Lawyer Abed Assali is fighting on the villagers' behalf in Ramallah Military Court, against a confiscation order of an estimated 2,000 dunums (about 500 acres) of village land.

The seizure of the lands, under military order no. 59, occurred in early 1985. Beit Fajar's agricultural lands

were declared the property of the government of Israel.

Two-thirds of the threatened land is planted with olives, grapes, almonds and grains. The remaining third is a stone quarry. Marble factories nearby provide village families with the main source of their living. The residents say the only empty land they have is necessary for future expansion of village housing and development.

Like their fellow Palestinians in Aroura and Abwin, landowners in Beit Fajar insist they have all the documents, and Turkish period tax papers, necessary to prove the lands have belonged to them for centuries.

The Dawn
AL-FAJR
Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Paul A. Ajlouny, *Publisher*
Hanna Siniora, *Editor*

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Is it U.N. or U.N.A.?

The United Nations ought to change its name to the "United Nations of America" and the Security Council ought to be named the "National Security Council." Everything the United States wants from this so-called international body is being done, whether right or wrong.

There is no question that the United States has total control over the U.N. apparatus and all of its agencies. After all, isn't the United States the major contributor to the United Nations?

The United States chaired the Security Council for the month of November. For this entire 30-day period, the Security Council failed to act on resolutions 672 and 673 and on a report and recommendations by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar regarding protection of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. The conscious neglect was engineered because any act on the Palestinian question would have embarrassed the United States' ally, Israel, thus embarrassing America, particularly now when it is using the United Nations to contain Iraq, while simultaneously allowing Israeli power to grow without restraint.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Thomas Pickering used - or, more accurately, abused - his post as chairman to delay any action on the Palestinian issue, hoping the pro-Palestinian resolutions, and de Cuellar's report, would eventually be forgotten.

And if this was not enough, the United States is also helping Israel to evade resolution 672, which calls for a U.N.-sponsored delegation to investigate the Oct. 8 massacre at Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and to recommend ways of protecting Palestinian civilians living under Israeli occupation. After clearly rejecting this resolution and the one which followed it, Israel proposed instead to receive one delegate, dispatched by the secretary-general, on the condition that his trip would not include any investigation into the al-Aqsa events. Even though the secretary-general has not yet given his opinion on this Israeli proposal, the United States is clearly pushing it as an alternative to the Security Council resolutions, to save Israel - and itself - the embarrassment.

Meanwhile, the Security Council went right along with U.S. wishes to lay the groundwork for the use of force against Iraq, under the pretext that the latter violated international laws by invading Kuwait. Members of the Security Council, particularly the four powerful ones (other than the United States), seemed far from thrilled by U.S. plans in the Gulf, otherwise the United States would not have had to lobby so hard to get their support. After all this lobbying, arm-twisting and bribing, the United States, unsurprisingly, was able to get its way.

As we mark the 43rd anniversary of the U.N. decision to partition Palestine, we are reminded of the United States' intense lobbying efforts with U.N. member-states in the days preceding Nov. 29, 1947, to convince them to vote for partition and thus the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The United States has obviously not changed its habits and neither has the United Nations.

The Palestinian people, however, have not lost faith in this international body. They strongly believe that the justice of their cause will eventually make an impression upon the U.N. member-states and cause them to take action on the Palestinian plight which the United Nations, among others, created in the first place.

Jordan: Damned with democracy, damned without democracy

by Khalil Touma

The menacing looks and hostile expressions Israel and the United States have been directing at Jordan ever since democracy began to find its way into Jordan's political life last year are sufficient grounds for worry that the small country may soon become a target for attack.

Recently, Israeli political and military officials have been trying to exploit the infiltrations from Jordan into the West Bank. An undeclared media campaign has been waged, pointing to King Hussein's "weakness" and spreading doubts that his regime can remain in control of the country in the face of what is called a "rising tide of fundamentalism."

For those intent on manipulating public opinion, even the election of Muslim Brotherhood candidate Dr. Abdel Latif Arabiat as speaker of the Jordanian Parliament last week became an opportunity to underline the alleged danger Jordan poses to peace in the region, and the instability of Jordan itself.

The peoples of the region, accustomed to Israeli ploys, can easily understand the real meaning of these allegations. Such rumors have always been circulated prior to Israeli attacks on neighboring Arab countries.

It is true that the number of infiltrations across the Jordan River into the West Bank has increased in the last year, though the number of people involved has been proportionally small. The infiltrators were Jordanian and Palestinian policemen, soldiers, teachers and civilians, both old and young. In the majority of cases, from the limited information available, it seems clear they were indulging in suicide operations. One may argue quite strongly that the majority of the attacks were initiated as a result of continued frustration with the lack of any political solution and the total absence of any prospects for peace.

Those who tried to cross the border and clashed with the Israeli military were certainly people affected by the continued occupation of Arab lands: people who lost their home country, who have relatives in the occupied territories, or who are motivated by the daily killing of Palestinians during the last three years of the uprising. This was clearest with the group of five who crossed the border hoping to reach Jerusalem, to avenge the killing of 17 Palestinians by Israeli soldiers in the vicinity of al-Aqsa Mosque last month.

The linkage that Israeli, and to some extent American, officials try to establish between infiltration attempts and nascent democratic development in Jordan is ridiculous. It aims only at paving the way for a future strike against Jordan. The linkage totally ignores the blood and national ties between Palestinians on both sides of the River Jordan. It ignores the unquestionable effects of Israel's suppression of Palestinians and continued occupation. It ignores, furthermore, Israel's negative impact on Arab people, and especially Palestinians on the East Bank of the Jordan River.

But it is easy for Israel to make such an imaginary linkage, for it converges with their blind policy of refusing to recognize that peace cannot be reached with Palestinians in the territories alone, but must be worked out with the leadership of all Palestinian people, namely the PLO.

What democracy has really done in Jordan is allowed people to practice the right of freedom of expression and freedom of orga-

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nization. And that should please those regimes which have been loudly deploring the absence of democracy in the Middle East. But, contrary to such a reasonable expectation, democracy in Jordan has become instead a source of evil, and a threat in the eyes of Jordan's enemies.

Israel has bragged for decades that it is the only democratic regime in the region. And it has alleged repeatedly that peace can never be guaranteed with so many dictatorships ruling the Middle East, and has used this as a pretext for not coming to peace with them. Now that Jordan is implementing democracy, Israel has made it the target for attack.

The point here is clear. Democracy is not really desirable for everyone in the Arab world; it is only acceptable for countries ready to serve as local proxies for foreign interests.

The position Jordan has taken in the Kuwaiti crisis has also been a source of annoyance to the United States, and has provided another reason for Israel to escalate its anti-Jordanian criticism. The United States believes that those who do not openly support its policy are against it. It sees only in black and white: Either you support U.S. military intervention, or you are a supporter of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Jordan, the Palestinians and some other Arab countries have rejected the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but have declared that the problem is best solved within an Arab context, and so have refused to add their troops to the American orchestra in Saudi Arabia. But these countries' more constructive approach has been derailed as U.S. intervention and pressure has vastly complicated the original problem.

How can the Jordanian regime be blamed for its political position toward the Kuwaiti crisis? This position was adopted by the great majority of the people of Jordan, and was endorsed overwhelmingly by a freely-elected Jordanian Parliament. It is the expression of the free will of the people. Hostility to Jordan's policy is thus hostility toward the people of Jordan.

And that hostility has in fact repeatedly manifested, from Bush's cancellation of a Paris meeting with King Hussein to the U.S. Navy's undeclared siege on the port of Aqaba to the United States' immoral procrastination in compensating Jordan for its great losses as a result of the embargo on Iraq.

Whether or not one agrees with Jordan's position on the Kuwaiti crisis, one cannot but respect the people for their honesty and their readiness to defend their beliefs, regardless of the obstacles. Jordan's great suffering under conditions of acute economic deterioration makes its determination even more impressive. Others faced with such grave obstacles might have thought twice before taking such a position. But the people there did not hesitate to stand firm in their beliefs.

A careful reading of official Israeli statements shows that Israel is trying to gather as many clouds as possible to serve as a cover for a possible future move against Jordan, despite statements to the contrary that there will be no change in policy toward Jordan.

Today it is suggested that the king is becoming weaker. Perhaps next Israel will allege that it must enter Jordan to liberate it from fundamentalism. Probably the notion that they wanted to ensure the survival of democracy will be added. Why not? What we have witnessed in this region since the unforgettable year 1967 has been a series of

see Jordan, page 13

OPINION

Kahane is dead, but Kahanism is still very much alive

by Tamar Godensky

Ostensibly, everyone condemns the assassination of Kach movement leader Meir Kahane, but there are people who want to deem him "sacred," who "fell down in loyalty to his principles," as National Religious Party MK Hanan Porat stated. There are people who expressed their sorrow for the death of Kahane because he is a Jew and above that a rabbi in Israel, as Agudat Yisrael MK Menachem Porosh stated. It is the kind of sorrow of those who pretend to be nationalistic, on the death of one whose path they shared though perhaps Kahane went a bit too far.

Ostensibly, everyone condemns the killing, but for some reason, representatives of Ratz (Citizens Rights Movement), namely MK Yossi Sarid, and Mapam, namely MK Ya'ir Tsaaban, opted to minimize their talk of the danger of Kahane's ideas, and did not link Kahanism with the sociopolitical background in the shadow of which he and his partisans worked.

Kahane started his fascist gangster organization while still in the United States. His targets there were blacks and Soviets. Then he moved to Israel in the early 1970s, after correctly calculating that the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip had prepared the grounds for planting the seeds of racism. During the 20 years that Kahane led his racist gang called Kach, he proved that there is something like Israeli or Jewish fascism latent in the poisoned atmosphere of Israeli society as a result of the occupation.

Since there is no occupation without suppression, and no suppression without hatred, the occupation has created a fertile atmosphere for popular conversion to Kahanist thought.

It is not a mere coincidence that Kahanism has taken root precisely among the ideologically motivated settlers. The distance between Rabbi Moshe Levinger and Rabbi Kahane, if any, can easily be bridged. And in the occupied territories, the Kahanist can practice terror against the Palestinians quite easily. Giving the settlers a free hand in the occupied territories, the fact that they are armed and the tolerance extended to criminal settlers have all helped the Kahanists.

Kahane and his men openly admitted their relations with other terrorist organizations like the League for the Defense of the Roads and the State of Judea. They also trained in the use of arms with the full knowledge of the authorities, and under the authorities' noses, perpetrated several clandestine actions of a military nature. Those who call themselves "Sicarii" also have ties with the Kahane supporters.

The difficulty the police pretend

Tamar Godensky is a member of the Knesset from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. This article appeared in Arabic in the Haifa daily al-Itihad.

to face uncovering Sicarii is incomprehensible. The increasing incidents of revenge against Palestinians committed in the presence of the police only strengthens the suspicion that the police themselves are inclined to wink at Kahane's group, as long as they stick to attacking Arabs. We should not ignore the fact that the leaders of Kach brag openly that they have a number of supporters in the ranks of the police who condone their activities.

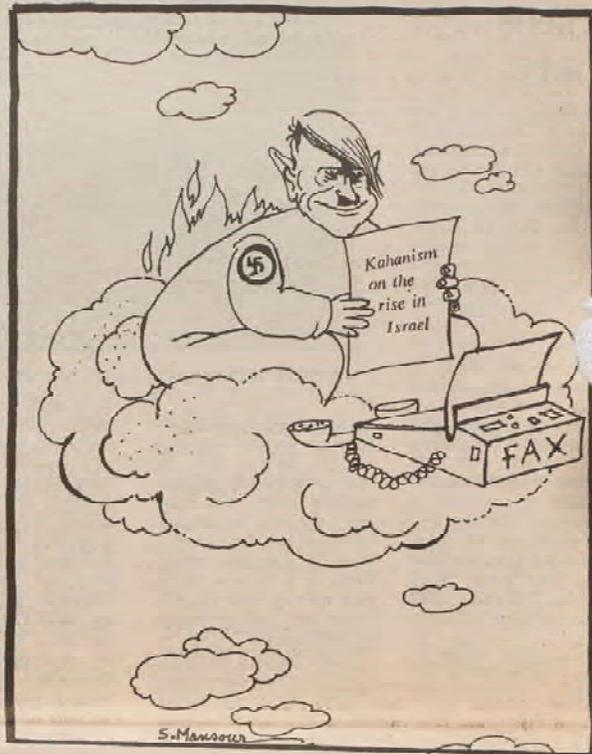
The fact that the al-Aqsa massacre was perpetrated by policemen and border police and not by Kahane's terror gangs only bolsters the argument that extremist ideas and a readiness to shoot Palestinians have become deeply rooted in the police forces.

Experience has shown, in this country and the world over, that as the social crisis escalates, the number of the oppressed who resort to fascist ideas increases.

The phenomena of chronic unemployment, the increasing social conflict with the arrival of the [Soviet Jewish] immigrants, and growing economic polarization — all this is being exploited by the Kahanists seeking unbridled incitement with their slogan, "Death to the Arabs."

New research has shown that the unemployed who feel frustrated prefer to turn their anger against the Palestinians, instead of against the present regime and the government's policy. Thus, practically, they continue to feel they belong to society, although society has rejected them.

We should expect that rising unemployment, particularly in the north and south of the country; budget cuts for social programs; the ero-



sion of the purchasing power of the minimum wage; the government's plan to reduce minimum wages and dip into workers' pension funds and otherwise encroach upon laborers' rights will all be exploited by Kahanists in the future. The educa-

tion given in the schools, failing completely to focus on democracy and Jewish-Arab coexistence, provides no check on the spread of Kahane's ideas and transfer the

see Kahanism, page 15

Article on Iraqi human rights misleading

To the Editor:

I was displeased with your article of Oct. 8, 1990 written by Basem Tawfeeq entitled "Lawyer finds good treatment of civilians in Kuwait" which was based on an interview with me. I find this piece to be misleading as it creates an inaccurate image of the conduct of the Iraqi troops in Kuwait.

I agreed to be interviewed to clarify a particular aspect of the Gulf crisis, which is the Iraqi treatment of Palestinians in Kuwait. My findings were to be taken in the context of the overall human rights situation in Kuwait as reported by the U.S.-based Middle East Watch (MEW) in its Sept. 1, 1990 report. Unfortunately, what happened was that your article ignored the MEW report, focusing on the interview alone concluding that a "Palestinian lawyer...reports that Iraqi soldiers [are] treating civilians extremely well."

In the above-mentioned report, Middle East Watch expressed its concern over a number of fundamental human rights questions. These include killings, summary executions, arbitrary arrests, torture and collective punishment including curfew

Such violations of human rights are gross and problematic. MEW findings are also confirmed by other human rights groups including Amnesty International.

Ignoring essential matters in a country's record of human rights can only serve to obscure rather than throw light upon the human rights situation in that country. Needless to say, as Palestinians living in the occupied territories, we have a vested interest in accurate human rights reporting. Telling partial and incomplete stories on human rights issues will eventually impair our own cause.

Mona Rishmawi
Ramallah

Basem Tawfeeq responds:

I thank Mona Rishmawi for her criticism. I agree that human rights violations are not to be ignored and ought to be condemned, and the ruling Iraqi regime is certainly one of the most brutal and oppressive regimes in the world.

The article in question, however, establishes at the outset that it covers the research of one person

(Rishmawi) with a number of people (more than 30) from four countries (Jordan, Pakistan, Palestine and Yemen) who arrived in Jordan from Kuwait in the three weeks after the invasion. The article notes also that Rishmawi's research was part of Middle East Watch's report about treatment of civilians in Kuwait.

True, the article shows a partial picture of the situation in Kuwait; the article states its parameters clearly and explicitly. Furthermore, that is the nature of journalism; it can never show the entire picture. Moreover, reporting for a Palestinian newspaper, *Al-Fajr*, I was concerned mainly with Palestinian affairs. As such, a Palestinian's involvement in Middle East Watch's research merits our attention, particularly as much of Rishmawi's findings dealt with Palestinians.

In response to Rishmawi's specific criticisms, the interview was meant to be — and was — a discussion of Rishmawi's findings in Amman, not with the Middle East Watch's report, which dealt with the issue from a broader perspective. Nevertheless, I thank Mona Rishmawi for adding to the picture with some of the concerns expressed in the report in question.

Two border clashes leave 9 Israelis dead

An Egyptian border police officer who crossed Israel's southern borders, shot and killed four Israelis and injured 26 others on Nov. 25, reportedly carried out the act in retaliation for Israel's carnage at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem on Oct. 8 which left 17 Palestinians dead and hundreds wounded.

If true, the number of Israelis shot and killed in retaliation for the al-Aqsa carnage has reached 10. A Palestinian stabbed to death three Israelis in Baqa'a, West Jerusalem, Oct. 21; infiltrators from Jordan shot and killed two Israelis on the borders over the past three weeks; and an Egyptian shot and killed the leader of the fascist Kach movement, Rabbi Meir Kahane, in New York on Nov. 5.

The Egyptian border policeman, identified as 22-year-old Ayman Muhammad Hassan, crossed the Egyptian-Israeli border near Eilat, the southernmost tip of Israel, and opened fire with his AK-47 submachine gun on a convoy of military vehicles and a civilian bus. The result was the killing of three soldiers in three separate vehicles and the driver of the civilian bus. Twenty-six other Israelis were injured, six apparently serious-



The Israeli bus with bullet holes in its windshield after the attack near Eilat. The bus driver was killed.

ly. The assailant was injured when an Israeli in the civilian bus shot at him. He then retreated into Egyptian territory before the Israeli army was able to catch up with him, and was picked up there by Egyptian security forces on a tip from the Israeli military. The Egyptian police are holding Hassan for questioning.

The incident provoked angry reactions from Israeli officials who demanded tighter security arrangements on the Egyptian border. Israel and Egypt signed a peace agreement in 1979 and have enjoyed good relations since then, in spite of a number of incidents similar to this one. In February, assailants opened fire on a tour bus near Ismailiyeh, killing nine Israelis. The identity of those assailants is not yet known, though Egypt re-

cently said that it had arrested a number of people in connection with the bus attack, identified with militant Islamic groups.

Egypt also strongly condemned the attack by one of its security men and promised Israel a full investigation into the incident. Meanwhile, a team of Egyptian officers crossed into Israel Nov. 27 to study the site and question Israeli eyewitnesses. Israel gave the Egyptian team permission to carry out this mission.

Egypt's Ambassador to Israel Muhammad Bassyouni was summoned to the Foreign Ministry after the attack and informed of the Israeli government protest. Bassyouni said later that Egypt would hand over to Israel everything it finds out about the incident.

In a similar border attack, Palestinian guerrillas

ambushed an Israeli army patrol in the Israeli-controlled "security zone" in southern Lebanon on Nov. 27, opened fire and killed five soldiers and injured a sixth, according to an Israeli army spokesman. Two fighters, said to be members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were also killed in the confrontations that followed. Two others were able to return to their bases.

The Israeli air force immediately carried out a retaliatory attack on Palestinian bases in the Sidon area in southern Lebanon. A number of people were killed and injured.

Also in southern Lebanon, a woman strapped with explosives set herself off near an Israeli army patrol inside the "security zone" Nov. 25. The woman, 19-year-old Fadwa Hassan

Ghanem, was immediately killed. Only two Israeli soldiers from a foot patrol were injured, according to an Israeli army spokesman.

The Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party of Lebanon took responsibility for the suicide attack.

An Israeli navy patrol boat opened fire on a dinghy about three kilometers off the Sidon coast Nov. 24, sinking the dinghy and killing five people on it, a navy spokesman claimed. The spokesman alleged the five were on their way to carry out a military mission in Israel when they were spotted.

Reports from Beirut, however, said the five on the dinghy, believed to be members of Ahmad Jibril's General Command, were traveling from Beirut to Sidon and were not intending to reach Israeli shores.

A play about the eternal struggle between life and death

Theater Review by Faida Totah

The eternal struggle between life and death is brought into focus by the play, *The Problem of "X,"* performed by the Palestinian theater troupe al-Rahalleh, at al-Masrah for Palestinian Culture and Arts this past weekend.

"X" is trapped not only by his monotonous life, but also by his morbid thoughts. He does not consider daily existence, with its trite rituals of sleeping, waking, washing, eating, etc., enough of a reason to endure. But answering the higher calling of the revolution has left him unsatisfied as well. It is this restlessness that leads him to contemplate the easy way out: death.

Kamal Basha gives an accurate portrayal of a pessimistic human being. He appears wretched and sullen, a trapped individual who wants to end his life. But once he is approached by death, he tries to stall dying. Basha gives a plausible performance of a person who, about to have his wish granted, hesitates.

Siham Ghazaleh has the difficult role of performing two contradictory parts. She gives a ghastly performance as the Specter of Death, taking the role too seriously, almost mocking death. (In her white costume, whitened face, orange hair and shoes she reminds me of Michael Keaton in *Beetlejuice*.) She turns 180 degrees to the ever-cheerful, life-loving girlfriend who tries to convince "X" that life is beautiful, and that even the mundane everyday rituals have their beauty.

Central to this play is the set, the staging and the scenery. The audience is seated around a circle of no more than two meters in circumference inside of which all the action takes place. The audience can almost reach out and touch "X's" agony. In this case the audience is not eavesdropping through the invisible "fourth wall" between play and spectators, but forms themselves the walls of "X's" suffering.

The play is a very ambitious undertaking. And it succeeds in creating the somber mood in which the drama of life and death take place.



Kamal Basha and Siham Ghazaleh in a scene from the play "The Problem of 'X,'" performed at al-Masrah theater in East Jerusalem Nov. 30 and Oct. 1.

ARAB AND DIASPORA NEWS

French and American NGOs say international conference a necessity

French and American non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are leading a campaign pushing for a United Nations-sponsored international peace conference on the Middle East.

The campaign will include an appeal and letter-writing to the heads of state and ambassadors of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The appeal by the French NGOs, such as Agir Ici, Association Medicale Franco-Palestinienne, CEDETIM, CIDES, CIMADE and others, says: "To assure peace and security in the Middle East, we call upon the Security Council of the United Nations to adopt a resolution requesting the organization of an international peace conference involving all concerned parties. This meeting is necessary to maintain the credibility of the United Nations and international law in the eyes of the world and in particular the Arab world."

The appeal goes on to say: "This meeting should be able to assure the application of the ineffective United Nations resolutions concerning the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan [Heights] and South Lebanon. The conference should also decide on the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon.

"We call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, but we are conscious that a lasting peace also depends upon the right of the Palestinian people to a state, and recognition and security of the state of Israel."

The appeal will be accompanied by a letter which says: "Being highly concerned by the situation in the Middle East, I appeal to you that your country submit to the Security Council a resolution demanding that a peace conference be held with the aim of ensuring that the still ineffective resolutions of the United Nations concerning the Middle East be applied with the same determination as those in the Gulf."

The North American Coordinating Committee of Non-Governmental Organi-

zations on the Question of Palestine (NACC) is also circulating a petition to be sent to U.S. President George Bush and U.N. Ambassador Thomas Pickering on the same subject.

The petition says that "As the United Nations acts to resolve the Persian Gulf crisis, we urge the United States to revive its efforts to ensure the peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a solution which is necessary for peace and stability in the entire Middle East region.

"We call on you to take immediate steps to ensure the immediate convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, mandated by the United Nations General Assembly repeatedly since its resolution 38/58 C in 1983. It is only through such a peace conference that occupation can end, freedom and independence be achieved, and peace and security guaranteed for all states in the region."

The NACC's members include, among others, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Canadian Council of Churches, Najda, the National Lawyers Guild, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the United Methodist Church Board of Global Ministries.

The Geneva-based International Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) urged its members to refer to U.N. General Assembly resolution 38/58 C for 1983, which was repeated again in resolution 43/176 for 1988, in demanding the convening of an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict. It said NGOs have been fighting for years for such a conference.

In addition to the appeals and letter campaign, a delegation from the various NGOs will visit U.N. headquarters in December to meet with Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and representatives of the permanent Security Council members. The delegates will urge the convening of the proposed international peace conference.

Churches want peace in Mideast

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington -- American pressure on the Bush administration, against the use of force to oust Iraqi forces from Kuwait is increasing, this time from the National Council of Churches.

A statement issued by the National Council of Churches (NCC) criticized the Bush administration's rush to implement U.N. resolutions on the Gulf, while for 23 years ignoring similar U.N. resolutions pertaining to the Palestine question and other resolutions concerning Cyprus.

The NCC, which represents up to 45 million American Christians, has long supported a fair and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has repeatedly called on the U.S. government to exert the maximum effort to resolve the Middle East issue and to support an end to the conflict, based on the implementation of resolution 242 and a two-state solution.

The NCC's board met Nov. 14 and 15 and unanimously passed a set of resolutions tackling the Gulf crisis, American involvement in the region and the broader issue of the Middle East. In a Sept. 14 message to its members, the NCC's Executive Coordinating Committee said it "condemned Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait" and raised "serious questions about the decision of the U.S. government to send troops to the Gulf region and about the growing magnitude of U.S. presence" there.

The NCC also noted the failure of the Bush administration to state clearly to the American public its objectives in the region. The NCC added that its opposition to America's open-ended commitment in the Gulf mirrors the feelings of most Americans, according to various reports and polls here.

Several polls indicate that Americans are confused about their nation's goal in the Gulf. Different speakers and officials have all explained America's objectives differently. Explanations have varied from the defense of Saudi Arabia to the removal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait through U.N. sanctions, and from the preservation of the American way of life and jobs -- as Bush and Baker put it -- to a military offensive to destroy altogether Saddam Hussein and his military capabilities.

As the NCC told its members, President Bush and his administration offi-

cials "have done little to clarify...these points," but instead "have often been misleading and sometimes even contradictory."

The NCC's message pointed out the stark differences in the way the U.S. government has handled this conflict and other outstanding issues in the Middle East. "The active U.S. effort to implement U.N. Security Council resolutions" against Iraq stands "in marked contrast to U.S. negligence regarding the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 [1967] and 338 [1973]," calling on Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in the 1967 war.

The NCC also criticizes American "negligence regarding the implementation of Security Council resolutions 359, 360 and 361, which call for the withdrawal without delay of Turkish troops from Cyprus."

In a recent report supplementing its September message, the NCC says "the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories has, in fact, worsened," referring to the Oct. 8 Israeli killing of 17 Palestinians at al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, and the attacks and counter-attacks which followed. The report praises America's willingness to condemn the al-Aqsa massacre at the United Nations. But, it adds, "the failure of the U.S. government to take any substantive measures to oppose the Israeli occupation weakens the effects of its appropriate outrage over Iraqi aggression against Kuwait." The Middle East as a whole, the report continues, "cries out for a U.S. policy that seeks to redress all cases of injustice, including those of Israel and Palestine, Lebanon and Cyprus."

The NCC report points also to the U.S. \$1 billion per month which the United States is pouring into the Gulf -- which will multiply in the event of war -- and argues it would be better spent at home. Those who will suffer most from this diversion of money to the Gulf are "the poor, homeless, sick and elderly."

The NCC executives' unanimous resolutions express a clear opposition to U.S. aggression. While they call on Iraq to release all foreign nationals being held in Iraq and Kuwait and to remove its forces from Kuwait, and while they support international sanctions until Iraq withdraws its forces, the resolutions oppose

"withholding food and medicine as a weapon against civilian populations" in Iraq.

The resolutions call on the U.N. secretary-general to use his office to conclude a negotiated settlement to the present conflict. Similarly, the NCC board calls on the U.S. leadership, executive and legislative, to search for a peaceful solution in the Gulf, "including direct negotiations with Iraq." The NCC says all U.S. forces should be withdrawn from the Gulf, except for those necessary "in accordance with relevant provisions" of the U.N. Charter.

Universities

continued from front page

press conference at East Jerusalem's National Palace Hotel, the CHE delivered a statement demanding "the international community intervene immediately to reopen the four Palestinian universities, and stop the Israeli military policies prohibiting education."

Dr. Sa'eb Erekat, professor of political science at an-Najah University, said he was frustrated by the international community's silence on the university closures. "This position encourages Israel to continue its policy," he said.

He demanded that the supervision of Palestinian universities be turned over to the United Nations and UNESCO.

Erekat praised the European Community's condemnation of the closures two years ago, and the EC's suspension of all scientific cooperation with Israel until the universities are reopened. "This is the only language the Israeli political leadership understands," he said.

CHE forcefully rejected Israel's claim that the universities threaten Israeli security. Leading Palestinian activist Faisal Husseini, the head of the Arab Studies Society, said the dedication of Bethlehem University students and administrators to the task of education, despite the difficult conditions in the territories, proved the closure of the other universities is unjustified, and wholly unrelated to Israeli security concerns.

"The Palestinian people hold the international and Israeli communities responsible for protecting the right of Palestinians in education, as dictated by the principles of humanity and international law," Husseini said.

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